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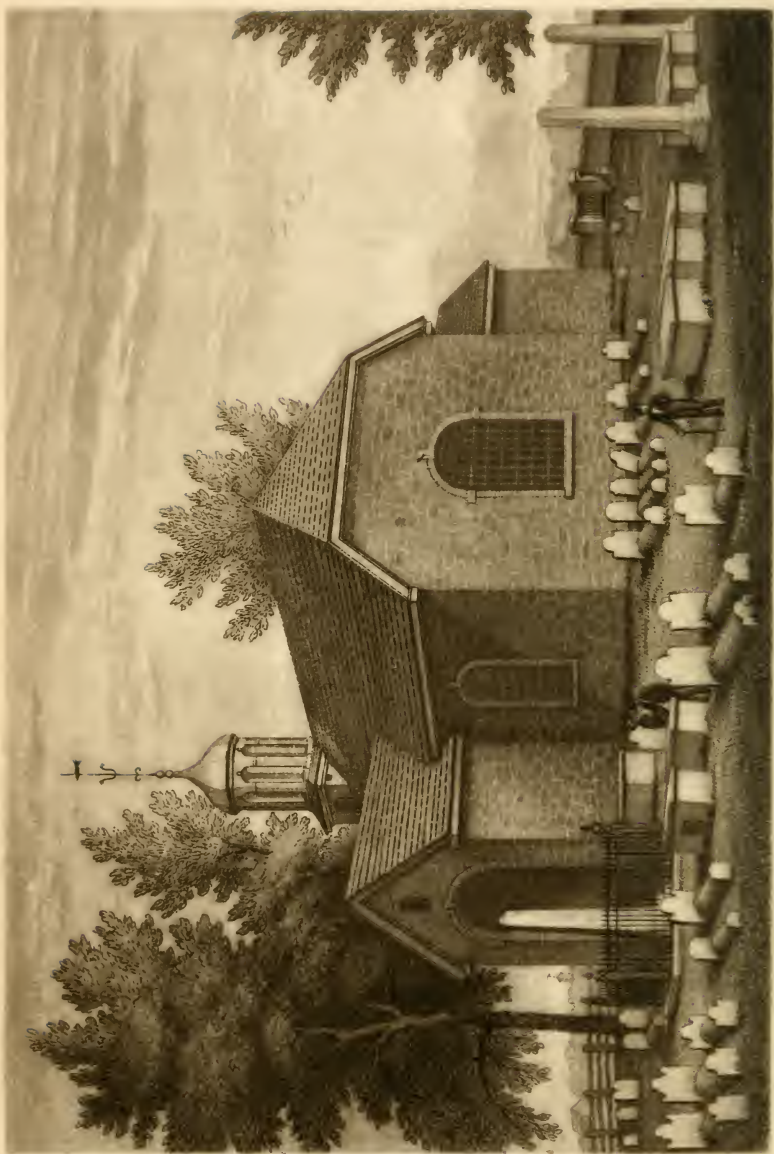
1. New Sweden - Hist.
2. Church history - U.S. - New Sweden
3. Wilmington, Del. - Hist.

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A HISTORY
OF THE
ORIGINAL SETTLEMENTS
ON
THE DELAWARE,
FROM ITS DISCOVERY BY HUDSON
TO THE
COLONIZATION UNDER WILLIAM PENN.
TO WHICH IS ADDED
AN ACCOUNT OF THE ECCLESIASTICAL AFFAIRS
OF
THE SWEDISH SETTLERS,
AND
A HISTORY OF WILMINGTON,
FROM ITS FIRST SETTLEMENT TO THE PRESENT TIME.

ILLUSTRATED BY DRAWINGS.

“Whatever draws us from the power of our senses,—whatever makes *the past*, the distant, or the future preponderate over the present, advances us in the dignity of thinking beings.”—DR. JOHNSON.

BY BENJAMIN FERRIS.

WILMINGTON:
WILSON & HEALD, 107 MARKET STREET.

1846.

District of Delaware, to wit :

Be it remembered, that on the sixteenth day of August, Anno Domini 1845, Benjamin Ferris, of the said district, hath deposited in this office the title of a book, the title of which is in the words following, to wit : " A History of the Original Settlements on the Delaware, from its discovery by Hudson, to the colonization under William Penn.—To which is added, An account of the Ecclesiastical Affairs of the Swedish Settlers, and a History of Wilmington, from its first settlement to the present time, illustrated by drawings.

" Whatever draws us from the power of our senses,—whatever makes *the past*, the distant, or the future, predominate over the present, advances us in the dignity of thinking beings."—DR. JOHNSON.

By BENJAMIN FERRIS. The right whereof he claims as author, in conformity with the Act of Congress, entitled " An Act to amend the several acts respecting copy rights."

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Clerk of the District.



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PREFACE.

As man is the only animal which manifests the least curiosity to know what will be *hereafter*, so is he equally distinguished by the desire to understand what passed before he came into the world. This propensity, in the former case, is the mainspring to religious inquiry; in the latter, it is the motive to *historical research*. Notwithstanding the diversity of character which marks our species, we find very few who do not feel a curiosity to know something of those who lived before them, and of the parts they acted on the great theatre of life. It is found in children at a very early age. Not only are they charmed with tales of wonder; they listen with delight to the simplest narratives of fact. So deep are the impressions thus made on the memory, that before the invention of letters, they were depended on as the conservatories of historical truths. But in the transmission of events by memory only, facts are liable to become mixed with fable, time is constantly curtailing the record, and death destroys the tablet. The aid of letters is necessary to preserve their just connection, and to rescue from oblivion the most important occurrences.

Much of the matter for a complete history of our primitive settlements is irrecoverably lost. The early adventurers were too much engaged in duties of the first necessity to permit them to record passing events. For the means of giving any thing like a connected statement of them we are much indebted to official documents, and other writings left by our predecessors, without any view to that object.

So few publications relating to the original settlements on the Delaware have yet appeared, that many, who are far from being indifferent to the subject, know very little of the interesting circumstances of our early history. No connected narrative, sufficiently comprehensive to convey a clear understanding of them, has ever been published in our language. Those authors who have incidentally treated of the subject have been too concise to satisfy a reasonable curiosity, and in most instances they have made so many mistakes as to mislead rather than inform the reader. The truth is, that much of the matter necessary to form a correct outline of our early history, has, until lately, been locked up in foreign languages,

sometimes in books only to be found in European libraries. Facts of the greatest importance have been confined among the archives of public institutions, or in the cabinets of the curious. There are not many in our new country, who can afford the time necessary to explore the hidden resources of historical truth, widely scattered as they are, and often difficult of access. But a better day is opening on the vocation of the historian. Historical Societies have been formed in several of the States of our Union. The Spirit of inquiry is abroad, connected with a noble zeal to discover and rescue from destruction the remaining materials for a history of our country. The development of these hidden treasures will place us above the necessity of laying the foundation of our history in fable or uncertain tradition. We shall have no temptation to trace our lineage to imaginary deities, or to resort to poetical invention for the characters and actions of our ancestors. By an appeal to *authentic facts* the future historian will be able to give to his narrative a charm infinitely surpassing all others,—*the charm of truth*.

The Dutch records at Albany, if published in a corrected translation, would furnish a large fund of curious and valuable matter for a history of our original settlements. In their present state it requires so much time to come at their treasures, scattered in disconnected fragments through so many volumes, that few can command time and the necessary seclusion from other pursuits, to avail themselves of the opportunity they offer to enlarge our stores of historical knowledge. It is understood that Governor Beekman's official correspondence, during his residence at Christina, from the year 1659 to 1664, is among those records. From the responsibility of his station, and from his character as a man of a liberal education, his letters, written during a very interesting period of our colonial history, would probably throw much light on the subject.

A good translation of Acrelius's "History of New Sweden," would undoubtedly add much to our stock of knowledge. The small part of it already published is composed of extracts selected by Nicholas Collin, and relates chiefly to the controversies between the Dutch and the Swedes. Such detached portions of the work impair the connection of the history, and present its author in a less favourable point of view than he may justly merit. When it is considered that one department of history greatly illustrates others, it is much to be regretted that the whole work, as well that part which relates to ecclesiastical, as that which treats of civil history, is not translated and published. It is understood that a complete copy of that work is in the Library of the Philosophical Society of Pennsylvania; and from the laudable zeal of the Historical Society of that State to diffuse information, we may hope a translation of the whole work will not long be withheld from the public.

There are several other works relating to the Swedish Colonies in America, published in *Sweden* at different periods, which have not been translated into our language. One by T. E. Biorck, printed at Upsal in 1731; one by Andreas Hesselius who was pastor of the Church at Christina, from the year 1712, to 1723; and one by Charles David Arfwedson, published in 1825. These, if rendered into English, would undoubtedly extend the limits of our knowledge relating to the early periods of our colonial state. Biorck's work was written and published in the life time of their old pastor Ericus Biorck, and perhaps under his immediate inspection. In it would probably be found important information of an authentic character, as well as in the work of Hesselius, who having lived at Christina eleven years must have written of facts personally known to himself. As Hesselius succeeded Biorck at Christina, it is probable the two works might give us a chain of facts, of an interesting character, from the year 1697 to 1723.

The manuscripts of Du Simitière, in the Philadelphia Library, contain a large amount of interesting information, from which might be extracted much that would illustrate the history of the early settlements in America. It is to be hoped that none of these depositories of historical knowledge will be suffered long to remain as dead stock to the inquirer into our colonial history.

The following narrative is not offered to the public as a complete or perfect history of the period it embraces. The author is well aware that more extensive research than his opportunities afforded, and higher qualifications than he can lay any claim to, are necessary to produce such a work. The limits which he had prescribed to himself, made it necessary for him to study brevity, and to convey the information in his possession in as concise a manner as possible, so as to accomplish the object he had in view. A larger work might have been written from the same materials.

The author has been much indebted to the New York Historical Society for the materials of his history. The last volume of their collections is invaluable. With the notes and observations of its able editor, it furnishes, within a small compass, a greater amount of matter relating to the first settlements of the Dutch and Swedes, within the present limits of New York, Pennsylvania, New Jersey and Delaware, than can be found within the same space elsewhere in our country.

To the state authorities at Albany for their kindness and liberality in permitting him to have free access to their records, and to copy from them such matters as he deemed needful, the author is greatly indebted; as he also is for the same privileges to the Historical Society of New York. He also gratefully acknowledges his obligations to J. C. Clay,

Rector of the church at Wicaco, and to the vestrymen and church-wardens of the old Swedish Church at Christina, for the liberal use of their church records respectively. The kindness of the City Council at Wilmington in the loan of their records is acknowledged with gratitude.

That part of the following work which is devoted to the ecclesiastical affairs of the Swedes, is the result of much labour, and a careful use of the materials in the author's possession. If it should be thought that he has gone too much into detail, the deep and general interest felt on this subject must be his apology.

In the part allotted to the local history of Wilmington, it is not expected that the distant reader will feel much interest. To his fellow citizens he has endeavoured by a free use of the authentic information in his possession to make it interesting. Some ancient documents connected with the early history of Wilmington, which were found among the records of the proprietaries of Pennsylvania, after the revolutionary war, have been inserted entire. The author has not been deterred from giving them to the public by any consideration of their length, or the minor importance of some subjects which they illustrate. Small matters *at home*, when they relate to remote periods of time, often excite a higher degree of interest than great things at a great distance.

In the historical documents to which the author has been indebted for the facts contained in the following work, the dates present some discrepancies, not of any material importance to the reader, but involving some difficulty in the attempt to reconcile them. Under these circumstances it has been deemed most advisable that the dates should be given as they are found in the works of the authors referred to, without regard to the different calendars, or the manner of expression. It might have been more useful to the exact chronologer, and would have been more agreeable to the author, to have reduced all the dates to one plain standard, and all to the Gregorian or new style; but the difficulty and labour of such an attempt were deemed to be greater than was called for by the circumstances.

In the compilation of this history the author has been careful not to insert any thing that cannot be sustained by competent authority. His highest aim has been to state facts in a plain and perspicuous manner, that the work may be referred to as an authentic record of events. If he has failed in either of these objects, the failure has not been intentional. The future historian may add much interesting matter to enrich and adorn the narrative, but it is confidently believed that nothing will be discovered materially to impair it, or to alter the chain of events as they are related in the following work.

Wilmington, 12th mo. 3d, 1845.

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ERRATA.

The following errors escaped attention as the work was passing through the press.

- Page 4 line 13 from the top, instead of "motion" read *emotion*.
113 line 13 from the top, instead of "New Hope" read *Good Hope*.
135 (in the note) instead of "page 81" read page 80.
137 line 14 instead of "1672" read 1682.
171 last line instead of "1719" read 1718.
187 line 23 instead of "1719" read 1718.
198 line 9 instead of "Frances" read *Francis*.
199 line 10 instead of "limits" read *limit*.
232 line 2 instead of "May" read *June*.
261 line 19 instead of "subsided" read *subsisted*.

HISTORY

OF

SETTLEMENTS ON THE DELAWARE.



PART I.

CHAPTER I.

ORIGINAL SETTLEMENTS.

To Italy belongs the honour of producing two of the most distinguished navigators of the world. Whilst the inhabitants of the British Isles were yet in a state of semi-barbarism, Italy was enriched by commerce, and had made advances in the sciences and in the arts, which entitled her to rank among the most enlightened and polished nations of Europe. Her mariners, nursed from their infancy on the water, had acquired that skill and boldness which experience only can give. The limits of their own inland seas were too narrow for their enterprise; they boldly extended their adventures beyond the Straits of Gibraltar, and ventured their little and frail vessels on the broad bosom of oceans, as yet trackless and unexplored.

Columbus, a native of Genoa, in 1492, had discovered some islands on the American coast; it was reserved for a Venetian merchant to discover the main land. To JOHN CABOT, the father of the celebrated Sebastian Cabot, is due the credit of first seeing this vast continent. On the 24th of the month called

June, 1497, he saw the coast of Labrador, near Byron's bay, N. lat. 56°.

England claims the honour of this discovery, and had it been made by a native of that country, and at the expense of the crown, the claim would be indisputable. But the voyage was undertaken by a native of Venice. It was executed at his own proper costs, and at his own risk. The energy to plan, the skill to direct, the means to prosecute the voyage, must all be credited to the science, ardour, and public spirit of foreigners. The reigning monarch, Henry VII., notorious for his parsimony, allowed them to labour for the profit of the crown at their own costs, and after all their perils and expenditures, bound them to pay to the king one-fifth part of the emoluments.

In the year 1498, Cabot, in company with his son Sebastian, a noble-minded youth, then only twenty-one years old, made a second voyage to America. They reached the continent near Cape Grimington, on the coast of Labrador, N. lat. 58. Finding the region intensely cold, and the country inimical to the objects of their enterprise, they bore away to the south-west, and were the first navigators who discovered and sailed along the coast, from the far north to the capes of the Chesapeake. But it does not appear that they landed, or took possession of any part of the country, either beyond or within the present limits of the United States. The expedition was obliged to return for want of provisions, and the voyage terminated, more to the honour than profit of the adventurers.

From this period the ardour for maritime enterprise spread with great and unparalleled rapidity through the States of Europe. The Portuguese fitted out Cortereal, who reached the shores of North America in 1501, and sailed along our coast from Cape Cod to the 50th degree of north latitude. Within ten years after Cabot's discovery, the French were well acquainted with the banks of Newfoundland, and had a fleet of vessels there engaged in the fishery. They gave the name to Cape Breton,—and Dennis, a citizen of Honfleur, drew a map of the Gulph of St. Lawrence. Verrazzini, a Florentine, under the patronage of

Francis I., of France, arrived on the coast of Carolina in 1524, and it is supposed was the first European who had ever seen that part of the continent. He sailed northward,—entered the bay of New Port, in Rhode Island, and afterwards pursued his course as far as Newfoundland.* He was delighted with the country and its inhabitants, and on his return to France wrote a narrative of his adventures, which is still extant, containing one of the earliest descriptions of our coast. In 1534, Cartier, a French adventurer, discovered the Gulph of St. Lawrence, and sailed so far up the river that he could see either side of it at the same time. In the following year the king furnished ships for a second adventure, and Cartier penetrated the country as far as Montreal, to which he gave its present name.

No further discoveries of much importance were made of territories within the present limits of the United States, during the next half century. Much had been expended, many had perished, and little pecuniary reward had followed the daring enterprise of a host of adventurers. In the following century, however, the spirit of adventure revived. Within the first ten years of it the French were active along our north-eastern and northern frontier.* In 1603 Champlain sailed up the St. Lawrence, and finally explored the country along the Sorel, and to the lake, which is destined, as an imperishable monument, to bear his name down to the latest ages. In 1604 De Montz explored the shores and rivers of New England, as far south as Cape Cod. The first French settlement in America was made in that year at Port Royal.

Nothing, connected with the object of the present work, oc-

*It has been supposed that Verrazzini entered New York bay. As there is no tradition among the natives, of any Europeans having been there before Hudson, some have doubted the fact. The account of Verrazzini, however, makes it probable that he discovered the entrance to the bay; and that he sent his boat some distance up it, far enough to ascertain its form. But no practical advantage ensued.

The Indian account of the first arrival of the Europeans, given by Heckewelder, agrees remarkably with the account of Hudson's first visit to Manhattan. See New York Hist. Soc. Collections, vol. 2, p. 71.

curred after this event, until the celebrated Henry Hudson undertook to penetrate our northern seas, in search of a passage through them to China and Japan. For this purpose he was fitted out by some London merchants, and set sail in a small vessel, on the first day of May, 1607. With a crew of ten men and a boy, he boldly pushed into the North sea, and sailed as high as lat. 80°; but being stopped by the ice, he retired to England in the following autumn. Pursuing the same object, he sailed again in 1608, but could get no further than Nova Zembla, and returned the same year.

Hudson having twice failed to attain his end, it is supposed his employers became discouraged and abandoned the scheme. The hopes and the ardour of this great navigator were not, however, crushed by this failure, for we find him the next year in Holland, then one of the most commercial countries in the world, contracting with the Dutch East India Company to seek for them a nearer route to China by the northern seas. The arrangements being completed, on the 4th day of April, 1609, in a ship called the *Crescent*, but more commonly the *Half-Moon*, he sailed toward the north. Not succeeding in his object, his crew became dissatisfied; upon which he determined to examine the more southern coasts of America. Pursuing this object, he sailed southerly as far as Cape Cod, and supposing it an original discovery, he called it *New Holland*;* thence steering a south-westerly course, he kept along our coast till he came to a point south of the capes of the Chesapeake. Knowing that a colony had been settled on some of the shores within those capes, he turned his course towards the north-east, and on the 28th day of August, he entered the Delaware.† After passing into the bay above Cape Henlopen, they found the “land to trend away toward the north-west, with a great bay and rivers, but the bay was shoal,” and seeing it dangerous by reason of sand bars, they did not attempt to explore it, but very soon stood out to sea,

* De Vries, 274.

† The Delaware took its name from Lord Delaware, who discovered it in 1610, one year after Hudson had been in the bay.

and on the 3d of the following month passed Sandy-Hook. On the 11th they anchored the ship off Manhattan Island, describing their position as "a very good harbour for all winds."* On the 14th they began to ascend the noble river which still bears the name of Hudson. On the 15th they passed through the splendid scenery of the Highlands, and continued their course several miles beyond the present city of Hudson. Some of the ship's crew proceeded in the boat eight or nine leagues higher up the river, probably to Castle Island just below Albany, and some writers suppose they advanced as far as Troy.

On the 4th of October, 1609, Hudson left New York bay, and returned to Holland, with a chart of his discoveries, and an interesting report of his adventures.

In this report he gave to the merchants of Amsterdam such an account of the aborigines and of the products of the country, as induced them to believe that a profitable trade might be prosecuted with the natives. In consequence of these impressions, some of them, as partners in the concern, freighted a ship in 1610,† and sent her to Manhattan. Finding the adventure profitable and the prospect flattering, they obtained from the States-General exclusive authority for four years to trade with the natives, on the North river and in its vicinity. Here they carried on a profitable commerce, leaving agents during the winter to attend to their concerns.

So early as the year 1613, on the hostile visit of Sir Samuel Argall, afterwards Governor of Virginia, returning from an expedition against the French settlement at Port Royal, he found a number of houses, at least four, built on Manhattan island, for the accommodation of the traders. This little group of buildings was in fact the beginning of New York, the nucleus round which has grown up the largest city in the United States, and the great emporium of their extensive commerce.

Soon after the departure of Argall, the Dutch, to provide a better defence for their trading establishment, built a fort on the

* Juet's Journal, p. 325.

† De Laet's New World, 305.

southern point of the island, and called it Fort Amsterdam. This was in 1614, or, as some writers suppose, 1615. It stood near a spot in Broadway now called the Bowling Green. Its successor, a much stronger fortification, bearing the names successively of Fort Amsterdam, Fort James, Fort William and Mary, Fort Ann, and Fort George, was finally demolished by order of the Legislature of New York in 1790. The public promenade called the Battery, affording one of the most interesting and delightful prospects in our country, includes part of the land appertaining to the old Fort Amsterdam.

About the same period the Dutch erected another fort on an island near Albany, which they named Aurania or Fort Orange. It was surrounded by a moat, garrisoned by ten or twelve men under the command of Hendrich Christianse. It was armed with two cannons and twelve swivel guns, and intended as a depot for merchandise and place of trade. To it, for many years, the Indians from the interior, along the Hudson and Mohawk, and even from the shores of the St. Lawrence and from Canada, resorted in great numbers to exchange their furs and peltry for the splendid toys, the useful merchandise, and the destructive products of European industry.

But the monopoly of trade, which had been granted as aforesaid, was calculated to discourage individual enterprise, and from this period until the year 1621, little was done to improve the country, or to promote its colonization. Before that year, excepting at a few settlements about Bergen in East Jersey, and up the North river, not many European families were to be found cultivating the soil. The sole object of the Dutch appears to have been *trade*. The extension of empire by colonization, the advantages to be gained by covering the fertile regions in their possession with an industrious, thriving population, seem not to have entered into their plans, in the acquisition of foreign territory. Even on Long Island, in the near vicinity of their principal settlement, and seat of their government, so late as the year 1625, fifteen years after the institution of the trading company at Manhattan, there was but one European family residing.

The States of Holland in the year 1621 granted a charter to certain merchants and others, incorporating them as a company, with extensive powers and privileges, and extending its duration to the term of twenty-four years. The States subscribed to the stock of the company half a million of guilders, and made a present to them of half a million more. No specific territory was granted, nor were any of its possessions guarantied to them. They were not permitted to declare war; and if involved in hostilities, they were to defend themselves at their own expense. It was known by the name of the "The West India Company."

Although the object of the corporation was exclusively commercial, yet it was perceived that colonization was necessary to carry it into effect, and from this period efforts began to be made to settle the country, not only on the Hudson and in its vicinity, but on the Delaware or South River, as it was then called. In the year 1623 a number of emigrants from Holland, under the guidance of Cornelius May, arrived in the Delaware. Having brought with them a stock of merchandise, as well as the means of defence, they sailed up the river as far as Gloucester Point, about four miles south of the spot where the city of Philadelphia now stands. At a short distance south east of this point, on a very commanding position, near the mouth of little Timber Creek, May landed his forces and built Fort Nassau.

So far as our information extends, May was the first European who sailed up the river Delaware, and the first adventurer who made a settlement on its shores. Its object was trade with the natives. In the erection of this fort and the establishment of a trading house, May acted as an agent of the company.* It appears that the concern for many years was not sufficiently profitable to induce the company to support it. In ten years after its establishment, De Vries found it in the possession of the Indians†. Acrelius affirms that when the Swedes first arrived [in

* Lambrechtsen, p 91.

† In 1633, Jan. 5th, De Vries was at Fort Nassau. Found it in the possession of the Indians. In 1643 there were some of the Company's people in the fort. See De Vries, pp. 252, 253, 273.

1638,] "the Dutch had no establishment on the Delaware." Proud says, that "the commodious situation of New York for the sea and trade, induced most of them [the Dutch] who were settled on the Delaware, soon afterwards to quit it, and fix their settlements on both sides of the North river, before any of the Swedes came to America." Campanius says: "The Dutch also claimed a right to it [the country] because they had visited it before the Swedes, and had erected three forts there, which had, however, been utterly destroyed by the Indians, and all who were therein murdered or driven away, so that they had abandoned it entirely when the Swedes came."

From all the testimony in the case, it is probable that the settlement at Fort Nassau languished during the administration of Governor Minuit, which continued from 1624, when the West India Company was first organized under its new charter, until 1633. He was succeeded by Wouter Van Twiller, who came to New Amsterdam in the ship *De Zoutberg*, in the spring of the year last mentioned. But although the establishment was not a prosperous one, and the fort had not been garrisoned without interruption, there is abundant evidence to prove that the Dutch had not "entirely abandoned it,"—nor is it true that it had been "destroyed by the Indians;" the only fortification they had destroyed, was the one built by De Vries, near Cape Henlopen, in 1631. By a statement yet extant among the Albany Records, it appears that during the administration of Van Twiller, which terminated about the time when the first Swedish colonists arrived, there had been erected in Fort Nassau *one large house*, and that the fort had been put into a state of repair;* which satisfactorily proves that Acrelius was mistaken where he says that, "when the Swedes arrived, the Dutch had no establishment on the Delaware."

* Commissary Hudde, an officer under the Dutch West India Company, in his report, yet extant, says, that at the time that Minuit built the fort at Christina, "in the year 1638, the company had then a sufficient garrison on the river, and sufficient fortifications, men, and ammunitions of war, and had been in possession of this country more than 14 years." See New York Hist. Soc. Collections, p. 429.

In the year 1629, the West India Company made renewed efforts to promote colonization in the New Netherlands. It is probable they began to feel the weakness of their situation, surrounded by settlements rendered formidable by a well organized, hardy population. This is evident from the various accounts of collision between them and their neighbours, in which the Dutch were generally worsted. The company now held out large and liberal offers to men of capital and influence, in the hope of strengthening their position and increasing their trade. To the founder of a colony, with not less than "fifty souls, upwards of fifteen years old,"* extensive tracts of land were to be granted, "to be holden of the company as an eternal inheritance," with powers of government, as of manors or seigniories, &c. &c. In that year a number of wealthy individuals united in the design of forming settlements, many of whom are noted in the history of our country, and some of whose names being affixed to places, will be transmitted to posterity. Rensselaer, Godyn, Bloemart, De Laet, and De Vries, were distinguished adventurers of this period.†

To those who feel curious to inquire into the history of our early settlements on the Delaware, the adventures of De Vries are full of deep though melancholy interest. He left the Texel on the 12th of December, 1630, bound for the Delaware or "South River." The vessels, a ship and a yacht, were laden with cattle, implements of husbandry, grain and seeds for cultivation, with all the necessary apparatus for whaling. They probably arrived in the spring or summer of 1631. The place chosen for settlement was near Cape Henlopen, on Lewis's Creek, which he named Hoorn-kill,‡ probably from the place

* See New York Historical Soc. Collections, 370, &c.

† They were called "patroons."

‡ Now called "Whorekills." There does not appear sufficient evidence to support the tradition that this place took its name from the conduct of the Indian women, during the short period of De Vries's settlement. There is not the slightest allusion to such a circumstance in any ancient statement. It is probable that following a very general custom

of his residence, Hoorn, a port in North Holland. Here he built a trading house or fort, defended by a palisade, instead of parapets or breastwork; and wishing that fall to return to Holland, appointed one of his colonists, Giles Osset, director of the establishment, and left him with the care of the new settlement, consisting of more than thirty individuals.

As, at this period, the adventurers who came out with May, had mostly removed into the vicinity of New Amsterdam, the colony of De Vries was now the only European settlement on the Delaware; excepting perhaps a few families,* the remnants of May's company, scattered along the water, who, from a long and amicable intercourse with the natives, had learned to confide in their friendship.

During the absence of De Vries, his superintendent Osset quarrelled with the Indians, and one of their chiefs was killed. "The friends of the murdered chief," says De Vries, "had resolved to be revenged." On the day appointed for the execution of their intentions, the colonists were all at work in the fields, except the officer who had charge of the store, and one of the men, who was sick. These with a large bull-dog, which was chained outside of the house, were the only guard left to defend the property. Three of the boldest Indians, who had been selected for the purpose, approached the house, and finding the officer near the door, came up to him and offered him in exchange for goods, a parcel of beaver skins: upon which they all proceeded into the store-house. The officer then went into an upper room, where their stores were kept. On coming down, one of the Indians cleaved his head with an axe, and left him dead on the floor. They then killed the sick man; and afterwards going to the bull-dog, of whom

of calling places in the new world after those in the "fatherland," De Vries named it Hoorn, after the place of his residence. Cape Horn was named by William Cornelius Schouten after the same town where he had also resided.

* See Proud. Who says "most of the Dutch who were settled on the Delaware" under May, removed to New York soon after the settlement.

they were most in terror, they shot at least twenty-five arrows at him before he expired. This part of their plan being successfully executed, they proceeded to the fields where the rest of the men, thirty in number, were at work, and approaching them under the guise of friendship, put every man of them to death.

“Thus,” says De Vries, “terminated our first colony, to our great loss,” and, we may add, thus failed the first attempt to introduce civilization into the territories now composing the state of Delaware.

The ensuing year, 1632, De Vries returned to the Delaware. Before leaving the Texel he had by some means heard of the melancholy end of his colony. He arrived on our coast in the early part of the winter, and long before they saw the land, knew they were near the coast, “by the odour of the under-wood, which at this time of the year is burned by the Indians, in order to be less hindered in their hunting.” On the 3d of December, they saw the entrance of the bay; on the 5th, sailed within the cape, and on the 6th, ran with the boat up the Hoorn-kill, having first put themselves into a proper state of defence, in case of a hostile attack from the Indians. They found their dwelling house and store had been burnt to the ground, and their fortification utterly destroyed. But the most affecting scene presented itself when they came to the place where their countrymen had been butchered; “the ground bestrewed with heads and bones of their murdered men.”* Seeing no Indians, they returned to their ship, and ordered a great gun fired, to try if any of them would come down to the shore, but none ventured in sight that day.

On the next day, being the 7th of the month, they saw two or three Indians near the spot where their house had stood, but they would not come near the ship. De Vries, anxious to have a personal interview with some of the natives, in order to ascertain both the causes and circumstances of the destruction of his settlement, resolved to go ashore the next morning in his yacht,

*De Vries, 251.

that he might have a proper shelter from their arrows in case of an attack. Accordingly on the morning of the 8th of the month, in company with some of his men, he proceeded in the yacht, up the creek, to the place where their house had stood. The Indians came to the shore, but were very shy, and it was with great difficulty he succeeded in persuading one of them to go on board the ship : but by giving him a suit of clothes, and assuring him that their only object was to make peace with his nation, he finally overcame the scruples of the wary savage.

No sooner had De Vries attained this object, than a number of the Indians came forward in expectation of receiving similar presents, but he put them off with the gift of a few trinkets, making them to understand that he had given the other a dress, as a mark of his satisfaction for the confidence reposed in him, and because he was the first to venture on board the boat. De Vries then requested them to come again the next day with their chief, who is called SAKIMAS, in order to arrange and conclude a satisfactory peace.

One of the Indians was induced to stay on board the ship all night, which gave De Vries an opportunity to inquire into the particulars of the massacre. Upon asking him why they had killed the colonists, he pointed to a place where the Dutch had erected a pillar, to which was attached a piece of tin, on which was figured an emblem of Holland ; [probably the arms of the States General] and said, that one of the chiefs wanted to make of it tobacco pipes, and not knowing that it was improper, he took away the tin, which gave the officers in command much dissatisfaction. In order to appease them the Indians killed the offending chief, and brought to the officers in command some proof of his death. The officers thereupon told them they had done wrong—that they should have brought the culprit to the fort, when they would only have told him to do so no more. The Indian then went on to state, that the friends of the deceased chief, in order to be revenged, had destroyed the buildings and killed the people, as is before related.

This very improbable story was no doubt a fabrication of the

Indian under a desire, at the same time to palliate the conduct of his nation, and conciliate the Dutch.* It cannot be believed that the mere expression of dissatisfaction at the conduct of their chief, would induce the Indians to put him to death; and it is equally incredible that, if they had done so, they would have sought such dire vengeance on the Dutch for a voluntary act of their own. No one, conversant with the history of that period, can be ignorant of the wanton acts of cruelty, frequently committed on the defenceless natives, by the roving adventurers of that day; nor can the universal kindness of the aborigines of our country, to their European visitors, when they first met each other, on every part of our vastly extended coasts, have escaped the observation of the attentive reader of American history. There is hardly an instance of unprovoked hostility on the part of our native population, towards the early adventurers on the shores of the new world. It was not until the natives had severely suffered by the base and gratuitous atrocities of the Caucasian race, or had by undoubted testimony become acquainted with the dark side of our character, that they committed acts of cruelty, or gratified the natural propensity to revenge an injury. De Vries, who was a worthy man, and greatly abhorred the exercise of inhumanity towards the natives, himself gives us some instances of shocking barbarity, committed by the Dutch at Pavonia, in New Jersey, nearly opposite the city of New York; and also on the Raritan, which, for their atrocity, may fairly be ranked with the worst acts of Cortes or Pizarro.† He had good

* To those who are well acquainted with the Indian character, this tale will be well understood. Their policy in such cases, is in accordance with the views here given of it.

† "It was in the night," says De Vries, "of the 25th and 26th of February, 1643, that they executed these fine deeds. I remained that night at the Governor's, and took a seat in the kitchen, near the fire. At midnight I heard loud shrieks. I went out to the parapets of the fort, and looked towards Pavonia. I saw nothing but the flash of the guns, and heard nothing more of the yells and clamour of the Indians, who were butchered during their sleep." "About day the soldiers returned to the fort, having murdered eighty Indians. And this was the feat worthy of

reason to abhor the unprovoked cruelty of the whites towards the Indians. He afterwards, in 1641, lost a colony on Staten Island, owing to a most unjust massacre of the Indians, under the authority of Kieft. But notwithstanding all his sufferings, and all his losses by Indian retaliation, he has left on record this excellent testimony to the Indian character, given after a long and intimate acquaintance with it; "they will do no harm, if no harm is done to them." De Vries, in a remonstrance with Kieft against his design to murder the Indians at Pavonia, uses the following language, by which it is apparent that he attributed the massacre at Hoorn-kill to the misconduct of Osset! "Consider, sir," said he, "what good will it do? We know that we lost our settlement in the Hoorn-Creek, in 1630, by mere *jangling* with the Indians,—when thirty-two of our men were murdered; and now lastly, at Staten Island, where my people were destroyed, occasioned by your petty contrivances in killing the Indians at Raritan, and mangling the brother of their chief, for a mere bagatelle."

With respect to the affair at Hoorn-Creek, there can be little doubt that Osset, the Dutch agent of De Vries, had wantonly, or for some trifling offence, killed an Indian chief; and that he and his companions lost their lives in consequence.

the heroes of old Rome; to massacre a parcel of Indians in their sleep,—to take the children from the breasts of their mothers,—to butcher them in the presence of their parents, and throw their mangled bodies into the fire or water. Other sucklings had been fastened [by their mothers] to little boards, [according to the Indian manner of nursing very young infants] and in this position they were cut to pieces! Some were thrown into the river, and when the parents rushed in to save them, the soldiers prevented their landing, and let the parents and children drown together! Children of five or six years old were murdered, and some aged, decrepid men cut to pieces. Those who had escaped these horrors and found shelter in bushes and reeds, making in the morning their appearance to beg some food or to warm themselves, were killed in cold blood, or thrown into the fire or water. Some came running to us in the country, having their hands cut off. Some had their arms and legs cut off. Some who had their legs cut off were supporting their entrails with their arms. Others were mangled in other horrid ways, in part too shocking to be conceived."—pp. 268, 269.

It is highly honourable to the character of De Vries, as a humane man, as well as a man of sound judgment, that he took no measures of retaliation, against the Indians at Hoorn-kill. On the contrary, he used every means in his power to soothe their feelings, and restore harmony and mutual confidence. With some difficulty he induced them to meet him in council, where he made them presents, and concluded with them a treaty of peace and friendship. With enlightened views of the Indian character, and of the true interests of the emigrant, he adopted a conciliating and peaceful policy, which has never failed, in like cases, of the happiest effect.

After remaining a few weeks in the neighborhood of the Hoorn-kill, De Vries determined to visit the spot where Cornelius May had settled ten years before. He accordingly, on January 1, 1633, embarked on board his yacht and proceeded up the Delaware. He was four days on the way, having arrived at the fort Nassau on the 5th of the month. Here he found a few Indians who wished to barter some furs for European goods, but De Vries wanted Indian corn, of which they had but little to sell him. An Indian woman belonging to the Santhicans,* warned them not to go up the Timmerkill, [Timber Creek] lest they should be attacked, as she said they had murdered the crew of an English boat, which he afterwards discovered had been sent there by the Governor of Virginia.

After various adventures, and failing in his main object, which was to obtain provisions for his ship, he sailed for Virginia, and thence to the North river, where he afterwards planted several colonies. He arrived at Manhattan on the 16th of April, 1633. He there found a ship belonging to the West India Company, with Wouter Van Twiller, the new governor, on board, just about to enter on the duties of his appointment. His administration afterwards, for its folly and inefficiency, was well worthy of such an historian as Knickerbocker.

* Located about the falls of Delaware.

CHAPTER II.

FROM the time of Hudson's discoveries in 1609, until 1637, a period of twenty-eight years, no successful effort to plant a colony on the Delaware had been made. The first attempt under May had failed by the voluntary removal of the emigrants to the North river and its vicinity. *There* was the residence of their friends and countrymen, *there* they could hear more frequently from the "fatherland," and *there* was, even then, the great emporium of trade. The second attempt, under De Vries, in 1631, failed by the indiscretion of his agent, and the murder of his colonists. From the failure of De Vries, until the arrival of the Swedes, in 1638, no effort was made to plant a colony, or form a settlement on the shores of the Delaware.

William Usselinx, a distinguished merchant in Stockholm, was the first to propose to the Swedish government a scheme for planting a colony in America. He was a native of Antwerp, and had resided in Spain, Portugal, and the Azores, at a time when the spirit of foreign adventure pervaded every class of society. He belonged to a nation distinguished for maritime enterprise, and was among the most active and persevering of her citizens, in promoting, by means of trading companies, and colonial establishments, the mercantile interests of his country. Whilst Queen Elizabeth was yet on the throne, as early as the year 1590, in the days of Raleigh, Hackluyt, Drake, and other distinguished and enterprising adventurers, he had proposed to his countrymen the formation of a West India Company, but the dangers and uncertainty of such an undertaking were at that time deemed too great, and he did not succeed.

In the year 1624 he proposed to the Swedish monarch, Gustavus Adolphus, a plan for the organization of a trading company, to extend its operations to Asia, Africa, America and

Terra Magellanica. To an ambitious monarch, yet in the vigour of youth, and already longing to share the dazzling advantages of trade with newly discovered countries, he represented the profits of such an enterprise in language well adapted to carry his point. He persuaded the king that such an establishment would be a means of planting among the heathen the Christian religion. That by it, his majesty's dominions would be greatly extended,—his treasury enriched,—his people's burdens at home diminished,—and the nation not only relieved, but made prosperous by the establishment of a lucrative trade. He represented the Swedes as skilful merchants and mariners, having good ships, active, hardy seamen, merchandise for trade, and facilities for carrying it on with advantage equal to any of the nations of Europe, and finally, that the prosecution of his scheme "would greatly tend to the honour of God, to man's eternal welfare, to his majesty's service, and the good of the kingdom."

Usselinx knew how to address himself with effect to the feelings and interests of every class of society, and he did not plead in vain. The king heard him with pleasure, and granted him a commission to form a trading company, with ample powers for the attainment of its object. He accordingly drew up a plan and contract to be laid before the government and the nation.

Whether Usselinx had ever been in America is uncertain, but he had, soon after the organization of the Dutch "West India Company" some connexion with it, and by this and other means, was able to give ample information in relation to the country bordering on the Delaware, its soil, climate, and productions. In glowing language he described its beauty, its fertility, its advantages, as a place of trade, and as a residence; "a fine land, in which all the necessaries and comforts of life are to be enjoyed in overflowing abundance." His plan and contract were translated into the Swedish language by Schrader, the royal interpreter, and published to the nation, with an address strongly appealing both to their piety, and their love of gain. The king recommended it to the States, and an edict dated at Stockholm, July 2d, 1626,* was issued by royal authority, in which people

* June 14, 1626 3*

N. Y. Col. Soc., vol. 12, pp. 7-15.

of all ranks were invited to encourage the project, and support the company. Books were opened for subscription to the stock, without restriction to the subjects of Sweden, and Gustavus pledged the royal treasure for its support to the amount of four hundred thousand dollars. In the following year, [1627] at a general meeting of the States of the kingdom, the edict was ratified; and, encouraged by the example of the king, a disposition was universally manifested by the people, effectually to carry out the views of the company.

The historian of the life of Gustavus* says, "it is not to be described how much all these new schemes delighted the senators, particularly that relative to the establishment in the West Indies, [as this country was then called] to which all people subscribed generously and readily, in conformity to the example set them by the king." Campanius tells us the plan was supported by his royal majesty's mother, by his Highness John Cassimir, Prince Palatine of the Rhine, who had married the king's sister, by the members of his majesty's council, by the principal Nobles, General Officers, Bishops, Clergy, Burgomasters, Councillors of the cities, and the greatest part of the commonalty;—and that a time was appointed for bringing in the amount subscribed in Sweden proper, in Finland, Livonia, and elsewhere. *Rudman*, in his memoirs, says, "ships and all necessaries were provided; an admiral, vice admiral, officers and troops, commissaries, merchants and assistants were appointed. The work was ripe for execution, when the German war, and afterwards the king's death, prevented it, and rendered the fair prospect fruitless."

So far as we have yet discovered, none of the Swedish analysts give any more probable reasons for the failure of a scheme, which had excited so much interest throughout the kingdom, and in every department of society. They give us to understand that the king's engagements in the prosecution of the German war, so absorbed his attention and the feelings of the people, that the concern was suffered quietly to die, and the

*Harte, London 1807. Vol. 1 p. 143.

king as quietly to apply their *private* funds to the payment of his soldiers.

Harte, in his life of Gustavus, says, "But his majesty, greatly interrupted by affairs nearer home, had not power to give laws to two worlds at once, and the *Spaniards contrived dexterously enough to make themselves masters of the little Swedish squadron that sailed for America.*" Campanius, who generally is not very good authority, says, "the designs of Gustavus could not be carried into full effect, because he was engaged in a war with six powerful enemies, and because *the ships that were fitted out for that purpose were stopped and detained by the Spaniards on their voyage [to America,] which was done in order to favour the Poles and the Emperor of Germany, then engaged in war against us.*"

If confidence could be placed in these statements, then the Swedish squadron, that, in pursuance of the plan of Usselinx, had been fitted out by the king's authority, *did set sail for America, and was captured by the Spaniards.* But these statements are not supported by other testimony of any kind, and are probably unfounded.

But whatever may be the facts of the case, this attempt to colonize our country wholly failed. Well authenticated accounts of Dutch and Swedish writers give satisfactory evidence that the Swedes did not come to America until more than five years after the death of Gustavus Adolphus, who was killed at the battle of Lutzen, toward the close of the year 1632. Campanius says, "it was in the reign of Gustavus that America was first visited and settled by the Swedes." This error, published in 1702, has been repeated by subsequent writers; by Smith, in his history of New Jersey; Proud, in his history of Pennsylvania; Holmes, in his annals; Rees, in his Cyclopaedia; Duponceau, in his translation of Campanius's "description of New Sweden," and by many others. The official records in the archives at Stockholm had proved that preparations were made in the reign of Gustavus for a settlement in America, but they did not record the failure. This circumstance may probably account for the error of Campanius, and, consequently, for the mistakes of his successors.

CHAPTER III.

THE next attempt on the part of the Swedes to plant a colony in America was more successful. But there has been much difference among historians in relation to the period when that settlement was made;—so soon do the most interesting events become involved in obscurity and doubt. It is remarkable that so many circumstances, connected with the history of that colony, should have come down to us, and yet, that not one date, nor a single fact should be known, that can fix with certainty even the year of its arrival! It is owing to the preservation, among the Dutch records at Albany, of an official protest issued by Kieft, the Governor at New Amsterdam, that we do certainly know the Swedes were here in the spring of 1638.

Peter Minuit, who conducted to our shore the first Swedish colony, had been Commercial Agent, and Director General of the Dutch West India Company, and Governor of the New Netherlands. Although the materials relating to his *official* character and term of service at New Amsterdam, are not such as to satisfy the exact historian, or to gratify a reasonable curiosity respecting so conspicuous an agent in planting the first *permanent* colony on the banks of the Delaware, yet, sufficient is known of him to show, that he was the first governor, under the company's charter, granted in 1621; that he probably filled that station as early as 1623, or 1624, and that he was succeeded by Wouter Van Twiller in 1633. About this time, as is evident from the testimony of De Vries, and other writers, there was great want of unity and harmony between the company and its officers, as well as among the directors individually.* The scheme for colonizing their territory, had induced men of wealth to emigrate to the New Netherlands, and large tracts of land

*Bancroft, Vol. 2, page 282.

were granted them, under the charter to encourage colonization. The emigrants had become feudal lords of the soil, and having seated themselves on the best locations for trade, their interests became opposed to the interests of the grantors.* The monopoly of the company was adverse to the desire of the Patroons, to carry on a trade for their own private interests, and dissensions between them and the company's agents, were the natural result. The position of Minit, as the guardian of the company's interests, was one in which it was impossible to please both parties. His integrity, as an officer, was calculated to raise up against him a host of powerful enemies. Means were insidiously used to undermine his credit with the company.

* De Vries, page 264.

NOTE.—*Rudman*, on the authority of Israel Holms, an old Swede, says of Minit, "Quarrelling with the people, he left them and returned to Holland. He was there impeached, tried, and dismissed from office." *Clay's Annals*, page 16.

Acrelius says: "A certain Hollander, Peter Menewe or Menuet, had been in the Dutch service in America, got into disputes with the principals of the company, was recalled and displaced." *N. Y. Hist. Society Col.* page 408.

It is stated in the same collections, page 450, that in a patent "supposed to have been executed in 1630, Peter Minit is named as 'director.'" But there is another and stronger proof that Minit was the Director General or Governor at New Amsterdam, even at a later period than 1630. Keift, in his protest, dated May 6th, 1638, directed to Minit, then erecting a fort at Christina, for the protection of the Swedes, says, "the whole South river of the New Netherlands, both upper and lower, has been our property for many years, occupied with forts and sealed by our blood, which also was done *when thou wast in the service of the New Netherlands*, and is therefore well known to thee, &c.:" or, as it ought to have been translated, "during your honour's Direction or Administration at the New Netherlands." See page 451. Now the only blood that ever had been shed *as a seal* to the claim by possession, was shed at the plantation of De Vries, on the Hoom-kill, in 1632. Of course Minit was then Governor at New Amsterdam. And this is in accordance with every authentic fact bearing on the case. That he served the company as director fourteen years before the Swedes arrived, is suggested by Hudde. If so, his administration commenced in 1624. *Hudde's Report*, page 429.

Their information, derived through *interested* channels, was deceptive; his enemies prevailed, and Minuit was dismissed from his office as Governor of the New Netherlands. Van Twiller, who had been clerk in the company's service at Amsterdam, was much better suited to promote the designs and objects of the patroons. The pliancy of his disposition, or the dulness of his perceptions, while it made him acceptable to the latter, was adverse to the interests of his employers. He arrived at Manhattan in the month of April, 1633, where he was met by De Vries, on his return from the Hoorn-kill, after the destruction of his colony.

At this time Christina, the infant daughter of Gustavus Adolphus, had ascended the throne of Sweden. Her father, a few days before the battle in which he lost his life, had, with much earnestness, recommended to the people his scheme for the planting of a colony in America. Under the direction of Oxenstiern, the celebrated chancellor of Sweden, whose wisdom and virtue have shed a glory on the age in which he lived, the patent which had been granted in the reign of Gustavus, to the company, formed under the influence of Usselinx, was renewed, and its privileges extended to the citizens of Germany. *Minuit* being now out of employment, and probably deeming himself injured by the conduct of the Dutch company, had determined to offer his services to the crown of Sweden. Long a resident in the New Netherlands, and having filled, for so many years, the responsible station of Director General, and Governor of the country, he had obtained ample knowledge of its circumstances, in relation to trade, and other matters connected with the prosperity of a new colony. His experience in the affairs of government, his knowledge of all the locations most favourable to the interests of agriculture and commerce, his skill and enterprise, strongly recommended him to the officers of the queen. The crisis was highly auspicious to the views of Minuit. Oxenstiern had determined to carry out the design of his late master, and was prepared to lend a favorable ear to the representations of the ex-governor. Minuit laid before the chancellor a plan

of procedure, urged a settlement on the Delaware, and offered to conduct the enterprise. Oxenstiern represented the case to the queen, who expressed her satisfaction with the project, gave her orders for its execution, and Minuit was commissioned to command and direct the expedition.

But, notwithstanding this favourable result, it was perhaps two or three years before all the necessary arrangements were made to transport the little colony to the new world. At length two vessels were completely equipped for the service: the one an armed ship, named after a city in Sweden, the "Key of Calmar;" the other a transport ship of smaller size, called the "Bird Grip," or Griffin. They were stored with provisions for the colony, with arms and ammunition for defence, with merchandise for trade, and with presents for the Indians. The vessels sailed from Gottenburg, on the west coast of Sweden, probably in the autumn of 1637, and arrived at Christina early in the spring of 1638.

The time of the departure and arrival of these vessels is not certainly known. It is only from facts and circumstances furnished by the private or public records of that period, relating to other concerns, that we can arrive at a satisfactory conclusion on the subject. At that time the usual route from Europe to America was southerly, and mostly by the way of the West India Islands; where it was customary to tarry some time for refreshment, and probably to take in some provisions, such as sugar, rum, and molasses, for the use of the new settlers. Experience had not yet taught navigators the most expeditious route across the Atlantic; and it was not uncommon for a good ship to spend five or six months on the passage from Sweden to North America.

When Rudman and Biorek, the Swedish missionaries, were sent to this country under the authority and by order of Charles XI., of Sweden, in 1697, their ship was nine weeks and six days on her passage from Stockholm to London, and ten weeks on her way from thence to the coast of Virginia: that is, one

hundred and thirty-nine days, in which time the Atlantic can now be crossed eight or nine times!

Clay, in his "Annals of the Swedes on the Delaware," tells us that when *Sandel*, the Swedish missionary, was appointed to come over and take charge of the church at Wicaco, "he left Sweden on the 21st of August, 1701, and after some detention in England, and the *usual tedious passage of those days* across the Atlantic, arrived in the Delaware on the 12th of March following:"—that is, in 29 weeks; in which time a good ship can sail from New York to Calcutta, and back again, with a cargo.

In the very interesting account of his voyage from Sweden to the Delaware, by the elder Campanius, we are informed that he sailed from Stockholm August 16th, 1642, and arrived at Christina February 15, 1643. To explain the nature of such passages as we have alluded to, we will present the reader with a brief review of Campanius's narrative, as given by himself.

1642. Aug. 16. Sailed from Stockholm.

17. Arrived at Dahlehamn.

Sept. 3d. Left the same.

6th. Arrived at Copenhagen.

8th. Landed at Helsingor.

12th. Came to Gottenburg.

Nov. 1st. Left Gottenburg Castle.

14th. In the Spanish sea, (supposed off the coast of Spain.)

21st. Sailing along the coast of Portugal.

26th. Off the Barbary Coast.

28th. South of the Canary Islands.

Dec. 20th. Arrived at Antigua.

Jan. 3d. Sailed by St. Christopher's and other small Islands.

24th. Soundings off the Coast of America.

25th. Saw land near the Capes of Delaware.

26th. Off Lewistown.

Feb. 15th. Arrived at Christina. Passage just fivemonths or 150 days.

Assuming that the ships under the command of Minuit arrived in the spring of 1638, it is easy to harmonize with this position, all the known facts having relation to the case. Clay says, "the building of a fort was no doubt their first undertaking after their arrival." This opinion is rendered very probable from a consideration of their actual position at that time. The Indians were very numerous in that vicinity, and, under the influence of the Dutch traders, might be opposed to this invasion of the Swedes. The massacre of the colonists under De Vries, only about six years before, must have been fresh in their recollection. They knew the West India Company would consider them as intruders. The officers of the expedition were military men, holding the questionable, but generally received opinion, that "to maintain peace it is necessary to be prepared for war."* They were provided with troops, arms and ammunition, brought with the express intention of establishing a military post; and finally, the people, ignorant of the strength of that defence, which kindness, benevolence, and strict justice build round a nation, would naturally feel insecure without one. Under all these circumstances there can be little doubt that "the building of a fort was their first undertaking after their landing."

That the time of their arrival was in the spring of the year, is rendered probable from a circumstance mentioned by Campanius, who tells us that "when the Swedes came to this country

* The colonies when first planted in Virginia, New York, and New England, were "*prepared for war*," and the pages of their history are mournfully stained with blood. No language can adequately describe the suffering, both of the colonists and the natives, that followed this anti-christian course. Wm. Penn and his colony came to Pennsylvania unarmed and defenceless, wholly *unprepared for war*; and he and his people lived in harmony and peace with the natives, as long as the government remained in their hands, which was about seventy years. It can hardly be supposed that to carry a dirk and a pair of pistols, is the best way to keep the peace of individuals.

for the first time, they found it so pleasant and agreeable that they could think of no name more proper to be given to the place on which they first landed, than that of Paradise Point, which is near Cape Henlopen."

If the little squadron left Sweden in the autumn of 1637, as we suppose it did, and sailed a southerly course by the way of the West India Islands, as was usual at that time, it would probably arrive at the Capes of Delaware about the time of the vernal equinox, or in the early part of the Fourth month, according to the present style. At that period our spring unfolds her early flowers, and the opening buds of our forest and fruit trees exhale their grateful odours; which, after a long passage, in a crowded ship, would excite the most agreeable sensations, and incline them to give the point a name expressive of their feelings. To them it was a *Paradise*.

By Acrelius we are informed that at the time the colony arrived, the Dutch, anxious to secure all the lands between Delaware and New Amsterdam to their own use, "kept, therefore, some persons residing on the east side of the river to keep a look out on all that might visit it, and these *immediately* apprized the Governor General at New Amsterdam, of the arrival of Minuit." Kieft, who had just before arrived at New Amsterdam, under his new commission as governor, kept his eye on Minuit, and watched his motions to discover the object of his expedition. Being informed of the hostile movement of the Swede, in erecting a fort, he immediately issued a protest, dated May the 6th, 1638, against the encroachment, and declaring his determination to protect the rights of the Dutch to the territory invaded.

If the Swedes arrived at the period we have supposed, there was time, more than sufficient, for Keift to receive information, and issue his protest against the proceedings of Minuit, before the 6th day of May, 1638. If, therefore, the building of a fort was the *first undertaking* of the colonists, and if their passage across the Atlantic occupied the usual time of such a voyage in those days, then we must conclude that they left Sweden in the

autumn of 1637, and arrived in the Delaware in the spring of the following year.*

* Clay informs us that REORUS TORKILLUS accompanied Peter Minuit, who brought over the first Swedish colony; and Nicholas Collin in his notes on Rudman's Memoirs, preserved in the books of the Swedish Church at Wicaco, says, "several clergymen came from Sweden during the colonial time; the first was REORUS TORKILLUS, who died in September, 1643, and in the *fourth* year after his arrival." This would fix the period of the arrival of the Swedes as late as 1639. But this remark of Collin, for which he gives no authority, cannot be considered of equal value with an official document.

Nicholas Collin, in his Notes on Rudman's Memoirs, says: "The time of this first arrival is not certainly known, but must have been in 1636, or 1637; because the fort on Christina Creek was begun in 1638, as appears by the protest against it by Wilhelm Kieft, the Dutch commander at New York."

CHAPTER IV.

WE have the authority of Acrelius for stating that the little squadron, consisting of two ships, the "Key of Calmar," and the "Griffin," having on board the first Swedish colony that settled on the Delaware, sailed from Gottenburg on the west coast of Sweden, and reasons have been given for the opinion that it arrived at Christina in the spring of 1638.

Having passed the capes, and sailing up the fair bosom of our beautiful bay, they came to a point of land jutting into the broad expanse of its waters, on which they landed for observation and refreshment. By Lindstrom's map of the Delaware and adjacent country, preserved and published by Campanius, it appears that this promontory was the same which is now called "Missillion Point." It was probably in that season of the year, when the bursting foilage of our trees and shrubs, and the opening wild flowers of our meadows and woodlands, load the air with perfume; and when the feathered community, having commenced their annual employments, fill it with their music. After a long and tedious imprisonment in the narrow confines of a ship, with all the cares and anxieties incident to a new and hazardous enterprise, it must have been unspeakably delightful to land on this beautiful promontory, and enjoy for a moment the freshness and fragrance of the opening year. That it was so, we have the evidence in the fact that they named it "Paradise Point."

We are not informed how long they remained on the point, nor why they did not settle there. It was not far from the spot where the colony of De Vries had been cut off by the Indians, and was within the limits of the purchase made for Godyn, Bloemart, De Vries, and others; either of which circumstances might have induced them to remove higher up the country.

Embarking again, the little squadron sailed up the Delaware, and passing the point where New Castle now stands, at the distance of four miles above it, they found the land on the left, to trend away towards the west and north-west, forming a cove about three miles long, and varying in width from one furlong to one or two miles.

At high water this cove and the landscape beyond and round it, must have presented a scene indescribably beautiful. The distant hills,—the promontories jutting out in various directions into the cove, all crowned with lofty forests,—and all the meadows and marsh lands covered with one broad sheet of water, presented a view, as they sailed up the river on a bright spring morning, unrivalled in loveliness, as well as in variety and extent, by any other on the Delaware.

As they lay at anchor off the mouth of the Minquas river, afterwards named by them Christina, in honour of their young Queen, before them on the left was the point, subsequently known by the name of “Cranehook,” on which twenty-nine years afterwards the Swedes erected a house for divine worship. Nearer to them lay the fast lands now owned by John Platt, Peter Alrichs, and J. P. Garreschè. Beyond these was Long Hook—the property of the late Major Peter Jaquet, and a little towards the east was the Old Ferry Point, then one of the capes of Christeen; all on the south side of the Minquas, and all presenting fine woodland scenery. On the opposite side was the point of rocks, the northernmost Cape of Christeen, and the beautiful rising ground beyond it, on which they afterwards built their little town of Christinaham, the first town ever erected on the banks of the Delaware. Still further to the east, and over the “*Stoor fullet*,” (great falls,) was Vandever’s Point, where the Brandywine, on its way to join the waters of Christeen, makes a bold semicircular sweep round to the left. Beyond was Tredie Hook, a point of high land on the Vandever farm, stretching out towards the south-east, and further to the north and east, on the banks of the Shelpot, were the lands late of Jonathan Beeson and Thomas Robinson, stretching out their arms into the cove or broad basin

of waters, in the midst of which rose one small isle, since known by the name of Cherry Island.

This basin of waters then covered what is now called Cherry Island Marsh, and also the fine meadows of the peninsula, between the Brandywine and Christeen, below the old church. On the south side of the Christeen they covered all the meadow lands east of the Old Ferry Point, and those on Platt's and Alrich's farms, as well as those lower down the Delaware toward the town of New Castle. They also covered all the meadows opposite the city of Wilmington, called "Holland's Creek Marshes," and all those on the westerly side of the Christeen, now known as the marshes of Mill Creek, Middleborough and Deer Creek.

Beyond this bay with its wooded islands and promontories, were seen the primeval forests of the country crowning the high hills to the east, north, and west, of the land on which the city of Wilmington now stands. On the north-east were the hills known by mariners as the Highlands of Christeen, and which serve as a land-mark to navigators. On the north were the Brandywine hills, from the summits of which, on lands of the late Gov. John Dickinson, and of the Elliotts and McKees, the Delaware bay may be seen whitened with sails to the distance of thirty miles. On the north-west were seen the high grounds late of Cesar Rodney, Dr. James Tilton and John Way. Westward of these was the high point on which stands the Asylum for the poor of New Castle County, and southward of this the splendid elevations now belonging to Colonel Davis, James Bird, Capt. John Gallagher, and John Latimer, all commanding, in the foreground, fine views of the meandering Christeen, and in the distance extensive prospects of the broad Delaware, now bearing on its bosom the riches of all climates to the city of Penn.

It is through the aforesaid meadows which were then extensive flats, bare at low water, the Minquas winds its course to the Delaware. Passing up it, a serpentine course about two miles, they came to the point long well known by the name of

“The Rocks,” which here form a natural wharf of stone ; at that time being one of the Capes of Christeen, and so called in the ancient records of the country.

A more favourable spot for the disembarkation of the colonists can hardly be imagined. One might suppose it designed by nature for this especial purpose. High and dry, safe and commodious as a place of deposit, no delay and little labour was necessary to land their stores, and place them under such temporary shelter as might protect them from the weather.

We are not in possession of any direct information relative to the minor operations of the emigrants at this time ; but in the work of Campanius, who was here only five years afterwards, we are told that a small town called Christina Harbour, or Christinaham, was erected behind the fort. It is probable that this village was now commenced, and some of the houses occupied by the first colonists. Lindstrom, who came out in 1652, has left us a plan of this town, and of this fort, which is presented in the work of Campanius, published in 1834, by the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. The fort, which was probably their first undertaking, was built close to the point of rocks, its southern rampart being within a few feet of the creek. On the easterly side of the fort, and immediately under its walls, was a small cove or basin called “the Harbour,” in which their vessels might lay, out of the current of the Christeen, and without danger from floating ice on the breaking up of winter. This basin is now filled up, and the cattle are browsing where their ships were once moored, but its original outline and form, are yet distinctly visible, coinciding precisely with the representation of it made by Lindstrom, nearly two hundred years ago.

All the meadows in the vicinity were then twice in twenty-four hours, covered to the depth of four or five feet, consequently the body of water to be discharged at each ebbing of the tide into the channels of the Christeen, Brandywine and Shelpot, was immense ; and it required that these channels should be broad and deep, to vent the mighty mass of waters. That they were so more than forty years afterwards, appears from the letter

of William Penn to the Committee of the Free Society of Traders, in London, dated in Pennsylvania, 6th mo. (August) 16th, 1683, O. S. He says: "The country hath the advantage of many creeks, or rather rivers, that run into the main river or bay, some navigable for great ships, some for small craft. Those of most eminence are Christina, Brandywine, *Skilpot* and *Sculkill*, any one of which have room to lay up the royal navy of England, there being from four to eight fathom of water."* Since that time, by embankments inclosing vast quantities of fine meadow, decreasing the influx and consequently reflux of the waters of the Delaware, these rivers are greatly diminished.

On the aforesaid point of rocks, forming a good natural wharf, the Key of Calmar, and her companion the Griffin, landed their joyful inmates. This beautiful spot, one of the most attractive in the vicinity, connected as it is with events of the deepest interest, deserves more than a mere passing notice. From the north-east, among our loftiest hills, issues a vein of hard blue rocks. This ledge passing across the country in a southerly direction sometimes dipping beneath the surface, sometimes just showing itself above it, at length arrives at the shore of the Brandywine, on land of Edward Bellach, a short distance below the mills. There it presents a high bold front, and then sinks beneath the channel of that river. After passing under it, and a narrow strip of meadow land on its south side, it immediately rises in large naked masses, and proceeding onward, mostly below the soil, at length terminates abruptly on the very margin of the Christeen. At this point it presents a bare perpendicular front, elevated above the highest tides. It served our little family of emigrants with a good wharf, as it has done for every succeeding generation, down to the present day.

The land covering this ledge from the point of rocks towards the north, rises with a gentle continual swell, widening as it recedes from the Christeen, and standing high above the meadows on either side. It extends in that direction about six hun-

* Proud's Hist. Penn. vol. 1, p. 261.

dred yards, and then gently declines toward the Brandywine. When the Swedes first landed here, and all the extensive meadows round lay under water, it formed a beautiful promontory, jutting far out into the cove of waters, presenting on all sides extensive scenery, bounded only by the Jersey shore, and the natural forests of the country.

Commissary Hudde, the Dutch commander at Fort Nassau, in a report to the Director General at New Amsterdam, has given a description of the local situation of the fort, and of its state as a place of defence, as seen on the 1st of November, 1645. This document is extremely valuable, both for its antiquity, and the amount of information it contains. It gives more facts in relation to Fort Christina at this period, than can be derived from all other sources.

“Further up the river,” says he, “on the west shore, on a creek, called the *Minquas Creek*, so named as it runs pretty near the Minquas land, is another fort named *Christina*. This fort lies about half a mile [two and a quarter English miles] in the creek, and is nearly encircled by a marsh, except on the north-west side, where it can be approached by land. At its south-west side it touches the Kill; but though it is actually in pretty good order, yet it might be made stronger. This fort has no permanent garrison, but otherwise it is well provided, and is the principal place of trade, in which the commissary holds his residence. And here is *a magazine of all sorts of goods*.”

The forts of the colonists at that time accommodated the people in a variety of ways. They were not only places of defence, round which the emigrants erected their dwellings, and into which they might retreat in case of any hostile attack; a fort contained the great colonial storehouse or magazine, and was the sole mart or place for the exchange and sale of merchandize. That *Fort Christina* served all these purposes we have adduced ample evidence. But Collin, in his notes on Rudman, shows that it served another important purpose. He says: “The first colonists lived near together about Christeen Creek, and *had their public worship in the fort there*.” This was the

first place, dedicated to divine worship in the Christian name, on the banks of the Delaware, and the only one until Governor Printz erected a church at Tinicum in 1646.

Thus we can look back through the long vista of two hundred years, and behold that little area, about one hundred yards square, near the point of rocks; and see the native Minquas, some in their canoes paddling down the Christeen, others on land marching in single file, with their packs of beaver, and otter, and deer skins, and their tobacco, and maize, and venison, down to the fort, to exchange them for the cloths and the blankets, the tools and the trinkets of European production. *There* we can see the wondering Indian, regardful of all around him, but, according to Indian custom, suppressing every motion of surprise or wonder; and *there* the trafficking Swede, spreading out his goods, and his toys, his blankets, and his beads, to tempt him to barter. *There* we can view the matronly squaw, with her pappoose at her back, fixed in a basket woven for the purpose, and ornamented with porcupine quills and other finery; and *there* the tawny maiden, just ripening into womanhood, gazing with intense interest on the beads and the mirrors, and the shawls and the ribbons; hardly able to suppress the workings of desire to see her person glittering in the splendid treasure.

But the facts we have brought forward, from authentic history, enable us to take another view, not less important and scarcely less interesting. The Swedes were a religious people. Gustavus Adolphus was considered the champion of Protestantism, and in all their plans of colonization, they proposed to themselves the extension of Christianity, and provided themselves with the means of religious instruction. In the squadron commanded by Minuit, was a clergyman named Torkillus, who officiated at Christina till his death in 1643, so that, the church being within the fort, on that spot the emigrants gathered themselves together for divine worship, and there united in vocal prayer and thanksgiving to the universal Father of mankind.

Minuit having landed his colonists, and being under the protection of a ship of war, with arms, ammunition, and soldiers for

the purpose, immediately began to construct a fort. The wary Swede, from his experience while commander at Manhattan, was aware of the jealousy with which the West India Company would regard any attempt to settle on their territory, and deemed it prudent, as soon as possible, to put himself into an attitude of defence. Kieft, who had instituted a watch, to look out for intruders, was early apprized of this movement of the Swedes. No sooner was he informed of the warlike preparations on the shores of the Christeen, than he issued the following protest :

* “ *Thursday 6th of May, 1638.*

“I, William Kieft, Director General of the New Netherlands, residing in the Island of Manhattan, in the Fort Amsterdam, under the Government which appertains to the High and Mighty States General of the United Netherlands, and to the West India Company, privileged by the Senate Chamber in Amsterdam, make known to thee, Peter Minuit, who stylest thyself Commander in the service of her Majesty the Queen of Sweden, that the whole South River of the New Netherlands, both the upper and the lower, has been our property for many years, occupied by forts,† and sealed by our blood ; which also was done during

* This translation of Kieft’s protest differs from the one translated by the authority of the State of New York, and now among the records at Albany : not so much as to the sense of it, as to its language, and particularly the date. It closes with these words, to wit :

“Done in the year 1638. Monday the 17 May.”

By which it appears that there is a difference in the dates, of *eleven* days. The copy transcribed into this work is taken from the “History of New Sweden,” by Acrelius, published in the “N. Y. Historical Society Collections,” with only one change made in conformity with the suggestion of the editor of those Collections, page 451, “during thy directorship,” instead of “when thou wast in the service.” This change makes it conformable to the Albany translation which says, “during your direction.”

† “Occupied by forts.” Alluding to Fort Nassau near Philadelphia, erected 1623, and indicated by the term “upper,” and to the fort built by De Vries, in 1631, at the Hoorn-kill, called “lower South River.”—The only “*blood*” that was shed as a “*seal*” of occupancy was that of the colony of De Vries in 1632.

thy Directorship of the New Netherlands, and is therefore well known to thee. But thou art come between our forts, to erect a fort to our damage and injury, which we never will permit, as we believe her Swedish Majesty has not empowered thee to erect fortifications on our coasts and rivers, or to settle people on the lands adjoining, or to trade in peltry, or to undertake any other thing to our prejudice. Now therefore we protest against all such encroachments, and all the evil consequences from the same, as bloodshed, sedition, and whatever injury our trading company may suffer; and declare that we shall protect our rights in a manner that shall appear most advisable.”*

Minuit wisely abstained from taking any notice of the protest. He must have perceived in this document, the evidences of weakness and hesitation on the part of Kieft, illy concealed under a boastful, threatening manner. To forbid the erection of a fort on the *Dutch* territory, because he did not believe her *Swedish* Majesty had granted such a power, was tantamount to saying, that *if she had granted it*, the present ground of complaint would not exist! He would have acted with more dignity, as well as sound policy, by adhering to his first position, claiming *a right by prior occupancy*, and insisting on its validity.

Notwithstanding his threatening protest, Kieft quietly submitted to this intrusion of the Swedes, upon a territory to which they had no claim, under any acknowledged principle of national law. The country on the Delaware, had in fact, been first discovered by the Dutch, and at least two settlements had actually been made upon it, one on each of its shores. The purchases afterwards made of the natives, by Minuit and his successors, on the part of the Swedes, however necessary to complete a title to lands, in fact wholly the property of the Indians, could in no degree affect the right of the Dutch, which was a right of *pre-emption*, founded on *discovery* and a partial *occupation* of

* This document is valuable on many accounts, it fixes the date of the building of Fort Christina, and consequently the time of the arrival of the Swedes in this country; and from its tone throws great light on the relative standing of the parties at the time of its issue.

the country. Nor was this all; they had, by purchase, extinguished the Indian title to large tracts of land both on the eastern and western sides of the river.

The quiet submission of the Dutch to this invasion of their territory, was probably induced by a variety of weighty considerations. Sweden at that time ranked amongst the most formidable military powers of Europe. Ferdinand II., Emperor of Germany, during the early part of the reign of Gustavus Adolphus, by a long and successful war, had obtained such vast power, as to alarm every neighbouring potentate who had not yet been subjected to his dominion. Not content with a despotic control over the civil concerns of his subjects, he determined to invade the region of mind, and destroy their religious franchises. He was an overbearing bigot, and, in the pride of victory and insolence of power, resolved to extirpate the Protestant religion from every part of his extensive empire. Gustavus Adolphus, supported by other European powers, determined to invade Germany. In the year 1630, he crossed the Baltic with an army, and by an unparalleled career of victory, astonished all Europe, and raised the military character of his country to the highest point of elevation. In a very short time he made himself master of nearly three hundred strong towns and fortresses, within the German empire; and gained possession of a tract of country, extending from the borders of Hungary and Silesia to the banks of the Rhine, and from the Lake of Constance to the Baltic sea. The success of the Swedish arms having humbled the pride of Ferdinand, and prevented the execution of his designs against the Protestants, they regarded Gustavus as the champion of their cause, and venerated him as the successful defender of their faith. This elevation of Sweden as a warlike, powerful nation, no doubt awed the Dutch authority, as well in the "father-land" as in the colonies, while its exertions for the perservation of the reformed religion may have excited their respect and sympathy, inclining them to forbearance.

However this may be, there were other circumstances which undoubtedly contributed to produce this effect. In the first place,

the West India Company had taken no pains to bound their claims definitively. The country they called the "New Netherlands" was said to extend from Cape Henlopen, in lat. $38^{\circ} 53' N.$ to Cape Cod in lat. $42^{\circ} N.$, and westward without any definite line of demarcation. These pretensions, including the States of Delaware, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, New York, Connecticut, Rhode Island and part of Massachusetts, were too large to be maintained either in theory or practice. The claim was weakened by its extravagance, and by the successful encroachments of the English on the Connecticut river. In the next place, the claimants were only *a chartered trading company*, whose members were merchants, and whose object was the greatest gain with the least outlay. Their Director, Kieft, found it was far easier, and much more economical to issue a *paper* protest, than to equip a squadron, or send an army. The main objection of the Dutch, to the colonization of the Swedes on the Delaware, was not any loss of territory, but the loss of trade; not the want of the land they occupied, but of the beaver skins and peltry they got of the Indians.

By the charter granted to the "West India Company," it had not the power to declare war, or to commence hostilities, against either a foreign state or the native Indians, without the consent of the States General of the United Netherlands; and in case a war should be waged against the company, or its settlements, the States were only bound to furnish one-half the means of equipping and manning a squadron for the occasion; after it went into service, *the expenses of maintaining the armament were to be paid wholly by the company*. This wise regulation of the money-loving legislators of Holland, had, perhaps, more to do in the preservation of peace, than any supposed phlegm or obtuseness of feeling in the Dutch character. History demonstrates that when the *interests of their nation* were at stake, they wanted neither the courage nor the capacity to defend themselves or to annoy their enemies.

The peaceful course pursued by both the Dutch and Swedes towards the Indians on the Delaware, was also much promoted

by the jarring interests of the parties, arising out of their peculiar relation to each other, during the whole time they held the ground of distinct and independent colonies. The Swedes, conscious that under no principle regulating nations, could they sustain any claim to lands on the Delaware, were anxious to establish the doctrine that *a title from the Indians was paramount to, and extinguished all other claims!* It was, therefore, important that they should keep on good terms with the natives. The Dutch, who were anxious to strengthen their own title at every point, took measures to deprive the Swedes of any advantage from this fallacious doctrine, by purchasing, as fast as their means would allow, the aboriginal right to the country. The consequence was a disposition on both sides to keep up a good understanding with the natives; and it is remarkable, that during the Swedish dynasty, not a drop of Indian blood was shed on the Delaware, by either party.

CHAPTER V.

ABOUT this time, [1638] the Dutch began to look more diligently to their interests on the Delaware. Van Twiller had just been displaced, and was succeeded by Kieft, who arrived in a ship called the *Hareng*, March 28th, 1638.* In the spring of the following year [March 22d, 1639,] the new Director General instituted a scrutiny into the conduct of the retiring officer, in relation to the public expenditures.† Van Twiller was accused of mismanagement and neglect of the company's concerns. In his own justification he summoned Gillies Peterson Van Der Gouw, to appear as a witness, who being duly qualified, did affirm, that sundry buildings had been constructed by him for the company, at New Amsterdam, and elsewhere on the public property; and that *at Fort Nassau on the Delaware he had built one large house, and had repaired the fortifications.* From which it appears that, during Van Twiller's administration, which lasted but five years, and expired just before the Swedes arrived, the fort had been an object of care. The report of A. Hudde, who was a commissary in the service of the West India Company, and a commander at Fort Nassau, is positive, that in 1638, when the Swedes first came, the fort had "a sufficient garrison," "men and ammunitions of war."‡

By the public records at Stockholm it appears, that in the year 1640, several companies of emigrants left Sweden for this country. One ship called the *Fredenburg*, commanded by Captain Jacob Powelson, laden with men, cattle, and implements of husbandry, was licensed by the Swedish authorities to proceed to New Sweden, as the country on the west side of the Delaware

* Colonial Document. N. Y. Hist. Soc. Collections, p. 279.

† Colonial Records at Albany.

‡ See Hudde's Report. N. Y. Hist. Soc. Collections, p. 429.

was named by the Swedes. Powelson's passport was dated January 24th, 1640.

By a letter of the same date from the same authorities, addressed to the Commandant Minuit, and other inhabitants of Fort Christina, we learn that permission had been granted to Gothbert de Rehden, Wm. De Horst, and others, to send out and establish a colony on the north side of the Delaware. In a charter of the same date, granted to this company, we learn something in relation to the principles adopted for the regulation and government of colonies under the Swedish crown. To them was granted a tract of land, without defining the quantity, about eighteen English miles from Fort Christina; they paying to the crown three florins of the empire for every family settling within the grant. The company had power, within its own limits, to administer justice, found cities, villages, and communities, with police regulations; to appoint magistrates and other officers of government, and to take the title and arms of a province or colony. The sovereignty of the crown, and right of appeals to it and to the governors established by it, were reserved; and all laws and ordinances were subject to the revision and approbation of said governors. Different religions were tolerated, on conditions honourable to the authority that imposed them, to wit, "that those who professed either, should live in peace, abstaining from every useless dispute, from all scandal, and all abuse." The colonists were at liberty to engage in every species of manufacture, and in domestic and foreign commerce; all to be carried on in vessels built in the colonies, the foreign trade restricted to Swedish ports. No imposts to be laid within ten years; after that period a duty of five per cent. on all imports and exports, to be paid in New Sweden, for the support of government there. These with some other minor regulations, constituted the plan for the government of companies, settling under charters from the crown of Sweden.

The authorities of Sweden appointed one Jost de Bogart, or as Acrelius names him, Jost von dem Boyandh, as the chief or municipal director of all the *Hollanders* who had settled in New

Sweden, under the authority of government. He bound himself to be faithful to her majesty, and not only to aid by his counsel and actions the people at Fort Christina, but to use exertions to procure, as occasions should present, whatever might be advantageous to her majesty, and to suffer no opportunity to escape him of communicating to the government any information he might receive, calculated to promote the prosperity of the colony and the crown. He was to have a salary of two hundred rix dollars per annum.*

From the preceding statements we learn that emigrants from *Holland*, at this early period of the *Swedish settlement* on the Delaware, had so much confidence in its stability as to accept a license from the government at *Stockholm*, to settle on lands *claimed by the West India Company*. From which we may infer that the Dutch authorities in *Holland* had yet taken no active measures to interfere with the pretensions of the Swedes, or to interrupt their proceedings, though considered as intruders.

These Dutch settlers are no doubt the same that are alluded to in the instructions given to Governor Printz, in 1642, as preserved in Rudman's Memoirs, translated by Collin; where it is said, "those Dutch families which had settled on the west side [of Delaware] under allegiance to the crown of Sweden, were to retain their granted privileges, but to move further down from the vicinity of Christina Fort, by mild persuasion, but not by compulsion, if willing [or desiring] to remain."

It is not very easy with certainty to point out the settlement of these Hollanders; nothing in the records relating to that period give any clue to the discovery of their location. When the three clergymen, Andrew Rudman, Erick Bioreck, and Jonas Auren, came to America as missionaries, in 1697, and landed at a place on the Elk River called Transtown, [perhaps the same now called Frenchtown,] they found there was a Swedish settlement within "an English mile" of their landing.† From

* See Gordon's New Jersey, pp. 11, 12, 13.

† Clay's Annals, p. 63.

the church records at Christina, we learn that when Biorck, in 1698, was raising the means to build the church near the old fort, a certain Hans Stellman advanced him on bond £100, which he finally released for the benefit of the congregation. The instrument styles him, "Hans Stellman, of the county of Cecil, in the province of Maryland, merchant." And by the same records we learn, that, in those early times, the services of their clergyman, in relation to baptisms, burials, &c., were required in the vicinity of Apoquinnimink* and St. Georges. These circumstances lead us to look in that direction for the location of the Dutch colonies, the more so because the distance nearly corresponds with that designated in the grant, and because, in the instructions to Printz, it is clearly shown that the settlements were *below the fort*, inasmuch as he was ordered to persuade them to "*move further down from the vicinity of Christina Fort.*"

It was also in the year 1640, [some say 1641,] that a number of English families settled on Salem Creek, at a place called by the Indians Asamohaking. We have no certain knowledge how at this early period the English came to settle at this place. Some have supposed they were squatters from New Haven, some adventurers from Maryland, and others, the pioneers of Sir Edmund Ployden. Be that as it may, this attempt was regarded with great uneasiness by both the Dutch and Swedes. It is said that they united their means to expel the English, but when or how we are not informed.†

In Printz's instructions dated 1642, he is directed by gentle means to effect their removal. If they did not incline to remove, he was to take them under the protection of the Swedish government.

* Some confirmation of this conjecture, may perhaps, be derived from the fact that on Lindstrom's Map of 1654, the Apoquinnimink Creek is laid down with more precision than usual with him, under the name of Anouonema.

† Acrelius, p. 413, says: "The Director Kieft expelled them after a proper remonstrance, being in part aided by the Swedes."

In the following year [1641] the colony was deprived by death of their governor and faithful friend, PETER MINUIT; their pioneer to the new world, and vigilant guardian, after their settlement. Acrelius says, "he did great service to the first Swedish colony;—during three years he protected this small fort, [Christina,] which [in his time] the Dutch never attempted." He appears to have been well qualified for the station he filled; being an active, enterprising, judicious commander. His colony was the first on the Delaware that survived its founder. It was planted without bloodshed, and maintained in peace to the end of his days.

The disagreement between him and the West India Company, in 1632 or 1633, during his administration at New Amsterdam, so far as a conclusion can be drawn from all the facts transmitted to us, is not chargeable to Minuit. A lively picture of the distracted and discordant state of the directors, about the time of Minuit's discharge, is given by De Vries. When the latter arrived at Manhattan, July 24th, 1633, he found them at variance with each other. "As I was at variance with my associates *and they being all directors* of the West India Company, and continually quarrelling with one another, I have resigned. The directors have done nothing but fight with their own shadows."* The truth is, that the patroons or large land-holders had interests distinct from, and opposed to the interests of the company; and at the same time were *in the directorship* of the concern. Under these circumstances the *integrity of the governor* would make *them* his enemies; a more flexible officer must have been more acceptable; and such a one they probably had in Van Twiller, who succeeded Minuit.

The little that can be gathered of his character, lies scattered in small fragments, amongst the different authors of that day; enough, however, has been discovered to justify the character before given of him. Van der Donck, in his description of the New Netherlands, quotes a letter of Minuit's, which shews his

* De Vries, N. Y. Hist. Soc. Collections, p. 258.

concern for the agricultural interests of the company. He tells us, "Mr. Minuit writes, that he has sown canary seed, and that it grew and yielded well, but he adds, that the country is new, and in a state of beginning; and that the time of the cultivators should not be spent on such experiments, but to the raising of the necessaries of life; of which, God be praised, there is plenty and to spare, for a reasonable price. And we begin to supply provisions and drink, in common with our Virginia neighbours, to the West Indies and to the Carribbee Islands, which we expect will increase from year to year, and in time become a fine trade in connection with our Netherlands and Brazil commerce." And again, "Commander Minuit testifies that cummin seed, canary seed, and the like, have been tried and succeed well, but are not sought after."*

History informs us that Minuit died and was buried at Christina, in 1641, and that Torkillus, the first Swedish clergyman who came to this country, died at the same place, on the 7th September 1643.† We know of no grave yard in our country, which was laid out at that time, but we do know that sixty years before the erection of the old church, a considerable number of families were settled in this immediate vicinity. The little town of Christinaham stood within two or three hundred yards of the present old cemetery. Round this spot, and within a few miles of it, the great body of emigrants clustered from the first planting of the colony. Religiously educated, and always manifesting much respect for the particular customs of their church, we cannot suppose they were indifferent as to the *place or manner* of burying their dead. At the time of their landing, and for many years afterwards, all the surrounding country

* Van der Donck, N. Y. Hist. Soc. Collections, pp. 156, 160.

NOTE.—Moulton says, "Minuit built two or three wind mills at Manhattan, by which corn was ground and boards sawed."—Moulton's N. Y. part 2, p. 428.

† Torkillus married in the colony, and left a wife and one child. Perhaps his descendants remain among us under some Anglicized name, of a more euphonious character.

was in a wild, uncultivated state, inhabited by the natives. The little settlement at "the Rocks" was the principal residence and sole rendezvous of all the emigrants. *There* they resorted for intelligence from the "fatherland." *There* they went for many of the necessities, and for all the luxuries of life. *There* they went to mingle together in the solemn duty of public worship; and to this cherished and venerated spot, we cannot reasonably doubt, they went *to bury their dead*; at least until the erection of the Crane-hook Church in 1667. Under these circumstances there can be little doubt that the present grave yard was a place of sepulture long before the present church was erected.*

Where do the remains of Minuit, the first Governor, and of Torkillus, the first missionary lie? There is no stone to tell! More than half a century after their decease, when Biorck, and his church councillors selected the present site, for the erection of a place of worship, some of their cotemporaries were on the stage of action. The place of their interment was then known.† Some, perhaps, of those who had followed their remains "to the house appointed for all living," could point to the spot where their relics had been consigned to the earth, and that spot, already devoted to the dead, would have strong claims to a preference, over all others, as a suitable location for a cemetery. Under these considerations, we are inclined to believe, that the mortal remains of the two most distinguished men who had ever died in the colony, lie some where within the present walls of the old grave-yard.

On the death of Minuit, Peter Hollendare succeeded to the

* This conjecture is made almost certain, by the phraseology of the articles of agreement between the church wardens and Joseph Yard, for building the old church. The language implies that the ground was a church-yard *before the church was built*. It says, "which is to be built in and upon the church-yard at Christeen;"—which we suppose was so called because it was the grave-yard of the church which formerly stood close by it.

† At the time the church was built, there were thirty-nine families on the Delaware, the male heads of which were born in Sweden. See Campanius, p. 164, &c.

command and administration at Christina. He was a native Swede, and a soldier by profession ; but of his character as a governor, nothing is known. After holding his office for one year and a half, he returned to Sweden, and was made Commander of the Naval Arsenal at Stockholm.* His course is not marked by any act, either of benefit or injury to the colony ; but a governor who does no harm, deserves the favourable regard of posterity.

Some Englishmen residing in New Haven, as early as the year 1640, had sent an exploring party into the Delaware with a view of establishing a colony. Like the Swedes before them, they chose to assume the ground, that an *Indian title* was altogether sufficient ; and without any inquiry about prior claims, or prior rights, they purchased large tracts of land on both sides of the bay and river. In the spring of 1642 they went up the Schuylkill, took possession of the country and “began to plant, and set up houses for trade.” At this juncture Fort Nassau was commanded by Jan Jansen, under the Dutch Governor Kieft, who having duly received information of this daring invasion of the company’s territory, despatched two armed vessels from New Amsterdam, with an order to Jansen, dated May 22d, 1642, to the following effect: “So soon as the sloops REAL and ST. MARTIN arrive he shall go aboard. If necessary, he may collect more forces, and enter the Schuylkill, and approach the place of which the English have lately taken possession, demanding by what authority they presume to deprive us of our land and trade. If they have any royal commission, either the original, or a genuine copy of it, he shall, in complaisant manner, desire them to withdraw, for preventing of bloodshed. If they refuse he shall make them prisoners, and carry them aboard the sloops : and for the rest take care to preserve dominion, and to defend the honour of the High and Mighty States, and of the Honourable West India Company. When the English are removed he shall entirely demolish that place. He shall provide

* Acrelius 410. Rudman’s Memoirs Wicaco Church. Clay, p. 17.

that the English lose nothing of their property, and therefore make a complete inventory in their presence.”*

Of this procedure on the part of the Dutch the squatters afterwards heavily complained, reporting to the commissioners of the colonies at Boston, that in 1642, the Dutch Governor Kieft, “without cause or warning given, without showing any title to the place, or hearing what the English could say for themselves,” —“sent armed vessels and men, in hostile manner, when they were altogether unprepared for defence, as expecting nothing but peace, seized their goods, carried away the men prisoners, and with such violent haste burnt down their trading houses ; that two hours respite for entreaty or consideration could not be obtained ; nor so much time as to inventory the goods taken out of their charge.”† The commissioners remonstrated, some altercation ensued, but the spirited action of Kieft, probably convinced the intruders, that to pursue their projects might cost more than would be repaid by the adventure ; and they abandoned the scheme.

* Acrelius. N. Y. Hist. Soc. Coll., p. 413.

† Hazard's Collections, vol. 2d, p. 213.

CHAPTER VI.

WE have now arrived at a period of our history when the Swedish colony began to excite more interest both in Europe and America. On the return of Hollendare, if not before, JOHN PRINTZ, a native of Sweden, and lieutenant-colonel in the service of the queen, was appointed to govern and direct the colony. The authorities at Stockholm had determined to enlarge the sphere of their operations, and they sent out Printz in the capacity of a colonist, as well as of a governor. He came with a squadron of two ships of war, the *Svan* and *Charitas*, and an armed transport called the *Fame*, having on board arms, ammunition, troops, and a large number of emigrants. John Campanius, a distinguished clergyman, and grandfather of the historian, came out at this time as a missionary. They left Stockholm on the 16th of August, 1642, and passing by the West India Islands, arrived in our bay, and anchored off the Hoorn-kill, on the 3d of January, 1643. Here they encountered a tremendous storm, accompanied with snow. The *Fame* lost three large anchors, her mainmast, and some of her sails, but after running aground and incurring great danger of a total loss, she was got off, and they all finally arrived in safety at Christina on the 15th of Feb., 1643.*

Printz, in search of a location for his colony, found at a short distance above the spot where Chester now stands, a beautiful piece of land, with a high bold shore, lying between the Delaware and a navigable creek, running up into the Indian country, and opening a fine avenue for trade with the natives. The place was called by the Indians *Tenacong*, since modified into *TINICUM*. This name it now bears, and is the beautiful site of the Pennsylv-

* Campanius, p. 71.

vania Lazaretto, where vessels bound to Philadelphia, and subject to quarantine, pass the time of their probation.

This land was at that time surrounded by water, having the Delaware on the east, *Tenacong's Kilen*, now Darby creek, on the south and west, and on the north a sound or branch, passing across a morass, and connecting Darby creek with the Delaware. near Fort Mifflin. The greater part of the land within these limits and to the westward, was high or fast land; extremely rich and fertile, and well supplied with wood and timber. Here the governor built for himself a "very handsome" and commodious dwelling, which he called Printz-Hall.* Here also he built "a pleasure house," planted orchards, laid out gardens, and otherwise beautified and improved the place, intending it as the seat of government, and great emporium of commerce in New Sweden. "On this island," says Campanius, speaking of the colonists under Printz, "the principal inhabitants had their dwellings and plantations." Here he built a fort and named it "New Gottenburg;" and here was erected a church, which, in 1646, was consecrated by Campanius, the grandfather of the historian; and a grave yard laid out, in which we are informed the first corpse was interred on the 28th of September in that year. It was the body of Catharine, the daughter of Andrew Hanson.

It is evident from various circumstances, connected with this *second* attempt of the Swedes, to plant a colony on our shores that the authorities of Sweden, had now determined to use effectual means to secure a permanent establishment in America; and to maintain by force of arms, a claim to the whole western shore of the Delaware. No armament had ever entered the Delaware that could compare with the one under the command of Printz, either for its numbers or its military strength. His instructions were intended to give vigour to his government, and the warlike force under his command, gave him power fully to carry them out.

* This hall stood more than 160 years, and was at last burnt down by accident, since the commencement of the present century.

From "Rudman's Memoirs" we have obtained a very interesting account of the duties devolved on Printz, by the Swedish Government. As it throws some light on an interesting period of our colonial history, and is a very rare document, we believe it will not be deemed a trespass on his patience to give it to the reader *in extenso*. It is in the hand writing of the venerable Nicholas Collin.

"John Printz, Lieutenant Colonel in the army, was, in his commission, styled GOVERNOR OF NEW SWEDEN. His Instructions dated Stockholm, 1642, 15th of August, contain twenty-eight Articles, which in a judicious manner detail all the objects of his Official charge. They are reducible under three heads, respecting *the Swedes*—the vicine *Europeans*—the *Indians*; of which the following is a compendious view. 1st. To promote, by the most zealous endeavours, a sincere piety towards almighty God, in all respects. To maintain the public worship according to the doctrines and rites of the national Church. To support a proper Ecclesiastical Discipline. To urge instruction and virtuous education of youth and children. To administer justice according to Swedish Laws in decision of controversies, and penalties on offenders; even capital, on atrocious malefactors; but not without a scrupulous examination, and the approbation of his counsellors, whom he was to choose amongst the wisest and best men in the colony. To preserve, so far as practicable, the manners and customs of Sweden, accommodating them, in some cases, to existing circumstances. To promote diligently all profitable branches of industry; immediate culture of grain and other vegetables; afterwards procuring good race of cattle, sheep, and other animals, in addition to those sent from Sweden; raising large quantities of tobacco, by appointing many labourers, and skilful managers, for exports to Sweden; forming ample traffic for peltry with the Indians by agents under his inspection, in the name and on behalf of the Company; gradual increase of sheep for a surplus of wool to the mother country; search for metals and minerals in different parts; exploring valuable kinds of wood for sending such home in ballast; trials of

mulberry trees for breeding silk worms ; of the native grape for wine, and of the walnuts for oil; attempt of making salt on the sea-shore ; enquiring about fisheries of whales and other kinds, where and how they may be pursued with advantage. These matters were thus particularly ordered ; and a general direction is given to promote the welfare of the colony, as a wise, active, and faithful governor.

“2d. Relating to the *Dutch* and *English*. With the first mentioned he was to cultivate a friendly intercourse, but positively to deny their *pretended* right to any part of the land on the west side of the river, purchased by the Swedes from the Indians, and to prohibit Swedish vessels passing their fort *Nassau* ; and he was authorized if all friendly negociation proved fruitless to *repel force by force*. Those Dutch families which had settled on the west side under allegiance to the crown of Sweden, were to retain the granted privileges, but to remove farther down from the vicinity of *Christina Fort*, by mild persuasion, but not by compulsion, if willing to remain. The governor was to continue the friendly commercial dealing with the English in Virginia already begun, by their supplying the colony with grain, cattle, and other useful articles. Some English families, about sixty persons, having settled in the preceding year (1641) on *Ferken's* creek, (now Salem,) and the agents of the company having, as her majesty's subjects, but [bought] from the Indian owners the whole district from *Cape May* to *Raccoon Creek*, with a view to unite these English with the Swedes, the governor was faithfully to perform that contract, and as the English expect soon by further arrivals to make a number of several hundred, seeming also willing, as a free people, to be subjects of a government that can protect them, he may receive them under allegiance to the Swedish crown, but rather by gentle means endeavour to effect their departure, as more expedient for the interest of her majesty, and of the company.

“3dly. Respecting the *Indians*. The governor was directed to confirm, directly after his arrival, the Treaty with the Indians, by which they had stipulated the western shore of Delaware

from Cape *Henlopen* to the falls of Sanhickans, and so much inland as gradually should be wanted ; also to ratify the bargain for land on the east side above mentioned, and in these and future purchases to regard them as rightful owners of the country. He was to treat these and all the vicine tribes in the most equitable and humane manner, so that no injury by violence or otherwise, should be done to them by any of his people. He should impress on their minds the belief that he had come, not to cause any harm, but to bring all kinds of necessary and useful things, and to receive in return the products of their country. He had also in charge to promote on all opportunities their adoption of Christianity, and the manners of civil society.”

In these instructions to Printz, we discover the policy at that time adopted by the Swedish Government, for the preservation, extension, and regulation of her American colonies, and we think we also discover in them the causes of that jarring and contention, which soon afterwards grew up in the settlements on the Delaware, and which in the short space of twelve years destroyed forever the Swedish authority in America. There is in this document such a manifest determination wholly to disregard those laws which time and experience seem to have established for the government of nations ; such a violation of respect for acknowledged rights, that nothing, on the part of the Dutch, but a spirit of entire submission, or total inability to support their just claims, could have induced them to acquiesce in such unreasonable assumptions. It is, therefore, not surprising that, in a very short time after Printz came into the administration of government, the parties became involved in angry altercation.

It has been laid down as law, *for the government of nations*, by the highest judicial authorities,—1st. That discovery of *uninhabited* countries gives title to the government, by whose subjects, or under whose authority, the discovery is made. If the country be inhabited by *uncivilized nations*, discovery gives a *pre-emption right*. But to give validity to claims by discovery, there must be a possession or partial occupation of the territory. 2d. It

results from these principles, that the discoverer, if in reasonable time he should avail himself of his power, has the *sole* right, either by purchase or conquest, to establish settlements in the newly discovered country. And 3dly. That the natives are to be recognized as the rightful owners of the soil, but not as having the power to sell it to whom they please, because of the original fundamental principle, that *discovery gives to the discoverer an exclusive title to buy of the natives.**

In applying these principles to the case before us, there is no difficulty in determining *where lay the rightful claim* to the land on the Delaware. The Dutch were unquestionably the *discoverers* of the country. If, on this point, there ever was a ground of controversy, it was between them and the English: between them and the Swedes there certainly never was any. The Dutch had the title *by discovery*, and had consummated that title *by actual possession*. In the language of their governor to Minuit, “the whole South River of the New Netherlands, both the upper and the lower, had been their property for many years, occupied by forts and sealed by their blood.” Nor was that all, they had, at least in two instances, bought of the Indians large tracts of land, lying on both sides of the river;† long before the Swedes came to America; thus also *extinguishing the Indian title!* One of these tracts, near Cape Henlopen, thirty miles long and two miles wide, had been actually settled by De Vries in 1631; as before related, the other on Cape May, eighteen *English* miles in length along the bay, and the same distance inland, was purchased for Godyn, Bloemart, and Company, in 1630.‡

In accordance with the law of nations, as before stated, the Dutch had *the sole right* to acquire the soil of the natives; and the Indians might not dispose of it to the Swedes. The Swedish authorities were probably aware of these truths. There is

* See Grotius,—Puffendorf,—Ruthford,—Vattel,—Locke, &c., &c., in loco. See also Moulton, Vol. I. part I. pp. 301, 302.

† Bancroft, Vol. II. p. 280.

‡ Acrelius, N. Y. Hist. Soc. Col. 417.

in the instructions an evident anxiety to get up and support the doctrine that *an Indian grant not only gave a good title, but actually extinguished all other claims*. Printz was expressly ordered in all future purchases of land, *to regard the Indians as the rightful owners of the country*, positively to deny to the Dutch a right to any part of the land on the west side of the river, and also any right to prohibit Swedish vessels from passing Fort Nassau, which lay at least thirty miles above the only Swedish settlement then on the Delaware, and he was authorized, if the Dutch would not submit, “to repel force by force.” It is therefore not marvellous that the attempt to enforce such principles, should involve them in disputes, which at length terminated in open war. Had the Swedes at this time, adopted a more temperate, just and conciliating policy, it is very probable the event might have been different.

Printz was an energetic officer; bold, arbitrary and persevering.* He was accustomed to command and impatient of controul. In less than eight months after his arrival he had built two forts; one at Tinicum, which he named New Gottenburg; and one at the Varckenkill, afterwards called by the English Salem creek. It was erected on the south side of the creek at its junction with the Delaware. This fort was called Elfsborg, by the Swedes—subsequently known by the names of Elsingborg and Elsingborough. So prompt was Printz in carrying out the designs of his superiors, that before the end of 1643 both these forts were built, armed, and garrisoned. When De Vries sailed up the Delaware, in the month called October, of the last mentioned year, his boat was fired at from this fort, and he was ordered to strike his flag. It was mounted at that time by *eight* twelve pound cannon.† Two years afterwards, Andreas Hudde, the Dutch Commander at Fort Nassau, in his report of the proceedings of Printz on the Delaware, tells us, that at the entrance of the river, taken from its mouth three [Dutch] miles

* Rudman says, “he had become unpopular by the exercise of a too rigid authority.” See Clay’s *Annals of the Swedes*, p. 25.

† De Vries, p. 273.

and upwards, on the east shore, is a fort named *Elsenburgh*, usually garrisoned by twelve men commanded by a lieutenant, having four guns iron and [four] brass, of twelve pounds, and one *pots-hoof*; which fort was not constructed [long] before, but built by the aforesaid John Printz, *a short while after he arrived on the aforesaid river*. By means of this fort the aforesaid Printz closed the entrance of the river, so that all vessels, either those arrived from hence [New Amsterdam] or other places, are compelled to cast their anchor, not excepting those of the noble Company, as is evident from several yachts coming from the Mannhattans, which, wishing to pursue their voyage towards the place of their destination, without stopping often, were injured by cannon balls, and were in imminent danger of losing some of their crew; so that they must proceed with small craft, upwards of six miles, towards the aforesaid Printz, to obtain *his consent*, that they may sail higher up the river, no matter whether they are Englishmen or Netherlanders, without paying any regard to their commissions.”*

With respect to the period of the erection of this fort, *Campanius*, the *Swedish historian*, agrees with both the *Dutch Chroniclers*, before recited. He tells us that “this fort,” which he calls *Elfsborg*, “is situated at the distance of four leagues south of Fort Christina, and nearer to Cape Henlopen. It was erected by Governor *John Printz*, when he first came into the country. It was mounted with cannon, and when the Swedes came in from Sweden, with their ships, those guns were fired to welcome them.”† *Rudman*, as translated by *Collin*, says “*John Printz* came as Governor of *New Sweden*, in 1642, with two ships of war, called *Svan* and *Charitas*.”—“The *Dutch* began to impede the trade of the *Swedes* with the Indians;‡ *Printz there-*

* *Hudde's Report*, Albany Records. N. Y. Hist. Soc. Col. p. 428.

† *Campanius's Description of the province of New Sweden*. Philada., 1834. p. 80.

‡ It was on the Schuylkill the only collisions between the Dutch and the Swedes occurred, in relation to the trade with the Indians, and therefore this circumstance could not have been the real motive for building a fort at the mouth of Salem Creek.

fore ordered the building of a fort at Elsinborough, and obliged *all their vessels to pay toll there*. They [the Dutch] then left Fort Nassau, and moved to Sandhukén on the west side and erected there Fort Cassimir. He protested against it, as encroaching on Swedish ground, but had not sufficient power to control them.*

These facts clearly prove that Fort Elsingburg was erected by Printz in the early part of his administration. Several historians have fallen into error on this subject, probably from relying on the authority of Acrelius, who erroneously refers its erection to a period *subsequent* to the building of Fort Cassimer at Sandhukén, the present site of New Castle.† There is ample evidence to show that Fort Cassimer was not erected till the year 1651, eight years after the building of Fort Elsingburg.

By the energy and industry of Printz the Swedes had now three forts on the Delaware, all below the Dutch Fort Nassau; to wit, one at Tinicum, one at Christina, and one at Elsingburg, the mouth of Salem creek. The Swedish force on the Delaware was greatly superior to that of the Dutch, and Printz by his movements soon let them know that he intended to exclude them from all trade on the west side of the river, and from any occupancy of the soil. In the prosecution of these measures he was instructed by his commission, if necessary, "*to repel force by force*." In all his actions we perceive a disposition and de-

*Rudman, in the Swedish Records at Wicaco.

†Acrelius says: "As Governor Printz had precluded the free access to Fort Nassau by the fort on Tinicum below it, the Dutch endeavoured to repair this misfortune in the following manner: they bought from the Indians all the land between Manigvas or Mingvas Creek, and Bomties or Bambo-Hoock (Canarosse) and got a deed for it 19th July, 1651. Immediately afterwards they erected Fort Cassimer on Sand-hoock. Governor Printz made positive remonstrances against it, but in vain. To prevent the bad effects of it, said governor erected another fort, which he named Elfsborg, on the place called by the Indians Wootsessung, one *Swedish* mile below Sand-hoock, and two below Christina, on the west side. Here the Swedish salute was fired on the arrival of Swedish vessels, but the main intent was to visit the Dutch vessels which passed and *oblige them to lower their colours*, which *greatly affronted* them."—Acrel. 412.

termination effectually to carry out the views of his government. He fortified both shores of the river, and when De Vries was fired at, in the autumn of 1643, from Fort Elfsborg, as is before mentioned, Printz commanded in person. At this very early period he had blockaded the entrance to the river, so that no Dutch ship could pass without striking her colours, coming to an anchor, and paying a toll. Thus were the Dutch forced to pay for the privilege of visiting their own establishments, settled and fortified fifteen years before the first Swedish colony came to America. Their flag was dishonoured, their vessels assaulted, and their trade impeded. It is no cause of wonder that such hostile proceedings "greatly affronted them,"* and finally involved the Swedes in more serious troubles.

To secure the trade with the Indians on the Schuylkill, Printz built a fort on an island in that river, within gunshot of its mouth.† At that time all the great meadows extending from the high point of land at Bartram's Botanic Garden, in a southerly course to the Delaware, were under water. When the tide was at its highest point, vessels drawing four or five feet water, could sail from Fort Gottenburg on Tinicum Island, across those meadows to the mouth of Schuylkill, which at that period opened just below the said garden, the south point of which was one of its capes.‡ Just above the elevated land, on which stands Bartram's old mansion house, and through which by a deep cut, walled on both sides, the Philadelphia, Wilmington and Baltimore Rail Road passes, there is, on the present margin of the Schuylkill, a cluster of rocks, considerably elevated above the water, and partly covered with earth and forest trees. Between these rocks and what was once the shore, close by the rail-road, there is a piece of meadow land more than two hundred yards wide, which in Governor Printz's time, was under water, and

*Acrelius, p. 412.

†Hudde's Report, p. 429.

‡See Lindstrom's Map, 1654, 1655. Schuylkill is a Dutch name, and means *hidden-creek*, or *Sculk-creek*, from the retired and hidden situation of its mouth.

constituted part of the river Schuylkill. That cluster of rocks and the earth then connected with them, formed the island on which Printz built the fort as aforesaid.

This fort gave to the Swedes the command of the only practicable avenue of trade with the Minquas of Kingsessing, Blockley, and the adjacent country on the Schuylkill, then thickly inhabited by the natives. It enabled them to block up that river so that no vessel could pass beyond it. Lower down on the main land, probably near the farm late of Samuel Gibson, Printz built a "strong house" to secure more effectually the trade below. This spot had long been used as a place of traffic with the Indians, and to which they were accustomed to resort for the exchange of their furs and peltry. By these means the Swedes had so completely monopolized the business on the Schuylkill, and the adjacent country on the westerly side of the Delaware, that the commander at Fort Nassau complained of them, as having usurped "the command over the whole creek,"—which, said he, is "the only remaining avenue for trade with the Minquas, without which trade the river [Delaware] is of little value."*

It appears that Commissary Hudde, as agent of the West India Company, and the guardian of its interests on the Delaware, had been directed to watch the motions of Printz, and, as much as possible, to protect their rights. In pursuance of his commission, as appears by his report to the authorities at Manhattan, he made a thorough investigation into the state of the Swedish affairs, at their different posts, on both sides of the river. A fragment of that report has been preserved among the colonial records at Albany, and furnishes some particulars relating to this early period of our history, which are extremely interesting. After mentioning the "strong house" which had been erected by Printz, in a "place named Kinsessing by the savages," and which must have been a little to the south-west of Bar-

* Hudde's Report, p. 429. "Remaining avenue." Before this time the Swedes had secured the trade with the Indians from Christina to Chester on the western shore. They also had the command of Darby creek, navigable into the heart of an Indian settlement.

tram's Garden, he says, "about half a mile further in the woods Governor Printz constructed a mill on a kill, which runs into the sea, [river] not far to the south of Matinnekonk,* and on this kill [he erected] a strong *building*, just by, in the path which leads to the Minquas; and this place is called by the savages Kakarikonk. So that no access to the Minquas is left open, and he too controls nearly all the trade of the savages on the river [Schuylkill,] as the greatest part of them go a hunting in that neighborhood, which they are not able to do without passing by his residence."†

Of the aforesaid mill, the first ever erected in Pennsylvania, Campanius says: "It was a fine mill which ground both fine and coarse flour, and was going early and late, and was the first that was seen in that country. There was no fort near it, only a strong dwelling house, built of hickory, and inhabited by freemen." The creek on which the mill was built, he tells us, was the "Karakung, otherwise called the Water-mill stream,"—"a fine stream, very convenient for water mills. The governor caused one to be erected there."‡

It would be highly gratifying to know precisely the spot where water-power was first used in this section of our country; where the first mill stood; and where the cheerful clatter of its machinery first broke the deep silence of a Pennsylvania forest! Happily, in this case, our means of information, if they do not point with absolute certainty to that spot, direct us infallibly to its very near vicinity. There is but one stream in Kingessing which answers to the description given of the "Karakung" of Campanius, and "Kakarikonk" of Hudde; that stream is now

* The *Dutch* writers often call the place now named Tinicum, "Matinekonk." It is so called in Hudde's Report, pp. 429, 439, and on Van der Donk's Map of the New Netherlands, 1656. The Swedes called it Tenackong or Tenakong. It is supposed to be the Indian word for island, because it was applied by them to several islands on the Delaware and other rivers.

† Hudde's Report, p. 429.

‡ Campanius, p. 81.

called "*Cobb's Creek*." It is a tributary of "Tenakong's Kilen," now known as Darby Creek, and pours its waters into the river "not far to the south of Matinnekonk," or Tinicum. That this creek is Governor Printz's "water-mill stream" there can be no doubt. Hudde says the mill stood "about half a mile further in the woods." Half a Dutch mile is two miles and one-fifth of a mile English ; which is about the distance from Printz's "strong house," to the place where the Philadelphia road crosses Cobb's Creek at the Blue Bell tavern : and here we may safely conclude, once stood Governor Printz's mill "which ground fine and coarse flour, and was going early and late." This conclusion is much strengthened by a tradition, still prevalent in that neighbourhood, that on the rocks in the creek, just above the bridge near that tavern, once stood the first mill built in Pennsylvania ; and it was common, fifty years ago, to direct the attention of travellers crossing the bridge, to the holes in the rock, which are yet to be seen, in which the timbers of the old mill were inserted.*

In the early part of the summer of 1646, a Dutch vessel with a valuable cargo, from New Amsterdam, was consigned to Commissary Hudde, then commanding at Fort Nassau. He ordered it into the Schuylkill to wait for the Minquas, the object being to open a trade with them. On the arrival of the sloop at the old trading place of the Dutch, the captain was commanded, in the name of Printz, to leave the place immediately ; under the assumption that it belonged to the crown of Sweden. Hudde promptly repaired to the station, taking with him four men to inquire into the cause of such hostile proceedings. When he

* This mill probably stood for many years afterwards, the only mill in Pennsylvania. It must have been in operation until after the territory was assigned to Wm. Penn. There is an account preserved by some of the families descended from Isaac Marriott, of Bristol, Pennsylvania, that when Friends' yearly meeting was held at Burlington, N. J., about the year 1684, the family wanting some fine flour, Isaac Marriott took wheat on horse-back to be ground at this mill, which was 26 miles from his residence.

arrived, the Swedes commanded him also to depart from the place; upon which he requested them to inform their governor that this place had always been a trading station, and it was hoped he would act with discretion, and avoid giving cause of offence to the Dutch authorities. On the following day Printz sent a clergyman, probably Campanius,* with directions that if the sloop was yet in the Schuylkill, he should compel it to leave the place. Hudde wishing for positive evidence that such directions were *official*, demanded to see the order, under the hand and seal of the governor, by which he presumed to forbid the West India Company "to trade with their goods in any part of the river." He warned Printz to act with caution in this business, and protested against any losses and delays which might result from his acts. Printz immediately despatched his commissary, Henry Huygen, with two of his officers, to the scene of strife, when a long and tedious controversy ensued, which involved both parties in angry contention, and finally ended in violence.

It was during this contention between the two commanders, Printz at Fort Gottenburg, and Hudde at Fort Nassau, that the land on which the city of Philadelphia now stands, was first occupied by civilized men. At the time when these officers were struggling for the possession of the territory on the west side of the Delaware, Hudde received despatches from the Dutch authorities, commanding him imperatively to purchase of the natives a tract of land situate on the western shore of the river, "*about a mile distant from Fort Nassau to the north.*" The letter was received on the 7th September, 1646. On the 8th, Hudde went to the place with the arms of the West India Company, in order to take formal possession of the territory; but, the Indian proprietor not being at home, he was obliged to delay the purchase. On the 25th of the month, Hudde returned to the place and concluded a bargain for the land. The Indian

*It does not appear that any other Swedish clergyman was then in America; Lock did not arrive until 1647, and Holg came in 1650.

grantee went with him, and assisted in planting a pole, within the limits of the ceded territory; upon which was affixed the arms and insignia of the company. Shortly after thus taking possession, a number of Hollanders made preparations to build upon and occupy their newly acquired lands. But on the 8th of October, Commissary Huygen, under the authority of Governor Printz, appeared on the ground, and taking down the arms, carried them away.

The Dutch commissary was greatly moved at this outrage. A correspondence between him and Printz followed, in which they criminated each other as usurpers and aggressors; the former threatening his adversary with the displeasure of their "High Mightinesses the States General, and that of his Highness the Prince of Orange, and also of the noble Director;" the latter holding up, *in terrorem*, a conflict with "her Royal Majesty of Sweden, his most gracious Queen."

That the land on which the Dutch Commissary erected the arms of the company is the same on which the city of Philadelphia now stands, cannot admit of a doubt.* Fort Nassau stood on an elevated bank, about an English mile below Gloucester Point, in a south-easterly direction. Due north of this fort, and on the west shore of the Delaware, distant one Dutch mile, equal to four and a quarter English miles, lies the city of Philadelphia. The course and distance of the place as laid down by Hudde, are remarkably correct. Its description agrees precisely with the actual location of the city, and it agrees with no other place.

Huygen, in tearing down the company's arms, where they had been erected on the beautiful shore between Wicaco and Coaquannock, had used both violence and ill language, that greatly wounded the feelings of Commissary Hudde, and which

* Acrelius calls the spot where the Dutch standard had been raised by Hudde, *SANTHIKAN*; and his translator supposed it was near Trenton. Whether Acrelius or Collin was mistaken, is immaterial. It could not have been Trenton, because the place was but one Dutch mile above Fort Nassau, Trenton is six Dutch miles above it. It could not have been Trenton, because it was north of the fort, Trenton is more east than north of it.

the Dutch highly resented, as being particularly contemptuous to their High Mightinesses the States General, and to the noble director at Manhattan. In a letter he wrote to Printz, dated October 22d, 1646, he says: "Your commissary came down on the 8th instant, and took down the arms which I had hung up on the purchased lands, tearing them down in an insolent and hostile manner, with these threatening words, that, 'although it had been the colours of the Prince of Orange, that were hoisted there, he would have thrown them under his feet,' — besides many bloody menaces, which have been reported to me from time to time, and which can have no other tendency than to cause great calamities,"—"so that I am unwillingly compelled to send your^s honour this answer, by which I am bound to protest before God, and the whole world, and I do hereby protest, that I am innocent of all the disasters, difficulties, and losses, consequent on these proceedings, or originating from them."

The next day, Oct. 23d, Hudde sent sergeant Boyer and two soldiers down the river to Fort Gottenburg, with the aforesaid letter addressed to Printz. The sergeant delivered his message in the most polite and courteous manner, wishing the governor a good morning, and offering him a friendly greeting from Commissary Hudde. Printz took the letter from Boyer, and threw it towards one of his attendants, then standing near him, bidding him to take care of it. Without giving the sergeant any satisfaction, the governor turned his back upon him, and went away. Boyer waited some time for an answer, but becoming uneasy with his detention, asked to see Printz, which so exasperated him that he ordered him out of doors, and took up a gun, as the sergeant supposed, to shoot him, but was prevented by his leaving the room.

From this time the parties became more deeply involved in angry contention. The Dutch made sundry attempts to settle trading houses, on the shores of the Delaware and Schuylkill; which the Swedes as often destroyed. Until the close of Printz's administration in 1652, the prospect continued to grow darker and darker. Crimination and re-crimination became more fre-

quent and acrimonious:—a prolonged altercation finally wore out all kindly feeling between them, and gradually prepared them for the “*ultima ratio regum*,” an appeal to arms.

In the spring of the following year the West India Company displaced Governor Kieft, whose administration was, on the whole, a disastrous one to the settlement; marked by dissention, cruelty, and bloodshed.* He was succeeded by Peter Stuyvesant, a much more respectable and effective officer, a man of learning and an experienced soldier. He arrived at New Amsterdam May 27th, 1647.

The Swedes having, as we have seen, blockaded the Delaware by their forts at Tinicum and Elsinburgh, and subjected the Dutch to the payment of tribute, under the most humiliating circumstances, and having taken possession of the whole western shore of the Delaware, the authorities at New Amsterdam plainly saw, that without some remedy, their trade and territories on the borders of that river, must soon become utterly worthless. Stuyvesant was not disposed quietly to submit to this condition of things. On the 19th of July, 1651, he purchased of the Indians, in the name of the States General and West India Company, all the land lying between the Minquas Creek (Christina) and Bompties or Bambo Huck†. Within these limits, about four English miles below the Christina, was a beautiful promontory or point of fast land, extending out into the Delaware and commanding extensive views of the river both above and below. This point, on which the town of New Castle now stands, was then known by the name of *Sandhuken*. The Dutch selected this spot for the scite of a fort, which they named Fort Cassimir. The erection of this fort gave great uneasiness to Governor Printz, who plain-

*Kieft, who had wantonly and in cold blood butchered nearly one hundred Indians at Pavonia, was not permitted to die a natural death; he left this country for the Netherlands in 1647 in a ship called the Princess which was lost at sea, and all on board perished. Van der Donck. p. 162.

† Acrelius says this was the only purchase ever made of the Indians in the name of the *West India Company*.

ly perceived he had now to deal with a character very unlike the Ex-Governor Kieft. Printz protested against this proceeding of the Dutch, as an encroachment on their lands, which, as he alleged, the Swedes had previously bought of the Indians. Stuyvesant was not to be diverted from his course by claims which he deemed wholly frivolous, nor by protests as weak as they were arrogant. Disregarding the murmurs of the Swedish commander he quietly proceeded to finish, arm, and garrison his fort.

During several years after the arrival of Printz, the Swedish forces on the Delaware had greatly exceeded those of the Dutch. In this time there had been at least three arrivals, besides the armed squadron that had brought over Printz and his Colonists. First, the "Black Cat" with ammunitions of war and goods for trade; secondly, the "Swan" with emigrants; and thirdly, the "Key" and "Lamb," with reinforcements and military stores.* Printz had availed himself of this superiority to threaten, and as is evident from the records of this period, to overawe the Dutch. The official correspondence between the Swedish officers and the agents of the West India Company, from the date of Printz's arrival up to the accession of Stuyvesant, evidently show on the part of the former the arrogance of power, and on that of the latter the submissiveness of weakness. The Dutch seeing and daily feeling the consequences of this state of things, and having determined not to abandon their trade on the Delaware, had been for some time gradually augmenting their forces there; and the time had now arrived, when Printz found they were not to be intimidated, by the overbearing authority of a people, whom they considered as interlopers, and intruders.

This state of things was extremely irksome to the Swedish Governor. The blockade of the Delaware could no longer be enforced, nor the Dutch be obliged to strike their flag in sign of submission as they passed a Swedish fortification. Fort Cassimir had put it into their power to enforce against him the "*lex*

*Acrelius, p. 410.

talionis," a law that had already rendered the fort at Elsinburgh a useless incumbrance. From this time it was abandoned, and went to ruin, under the ridiculous allegation, that it had become untenable, on account of the mosquitoes, and that they therefore gave it the name of Myggenborg or Mosquito fort.

Printz, under the pressure of these adverse circumstances, immediately despatched some confidential agents to Sweden, to apprise the Government there of his embarrassed and perilous condition ; and earnestly to solicit a speedy reinforcement. But he did not wait for a return of the messengers, or the arrival of additional forces. Within a year he abandoned the Colony, and returned to Sweden, leaving his son-in-law, John Pappegoia to govern in his absence.

Rudman says, that becoming "weary of delay, and apprehensive of danger from the near vicinity of the Dutch, Fort Cassimir being only five miles from Fort Christina, he went back to Sweden."* It is not, however, probable that his return was solely because he was "weary of delay," for he left this country before reinforcements could have arrived, under the most favorable circumstances, and prompt attention of the Government.† The same writer informs us, that "he had become unpopular by a too rigid authority." He was conscious that he did not stand well with the colonists, and was therefore the more willing to leave them. He probably felt the unpleasant effects of his own "rigid authority," and foresaw the more disastrous consequences

*With military men, an *apprehension of danger* would hardly be deemed a legitimate reason for abandoning his post. He must have had a better excuse for his desertion of the colony at a period when all the wisdom and energy of a discreet commander were so necessary to its protection and defence.

†Clay says, p. 25, Printz left the colony in 1652. This was two years* before the arrival of Rising, who did not come over, according to Acrelius until 1654 ; it is more probable that Printz left here at a later period. There are some discrepancies in the chronology of the early writers which cannot easily be reconciled.

of the policy he had adopted towards his long forbearing neighbours: perhaps he saw the storm-cloud already in the horizon, which, when it should burst, would sweep the Swedish authority from the shores of the Delaware.

CHAPTER VII.

BEFORE Printz arrived in Sweden the Government there had equipped and despatched for the Delaware, a “man of war called the Eagle.” In this ship came JOHAN CLAUDII RISING, in the capacity of a Commissary and counsellor to the Governor, with Peter Lindstrom, military engineer, and surveyor general; and a number of military officers, and other forces.* This armament was evidently intended for warlike operations. Its object, as appears from its subsequent action, was to restore the Swedish supremacy on the Delaware. On its arrival in the bay, the ship was prepared for action, and rounding to, opposite Fort Casimir, gave, as Acrelius informs us, “two salutes, and demanded the surrender of the fort, as erected on Swedish ground.” As the commandant delayed to answer, longer than was deemed necessary, Rising landed thirty soldiers with a view to storm the fortification†. This movement being wholly unexpected, and the garrison probably unprepared for effective defence, they surrendered without a struggle, upon favourable terms. Every one in the fort was permitted to carry away the property in his possession, whether it belonged to individuals, or to the West India Company. An inventory of all the public property was taken, and the people in the vicinity were permitted to remove, or, if willing to take an oath of allegiance to the crown of Sweden, to remain, and be protected under the Swedish government. The fort having been captured on the day called *Trinity*

*Rudman’s memoirs at Wicaco.

†Rudman says Rising took the fort “*by storm.*” Proud says it was taken “*by stratagem.*” Neither give any authority for their statements. The probability is that the attack being wholly unexpected, the garrison was unprepared for an assault, or for a seige; and surrendered without conflict.

Sunday the Swedes named it Trefalldigheet, which being interpreted, means Trinity fort.

This is the first warlike movement that occurred on the Delaware, between the rival claimants of the territory. It had evidently been determined on by the authorities in Sweden. It was the act of a military commander, with military forces under him, just arrived from the seat of government; and was undoubtedly directed in the belief that the armament under Rising, when added to the forces already in the Colonies, would be entirely sufficient to subjugate or expel the Dutch.

The Swedes having thus appealed to the sword for the advancement of their colonial interests, the Dutch, under Stuyvesant soon took up the gauntlet. But the seat of *their* colonial power being at New Amsterdam, it required considerable time to prepare for effectual retaliation, which their governor had now determined to make. In the meantime, that the Swedes might be lulled into a state of self-security, and the more easily fall into the snare he was about to spread for them, he conducted his operations so quietly, as to leave Rising under the impression that nothing hostile was in contemplation by the Dutch authorities.*

Rising, pleased with his easy conquest, and intent to secure and extend the Swedish authority on the Delaware, set his Engineer Lindstrom to work at Fort Cassimir. He rebuilt it on a plan of his own, and made it a more formidable place of annoy-

* Campanius says that the differences between Rising and Stuyvesant, in the year 1654, *appeared* to have been *amicably settled*. Camp. p. 84. Clay in his annals remarks, that "there seems to have been a want of good faith, or at the least the practice of some deception on the part of the Dutch. This 'amicable settlement' seems to have been only a cloak to preparations for more effectual hostility."

We suppose Campanius spoke only of *appearances*, and did not mean to say, that any *actual arrangement* had been made between the parties. Of any such arrangement we have never seen the least evidence. There does not appear, in Stuyvesant's conduct, on this occasion, any thing inconsistent with the character of an honorable man—measuring his honor by the usual military standard.

ance and defence than before its capture. In the mean time another ship, called the "Golden Shark," loaded with merchandize, and having on board re-inforcements for the colonies on the Delaware, had been despatched from Sweden. By some unaccountable mistake, or some accident not stated by their analysts, this valuable ship got into the Raritan instead of the Delaware, and was captured by the Dutch. Captain Daswick, the commander, was made prisoner, with all the crew, and the ship with her valuable cargo detained as a prize by Stuyvesant, regardless of the captain's remonstrances.* This was the "first fruits" of Rising's aggression, which afterwards yielded so large a crop. With this exception, there was no hostile act on the part of the Dutch for almost a year after the capture of Fort Cassimir. The military preparations at New Amsterdam, were carried on with so much secrecy, as to excite no suspicion of their real object.

Soon after the arrival of Commissary Rising, Pappegoia, the Vice-Governor, returned to Sweden, and Rising assumed the supreme authority, taking the title of Director General over New Sweden. One of his first public acts as Governor was to hold a treaty of friendship with the Indians. He called a council at Printz-hall, on Tinicum, at which ten Sachems or Kings attended, representing differing tribes or clans in the vicinity. A distinguished Chief called NAAMAN was the principal speaker on that occasion. This council was held, as Campanius informs us, for the purpose of renewing "the ancient league and friendship" which subsisted between them and the Swedes, who had purchased of them the lands then in the tenure of the emigrants. The Indians, though it had been only sixteen years since the arrival of the Europeans, had found the proximity of the white race destructive to their people. They complained that "the Swedes had brought much evil upon them, for many of them had died since their coming into the country."† At a council held among themselves in 1645, they had debated the

* Acrel. p. 414.

† Probably from Small Pox, and other infectious diseases.

question, whether they ought not to exterminate the Swedes. On the present occasion Rising "soothed them with gifts," which he liberally distributed among them. The Indians afterwards held a conference among themselves, the result of which was a determination to maintain friendly relations with the Governor and his people. After this conference the Indians returned, and Naaman made a speech to them, in which, pointing to the presents, he exclaimed "Look and see what presents they have brought to us, for which they desire our friendship." Mutual promises of kindness and fidelity were afterwards exchanged, and great guns fired to the vast delight of the Indians, who understood the roar of the cannon as a loud proclamation of the treaty. The object of this council was to obtain a ratification of the former sales of land, and the extension of the Swedish settlements, at Passyunk, near Philadelphia.

It is much to be regretted that so few of our rivers or smaller streams in the state of Delaware retain their Indian names; as the time is not very distant when these will be almost the only memorials of this interesting people. One stream, however, which discharges its waters into the Delaware, about two miles below Marcus Hook, is destined to perpetuate the name of NAAMAN, the distinguished old Sachem and chief orator at the great council on Tinicum. On the bank of that water he probably resided, and there wielded the mild sceptre of his chieftainship. The stream is well known by the name of "Naaman's Creek," and is so styled on our maps, and among the records of the county of New Castle.

The autumn and winter of 1654 passed away peaceably; the spring of 1655 arrived, and all was calm: but it was a portentous stillness, the prelude to a dreadful storm! Stuyvesant had determined effectually to prevent all future collision with the Swedes, by a complete subversion of their authority on the Delaware. This was rendered necessary by the policy of Sweden, as illustrated by the official instructions of her government and by the conduct of her deputies. There was left to the Dutch no hope of maintaining amicable relations with the

Swedes, without an abandonment of *all their territory* on the west side of the river. No alternative was left them but to expel or be expelled. Stuyvesant, who wanted neither intelligence nor decision of character, perceived the dilemma, and determined on his course. He had matured his plans, and was busily occupied in preparing for their execution.

The position of Sweden, at this juncture, was favourable to the designs of Stuyvesant. Her military glory, gained under the administration of Gustavus, had grown dim under the conduct of his successor. Oxenstiern, who, by his counsels and his influence, had elevated and supported the character of his country, was recently dead; and the kingdom, under the government of a vacillating and capricious princess, was weakened by dissensions, and had ceased to command respect.

At length, about the middle of August, with a squadron of seven armed ships and transports, containing between six and seven hundred men, Stuyvesant set sail from New Amsterdam, bound for the Delaware. Some time before the arrival of the fleet, the Indians, more watchful, or having more means of intelligence than the Swedes, had learned or suspected the designs of the Dutch, and had warned Rising of the danger; whereupon he caused Fort Trinity to be reinforced with men and supplied with ammunition. By written orders, directed to the commander, Swen Schute, he enjoined him to defend the fort, in case of an attack; but that, as the squadron should approach it, he should, if possible, send an officer on board, to demand the nature of their visit, and to warn them by no means to pass the fort upon pain of being fired upon. He directed him, that in case the Dutch should come as friends, and were disposed to make an amicable adjustment of their respective claims to the territory in dispute, and of its boundaries, to compliment them with a Swedish national salute, and assure them that the Swedes were disposed to cultivate and maintain with the Dutch a firm friendship.

The fleet arrived safely in our bay, and on the 30th of August sailed up to Fort Elsingburg, and anchored there for the night.

Here the ships must have been distinctly seen from Fort Cassimir. Whether Commander Schute sent an officer to inquire into the nature of their visit, or whether he had less doubt on that point than Governor Rising, and thought it unnecessary, we are not informed. Fort Elsingburg had been dismantled and abandoned by the Swedes, two or three years before this period, and now presented no object of hostility, but Stuyvesant finding some persons in or near the fort, made them prisoners. The next day they sailed up to Fort Trinity, and meeting with no opposition, landed at the point, a short distance above the fort, and began to throw up a breastwork. Here the two commanders had a parley, and Schute probably knowing his inability to maintain the post against such a powerful armament, agreed to a capitulation. Upon which he went on board one of the ships of the squadron, where the parties signed the following Articles, to wit:

1st. The commandant shall have permission by the first opportunity to send home the cannon belonging to the crown of Sweden, being in all nine.

2d. He shall march out with twelve men in perfect accoutrements, as his lifeguard, with the colours of the crown. But the other soldiers shall only have their side arms.

3d. The muskets that belong to the crown shall remain in the fort until they are sent for.

4th. The commandant and officers shall retain their private property, and either remove it immediately, or leave it for another opportunity.

5th. The fort shall be surrendered with all the cannon, ammunition, materials, and other property belonging to the honourable West India Company.

Done the 16th of September aboard the ship Wagh.*

PETER STUYVESANT,
SWEN SCHUTE.

*There is a discrepancy in the dates between the Swedish and Dutch writers. According to the Swedish account by Rising, Fort Cassimir surrendered on the 31st August, 1655, which mode of dating is followed in this account.

Of the conduct of the Commandant Schute on this occasion, Rising grievously complained ; and Campanius has declared him a traitor. The governor blames him for suffering the Dutch ships to pass the fort without remonstrance, or firing a gun ; whereby they gained the command of the fort, and of the whole river above it ; and by which also they were enabled to cut off the communication between Fort Cassimir and Fort Christina, by posting troops between them, as high as Christina Creek. He censures him for surrendering the fort to Stuyvesant by a dishonourable capitulation, in which he forgot to stipulate for a place to which he and his people might remove with their effects, and also for subscribing the articles of capitulation, not in the fort, or on some neutral ground, but on board a Dutch ship. Without passing any judgment on the validity of these censures, it may be remarked, that the force brought against Schute was so overwhelming as to leave little rational ground to believe that resistance could have been availing ; and under such circumstances, Schute may be worthy of the character of a *discreet* man at least, who preferred losing the fort, to the loss of both the fort and his men.

Fort Cassimir had so suddenly and so quietly fallen into the hands of the Dutch, that Rising was not apprised of the fact, until the following day. Early on the morning of the 1st of September, supposing that Schute was yet maintaining his post, Rising sent him nine or ten of his best men to strengthen his garrison. This detachment crossed the Christina at a point just above the fort, and within musket shot of it, at a place now known as the Old Ferry, without knowing that the enemy was posted on the opposite side. No sooner had they landed, and attained the rising ground, than they were attacked by an armed band of fifty or sixty persons, and summoned to surrender. A skirmish ensued, but the Swedes were all overpowered, except two men, who ran back to the boat and escaped without injury, although repeatedly fired upon by the enemy. The Swedes discharged from the fort a cannon at the Dutch, who immediately retreated to the woods, and by way of retaliation, treated their prisoners with great severity.

The factor Elswyck, was now sent with a flag to Stuyvesant at Fort Cassimir, to demand an explanation of his conduct, and to dissuade him from further hostilities. Rising feigned to be surprised at the conduct of the Dutch governor, and pretended he could not be persuaded that he seriously intended to disturb the Swedes in the *lawful dominions* of his royal majesty.* Stuyvesant, whose discernment easily penetrated through this disguise of his adversary, treated the message with contempt, and threatened to detain Elswyck as a spy. He, however, permitted him to return, after letting him know that he acknowledged no right of the Swedes to any part of the country.

When Rising was informed of the true state of affairs, and found that Stuyvesant was not to be so easily misled, he directed his whole attention and employed all his forces to fortify his position and prepare his fort for a siege. For this purpose he collected all the men he could muster, and laboured hard, night and day, in filling gabions† and strengthening the ramparts.

On the following day, September 2d, the Dutch troops showed themselves in considerable numbers on the opposite bank of the Christina, near the spot where the Old Ferry-house now stands; but attempted no hostile operations that day.

On the morning of the 3d, they took possession of a Swedish shallop which had been drawn up on the beach, and hoisted the States flag on the top-mast. They appeared to be fortifying a neighbouring house, on the south side of the Christina. Rising seeing their operations, sent over Lieutenant Swen Hook, with a drummer, to demand the cause why they posted themselves there; and whether he should hold them as *enemies* or *friends*. When Hook had nearly crossed the creek, he asked the persons on land whether he might freely come ashore, and after discharging his commission as freely return; and being answered in the affirmative, they proceeded towards the landing place. As the drummer could not conveniently row a boat and beat a drum at

*“His Royal Majesty,” Charles Gustavus. Christina had abdicated the throne one year before this time.

† Baskets filled with earth or gravel.

the same time, the latter ceremony was omitted, which the lieutenant supposed excusable, as he already had their parol for a safe return. They accordingly went ashore, and an officer conducted them to a house at some distance where the Dutch had taken a position.

The Dutch having already both verbally, and by their actions, very distinctly informed the Swedes of their object and intentions, did not choose to believe that Rising was sincere in sending, *at this period*, to inquire whether they were *enemies or friends!* They therefore sent Lieutenant Hook down to Fort Cassimir, where Stuyvesant confined him in the ship's hold, as a spy. The drummer was kept a prisoner by the Dutch officers at Christina; and thus, says Governor Rising, "they treated our messengers contrary to the laws and customs of civilized nations."

By the 4th of the month, the Dutch had planted gabions about the house on the south side of the creek, and under cover of this temporary defence, they threw up entrenchments and fortified the battery.

Rising still flattered himself that Stuyvesant intended to go no further than to recover from the Swedes their Fort Cassimir, and to fortify the territory below the Christina, which the company had bought of the Indians, extending from the southern shore of the creek down to Bambo Hook. Seeming to forget his own unprovoked hostility, only one year before, in the capture of Fort Cassimir, he says they could not believe that the Dutch would, *in contempt of the public peace, and without any known cause*, commence hostilities against the Swedes, until they had set up some claim, or published some protest against them. Thus bitterly complaining of the same conduct which himself had been guilty of, under very aggravated circumstances, not long before.

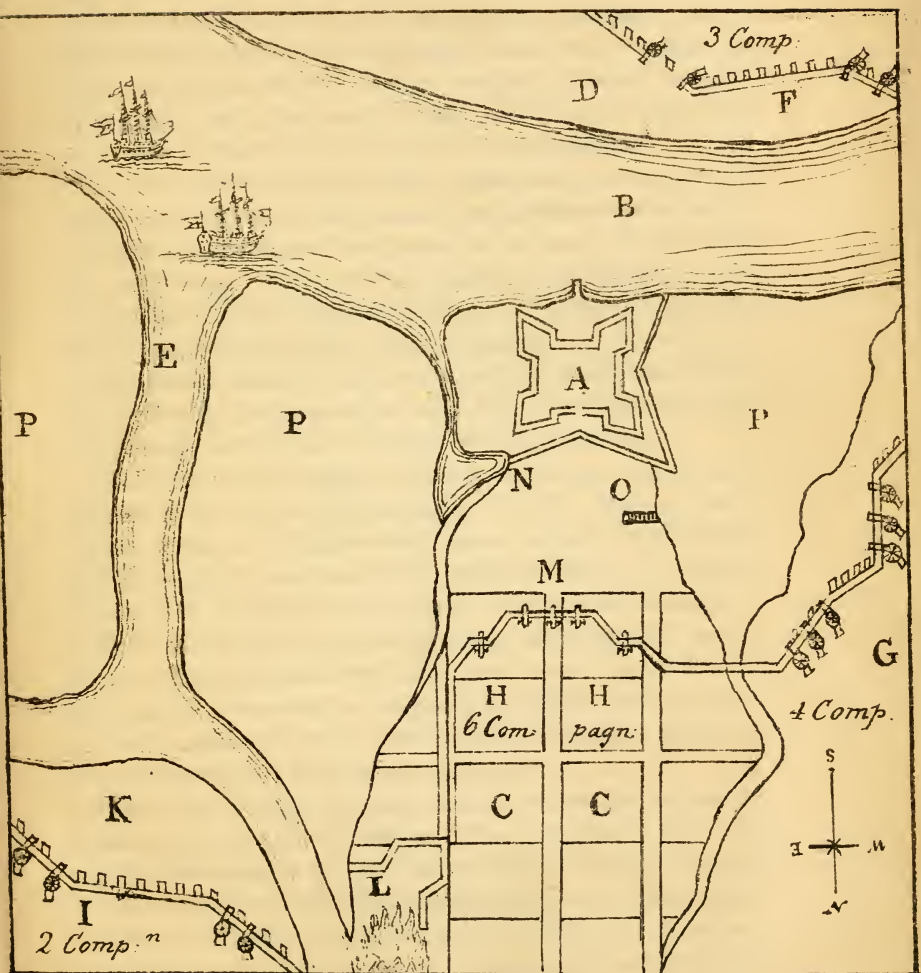
On the 5th of the month they sent the transport ships up the Brandywine, and landed their troops on a point of land called *Tredie-hook*, [third point or promontory,] being an elevated piece of fast land, on the north side of the creek, below Vander's brick house, adjoining lands of Edward T. Bellach. Thère

they landed the main body of their army, and marching up the point a short distance, turned to the left, and crossed the low valley, which lies between it and Vandever's orchard. This low valley was at that time wholly overflowed at flood tide, so that the main body of Vandever's place was then surrounded by water, and known by the name of "Timber Island." The army having now got possession of this island passed over to the west side of it, and threw up a battery, on which they planted four cannon, all pointing toward Fort Christina, and within effective distance from it. Leaving there a sufficient garrison, the body of the army marched up the creek and crossed the "great falls," meaning the Brandywine. Then returning they cast up two other batteries, one on the bank lying between the present old church yard and the ferry house, on the north side of Christeen, mounted with three cannon, and one within the present grave yard near the south wall, also mounted with three cannon. At a later period they planted another battery with five cannon, on the high land behind the fort, near the place where the Philadelphia, Wilmington and Baltimore Rail Road passes through the most elevated ground east of the church.

Fort Christina was now invested by batteries on every side, except toward the south-east, in which direction there was nothing but a low morass, which at high tide lay four or five feet under water. Through this low morass, the channels of the Christeen and Brandywine then pursued a serpentine course in different directions, but at length were united into one stream, about half a mile south-east of Fort Christina. That the investment might be complete, the Dutch now brought their armed ships, and anchored them in the mouth of the Brandywine.

At this period of the siege, it appears from Rising's official report, that he was still in doubt whether Stuyvesant really intended to attack him or not,—so hard is it to believe an unpleasant truth. "We continued," says he, "to prepare ourselves to make the best defence which our strength would allow, *if we should be attacked* ; for we were not yet satisfied what the Dutch intended." But Stuyvesant, as if to remove all his doubts on

PLAN
OF
CHRISTINA FORT,
and of its Siege by the Dutch, in 1655.
A facsimile of Lindstroms Plan.



*A. Fort Christina. B. Christina Creek. C. Town of Christina Hamn. D. Ten-
nekong Land. E. Fish Kill. F. Slangerborg. G. Myggenborg. H. Rottenborg.
I. Fligenborg. K. Timber Island. L. Kitchen. M. Position of the besiegers.
N. Harbour. O. Mine. P. Swamp.*

this point, sent him a letter by an Indian, in which he very distinctly informed him that the Dutch claimed the whole country, and peremptorily required him, and all his countrymen, at their peril, either to leave it, or to remain under the protection and government of the Dutch. Rising returned an answer in writing by the same Indian, informing Stuyvesant that he "would reply to his *extraordinary* demand by special messengers."

In the morning, just before this correspondence commenced, the parties had been making some demonstrations of war, rather, it would seem, to show their power to do mischief, than to injure each other. Rising, with a view, as he alleges, to scale his guns, had fired a couple of cannon. The Dutch on Timber Island immediately returned the salutation, by discharging a number of balls directly over the fort, and afterwards firing several volleys from the batteries on the west side of the Christeen, to announce their preparation for action in that quarter also.

The Swedes now began to despair of saving themselves by force of arms, and on the morning of the 6th, Rising called a *council of war*, to consider what course to pursue if the Dutch should attempt to take their fort by storm or battery. The council after due deliberation determined in no case to commence or provoke hostilities, on account of their weakness and want of supplies; that they should wait until fired upon or assaulted, and then defend themselves as long as they could, making the most effectual resistance in their power, and leaving their injuries to be redressed by the government of Sweden.

When this conclusion became known, Stuyvesant ordered renewed preparations for an attack. The cattle, goats, swine, and poultry, belonging to the Swedes were killed, their houses outside of the fort broken open, and the little town of Christinaham destroyed.* They now hoisted flags on all their batteries and on a Swedish ship they had captured, and which was then lying in the Brandywine. "All which hostile acts, injuries, and insults," says Rising, "we were, to our great mortification, com-

* Campanius, p. 79.

pelled to witness and suffer, being unable to resist them, by reason of our want of men and of powder, whereof our supplies scarcely sufficed for a single round for our guns."

Although governor Rising had now lost all confidence in his *military force*, he still had some faith in his *diplomatic powers*! "Notwithstanding all this," he says, "we still trusted that they would at length be persuaded to hear reason, and accordingly on the 7th we sent messengers down to Stuyvesant, at Fort Casimir, with a written communication, by which we sought to dissuade him from further hostilities, protesting against his invasion and disturbance of our proper territory, without cause assigned, or declaration denying, as far as they could, our right of possession on the river." Rising urged also the consequences of his hostility on the relations of their respective sovereigns; the jealousies and ill feeling it would produce, tending to involve in difficulty more extensive interests. And finally he required him to cease hostilities and retire with his forces from Christina; letting him know that the Swedes were determined to defend their rights to the utmost of their power, and that he must answer for all consequences. His persuasions and threats, however, fell equally dead on the dull ear of Stuyvesant, who was in no wise inclined to relinquish his prey now completely in his power.

To Rising's message, Stuyvesant on the 9th returned a written answer, in which he coolly but firmly denied that the Swedes had any rights at all on the Delaware, and asserted the absolute title of the Dutch to the whole country. The Swedish possession, he treated as a base usurpation; and gave Rising distinctly to understand, that, having got him under his control, he meant effectually to crush him.

Rising was now reduced to the most pitiable condition. One year before he stood before the colonists the exulting representative of his country's power; now none so poor as to envy his greatness. The lamp of hope was nearly extinct—its low, glimmering light scarcely served to cheer him on to any further action. His enemies day and night continued to carry on the siege. With a force of only thirty men he could make no sortie,

to prevent them from gaining positions completely to command the fort. Already there was not a spot on the ramparts where a man could stand in security. Thus passed the painful 10th and 11th over the head of Governor Rising; his country's all in America at stake, and ready to depart for ever.

On the 12th, Stuyvesant, who up to this time had remained at Fort Cassimir, joined the besieging army, and summoned the garrison to surrender on pain of giving no quarter. In this distress, Rising tells us, his provisions began to fail, some of his men had deserted, some were sick, some nearly worn out, and to fill up the measure of his misery, some were beginning to be mutinous. Under these circumstances, it was determined that he and the factor Elswyck should go out on the morrow, and hold with Stuyvesant a parley. Accordingly on the 13th, Governor Stuyvesant and Nicatius de Sylle, on the part of the Dutch; and Governor Rising and the Factor Elswyck, on the part of the Swedes, held a conference on the ground between the fort and the most advanced work of the besieging forces. The place of their meeting was a beautiful elevated spot lying behind the fort, and now occupied by Churchman's stone quarry; a place so conspicuous, that, if the parties to this memorable conference could have been heard as distinctly as they might have been seen, every soldier in the fort, and in all the surrounding batteries, might have participated in their deliberations.

At this interview, Rising solemnly protested against the hostile proceedings of Stuyvesant, replied verbally to his last letter, and, by the best arguments he could advance, vindicated the Swedish title to their possessions on the Delaware. "But," says Rising, "all this produced no impression upon them, they maintained their first ground, and insisted on the surrender of Fort Christina and the whole river." After declaring that he would defend the fort to the last extremity, and, in the event of his capture, would appeal to the government of Sweden for redress of wrongs, he returned with Elswyck to the fort, and exhorted his men to a "manly defense."

This was the last dying struggle of Johan Claudii Rising, for

the maintenance of the Swedish authority in America. It was witnessed by his victorious adversary with indifference, perhaps with feelings still more humiliating. In the whole course of these transactions, though we have only the Swedish account of them, Stuyvesant commands our respect, by his moderation and forbearance, as well as by his firmness. Though he never abates his dignity, he never loses his patience, nor treats his adversary with disrespect. He steadily pursues his object without ever exulting over a fallen foe, or using an unkind expression to wound his feelings.

As soon as Rising's ultimatum was announced, the Dutch brought their guns in all the batteries to bear upon the fort, and on the 14th, by a messenger with a drummer, Stuyvesant summoned Rising to surrender *within twenty-four hours*, or suffer the consequences of a capture by force of arms. Whereupon a council of the whole garrison was called, and it was unanimously concluded, that as neither the fort, nor the garrison, was in a situation to stand an assault, as they had neither powder nor other munitions of war, and were without hope of relief, the fort should be surrendered upon the best terms that could be obtained.

Accordingly on the morning of the 15th, Rising announced to Stuyvesant, his determination to capitulate, and afterwards, on the same day, surrendered Fort Christina to the Dutch, under the following articles.*

1. All the cannon, ammunition, provisions, stock and articles, which belong to the crown of Sweden and the West India Company, found in the fort, shall appertain to them, and be under the disposition of Governor Rising, to remove the same directly, or leave it to the care of Governor Stuyvesant, to be delivered on demand.

2. The governor, with all his officers, military and civil, and soldiers, shall march out of the fort with all their arms, military music, colours, and other military honours. They shall first

* Acrelius, p. 415.

be conducted to the island Tinneconk, and lodged in the fort there, until Governor Stuyvesant departs, and then they shall be carried to Sandy Huck [this is the same as Sandy Hook,] and there kept in safe custody at least fourteen days. The Governor and Factor Elswyck shall be allowed four or five servants in the mean time.

3. All writings, letters, instructions, and documents, belonging to the Swedish Crown, the company, and individuals, found in the fort, shall remain in the hands of the governor, to be taken away at pleasure without being examined.

4. None of the officers, soldiers, attendants, belonging to the Crown, or the company, nor any individuals shall be retained against their will, but may all, if they please, depart with the Governor.

6. All persons, whether appertaining to the crown and company, or private, shall retain all their property, without molestation.

6. If any persons, though willing to depart, are not able to go with the governor, they shall be allowed one year and six weeks to dispose of their lands and moveables, except they in that time choose allegiance to the Dutch government.

7. If any of the Swedes or Finns are unwilling to depart, the Governor Rising may use means of persuasion, and if persuaded, they shall not be forcibly detained. Those who remain shall have liberty to adhere to the Augsburgian Confession, and to retain a teacher for their instruction.

8. Governor Rising, the Factor Elswyck, with others, officers, soldiers, and individuals, who wish to depart, shall, by the Governor Stuyvesant, be provided with a good ship, which shall take them in at the Sandy Huck, and bring them to Texel, and from thence immediately in a coaster, galliott, or other proper vessel to Gotheborg* without freight, on condition that such vessel shall not be detained; for which Governor Rising shall be responsible.

* Gottenburg in the North sea.

9. In case Governor Rising, Factor Elswyck, or any other officer belonging to the crown or the company, has contracted any debt on account of the crown on company, they shall not be detained within the jurisdiction of the Governor General.

10. Governor Rising has perfect liberty to inform himself about the conduct of the commandant Swen Schute, with that of the officers and men in surrendering Fort Cassimir.

11. Governor Rising stipulates on this day to withdraw his people from Fort Christina and deliver it up to the Governor General.

Done and signed the $\frac{25}{15}$ September, 1655, on the parade between Fort Christina and the camp of the Governor General.

PETER STUYVESANT.

JOHAN RISING, Director
over New Sweden.

Secret Article.—It is further agreed that the captain who is to conduct Governor Rising and Factor Elswyck, shall be expressly ordered to put them ashore in England or France, and that the Governor General shall lend to Director General Rising, in money or bills of exchange, a sum of three hundred pounds Flemish, which he promises to pay to said Governor General or his order in Amsterdam, in six months after the receipt. In the mean time he leaves as equivalent, the goods of the crown and of the company. Of this we make two obligations.

Signed, $\frac{25}{15}$ September, 1655, on the parade, &c.

PETER STUYVESANT.

JOHAN RISING.

On receiving the money, Rising was obliged to consent that the goods pawned should be sold if not redeemed in six months. Both parties retained what they got. Rising kept the money, and Stuyvesant had to take the goods.

After all the foregoing arrangements were settled, Fort Christina was surrendered to the Dutch, who thereupon issued a proclamation, by which all the Swedes who desired to remain in the country were called upon to come forward and take the

oath of allegiance, and all those who intended to remove were directed to leave it, with privilege to sell or carry away their property. The form of the oath was as follows:

“I, the undersigned, promise and swear, in the presence of the Omniscient and Omnipotent God, that I will be faithful and obedient unto the States General of the United Netherlands, the Director General and his Council, present and future, and remain without aiding in any hostile enterprise or sedition, either in words or deeds against the same, but will conduct myself as a faithful and obedient subject so long as I remain in this South river in the New Netherlands. So help me Almighty God.”

Campanius says, the Dutch proceeded from Christina to New Gottenburg, the late residence of Governor Printz, on Tinicum, and laid waste all the *houses and plantations*, without the fort, killing the cattle, and plundering the inhabitants, &c. &c. But this is unquestionably erroneous. The Dutch had no motive for such destructive cruelty, the country was now theirs by a formal surrender, and they were bound by their treaty at Christina, to protect the inhabitants who chose to remain in it, which obligation, there is no evidence to prove that they ever violated. Besides, we know that the church was standing at Tinicum many years after the surrender to the Dutch,* and Printz-hall was standing since the commencement of the 19th century.

In the year 1755, just one hundred years after its capture by Stuyvesant, the old Fort Christina was again brought into notice, by a circumstance which is recorded by Acrelius, and which oc-

* Rudman, speaking of the state of the Swedes, in relation to their religious concerns *after* the conquest by the Dutch, says: “The Rev. Lawrence Lock was now the only remaining clergyman. He preached in *the church at Tinicum*, and sometimes in that of Cranehook, on the other side of the Christina Creek.” *Cranehook church* was not built until 1667, twelve years after the surrender of Fort Gottenburg, since called Tinicum. So that at least twelve years afterwards, the church at Tinicum was standing; and Rudman informs us that the present church at Wicaco was built in part of materials brought from Tinicum, out of the old church which Governor Printz had erected.

curred while he resided in Wilmington, as Pastor to the Swedish congregation there.

The fact is thus related. "On the 31st of March, 1755, on taking up, by chance, some pieces of the walls, there were found many cannon balls, granadoes, and other similar things, which had been kept carefully concealed, exactly one hundred years." These had probably been buried by Rising during the siege, and the circumstance gives ground to suppose that he expected the Swedes would regain their power on the Delaware. He published, in 1656, the year after the capture of Fort Christina, an "Account of New Sweden," in which he endeavoured to influence the reigning monarch, Charles Gustavus of Sweden, to struggle for its recovery.

CHAPTER VIII.

Thus fell New Sweden, and thus ended the Swedish dominion in America. It took the sword, and perished with the sword.

Notwithstanding the paucity of matter for history left us by Dutch and Swedish writers, yet sufficient authentic evidence, though in small and scattered fragments, is left for forming a judgment of the colonial government of the Swedes, from the accession of Printz, to the downfall of Rising; a period embracing three-fourths of the whole term of its existence. Printz was bold, active, and persevering, but passionate and rash, as his treatment of Boyer, Hudde, and others indicates. His activity is the more wonderful, as De Vries tells us, he weighed four hundred pounds! One would suppose such an enormous weight of flesh, too oppressive to comport with much intellectual or physical energy. He was provokingly overbearing to his Dutch neighbours, giving them unnecessary cause of offence.* He took violent possession of their lands on the Delaware and Schuylkill, almost under the guns of their fort. When they attempted to carry on their commerce with the Indians at their usual trading places, he drove them away, destroyed their trading-houses, and, in offensive language, threatened to seize and confiscate their vessels. He ridiculed the Dutch claim to the country on the Delaware, scouted the idea of title by *original occupancy*, and declared to Commissary Hudde, that the company vainly relied on their "*uninterrupted possession*, that the devil was the oldest possessor of hell, but sometimes admitted a younger one;"† using "many other vulgar expressions." He not only treated the company and its officers with contumely,

* "It must be allowed," says Acrelius, "that the Swedes behaved, in some respects, haughtily towards the Dutch." Acrel., p. 418.

† Hudde's Report, p. 436.

but their authority, with contempt; shutting up the river, "so that no vessel could enter it, on any account, except with his previous consent; notwithstanding they had been provided with the most respectable commissions;" and, adding injury to insult, he forced them to pay toll for the privilege of passing to a territory originally discovered and settled by themselves. In fine, although Printz was an enterprising, vigilant officer, faithfully executing the orders of his government, he wanted that prudent forbearance, and conciliating temper, that would avoid collisions or allay irritation.*

When Printz returned to Sweden in 1652, or 1653, he left his son-in-law, John Pappegoia, as deputy governor in his place. Of his administration nothing can be said, for nothing has been transmitted to us from his cotemporaries, by which to form a judgment of his character or government. But negative evidence is good in such cases, for if he had done much mischief, we should, most probably, have heard of it. He returned to Sweden after governing the colony about eighteen months.

Rising was a soldier, and probably well instructed in the duties of his profession; but he manifested more of the military character, than that of the statesman, relying more on physical force, than on a wise and prudent policy. The habit of command with the expectation of implicit obedience, may comport with the station of a military officer; but it is apt to beget an imperious temper illly suited to the nature of civil government, and an impatience under trying circumstances, often dangerous to the country. It was, perhaps, one of the most fruitful sources of unhappiness to the Swedish emigrants, that their *colonial rulers* were always *military characters*; relying more on coercive power, than on the omnipotent influence of justice, candour, benevolence and truth.

There are perhaps few instances in the history of the human family, where the disparity, between the character of a people and their rulers, was more apparent than in the case before us.

* Rudman says of Printz: "He had become unpopular by the exercise of a too rigid authority." Clay, p. 25.

Sweden, by her military prowess, had risen to great eminence as a war-like nation. Her rulers, confident of her power, had taken possession of a country claimed by the Dutch, without their consent or any attempt to gain it by an amicable arrangement. Their first step was aggressive, and they did not avail themselves of subsequent events, most favourable for the purpose, to acquire a just and satisfactory title to the territory. At the time when Printz was sent over, if the government had authorized a negociation upon equitable principles, there can be little doubt that the commanding position of Sweden, and the respect felt for her as the champion of the Protestant cause, would have ensured a favourable result. But unhappily for the people, and the success of her first and only experiment at colonization in the new world, she felt power and forgot right. The colonial governors, in carrying out their instructions, were necessarily the instruments of repeated aggression on the rights of the Dutch, and they did not care to execute their commission in the most gracious manner. Printz, more especially, was arbitrary in his conduct, and offensive in his language. The people, on the other hand, during all the vicissitudes of their colonial state, were remarkable for their quiet inoffensive demeanour. After the subjugation of their colony, the Dutch were uneasy lest the Swedes, tempted by their numbers, should attempt to recover the government; but the fear was groundless. They never manifested any disposition to revolt, but quietly submitted to their conquerors. They were industrious and peaceable, with strong religious feelings, warm domestic attachments, and great veneration for the "father-land," the manners and customs of which they retained for more than a century. Widely differing from the restless, unsettled Anglo-Saxon race, the Swedes had strong local attachments. Once comfortably settled, they aspired to no change but the improvement of their possessions. Fond of home and its quiet enjoyments, they manifested little ambition either of wealth or distinction.* They sought the comforts rather

* "They desired rather to have enough than plenty, or for traffick."—Penn's letter. Proud, vol. 1, p. 260.

than the luxuries of life, its essentials more than its superfluities. Some of their humble dwellings in the vicinity of Wilmington are yet standing, in which generation after generation contentedly resided, until, by mixture with other races, their national character was lost.

It is remarkable that, during the whole period of the Swedish dominion on the Delaware, there is no evidence that a single human being lost his life in hostile contest, either between the Swedes and their European neighbours, or between them and the Indians! Rarely has a population composed of three distinct nations, so unlike in their customs, habits, and language, with so many conflicting interests, lived so long together without bloodshed.

The conduct of the Swedish colonists towards the Indians bordering on their settlements, was not only consonant with the requirements of truth and justice, but with the dictates of a sound and enlightened policy, as was found by happy experience. Their honesty, their kindness, their friendly deportment, disposed the Indians to peace, and on one occasion, at least, prevented a war, when war would probably have been fatal to the colony. The maintenance of such an intercourse so won their affections, that they used to call the Swedes their "own people." Campanius, speaking of the natives, says, "they are very courteous in their behaviour, and fond of obliging the Swedes. They take great pains to help them, and to prevent any harm happening to them." In this happy state, the colonists found a rich reward for their kind and noble conduct towards the poor unlettered natives. Instead of a life of terror and alarm; of war and all its horrors; the honest Swede could eat his bread in peace, and after the toils of the day, lay down his head in quietness, fearless of a midnight attack—undisturbed by dreams of the tomahawk and scalping knife.

How different was the lot of the New England colonies! Long and bloody wars, fearful loss of life, anxiety and bitter suffering on the one hand, and whole nations of people exterminated on the other. The just and liberal conduct of the "pil-

grim fathers" of *our State*, is more honourable to their memory, than all the triumphs of the diplomatist over a simple unlettered people; or all the laurels of the warrior, won in a contest with the original and rightful owners of the land, in order to wrest from them their country and their homes.

An interesting proof of the affectionate attachment of the Indians for their old friends, the Swedes, subsequent to the conquest of their colony, is related by Campanius. In the spring of 1656, six months after that event, a Swedish ship, called the *Mercurius*, which had been sent out, before the news of their loss had been received at Stockholm, arrived in the Delaware with a fresh supply of colonists. The commander at Fort Casimir forbid the ship to pass. Whereupon a party of Indians, probably assured that the Dutch would not venture to fire at the vessel while they were on board, joined the Swedish crew, and conducted the ship by the fort, and into the Christina. The natives were not deceived in their calculations; the commander permitted them to pass without firing a gun, or in any way molesting them.

The subjugation of the Swedes to Dutch authority, although represented by Rising as afflictive and greivous, was not, perhaps, attended by any consequences more serious than the privation of a frequent intercourse with the "father-land," by which the nation so completely lost sight of its offspring, that after a few years, when it became known at Gottenburg and Stockholm that a branch of the family, speaking the language, retaining the customs, and professing the religion of Sweden, dwelt on the banks of the Delaware, the fact was hailed with enthusiasm, and regarded as the recovery of a long lost child. Rising, who was mortified at the loss of the colony, was anxious to induce the government at Stockholm to attempt a re-conquest of the country; he therefore laboured to make the impression in Sweden that their countrymen were maltreated and oppressed. But time is a great friend to truth, and seldom fails to lift up the veil that malice or error may throw over it. In a letter from the Swedes on the Delaware, dated 1693, signed by thirty-six of their principal men, every one of whom, perhaps, knew the truth of what

he asserted, they say, "since this country has ceased to be under the government of Sweden, we are bound to acknowledge and declare, *for the sake of truth*, that we have been well and kindly treated, as well *by the Dutch*, as by his majesty the King of England."—"We have always had over us good and gracious magistrates, and we live in the greatest union, amity, and peace with each other."*

The war that had just closed, was *the war of a trading company for the recovery of its trade*. The Dutch desired to govern just so far as government contributed to the promotion and protection of their trade, and no further. Land might be had any where for taking it up, and satisfying the Indian claim. As a means of raising the necessaries of life, the company cared little about it. They would encourage agriculture, so far as it contributed directly to commerce; and if that encouragement depended on the easy acquisition of land, the company would lay no restriction in the way of those who wanted it. The only deeds they gave the Swedes for real estate, were evidently deeds of confirmation, to satisfy some old occupants near Christina: *two* for plantations, and *one* for a mill, built in the vicinity, and used to grind corn for the garrison.† Many such deeds are yet in existence, given under the English administration, by Lord Lovelace. The great object of the company was to monopolize *the trade*, not to oppress the people; and it is much to be doubted whether, with a population, such as was then scattered along the creeks and inlets of the Delaware, they could have done so, if inclined to severity.‡

* Campanius, p. 91. The Swedes were an agricultural people, they do not seem ever to have been inclined to commerce. Wm. Penn says, "the Dutch applied themselves to traffic, the Swedes and Finns to husbandry." Proud, vol. 1, p. 260. The tyrannical restrictions afterwards imposed on trade, under the Duke of York, did not much affect the Swedes; they were far more severely felt by the Dutch.

† Acrelius, p. 421.

‡ When Governor Alrich, about 1658, by his avarice and severity, offended the people, they soon put themselves out of his power, by moving over the line into Maryland, and Stuyvesant was glad to get them back by persuasion. Acrelius, p. 422.

The war now brought to an issue by the vigorous hand of Stuyvesant, was in many respects a singular one. It was for the government and trade of a territory now including two of the sovereign independent States of the Federal Union. It was waged by the most powerful fleet and army that had ever been engaged in North America. It was prosecuted by a skilful, experienced general;* and finally closed by a victory without the loss of a single victim on either side.

In the following year, 1656, the colony on the Delaware was strengthened by a number of families who removed to it from New Amsterdam, at which time the Governor General and his council gave seventy-five deeds for land, chiefly for lots in the town of NEW AMSTEL, just then beginning to assume the character of a village. This was the commencement of the beautiful town of NEW CASTLE. The government issued orders to the new settlers at this time removing to the territory, that for the sake of safety, sixteen or twenty families should settle together. Migrating from the north river, where the Indians had been provoked to retaliate the wanton cruelties of the whites, they removed to the Delaware with a dread of the natives, which their new position did not call for. The orders were only observed round Fort Cassimir, where it suited the Dutch emigrants; nearly all of whom removed with the view of establishing a place of trade. "The Dutch," says Acrelius, "did not mind agriculture."†

When Stuyvesant left the Delaware, after the conquest, he deputed Deryk Smidt, as commissary pro. tem. over the settlements; but immediately on his arrival at New Amsterdam, he issued a commission dated Nov. 29th, 1655, to JOHAN PAUL JAQUET, constituting him governor.‡ His duty was to superintend the affairs of trade, and preserve order among the people.

* Bancroft's U. S. vol. 2, p. 293.

† Acrelius, p. 420.

‡ His descendants are yet among us. Some of them have been distinguished citizens of this vicinity.

All the country on the west side of the Delaware was divided into two colonies; one of which included Fort Christina, and the land immediately around it, and extended from Christina river down to Bambo-Hook. This was called "THE COLONY OF THE COMPANY." The other extended from the north boundary of the company's colony, up the Delaware to the extent of the settlement, and was called "THE COLONY OF THE CITY." It belonged to the city of Amsterdam,* and was governed by the Burgomasters and council of that city, through Peter Stuyvesant and his council. Before the erection of Fort Cassimir, in 1651, all business was transacted in the name of "the States General, and the West India Company" jointly. Now their concerns were divided. Lands lying within the territory of the city, were conveyed in Amsterdam, by the Burgomasters and council; deeds for those within the limits of the company, were executed by directors and commissaries. To the small town now erecting on Sandhook, near Fort Cassimir, was given the name of New Amstel; the land on Christina was called Altona.

In the early part of 1657, according to the present mode of computing time, sundry curious municipal regulations were established at New Amstel. All lots were to be fenced before the middle of March, under a penalty of six gyllen. Goats to be guarded by herdsmen, or all damages done by them to be satisfied. No one to enter the fort by land or water without leave. None to settle between Fort Cassimir and Christina, that the wood might be saved for the use of the town and fort. All swine to be yoked within twenty-four hours, or be killed by the soldiers.

By these regulations it appears that the Dutch had yet no idea of strengthening their colonies by the presence of an extended and vigorous population. They were probably more in fear that such a community would intermeddle with the company's trade

* Bancroft reverses this order of the division of the colony. We have followed Acrelius, who is very clear on the subject.

among the Indians, than in hope of support from it, in time of danger. Present gain seems to have closed their eyes to future evils, and blinded them to the fact that a very extensive fertile country could not be long retained for the benefit of a mere trading company.

The Dutch had now been on our shores almost fifty years, and had yet a meager population ; the New England colonies, not yet of forty years standing, were swarming with inhabitants, and already driving the Dutch from their trading places. While the whole country was covered with timber, the beautiful territory lying between Wilmington and New Castle was destined to remain a wilderness, that a petty fort, and a little village, both on tide water, might not suffer for want of fire-wood !

On the 20th April, 1657, Jaquet was dismissed from his office, and JACOB ALRICH was appointed governor, to preside over the *colony of the city*. His commission was executed December 19th, 1656, by the Burgomasters and Council in Amsterdam. He fixed his residence at the town of New Amstel.

Over the *Swedes*, Goeran Van Dyke was appointed inspector, with the Dutch title of Schout Fiscal. They were not to be permitted to remain in the forts during night, and a watchful eye was to be kept on them, that any who might be found seditious, should immediately be sent to New Amsterdam. By proclamation, dated June 12th, 1657, the governor invited them to gather into one settlement, and erect a town at either of the following places, now known by the names of Marcus-Hook, Chester, Kingsessing, or Passyunk, or where they pleased. They did not accede to the invitation, preferring their old settlements and associations.

On the 28th October, 1658, WILLIAM BEEKMAN, an alderman of the city of Amsterdam, was appointed vice-governor over "*the colony of the company*," to reside at Altona, now Wilmington ; from whence were written all his letters, forming at this time a valuable collection of authentic documents, preserved among the records of the State of New York, at Albany. He administered the affairs of the company, commanded the garrison,

regulated the trade, levied the customs payable on all vessels arriving at New Amstel, and superintended the Swedes. Andreas Hudde, the former commander of Fort Nassau, was his secretary, and officiated as clerk in the church service at Altona.* The number of Swede families in the colony at this time, was but *one hundred and thirty*, as ascertained by an official return made by the officer specially charged with their surveillance; and *they made a majority* of the whole population. According to this statement, allowing six persons to a family, there were probably not more than twelve hundred Europeans on the Delaware, in 1659, including women and minors.

Beekman had orders from Stuyvesant, to unite with Alrich in the purchase of the Indian claim, to all the territory below Bambo Hook, extending to Cape Henlopen; with a view to the erection of a new fort at the Hoorn-kill. No fortification had been built there since the destruction of De Vries's establishment, twenty-seven years before; nor had any possession been taken of the territory, since that mournful event. Alrich hesitated to obey the order, on the allegation, that both money and men were wanting for its erection and defence; that it would be useless, while the country round it was wild and uncultivated; and that supplies could not be spared for its maintenance. Beekman, seeing the inactivity of Alrich, took with him lieutenant Hino-yosa, and on the 23d of May, 1659, purchased the land of the Indians, threw up a fort, and manned it with as many soldiers as he could procure.

As the old colonists had declined the *invitation* of Stuyvesant to form a compact settlement of their own nation, he now issued a *peremptory order*, that all the Swedes should collect into small towns, and proposed Passyunk, a beautiful territory, lying between Wicaco and the Schuylkill, immediately south-west of Philadelphia, being "a pleasant and fruitful country," for that

* The church at which Hudde officiated at Altona, as here mentioned, must have been the one in the old fort Christina. The church at Crane-Hook was not built until nine years after this period.

purpose. Beekman was commissioned to see the order executed, and he exerted his influence *to persuade them* to a compliance. The demand was unreasonable. Some of them had been in the country more than twenty years ; had cleared lands, built houses, planted orchards, and were comfortably settled. No treason or sedition had been laid to their charge, and no compensation had been offered to them for the abandonment of their improvements. They very properly refused to go, and Beekman pleaded the command of the governor in vain. He had neither the power, *nor the inclination* to compel them. In a communication to Stuyvesant, "he represented it as unmerciful to force people from their cultivated lands, and put them to new labour and expense." Some of the Swedes had removed from the neighborhood of the Christina into the territory north of the Brandywine, and others into Maryland about Sassafra river, by which the colony under the jurisdiction of Beekman was weakened. Beekman requested Stuyvesant to revoke his order, and instead of using means calculated to impair the attachment of the Swedes to his administration, to take a different course, and by providing them with books, according to a proposition he had formerly made, reconcile them to the new government, which had been forced upon them. This wise and liberal counsel probably had its effect, for we hear no more of any attempt to disturb the peaceful old colonists, who afterwards quietly settled down among their Dutch neighbors, and in a few years, by family alliances, formed one people. The language of the Dutch had such an affinity to that of the Swedes, that their children soon understood the religious service in the Swedes' churches, and freely joined in their worship. The Dutch had no regular ministry among them,* whilst the Swedes were careful to maintain public worship as constantly as their isolated situation would

* "On Sandhook [New Castle] stood a small wooden church for a while, but without regular attendance." Acrelius, p. 425. The Swedes were never without a minister from Sweden, until the death of Lock in 1688. Fabritius died in 1692 ; from that time until 1697, they had no ordained clergyman.

admit ; and being much the larger portion of the population, especially about Christina, *the rising generation lost their Dutch character and language*, so entirely that in the year 1697, Rudman, who had just arrived from Sweden as a missionary, says : “ We live scattered among the English, yet *our language is preserved as pure as any where in Sweden.*” * Several of their writers assure us that their *character, manners, and customs*, at that time throughout the colonies, remained purely Swedish.

Stuyvesant was probably induced to guard more vigilantly the Swedish population, from well grounded fears for the safety of all the Dutch interests under his care. The civil war in England which had convulsed that nation to its centre, had placed Cromwell at the head of government. His energy of character and military prowess, had elevated his country, in the view of the European States, to a fearful height of power. That nation had colonies in New England, which had already come into collision with the Dutch settlements in New York, and were constantly encroaching on the rights and territories belonging to the Dutch. Stuyvesant, in a letter written in September, 1659, to the West India Company at Amsterdam, represented the probability that England would soon conquer the country *by the aid of the Swedes* ; and desired them to send Polish, Prussian, and Flemish peasants, to settle in the New Netherlands.† The Dutch had lately felt the power of England, in a measure little anticipated, at the time when Van Tromp fixed a broom to the top-mast of his ship, intimating that he would sweep the British fleet from the channel. Under such a state of things, it is not a cause of wonder, that Stuyvesant should have been inclined to severe cautionary measures.

Governor Jacob Alrich, who had presided over the colony of the company, died in 1659.‡ Alexander Hinoyosa succeeded

* Clay's Annals, p. 71.

† N. Y. Records, Lib. G. p. 116.

‡ His descendants bearing his name, are yet numerous in Wilmington and its vicinity.

him, and jointly with Beekman, administered the government for three years, when, Hinoyosa, by patent from Stuyvesant, was invested with the whole authority over the colonies, and sometime afterwards Beekman returned, and settled on the North river.

The profits accruing to the company from its trade on the Delaware, were insufficient to pay its expenses. Although severe laws had been enacted to support the government-monopoly, they were wholly powerless to prevent an extensive clandestine trade. The very officers were deeply interested in the violation of them. The English from Long Island, came into the river with their vessels, and constantly carried on the smuggling trade. In consequence of this situation of the company's affairs, it surrendered all its rights to the *colony of the city*, on the 7th day of February, 1663, and with it the old Fort Christina, on condition that the inhabitants in that vicinity, who were principally Swedes, should be protected in the enjoyment of all their privileges. It was also stipulated that in exchange for the garrison belonging to the company, the government of the city should send another, to defend the colony against the Indians and the English; and that the agents of the city should never dispose of the country, or any part of it, under penalty of a forfeiture of all their rights.

The regulations for the government of the country, were so restrictive in relation to trade, as greatly to injure it. The adjacent colony of Maryland was not so trammelled. Many removed there, that they might escape from the domination of the city of Amsterdam, which sacrificed the best interests of the country to the love of gain.

On a review of the state of the Swedish settlements on the Delaware, under the dominion of the Dutch, there is little to incline the friends of civil liberty to love or admire a government whose *sole* object is *pecuniary emolument*. Its policy was not only mercenary and contracted, but highly injurious to the civil and intellectual improvement of the inhabitants. Under the leaden scepter of a Dutch trading company, every thing beauti-

ful, and fair, and good, drooped and languished. The people were discouraged and indolent, the lands, by nature fruitful, and offering rich returns to the diligent cultivator, were neglected and lay waste. The manners of the people were rude and unpolished, education was not promoted, the standard of morals was low, and the population, which had been gradually augmenting under the Swedish dominion, had increased but little under that of the Dutch. It is essential to the improvement of his rational nature, that man should have higher aims, and holier aspirations, than those which terminate in the accumulation of wealth, or personal aggrandizement. Wealth, as a means of good, may be a lawful object of desire to individuals. Governments should be instituted for other purposes. The pursuit of objects foreign to the legitimate design of their institution, must be productive of evil, and will eventually terminate in disappointment; as did all the anxiety, and care, and toil, of the Dutch West India Company on the banks of the beautiful Delaware.

CHAPTER IX.

THE gloomy forebodings of Governor Stuyvesant, pointing to the conquest of the New Netherlands by the English, were now about to be realized. *That* nation, not very scrupulous about the *means*, where the *end* is a *gainful commerce*, had cast a covetous eye on the beautiful and fertile region, in the tenure of the Dutch. They "saw the land, that it was pleasant," and having the power, determined to wrest it from the rightful occupant. Already the New Englanders had unscrupulously invaded and taken possession of a rich and beautiful country in Connecticut, occupied by agents of the West India Company, and long used by it as a place of trade.* They had pushed their settlements in defiance of the threats and remonstrances of the Dutch authorities, under the very ramparts of their fort "New Hope," on the Connecticut or Fresh-water river. They had nearly overrun Long Island, and had frequently and pertinaciously insisted in making settlements on the Delaware, though they knew it had been originally discovered by the Dutch, and was actually fortified by them at the time. Under pretence of a *purchase from the Indians*, they came into the river, took possession of lands close by Fort Nassau, and endeavoured to excite the authorities in New England to hostilities against the New

* Even those [the English] of Fresh river, [now Connecticut river] have offered to compensate us [for our lands on that river] to give us an annual revenue [rent] or to buy us out. This certainly shows that they know well that we are the right owners, and that it seemed they began to feel that it was not exactly consistent with their most puritanical consciences. Nevertheless, they have from time to time, been able to find out some palliative, to keep that conscience at ease, and have continued to take our land." Du Simitiere MSS., N. Y. Hist. Soc. Coll. p. 274. See also Hazard's Collections, vol. 2, p. 55.

Netherlanders, because they drove them from the place. And now Charles II., for once stretching his vision beyond the scene of his personal gratifications, and seeing the long coast of America, from Maine to Carolina, in the possession of the English, excepting only that part that had been settled by the Dutch, began to "covet his neighbour's house," and concluded to turn him out of it, for this powerful reason, that he wanted it himself.

The king gave to his brother, the Duke of York, a patent for a large portion of the lands now constituting the State of Maine, and for all the country between the Connecticut river and the east side of the Delaware. Before any declaration of hostility was made against the Dutch, he sent Sir Robert Carr with a small squadron, to put the Duke in possession of the New Netherlands. After touching at Massachusetts, they proceeded to Connecticut, and taking on board Governor Winthrop, and some others of the principal men of that colony, they cast anchor in Gravesend bay, on Long Island, a short distance south of New Amsterdam.

Stuyvesant, in conjunction with a committee of the city, having written and sent to Colonel Nicolls, who conducted the enterprize, to demand the cause of the visit, he answered by stating that his majesty, *whose right and title to these parts of America were unquestionable*, had commanded him to require a surrender of all such forts, towns, and places of strength, within his majesty's dominion, as were then in possession of the Dutch.

The Governor of New Amsterdam, not having the least idea that he and the colonists under his care were seated on any part of "his majesty's dominion," or that the English monarch had any "unquestionable right and title" to the New Netherlands, let Nicolls know, by a very polite note, that the king was very much mistaken on that point; that the Dutch were "the first discoverers of the country," had bought the Indian title, had settled there *fifty years before*; and had retained uninterrupted possession of it down to the present time. And further, that he (Governor Stuyvesant) had no doubt, that if his majesty, Charles II., had known these facts, he was a prince of *too much judgment*, to have given any such orders, especially at a time when "a

strict friendship subsisted between his majesty and the States General."

Colonel Nicolls had been educated in a school where he had learned arguments of *a much more forcible nature*, than those derived from *justice, truth and reason*,* and finding Governor Stuyvesant had only drawn his conclusions from such old fashioned premises, immediately ordered Capt. Hugh Hide, commander in chief of the squadron, "to prosecute his majesty's claim and interest *by all ways and means* he might deem most expedient, for *speedily reducing the Dutch under his majesty's obedience*."†

Commander Hide perfectly understood this language. He was well acquainted with the "ratio regum," or logic of kings, and immediately commenced the necessary preparations for battering down the town of New Amsterdam. Stuyvesant, who had been educated in a similar school, was not slow to understand this kind of reasoning. Finding the argument unanswerable, and wishing to avoid the *pointed* conclusion of Colonel Nicolls, he prudently resolved on a quiet submission. After some spirited remonstrances, becoming the dignity of his character, and the importance of his station, he agreed to articles of capitulation, dated August 27th, 1664.

New Amsterdam having thus fallen under the dominion of the British King, the rest of the New Netherlands was soon subjected to the same authority. By a commission under the hands of Richard Nicolls, George Cartwright, and Samuel Meverick, dated September 3d, and directed to Sir Robert Carr, he was commanded to proceed to the Delaware, to reduce in like manner the settlers there. The commission was in the following language, to wit:

"Whereas, we are informed that the Dutch have seated themselves at Delaware Bay, on his Majesty of Great Britain's territories, without his knowledge and consent, and that they have fortified themselves there, and drawn a great trade thither, and

* Under Marshal Turenne.

† Smith, Hist. New Jersey, p. 40.

being assured that if they be permitted to go on, the gaining of this place will be of small advantage to his majesty; we his majesty's commissioners, by virtue of his majesty's commission and instructions to us given, have advised and determined to endeavour to bring that place and all strangers there in obedience to his majesty, and by these, do order and appoint that his majesty's frigates the *Guinea*, and the *William and Nicholas*, and all the soldiery which are not in the fort, shall, with what speed they conveniently can, go thither under the command of Sir Robert Carr, to reduce the same, willing and commanding all officers at sea and land, and all soldiers to obey the said Sir Robert Carr during this expedition. Given under our hands and seals, at the fort in New York, upon the isle of Manhatoes, the third day of September, 1664.

RICHARD NICOLLS,
GEORGE CARTWRIGHT,
SAMUEL MEVERICK."

The following instructions accompanied the commission, to wit:

"When you are come near unto the fort which is possessed by the Dutch, you shall send your boat on shore to summons the governor and inhabitants to yield obedience to his majesty, as the rightful sovereign of that tract of land, and let him and them know that all the planters shall enjoy their farms, houses, land, goods and chattels, with the same privileges, and upon the same terms which they do now possess them, only that they change their masters: whether they be the West India Company, or the City of Amsterdam. To the Swedes you shall remonstrate their happy return under a monarchical government, and his majesty's good inclinations to that nation and to all men who shall comply with his majesty's rights and titles in Delaware, without force of arms.

That all cannon, arms, and ammunition which belong to the government, shall remain to his majesty.

That the acts of Parliament shall be the rule for future trading.

That all people may enjoy liberty of conscience.

That for six months next ensuing, the same magistrates shall continue in their offices, only that they, and all others in authority, must take the oath of allegiance to his majesty, and all public acts be made in his majesty's name.

If you find you cannot reduce the place by force, or upon these conditions, you may add such as you find necessary on the place ; but if those, nor force, will prevail, then you are to despatch a messenger to the Governor of Maryland, with a letter to him, and request his assistance, and of all other English who live near the Dutch plantations.

Your first care (after reducing the place) is to protect the inhabitants from injuries, as well as violence of the soldiers ; which will be easily effected if you settle a course for weekly or daily provisions by agreement with the inhabitants, which shall be satisfied to them, either out of the profits, customs, or rents, belonging to their present master, or in case of necessity from hence.

The laws, for the present, cannot be altered as to the administration of justice between the parties.

To my Lord Baltimore's son you shall declare, and to all English concerned in Maryland, that his majesty hath, at his great expense, sent his ships and soldiers to reduce all foreigners in those parts to his majesty's obedience ; and to that purpose only you are employed ; but the reduction of the place being at his majesty's expense, you have commands to keep possession thereof for his *majesty's own behoof and right* ; and that you are ready to join the Governor of Maryland upon his majesty's interests on all occasions ; and if Lord Baltimore doth pretend right thereunto by his patent, (which is a doubtful case) you are to say that you only keep possession till his majesty is informed and satisfied otherwise. In other things I must leave you to your discretion, and the best advice you can get upon the place."

On the arrival of Carr at New Amstel, the authorities there quietly surrendered Fort Cassimir and themselves to the English government. The articles of capitulation were as follows, to wit :

D. A. M.

“ Articles of agreement between the Honourable Sir Robert Carr, Knight, on behalf of his majesty of Great Britain, and the Burgomasters on behalf of themselves, and all the Dutch and Swedes, inhabiting on Delaware bay, and Delaware river.

1. That all the burgesses and planters will submit themselves to his majesty without any resistance.

2. That whoever or what nation soever doth submit to his majesty's authority, shall be protected in their estates, real and personal whatsoever, by his majesty's laws and justice.

3. That the present magistrates shall be continued in their offices and jurisdictions, to exercise their civil power as formerly.

4. That if any Dutchman, or other person, shall desire to depart from this river, it shall be lawful for him so to do, with his goods, within six months after the date of these articles.

5. That the magistrates and all the inhabitants who are included in those articles, shall take the oath of allegiance to his majesty.

6. That all people shall enjoy the liberty of their consciences in church discipline, as formerly.

7. That whosoever shall take the oath, is from that time a free denizen, and shall enjoy all the privileges of trading into any of his majesty's dominions, as freely as any Englishman, and may require a certificate for so doing.

8. That the Schout, the Burgomaster, Sheriff, and other inferior magistrates, shall use and exercise their customary power, in administration of justice, within their precincts for six months, or until his majesty's pleasure is further known. Dated October 1st, 1664.”

Thus was the government over the Swedes and other settlers on our shores, once more changed. Within ten years they had now been subjects of three different sovereignties. The Dutch dynasty had done nothing to advance the prosperity of the colony. *Their* government neither encouraged commercial enterprise, nor promoted agricultural improvement. Yet its very inefficiency to protect the odious monopoly of the West India Company, left a door open for the smuggling adventurer, and en-

couraged in the settlers a disposition to carry on an extensive *clandestine trade*. Such a trade was carried on so extensively, and so effectually, that the profits of *legitimate commerce* did not pay the expenses of its prosecution. In exchanging such a government for that of the British crown, under which the thriving New England colonies had been settled, a better state of things might have been reasonably expected. But the exchange was in fact from bad to worse. The English could more effectually prevent the illicit trade which had been carried on by the New England and Long Island traders, and thus crush the principal source of all the little business that could animate the cheerless life of a settler on the Delaware.*

Colonel Nicolls, upon the submission of the Dutch, assumed the administration of the New Netherlands, as governor under the Duke of York. New Jersey had been granted by the Duke, to Lord Berkeley, and Sir George Carteret, by deeds of lease and release, dated June 23d and 24th, 1664. The colony of New York, and the territory on the west side of the Delaware, remained under the control of the Duke. New York was the seat of government. The executive and judicial powers were vested in the governor and his obsequious council. "With the court of assizes, composed of *justices of his own appointment*, holding offices *at his will*, he exercised *supreme legislative power*, promulgated a code of laws, and modified and repealed them at his pleasure."† His word, in fact, was the law of the land.

The Duke, perhaps the weakest of the weak and unhappy family of the Stuarts, had here an unrestricted opportunity to present to the world the plan of a government, suited to the na-

* "When the English government commenced, all were summoned to New York, to receive deeds for the land, which they had either taken up, or intended to take up. A part of the inhabitants took deeds, others gave themselves no trouble about the matter. The people lived in great quiet, but extreme indolence. No agriculture, no trade was pursued, more than was necessary to supply their absolute wants." Acrelius, N. Y. Hist. Coll. p. 427.

† Bancroft, vol. 2, p. 320.

ture and prejudices of that royal race. With high notions of the divine right of king's, and extremely low notions of the civil and political rights of a subject, he so modelled his government, as to have it in his power to oppress the people at his pleasure. Some of them presuming to think for themselves, and uneasy under the despotic control of the governor, were roused to resistance. One of the leaders of this rebellion was KONIGSMARKE, or the "*Long Finn*," a person of some notoriety in the annals of Delaware; being the first man on our shores, who had ever dared "to kick against the goads" of an odious and unlimited despotism. His coadjutor, as a leader in this enterprise, was Henry Coleman. They had been for some time, and in divers places, engaged in rousing the public to a resistance of the Duke's government. But the people were depressed. Their scattered position was unfavourable to combinations, the scheme failed for want of sufficient support, and the Long Finn was captured. Coleman, his associate, escaped. He was a citizen of character and property, and had left a valuable estate, in his patriotic attempt to break the yoke of an oppressive government. A proclamation was issued stating "that if Coleman did not surrender himself in fifteen days, his estate should be secured to the king's use."*

A council was held at New York, October 18th, 1669, present Sir Francis Lovelace, the governor, Thomas Delaval, and Ralph Whitfield; with Thomas Willet, as Secretary. It appears that these four persons, by virtue of their high powers, sat as accusers, judges, and jury, in this case of life and death, and "adjudged that Konigsmarke, commonly called the long Finn, deserved to die: Yet in regard that many concerned with him in the insurrection, might also be involved in the præmunire, if the rigour of the law should be extended; and among them divers *simple and ignorant people*, it was thought fit to order that the Long Finn should be severely whipped, and stigmatized [that is branded] with the letter R, with an inscription in great letters

* Smith's New Jersey, p. 53.

on his breast, [declaring] that he received that punishment for rebellion ; and afterwards to be secured till sent to Barbadoes, or some other remote plantation, *to be sold*. It was also *further ordered*, that the chief of his accomplices should forfeit to the king one half of their goods and chattels, and smaller mulct be laid on the rest, to be left at *discretion of commissioners* appointed to examine the matter.”

In pursuance of this sentence, the Long Finn was brought in irons from Delaware. He was imprisoned in the stadt-house at New York, on the 20th of December, and there confined a year, and then transported to Barbadoes, to be sold.

Some idea may be formed of the notions of civil government entertained by Lovelace, the sage representative of the Duke of York, from the order he gave on this occasion to Colonel Carr, his deputy governor on the Delaware. The favourite idea of Lovelace on this subject, he derived from some of his Dutch or Swedish mercenaries, which for its wisdom he deemed “worthy of all acceptance.” “As for the poor deluded sort,” says he, “I think the advice of their own countrymen is not to be despised, who knowing their temper well, prescribed a method for keeping them in order, which is *severity, and laying such taxes on them as might not give them liberty to entertain any other thoughts but how to discharge them.*”^{*} So weak was Lovelace, as to believe that the struggling spirit of rational liberty could in so widely extended a country be destroyed by the very means that gave it birth—the rigorous oppression of the people ! Only thirteen years before the arrival of Penn on the Delaware, the purblind statesman, Sir Francis Lovelace, and Edmund Andross, the arbitrary tool of the Duke of York, were deemed to be proper persons to govern those, whose exertions, in fact, were the spring of all that was then cheering in the state of the country.

In consequence of these views, the governor gave an order to

^{*} See an extract from the governor’s letter to Carr, preserved in Smith’s history of New Jersey, p. 53.

a certain Capt. Martin Prieger, to exact from every *importer of European goods*, and every *exporter of furs or peltry*, a duty of *ten per cent*, upon all such merchandize passing his fortification at the Hoorn-kill. Thus, by a dash of his pen, he laid a tariff and authorized its collection, without any long debates about "free trade and protection," and indeed, without any care or concern whether it destroyed *the little trade* of the colony or not. If it should replenish his coffers, and silence the rising murmurs against his absurd and oppressive system of government, his object would be attained.

Such was the unhappy state of the country under the domination of the Duke of York. The political horizon was dark and gloomy. The trading community on the west bank of the Delaware, and its tributaries, had little to cheer them under his yoke. But, according to the old adage, "the darker the night, the nearer is the day." The day, in fact, was just ready to break upon them. Light had already dawned on the settlers in east New Jersey, under the grant to Berkeley and Carteret. Its course was westward, diffusing life and vigour in its progress, according to its own blessed nature, and was soon to shine with unrivalled splendor, on the lovely shores of Pennsylvania and Delaware.

The long civil war in England, which terminated in the elevation of Cromwell, and was followed by the restoration of Charles II., had given occasion for discussions on the subject of government, in the course of which the great principles of *constitutional liberty* were developed; and in less than thirty years produced in England the revolution of 1688, which broke the long established line of succession to the throne. So well were those principles understood in the year 1665, only five years after the restoration of Charles, that Berkeley and Carteret found it necessary to grant to emigrants the power to institute a *free popular government*, before they could dispose of their lands! Thus was exhibited one of the most extraordinary spectacles that had ever been held up to the world; a despotic prince, of a race conspicuous for maintaining the highest notions of kingly pre-

rogative, actively aiding in the establishment of one of the *freest governments* then in existence ! At a time when Lovelace and Andross, the obsequious servants of the Duke, were wielding the iron sceptre of the Stuarts over New York, Pennsylvania, and Delaware, the inhabitants of New Jersey were enjoying all the advantages of a republican government, making their own laws, appointing their own judges, and electing their own executive.

Such was the situation of the colonies, when, through the influence of the Duke of Buckingham, and the intrigues of Louis XIV., the English were once more involved in a war with the Dutch. The two unscrupulous sovereigns of England and France, without any just or plausible cause, combined to crush the little mercantile and manufacturing republic of Holland. The objects of Charles were to shake off the restraint of the House of Commons, and make his government absolute. He was to have from France £250,000, a year, during the war, besides a fleet of armed ships ; and in the division of the Dutch territories, England was to have Zealand, as her share of the spoils.* With an army of 200,000 men, France made a sudden descent on Holland. Louis, on getting possession of Utrecht, was elated above measure, and under the false notion that the Dutch were already conquered, made demands of them, which if they had granted, would have destroyed their independence. But hope dictated vigorous action, and vigorous action, with a most remarkable train of favourable circumstances, which they considered Providential, turned the tide of prosperity in their favour, and finally made them victorious.

In the mean time, the Dutch fleet under De Ruyter, and the younger Van Tromp, beat the combined fleets of England and France, greatly its superior in number ; and a little squadron of Dutch ships, under the command of Admiral Evertsen, junior, almost ruined the whole French and English navigation, from Newfoundland to Barbadoes ; and in August, 1673, re-captured

* Burnet's history of his own times.

all the New Netherlands. In every department governed by the Duke, the people were probably glad to be relieved from his control. New York surrendered without resistance, New Jersey quietly submitted, and Pennsylvania and Delaware joyfully received the Dutch authorities as the restorers of a better system.

The first governor under the Duke of York, as we have seen, was Col. Richard Nichols. He had been groom of the bed-chamber to the Duke, and in his office as governor, was steadily devoted to the interest and policy of his master. He administered the government until the spring of 1667, when he returned to England. He was succeeded by Sir Francis Lovelace, who governed the provinces until their re-capture by the Dutch squadron, under Admiral Evertsen. He was a weak and pliant tool of the Duke, and at the surrender of the country, went home to England, and was not sent back at the recession of the colonies, because of his incompetency.

The Dutch, now in possession of their old domain in America, proceeded to re-establish the government under authorities of their own. They required oaths of allegiance to the States General and the Prince of Orange, from all officers, civil and military.* Anthony Colve was appointed Governor General over New York, and its dependencies. He appointed Peter Alrich his deputy, as commandant over the colonies on the west side of Delaware, and caused the inhabitants to take the oath of fealty to the Dutch government. His moderation and prudence were gratifying to all parties, and were the means of a quiet and speedy settlement of the people under the new order of things.

But this new order of things did not long continue. By the treaty of Westminster, made Feb. 19th, 1674, this country was restored to the English. There was no specific mention of it in the treaty. The surrender was made under the 6th article, which declared that "whatever lands, towns, forts, &c., taken

* Acrelius, p. 426.

by either party since the beginning of the war, shall be restored to their former owners.”*

In the month of October, 1674, Major Edmond Andross arrived at New York and took upon him the administration of the government. All the functions of the legislative and executive departments were vested in him and his council, and their authority not only extended over New York, Pennsylvania, and Delaware, but also over New Jersey, although a government had already been established there, by an express grant from the Duke of York to the proprietors. Andross exerted all the power of superior talents, to enforce the unjust pretensions of his master, and for several years kept New Jersey in a state of agitation by interfering with her commerce and government.

Soon after his arrival, he gave authority to Capt. Cantwell and Wm. Tomm, to take into their possession the fort at New Castle, with the public stores, for the King's use ; pursuant to the provisions of the late treaty. They were authorized to provide for the settlement and repose of the inhabitants at the Hoorn-kill, New Castle, and other places on the Delaware, as they might deem proper ; and were required to demean themselves amicably towards the neighbouring colonies.†

Among the powers resumed on this occasion, was the one that had been exercised by Lovelace, to impose duties on exports and imports ; and this power was extended to all goods passing up the Delaware ; whether destined to the ports of New Jersey, or those on the west side of the river. The colonists under the conveyance of Berkeley and Carteret, contended that *the right of government* had been granted them as well as the right to the soil, and complained heavily of the imposition of duties, as an infringement of the contract. In 1673, by an assignment of Lord Berkeley, his share of west New Jersey had been vested in John Fenwick and Edward Byllinge. The latter became embarrassed in his pecuniary affairs, and assigned his interest, *in trust*, for the benefit of his creditors, to William

* Acrelius, p. 426.

† Smith's history New Jersey, pp. 77, 78.

Penn, Gawen Lawrie, and Nicholas Lucas. They formed for west New Jersey, a constitution of government, by which liberty of conscience, universal suffrage, the pursuit of happiness, and security of person and property were inalienably secured. In fine, it was a system in which all the powers of self-government on the most free and liberal principles were granted and confirmed. The proprietors, *in trust*, were not disposed passively to submit to the illegal exercise of power in the Duke's name. Penn and his colleagues, by a bold and spirited appeal to the Duke, insisted on their rights of exemption from the impositions of Andross, and reasoned the case with a force of argument and clearness of demonstration, seldom equalled, and perhaps never surpassed.* No document since ushered into the world, breathes a purer spirit of liberty, or manifests a more undaunted determination to support its ennobling principles.† To the acts and illustrations of these principles, by Penn and his cotemporaries, our countrymen were much indebted for those clear views of the subject, which, before the commencement of the revolutionary war, enabled them with so much force to expose and repel a scheme to bring them into a degrading bondage. To this source we trace the germs of that rational freedom, in the enjoyment of

* See the document in Smith's history of New Jersey, p. 117. This document, it is said, was prepared by William Penn, Geo. Hutchinson, and others, but any one acquainted with the peculiar style of Penn, can be at no loss to determine whose mind conceived it, or by whose pen it was written. It is clear, forcible, sententious, and like the author in his other writings, remarkable for the cogency of his argument, and the irresistible truth of his conclusions. Penn's style was as peculiar and distinguishable from others, as his character.

† The society of which Penn was a conspicuous member has been charged with holding the doctrine of "passive obedience," and that it was this which recommended them to the royal brothers, Charles and James. So far is this charge from correct, that there never has been a people who have more uniformly or more undauntedly opposed this irrational degrading doctrine than the Quakers. The difference between them and other friends of civil liberty, was this, that the Quakers, in opposing despotic power, did not feel warranted to use means *inconsistent with the peaceable spirit of Christianity*. See Gordon's N. J., p. 51.

which our beloved country is, we trust, advancing towards the highest object of the philanthropic statesman, *a perfect civil government*; and at the same time holding up a light to the world, which, we devoutly wish, may never be dimmed or extinguished, until the whole race of man shall be disenthralled, and genuine liberty cover the earth, as the waters cover the sea.

The spirited remonstrance of Penn had its proper effect, as is evinced in a letter from Samuel Jennings, a conspicuous emigrant to New Jersey in the year 1680, directed to William Penn, Edward Byllinge, and Gawen Lawrie, then in England. He says, "About six weeks since, we arrived in Delaware river, where I expected to have met with *a combat*, in the *denial of customs*. In our passage at sea, I had communicated to all that had any considerable cargo on board, the opinion of council, concerning the illegal demand thereof; with what else I thought might be for their information: which thus far prevailed, that most, if not all concerned, seemed *resolved to deny the paying of custom* here, having paid all the king's duties in England. In good time we came to anchor in Delaware, where one Peter Alrich,* came aboard, and brought a handsome present to our commander. They sent for me into the round-house, where they both were, and Peter told me he had nothing to say to us relating to customs; *he had no commission for it*, nor did he know of any body that had. So we had all our goods safely landed after this unexpected easy manner."

The commissioners appointed by the Duke, to hear and determine in the case, could not withstand the force of the arguments for removing the imposition, and finally gave judgment, "that as the grant to Berkeley and Carteret had reserved no

* We first hear of Peter Alrich as commissary at the fort near Cape Henlopen, built in 1659. He was commandant over the colonies on Delaware under the Dutch in 1673, and afterwards a member of the General Assembly under Wm. Penn, which met in Philadelphia in 1683.

profit *or jurisdiction*, the legality of the tax could not be defended." 'Tis probable that Peter Alrich had received a copy of the decision, or knew its import at the time he permitted Jennings and his friends so easily to pass his station at the Hoorn-kill, without payment of the duties.

CHAPTER X.

THE Swedes on the Delaware had at this time, lived under three different governments ; their own, the Dutch, and the English. They had increased under them all, and had extended their settlements from Christina and its vicinity, to the Poquessing creek on the west side of the Delaware. On the east side they had a settlement on Raccoon Creek, called Swedesborough, and at other places in smaller companies. When William Penn obtained the province of Pennsylvania, their most important settlements were at New Castle, Wilmington, and the neighbouring country ; at Marcus Hook, Chester, Tinicum, and its vicinity, at Kingsessing, Passyunk, Wicaco, and the land on which the city of Philadelphia now stands, at Frankford, Pennypack, Poquessing, and probably at other places. They had then three places of worship, one at Crane-hook, near Christina,* one at Tinicum, and one at Wicaco, in the old fort there. Their population passing as Swedes, amounted to nearly 1000. Those descended on one side only from Swedish parents, though probably not amounting to near that number, were undoubtedly numerous. We know they had intermarried extensively with the Dutch, and some marriage connections had no doubt been formed with the English.

The only settlements forming villages in 1681, were New Castle, Marcus Hook, Chester, and Wicaco. The largest of them was New Castle, settled by the Dutch after the erection of Fort Cassimir in 1651. A few houses may have been built before the year 1656, but nothing like a town or village appeared there, until after the recapture of Fort Cassimir, and subversion of the Swedish authority on the Delaware. In the last

* We have no account of the erection of the church at Swedesborough. It is mentioned in the early records of Christeen church.

mentioned year a large number of Dutch families removed from the settlement of Manhattan, and other places on the North river. Seventy-five deeds for land were granted at that time, mostly for lots on the point, which had been selected as the location for the village, on account of its beauty, and as the most suitable place for trade. The point extended out into the water, far beyond the general course of the western shore, commanding extensive views of the country, both up the river, and down toward the bay. Before the Dutch purchased this spot of the Indians, it was known to the Swedes by the name of "Sandhuken," and was called by the English traders, "Grape-vine point." The town was named "New Amstel."* After the conquest by the Swedes, it was the seat of government for the lower division of the colony; which had been allotted to the West India Company. Here the governors mostly resided, and here was the only fort that was kept up as a place of defence subsequent to the surrender of Fort Christina. After the capture of the colony by the English, they called it "New Castle." By this name it has been known ever since.

When George Fox, the reputed founder of the Society of Friends, travelled through the American colonies, in 1672, he visited New Castle, and was hospitably entertained by the governor and people. His account of that visit furnishes some interesting facts illustrative of the state of the country at that period. He and his companions left "Middletown Harbour" on a branch of the Raritan, New Jersey, the 9th of September, 1672, and took a south-westerly course, so as to head the rivers, and, as much as possible, avoid swamps and impassable streams. After passing through many Indian towns, and travelling, as he supposed, forty miles, they made a fire in the woods, and so passed the first night, probably near the place at which Allentown was afterwards located. The next day they travelled about fifty miles, and lodged in a house that had been deserted for fear of

* New Castle was incorporated by Lovelace in 1672, to be governed by a Bailiff and six assistants, with power to try causes for not more than ten pounds. They were permitted thenceforward to carry on trade without making entry at New York as formerly. Smith's N. J. p. 72.

the Indians. This was probably at the spot where the city of Burlington now stands,* as, one year before, two Dutch men had been murdered on an island which lies between that city and Bristol. The narrator, says it was "near the head of the bay," meaning the head of navigation. The third day they crossed the Delaware, passing first from the Jersey shore to an island which he calls "Upper Dinidock," thence to the Pennsylvania side, the whole distance computed at one mile. Their horses swam the river, while the Indians took the travellers over in their canoes. Thence going about thirty miles to the house of a *Swede*, they procured some straw, and lay there that night; probably near the Blue Bell tavern in Kingsessing, then a Swedish settlement. The fourth day they travelled through the woods, about forty miles; made a fire and slept by it, to dry their clothes, the day having been rainy. This was probably in Brandywine-Hundred. The fifth day they "passed over a desperate river, which had in it many rocks and broad stones very hazardous" to them and their horses. "From thence," says the narrative, "we came to Christian river, where we swam over our horses, and went ourselves in canoes; but the sides of the river were so bad and miry, that some of the horses had like to have been laid up. From thence we came to a town called New Castle, heretofore called New Amsterdam,† [New Amstel]

* This is rendered almost certain by a number of circumstances. The island now the site of the city of Burlington, was held by four Dutchmen about that time. Gordon's Gazetteer, p. 113. The men that were murdered, Smith says, were Dutchmen; the survivors were alarmed and deserted the house. The name of the island where the murder was committed was called Matineconk or Tineconk, which G. Fox, by a slight mistake understood to be Dinidock. It was called Upper Tineconk, to distinguish it from the island on which Burlington stands, then called lower Tineconk. Campanius calls the place Tennako, and says it was inhabited by the Dutch, p. 83. Tiniconk or Tenacong, is probably the Indian name for island.

† In 1675, William Edmundson travelled through the colonies. In his journal, pp. 107, 108, he calls the town "Delaware Town." The Duke of York in his deed of feoffment to Wm. Penn, dated August 24, 1682, calls it "New Castle, alias Delaware Town." Proud's Hist. vol. 1, p. 201.

and being very weary, and inquiring in the town, where we might buy some corn for our horses, the governor came into the street and invited me to his house, and afterwards desired me to lodge there, telling me he had a bed for me, and I should be welcome.”*

The governor under the Duke of York, at this time, was Lord Lovelace. The house he lived in stood near the shore, on the north side of Harmony street, near the corner of the first street running parallel with the river. It was built of brick, and over each window and door was a low, elliptical arch made of yellow bricks imported from Holland. When in a state of dilapidation, the timbers appeared to have all been hewed; indicating its erection before the introduction of saw mills; and the mortar cement had been made of lime, that was burnt from oyster shells, before any lime-stone had been discovered. This building was standing within forty years from the present time.†

We cannot with certainty trace the course our travellers took to pass from Middletown on the Raritan, to New Castle.‡ But we cannot be mistaken in pointing to the *Brandywine*, as the “desperate river which had in it many rocks and broad stones, very hazardous to them and their horses,” nor can we be deceived in calling the river, whose sides “were so bad and miry,” that their horses suffered severely in crossing it, our *Christina*; which the journalist calls Christian-river. The “rocks” of the one and the “miry sides” of the other, sufficiently identify them to the present time.

From this account we learn that in 1672, more than forty years after the first permanent settlement on the Delaware, the country between Amboy and New Castle, was yet in a wilder-

* George Fox says, the governor offered his house, and they held a public meeting in it, to which most of the town’s people came.

† This house was pointed out to the author by his father nearly sixty years ago. It was then a decent dwelling house.

‡ The course pursued by our travellers was necessarily very circuitous, as there were neither roads nor bridges. By G. Fox’s estimate, they travelled 168 miles in going from Middletown harbour to New Castle. The distance by the present route is about one hundred miles.

ness state. Indian towns; streams crossed by the aid of the natives with their canoes; the original forests of the country, traversed by Indian paths; dangerous swamps and morasses, are the principal subjects of remark. Burlington, the oldest town in west Jersey, was not laid out until five years afterwards, and the scite of Philadelphia was then inhabited by the Indians. The Swedish settlement at Upland is not mentioned; the travellers, in order to avoid rivers and creeks, kept inland, and probably crossed the country eight or ten miles west of the Delaware.

Marcus Hook is not laid down as a village, on Vander Donck's map of 1654 and 1655. It is marked on that map as FINLAND. This was the name of all the country lying between the Hook and Chester. It was one of the few pieces of land granted by patent, under the Swedish government. The grant was made to a native of Finland, and because he was not a Swede, perhaps it was deemed necessary that he should have a patent or deed for the property. As the document is curious, and connected with the history of our early settlements, it is deemed proper to insert it in full, as translated by Charles Springer, a native Swede of the seventeenth century:

“We, Christina, by the grace of God Queen of Sweedland, Gothen, and Wenden, Great Princess of Finland, Dutchess of Estland, &c.

Be it known, that we of our favour, and because of the true and trusty service which is done unto us and the Crown, by our true and trusty servant, Captain Hans Ammundson Besk, for which service he hath done, and further is obliged to do, so long as he yet shall live; so have we granted and given unto him freely, as the virtue of this our open letter, is, and doth shew and specify; that is, we have freely given and granted unto him, his wife and heirs, that is heirs after heirs, one certain piece and tract of land, being and lying in New Sweedland, Marcus Hook by name, which doth reach up to, and upwards to Upland Creek, and that with all the privileges, appurtenances and conveniences thereunto belonging, both in wet and dry, whatsoever name or

names they have, and may be called, none excepted of them, that is, which hath belonged unto this aforesaid tract of land, of age and also by law and judgment may be claimed unto it, and he and his heirs to have and to hold it unmolested for ever for their lawful possession and inheritance, so that all which will unlawfully lay any claim thereunto, they may regulate themselves hereafter, so that they may not lay any further claim or pretence unto the aforesaid tract of land forever hereafter.

Now for the true confirmation hereof have we this with our own hand underwritten, and also manifested with our seal, in Stockholm, the 20th of August, in the year of our Lord 1653.

Translated exactly by me } CHRISTINA, [L. S.]
Charles Springer.

NIELS TUNGELL, Secretary."

The Queen of Sweden, by another patent bearing the same date, granted to Sven Schute, an officer of the government, who afterward made a conspicuous figure in the colony, another tract of land, comprehending all Kingsessing and Passyunk.*

Marcus Hook probably derived its name from a distinguished Indian chief who resided on the point of land where the village now stands. In the report of Commissary Hudde, dated in 1645, and directed to the authorities of New Amsterdam, he speaks of "two of the principal Sachems" on the west side of the Delaware, named "Maarte-hook and Wissemenets," as grantors of land to the Dutch.† This fact suggests the supposition that the Hook, which means a promontory or point of land, took its distinguishing appellation from the old Indian Maarte, as the creek about two miles lower down took its name from the old Indian chief and orator of the Minquas tribe, called Naaman.

Chester was a considerable town when William Penn first arrived in the country in 1682.‡ It is situate on a point of fast

* Rudman's Memoirs. See also Campanius, p. 80.

† Hudde's report, p. 439.

‡ Campanius says, "there was a fort built there some time after its settlement" But as no mention is made, by any other chronicler, of a

land, formed by Delaware river and Chester creek. Its name at that time was Upland, so called by the Swedes after a province of Sweden, on the gulf of Bothnia, but the Indian name was Mecoponaca. In the latter part of that year William Penn held his first Legislative Assembly at Chester; at which time a code of laws, that had been prepared in England, was passed, the three counties on Delaware annexed to the province of Pennsylvania, and the Dutch, Swedes, and other foreigners naturalized. At that time they had a prison, some remains of which are still to be seen, and the house in which the assembly sat is yet standing. At Chester the first meeting for divine worship ever settled in Pennsylvania, by the Society of Friends, was established. It was visited by William Edmundson in 1675.* Proud, in his history of Pennsylvania, says, that in that year Robert Wade and divers others came over, and that meetings were regularly held there from that time.† Chester is located in a rich fertile district; the situation is very pleasant; on the north-east side of a fine mill-stream, navigable a short distance from its mouth. It is the seat of justice for Delaware County. The court-house was built of hewn stone in 1724. In it the county courts are yet held. It was the landing place in Penn's time, of a large number of substantial yeomen, whose descendants are now thickly scattered over our widely extended country.

The hamlet of Wicaco occupied a beautiful bank on the Delaware, round the spot where the old Swede's church stands, near the United States Navy Yard, Southwark. Here they had a church, and round it was a number of settlements. It had been

fortification or regular military station at Upland, it is probable that "fort," in this case, must be understood to mean a "*strong house*," or place of security in case of a sudden attack by the Indians. Such houses are often mentioned by the writers of that time. See Campanius, p. 81.

* W. Edmundson's Journal, p. 108.

† Wade's house was on a beautiful rising ground, on the south side of Chester creek, where he had a landing place. Proud's Hist. Penn. vol. 1, p. 193.

built for a blockhouse, but was converted into a place of worship, and first used as such in 1677, it being no longer needed as a place of defence. The Swedes had here a burial ground, in which their people, on both sides of the river, interred their dead.* In the year 1700, the old church was taken down, and the present building erected on its scite, partly with materials from Governor Printz's church at Tinicum.

When William Penn had fixed upon a place for his intended city and seat of government, he found the land claimed by some Swedish proprietors. These claims he satisfied by grants of larger tracts in other situations. He always treated the Swedes with marked respect, as the original settlers of the country, as well as a worthy industrious people. His character of them, as it was drawn in his letter to the society of traders, in London, dated 6th mo. (August,) 1683, exhibits them in an interesting point of view. He says: "The first planters in these parts were the Dutch;† and soon after them the Swedes and Finns.‡ The Dutch applied themselves to *traffick*; the Swedes and Finns to *husbandry*. The Dutch inhabit, mostly, those parts of the province that lie upon or near the bay,§ the *Swedes* the freshes of the river Delaware.|| They are a plain, strong, industrious people; yet have made no great progress in the culture or propagation of fruit trees; as if they desired rather to have enough than plenty, or for traffick; but I presume the Indians made them the more careless by furnishing them with the means of profit, to wit, skins and furs, in exchange for rum and such strong

* Clay's Annals, p. 76.

† In New Jersey, under Cornelius May, at Fort Nassau and its vicinity, and under De Vries on the Delaware side, near Cape Henlopen.

‡ The Swedes at Christina and Tinicum, and the Finns between Marcus Hook and Chester.

§ New Castle and the Hoom-kill, near Lewistown.

|| The Swedes, before Penn's time, never settled far from the tide water. One of their writers says, that at Christina none of them settled more than a Swedish mile from the fort. Their places of worship, and most of their dwelling houses, were always built on the shore of some navigable water, that they might go to church in boats.

liquors. They kindly received me, as well as the English, who were but few before the people concerned with me came among them. I must needs commend their respect to authority, and kind behaviour to the English. They do not degenerate from the old friendship between both kingdoms. As they are a people proper and strong of body, so they have fine children, and almost every house full. It is rare to find one of them without three or four boys, and as many girls; some six, seven, and eight sons. And I must do them that right, to say, I see few young men more sober and laborious."

On Penn's first arrival in the Delaware, in 1682, the Swedes at New Castle joined the other inhabitants, and met him with demonstrations of great joy. Shortly after his landing he called his first legislature. It met at Upland, now Chester, December 4th, 1672. On this occasion the Swedes, *as a distinct people*, deputed Capt. Lassé Cock, to address the proprietor on their behalf. He assured Penn, that they would love, serve, and obey him, with all they possessed, declaring that the day of this meeting was the best day they had ever seen.* Lassé Cock in the following year was chosen a member of the Governor's Council, and there were in the first Assembly at least two members who were Swedes. Their names were Anders Bengtson and Sven Svensson. Their writers speak of their situation under the proprietary government, in terms of affection and gratitude. Bioreck, the Swedish Missionary, writing to Kolmodin, their superintendent in Sweden, under date, Oct. 29th, 1697, informs him that the governor received them with great kindness, that the country was delightful, the taxes light, grain plenty, fresh meat abundant, no poor in the country, and the people well clothed.† Rudman, writing to Professor Arrhenius, at Upsal, Oct. 20th, 1697, says, "the English have received us extremely well: the government is very mild, and the people live quietly under Governor Wm. Markham, who is exceedingly well disposed towards

* Proud's Hist. Penn., vol. 1, p. 206.

† Campanius, 98, 100. Clay's Annals, 64, 67.

us. He has reproached us with not going often enough to see him, and has left us quite at liberty as to our church discipline. There are many Swedes employed in the administration of the government, some of them are counsellors, many of them are officers, &c.”*

The Swedes had never known under their own administration, either in the “fatherland,” or in the colony, the blessings of a government founded on the popular will, one whose sole object was the good of the governed. Admitting that neither under the Dutch, nor the Duke of York’s administration, they had suffered severely, as the victims of a despotic system, yet they had suffered grievously for want of that kind of government which calls into action the intellectual and physical powers of man. All these had been left to languish. Education was neglected; the active energies of the mind had either run wild, or been depressed; and for more than forty years there had been very little advancement, either among the Dutch or Swedes, toward the perfection of our rational nature. “They weakly err,” says Penn, “who think there is no other use of government, than *correction*; this is the coarsest part of it.”

The government established by William Penn was essentially different from any they had ever known. It was not long before this period that religious toleration was deemed incompatible with civil government.† Even in England, at that time, *heresy* in certain points, was a *capital crime*. The writ “*de hæretico comburendo*” was then available for burning heretics. When Penn, in 1688, published his “Sandy Foundation

* After Penn’s return to England, he “sent them a parcel of books and catechisms, with a *folio Bible*, for the church,” and “petitioned the Swedish Ambassador at London, for Ministers and books for them.” See Rudman’s *Memoirs in Wicaco church*. Also Clay’s *Annals*, p. 45.

† In 1670 the chaplain to the Archbishop of Canterbury, in a printed discourse against toleration, asserted as a fundamental truth that “it would be less injurious to the government to dispense with prophane and loose persons, than to allow a toleration to religious dissenters.” Preface to the trial of Penn and Mead.

Shaken," the bishop of London threw him into the tower, and declared he should die there, unless he would recant. The idea that kings had a divine right to the throne, and that the subject was bound passively to obey, without the least regard to the character or conduct of the sovereign, was the common sentiment of that day. Many years after the revolution which excluded the Stuart branch of the royal family from the throne, the kingdom was repeatedly convulsed by attempts to set aside the house of Hanover, because its kings were not "the Lord's anointed." Not all the weakness, amounting almost to imbecility, not all the corruption, and faithlessness, and ingratitude of that family, more or less obvious as they were, from its accession to its close, could abate in the minds of thousands the idolatrous notion of *the inalienable sanctity* of the race. Terms only applicable to the Creator, were unblushingly applied to very unworthy men, and "his most sacred majesty" was well known to be a very low, unprincipled sensualist.*

* "Debauched in mind and heart, adversity, usually the rugged nurse of virtue, made the selfish libertine but the more reckless in his profligacy." Bancroft, vol. 2, p. 48.

CHAPTER XI.

AT the time Penn obtained the grant of Pennsylvania, a better day had dawned, and many saw its glory and rejoiced in its light. But national habits and modes of thinking are not easily changed. The world of mind, like the world of matter, must wait the gradual unfoldings of the day, and thousands of the most virtuous men of the seventeenth century, who had marked with solicitude the revolution of sentiment on the subject of government, did not live to see the sun of civil liberty fairly above the horizon. Penn had suffered very severely under the old dark system. He had seen thousands of his brethren and sisters, innocent men and women, dragged from their places of worship, from their homes and their firesides, from families of little children, and from the business which procured them bread, and immured in dark loathsome prisons, without any crime, or even the charge of a crime, but merely for a conscientious dissent from the dictates of an overbearing hierarchy.* He had learned lessons of the highest wisdom in the school of adversity. He had seen human nature under its worst aspect. He had perceived to what fearful extremes of cruelty man may be driven by the love of power, when he has rejected the gentle voice of mercy, the authoritative language of justice, and the holy influence of truth and love in himself.

* In 1670, the recorder of the city of London, sitting in his judicial capacity, at the trial of Penn and Mead, publicly declared, *that it certainly never would be well with them till something like the Spanish Inquisition should be established in England.*

During the reign of Charles, fifteen thousand families had been ruined for their religious persuasion, and on the accession of James, twelve hundred Friends were at one time released from filthy prisons and noisome dungeons, in which five thousand persons had perished for conscience sake the victims of a profligate monarch, himself without religion, and regardless even of common morality.

Penn had not been an idle spectator of the scenes through which he had passed. His life had been spent in active exertion. He had boldly braved the force of arbitrary power, at a time when the whole court of the second Charles and his obsequious servants were striving to render the king wholly irresponsible to the law and to the people. While more timid men shrunk from the contest, he openly exposed the tyranny of the government. When the king himself was a pensioner of France; when the great charter of English freedom was trampled under foot; when juries were brow-beaten, fined, and imprisoned, for rendering an honest conscientious verdict, Penn stood forth the champion of liberty and law; and by a successful opposition to the court, gave to tyranny and oppression a blow, from the effects of which they never wholly recovered.* On this occasion he boldly appeared in print, published a narrative of the oppressive proceedings against him, exposed the base means taken to crush him, and openly encouraged jurymen to maintain their ground against every attempt to intimidate them.† “Having been oppressed, he had reason to know how hateful the oppressor is, both to God and man;”‡ and now being called upon to form a system of government, he was prepared to bring into action all the powers of a strong and enlightened understanding, in framing a Constitution, effectually to protect his colonists in the enjoyment of civil and religious freedom.

“Any government,” says Penn, “is free to the people under it, where the laws rule, and the people are a party to these laws.” “To support power in reverence with the people, and to secure the people from the abuse of power; that the people

* See trial of Penn and Mead. Penn’s select works, folio p. 161.

† Penn’s conduct, on this occasion, does not favour the suggestion, that he held the doctrine of “passive obedience,” nor that he courted the favour of the king and duke of York, by professing a doctrine so degrading in its effects. The society of which he was a member abhorred it, as inconsistent with the first principles of the Christian religion, which teaches to “obey God rather than men.” Acts v. 28.

‡ Barclay’s address to King Charles II. Apology, preface.

may be free by their just obedience, and the magistrates honorable for their just administration, are the great ends of government. For liberty without obedience, is confusion, and obedience without liberty, is slavery.”* Time, and experience in the science of government, may have suggested to legislators some material improvements on Penn’s model of a Constitution. But such improvements chiefly relate to the practical part, or the carrying out of the views and intentions of his system. Time and experience have both demonstrated the truth of Penn’s theory. That “liberty without obedience is confusion,” has been amply demonstrated, in more than one of the states, under our own excellent government; that obedience without liberty is slavery, is a sentiment that produced the American revolution. Penn, as a legislator, was more than a century in advance of his age. If any place, more than another, deserves to be called “the cradle of liberty,” that place is Pennsylvania. There it was nursed, and there it attained athletic vigor, long before a revolution was contemplated, or a separation from the mother country had become an object of desire.

In his government, instituted in 1683, the legislature consisted of two houses, *both elected by the freemen of the province*. The upper house was composed of three members from each county, and was called the “Provincial Council.” The lower house was composed of six members from each county, and was styled the “General Assembly.” It was to be composed of “men of most note for their virtue, wisdom and ability.” The executive authority was vested in the Governor and Council, who were charged with the execution of the laws, the care of the public peace, the establishment and order of public schools, institution of courts of justice, &c., &c. Members of the legislature were chosen by ballot, and every freeman of the province was entitled to vote. All laws for the raising of revenue, and other purposes, were enacted by the representatives of the people. The estates of aliens were to descend to their legal representatives, in the same way as the estates of citizens, and all the

* Proud’s Pennsylvania, vol. 1, p. 198, &c.

settlers were at liberty to fish, fowl, and hunt, without restriction, on their own lands, and all others not inclosed ; the proprietor reserving no privileges as chief lord of the fee, or as governor. All persons acknowledging one Supreme Creator, and holding themselves obliged in conscience to live peaceably and justly, should in no ways be molested or prejudiced for their religious persuation ; nor be compelled to frequent or maintain any religious worship, place, or ministry whatever.

Thus Penn faithfully redeemed the pledge, which, two years before, he had given to the inhabitants of his province, in a letter dated a short time after his grant from the king. “ You shall be governed *by laws of your own making*, and live a free, and, if you will, a sober and industrious people. I shall not usurp the right of any, or oppress his person. God has furnished me with a better resolution, and has given me his grace to keep it. In short, *whatever sober and free men, can reasonably desire, for the security and improvement of their own happiness, I shall heartily comply with.*”

PART II.

CHAPTER I.

ECCLESIASTICAL AFFAIRS.

THE most ancient, and indeed almost the only monument remaining, to show that there ever was a Swedish colony on our shore, is the old Swede's Church on the bank of the Christina.* Very few of their old dwelling houses remain. Their posterity, a mixed race, cannot now be distinguished from their fellow-citizens. Their language is so entirely lost, that it is doubtful whether they possess a single individual who can read or speak it. But *there stands* their venerable *old church*; with solemn aspect, silently, but expressively bearing testimony to the existence and piety of a generation that has passed away forever. And *there* is their *grave-yard*, where repose the mortal remains of those who formed the first enduring settlement on the Delaware; and where probably some of their bones have rested more than two hundred years. There lies all that could die of a community that connects our country directly with ancient Scandinavia, a region which more than one thousand years ago poured its victorious legions over all the countries of western and southern Europe, and whose blood is now largely mingled with that of the most polished nations of the world.

When the colony under Minuit landed on the point of rocks, and settled the beautiful bank between it and the Brandywine, one of their first cares was to provide a house for divine worship

* The church at Wicaco was built about two years after the one at Christina. It is yet standing, a more elegant structure than ours, but it wants the majestic simplicity of its older and only companion.



Benj. Ferris del.

P.S. Duval. Lith. Phil^a

A VIEW OF THE EPISCOPAL CHURCH AT NEW CASTLE, DEL.

FOUNDED 1704

It was built within the walls of the fort, and stood perhaps within thirty yards of the Christina. A clergyman came with them, and officiated there till his death in 1643. On this spot all the Swedes about Christina met for religious purposes until the erection of the Church at Crane-hook. This church was not built until the year 1667, *twelve years* after the conquest of New Sweden by the Dutch, and *three years* after the whole country had been subjected to the British government. Nicholas Collin, in his notes on the memoirs of Rudman, among the records at Wicaco, informs us that "when many of the Dutch families had joined in the Swedish worship, a small church was built at Crane-hook, about one and a half miles from the fort, on the south side of the creek; being convenient for the Dutch at New Castle." In another place he says, speaking of the Swedes, "their mild virtues also changed their former foes, the Dutch, into friends; so that they became members of their church. This happened the more easily, as the Hollanders had no clergyman, nor church of their own. They were of the Reformed Protestant communion, not very different from the Lutheran. Their respective languages are in a great measure congenial.* By these fortunate circumstances the Swedes were the more able to preserve their own religious manners and language, and thereby to keep alive their affection for the mother country."

The Crane-hook church stood on a beautiful spot close to the shore of the Delaware, so that the people from New Castle and Raccoon creek, as well as those on the banks of the Christina and Brandywine could come almost to the church door in their boats; a great convenience at a time when there were no riding carriages in the country, and perhaps few roads, and no bridges across the creeks and rivulets. But since that time extensive flats, lying outside of the green plot of upland on which the church stood, have been inclosed by banks, so that *a boat*

* When Fabritius was employed to preach at Wicaco, in 1677, being a Dutch clergyman, he preached and administered the sacraments to the Swedes in his own language, and until his failure from the infirmities of age, was esteemed by them "an excellent pastor." Camp. 108.

could not now float within a furlong of it. A few years since on a visit to this spot, which was pointed out by Peter Alrich, (a descendant of the second Dutch governor after the conquest) no tombstone or other trace of the grave-yard could be discovered. The church, which was a wooden one, was entirely gone. The only vestiges of the building were four large hornblende rocks, which had served for corner stones, to raise the house above the earth. These must have been brought from some distance. The ground in the immediate vicinity is alluvial, affording no stone of that kind. The building and grave-yard occupied a piece of ground on which is at present an orchard. It is on a farm near the plantation of Peter Alrich, and directly north of the old brick mansion, formerly Stidham's. Susanna Alrich, who died twenty-five years since, at an advanced age, said she could well remember the remains of the old church.

That the "mild virtues" of the Swedes had their appropriate effects in bringing the Dutch into amicable relations with them, cannot be doubted; but that marriage connections had taken place extensively at the time the Crane-hook church was built, is almost certain. It is true that marriage connections are generally founded on amicable relations, but those were mostly formed between the younger part of the community, some of them ten or twelve years before the Dutch and Swedes united in building a church, and by the consequent intercourse of their families had a powerful effect in removing the prejudices of the older people, and changing "former foes into friends." In 1693, thirty-eight years after the surrender of the Swedes, when a list of their families, with the number of individuals in each family, was made, we find several of the parents bearing Dutch names.*

It is probable that the old church at the rocks, within the fort, continued to be their place of worship until both parties had united and built the Crane-hook church. We know that in Governor Beekman's time, Andreas Hudde, who had been the

* See Clay's Annals, p. 139, &c.

commander at Fort Nassau, officiated as clerk in the church at Christina, under Lock, who was, at that time, the only *Swedish* clergyman in the country. Beekman resided here from 1658, until 1664, when the colony was conquered by the English.

From the time of building the church at Crane-hook in 1667, to the year 1688, nine years before the three missionaries, Biorck, Rudman, and Auren, arrived in this country, Lock had to supply as well as he could the two congregations at Christina and Tinicum. Lock died in 1688, after which they had no preacher among them but Jacob Fabritius, an ancient *Dutch* clergyman, who had been called to their service from New York, in 1677, and officiated principally at Wicaco fourteen years, the last nine of which he was totally blind. Rudman says he died in 1693 or 1694. From 1691, when Fabritius retired, until the arrival of the missionaries, they had no regular ministry. During the interval, "public worship was in part continued by prayers, psalms, and reading of homilies. Two worthy men performed the office of lecturers. Anders Bengtson, in the upper church, and Charles Springer, in the lower. Orderly people attended, but others did not; or came for amusement; some of the young men for horse-racing. The want of discipline occasioned many disorders."*

As soon as Fabritius, by the infirmities of age, had become unable to discharge the duties of a clergyman, the Swedish congregations manifested their concern for the religious instruction of their people, by writing to Sweden for assistance, but receiving no answer, they suspected their letters had been intercepted from sinister motives; for they had twice failed to reach their destination. Disappointed in their hopes from Sweden, they petitioned the Lutheran Consistory, at Amsterdam, to procure them a minister, by ordaining some student of theology, a native of Sweden, if any such should be at that place, and well qualified for the station. And, if no such character could be obtained there, then to correspond on their behalf, with some ecclesiastical body in Sweden, requesting that a clergyman might

* Rudman's Memoirs, Wicaco Church.

be sent them. Some judgment may be formed of the value of money at that time, 1691, by the following extract from their letter: "As a labourer is worthy of his reward, we stipulate for the coming minister, a yearly salary of *one hundred rix dollars*, with a house and glebe for his maintenance." This was probably considered a liberal offer.

"This expedient proved ineffectual," says Rudman, "and the prospect became very dark." They were attached to the Lutheran religion, and wanted a minister who would teach "the true doctrines contained in the Augsburg Confession of Faith, free from all human superstition and tradition." They were fearful that their people might be drawn away from the profession of their education, which would weaken their attachment for their church and their country.

During the administration of Markham, deputy governor of Pennsylvania, who was appointed in 1694, William Penn, understanding through his deputy, their destitute situation, manifested his liberality and kindness, by sending them "a parcel of books and catechisms, with a *folio Bible* for their church." Several years before, he had petitioned the Swedish ambassador at London for ministers and books for them.* It is pleasant to record such instances of Christian benevolence, of freedom from that illiberal spirit which would turn away from a suffering brother, because of some honest difference of opinion or judgment. Penn, though he would have laid down his life in defence of the truth, as it was manifested to his own mind, had none of that religion, which, seeing a fellow creature in distress, could coldly "pass him by on the other side." The very essence of his religion was LOVE. It was the animating, warming, inspiring influence of this heaven-born principle, that sustained him through all his toil, and suffering, and self-sacrifice, for the happiness and welfare of his colonists; that he might settle them in peace and safety, under a free government, where they might enjoy every man the fruit of his own industry, on his own domain, where "none should make him afraid."

* Rudman's Memoir's, Wicaco. Clay's Annals, p. 45.

The administration of the new government soon gave life and animation to the colony. Never, perhaps, did a short time produce a more striking change in the face of a country. Under the Duke of York all was dull and sluggish. His government, like a stagnant pool, only produced a sickly malaria, or if it gave life at all, it was to something noxious. Man is excited to action by a consciousness of his own powers, and of the freedom to direct them toward the attainment of desirable objects. The Constitution of Pennsylvania not only gave that freedom, but set before the people an open door to the attainment of every thing desirable to a rational mind. The Swedes, in common with all the original settlers, soon felt the change. From this period, we perceive in their records the evidences of a more active condition. They were wholly untrammelled by Church and State,—their people became counsellors, legislators, officers in various departments under the government.* Trade with foreign countries was opened, and a livelier communication with the rest of the world began to take place.

About the year 1690, a young man of the name of Andrew Printz, a nephew of their late Governor Printz, visited the Delaware. His countrymen hailed the youthful adventurer with delight, and entertained him with warm hospitality. He was from their “father-land,” to many of them the land of their birth. He could tell them of their country and their friends beyond the Atlantic; could say who was their king, and their bishop and archbishop; who of their old friends were yet alive, and who had gone to their long home. Two men at least, of those who crossed the ocean with their first governor, were yet living; old Andrew Bonde, and Peter Rambo; and many later adventurers, born in the “father-land,” were yet on the stage of action. Young Printz returned to Sweden, and at Gottenburg met with John Thelin, to whom he related the circumstances of his journey, and particularly of the discovery he had made of a settlement of “old Swedes,” on the Delaware, who lived comfortably, had

* See Clay's Annals, p. 72.

good land, dwelt together in harmony, and “used the old Swedish way in every thing.” He said they had greatly rejoiced to see one from their native country ; wished to know who was the reigning king ; and expressed great confidence that, if his majesty knew of their “want of ministers, and godly books, he would supply their necessities.” Thelin was postmaster at Gottenburg, and being an officer of the government, found means to communicate this information to his sovereign. The king, who was greatly interested, resolved to grant their request, and sought for young Printz to make him the messenger of his bounty. But Printz had vanished, and could not be found.

Thelin, intent on the accomplishment of his benevolent design, determined to open a correspondence with his transatlantic countrymen, and, if possible, obtain from themselves, an account of their situation. The opportunities of communication between Sweden and Pennsylvania were at that time very rare. But Thelin was acquainted with a sister of old Peter Rambo. She then lived in Gottenburg, and had corresponded with her brother. To her he applied for assistance, and, through her aid, transmitted a letter of inquiry to the Swedes on the Delaware. This letter was dated Nov. 16th, 1692. It expressed a warm interest in their welfare, and a firm belief that a Providential hand was about to be extended for their relief. “This work,” says he, “doth certainly spring from God, in whose hands are the hearts of kings. Be not negligent in the things which belong to your everlasting happiness. I commend you to the holy protection of Almighty God.”

The letter of Thelin was received with great joy by his distant countrymen, who determined immediately to answer it, with an ample account of their situation. But before opening a correspondence which might lead to a direct communication with a foreign potentate, they deemed it prudent and due to the Governor of Pennsylvania to lay before him their proceedings and object. The governor received them with great cordiality, approved their design, and offered to write on their behalf to the proprietor in England, and to the Swedish minister at the Court

of St. James. This fully opened the way for the prosecution of their plans, and Charles Springer of Christina, was appointed their scribe on the occasion. As his letter gives an interesting view of the state of the Swedish population at that time on the shores of the Christina and Delaware, we deem it worth inserting entire, for the information of the reader. It is dated May 31st, 1693.

“Honoured, loving, and much respected friend, John Thelin; his Majesty’s loyal subject, and Postmaster at Gottenburg :—

“Your unexpected and welcome letter dated Gottenburg Nov. 16, 1692, came to hand the 23d of May, 1693, and made us heartily rejoice that it has pleased Almighty God, through that young man Andrew Printz, to make known our condition to our friends in Sweden. We rejoice that his majesty doth still bear us a tender and a Christian care. Therefore do we heartily desire, since it hath pleased his majesty graciously to regard our wants, that there may be sent unto us two Swedish ministers, who are well learned in the Holy Scriptures, and who may be able to defend them and us, against all opposers, so that we may preserve our true Lutheran faith, which, if called to suffer for, we are ready to seal with our blood. We also request that those ministers may be men of good moral lives and characters, so that they may instruct our youth by their example, and lead them into a pious and virtuous way of life.

Further, it is our humble desire that you would be pleased to send us three books of sermons, twelve bibles, forty-two psalm-books, one hundred tracts, with two hundred catechisms, and as many primers; for which, when received, we promise punctual payment, at such place as you may think fit to order. We do promise also, a proper maintenance to the ministers that may be sent us; and when this our letter is gone, it is our intention to buy a piece of land, that shall belong to the church, and upon which the ministers may live.

As to what concerns our situation in this country, we are for the most part husbandmen. We plough, and sow, and till the

ground ; and as to our meat and drink, we live according to the old Swedish custom. This country is very rich and fruitful, and here grow all sorts of grain in great plenty, so that we are richly supplied with meat and drink ; and we *send out yearly to our neighbours on this continent and the neighbouring islands, bread, grain, flour, and oil.* We have here also, all sorts of beasts, fowls, and fishes. Our wives and daughters employ themselves in spinning wool and flax, and many of them in weaving ; so that we have great reason to thank the Almighty for his manifold mercies and benefits. God grant that we may also have good shepherds to feed us with his holy word and sacraments. We live also in peace and friendship with one another ; and the Indians have not molested us for many years.

Further, since this country has ceased to be under the government of Sweden, we are bound to acknowledge and declare, for the sake of truth, that we have been well and kindly treated, as well by the Dutch as by his majesty the king of England, our gracious sovereign. On the other hand, we, the Swedes, have been and still are true and faithful to him in words and in deeds. We have always had over us good and gracious magistrates, and we live with one another in peace and quietness. So that we desire as soon as this our letter comes to hand, that a speedy attention may be paid to our requests : for we believe that God has certainly his hand in this Christian work, and pray that he may bring it to a happy termination.”

This letter was signed by thirty persons, and forwarded to Thelin. He caused it to be laid before the king, who sent it to Suebilius, archbishop of Upsal, with directions that he should select suitable persons as missionaries to reside on the Delaware, and as pastors to take charge of the churches there ; that he should procure bibles and other religious books, which the king would present free of expense, and would send them out with the clergymen that should accept the mission.

This letter presents a pleasing picture of the thriving state of the settlers. The Swedes beg nothing of the king or people of

Sweden, but their *aid* in the procurement of suitable pastors for their flocks. They ask for nothing that they are not able and willing to pay for. "If you will send us ministers, we will maintain them, and compensate them for their services; if you send us books we will punctually pay your draft for the amount." They ask *spiritual* aid, not temporal. They come not before the king as supplicants for *pecuniary* favours, but as Christians, asking openly for what they had, as fellow members of the church, a right to demand. They show plainly, that they have been breathing the wholesome air of freedom. They present to their countrymen in Sweden, the aspect of a people, who, understanding their wants, would have them supplied, but having no need of a gratuity, are too independent to ask for one.

The letter gives us also the proof, that *domestic and foreign commerce* had revived among them, or rather had begun to shed their kindly influence on the land. They now not only raised enough "bread, grain, flour, and oil," for their own use, but something to spare for the neighboring colonies, and for foreign countries; and were receiving in exchange, the products of other climates, to add to the comfort and embellishment of their cheerful homes.

The Archbishop entered with zeal into the scheme, which had been presented to him by the King, in a letter, dated Feb. 18, 1696. Measures were taken to procure suitable persons, who might be willing to venture their lives in such a perilous undertaking;—for such it then seemed to be. Perhaps, in the present day, a mission to Kamtchatka or Nova Zembla, would hardly be deemed more momentous, or hazardous. At length three persons were found, who had the courage and requisite zeal for the enterprize. They were Andrew Rudman, Master of Philosophy, a native of Gevalia, in the province of Gestricksland; Eric Biorck, of the province of Westmanland; and Jonas Auren, of the province of Wermeland. Before their departure they waited on the king; respectfully and affectionately thanking him for his favours. He gave them his hand, and said "Go now in the name of the Lord, to the place whither I send you. God be with you, and prosper your undertaking."

Why there was so much delay on the part of the government, to complete the benevolent intentions of the king, as expressed to Thelin, after he had communicated the intelligence brought by Printz, is matter of conjecture ; and has not been satisfactorily explained. It could hardly require *three* years, from the receipt of Springer's letter, to select missionaries, and equip them for the voyage. The best reason for that delay perhaps is, that the business had to give way to more pressing circumstances, and wait the Royal convenience. The measures, for the departure of the missionaries, were not complete until the 4th of August, 1696, when Rudman and Biorck set sail in the ship *Palmboom*, Capt. Hogen, master, bound to London. Auren went to Gottenburg, intending to sail in another ship, and meet his colleagues there. After sundry perils and providential escapes, they arrived safely in London, on the 10th of October, just nine weeks and four days on the passage.

At that time it was thought necessary to obtain the permission of the British government in order to settle missionaries in Pennsylvania ; and that consent was not suddenly given. The delay, however, was a great advantage to the travellers ; for the ship, in which they had taken passage, could not wait until they were ready, and sailed without them. She was afterwards so much damaged by a storm, that she with difficulty reached a port in Portugal, and did not arrive in America until more than sixteen months afterwards. After remaining in England almost four months, the missionaries sailed for America in the ship *Jeffris*, Captain Cooper, on the 4th of February, 1697, and arrived in the Chesapeake bay in a little more than ten weeks.

The following extracts from a letter, written by Biorck, to a clergyman in Sweden, dated Oct. 29, 1697, gives an interesting view of the state of affairs at Christina, and on the Delaware, when the missionaries arrived :

“ I had the pleasure of writing to you on the 4th of February to inform you that we were about to leave London. We went on board that day, but were detained some time at Deal and Portsmouth until the convoys and the captains could be cleared.

At last on the 22d of March we weighed anchor at Portsmouth, and having passed Plymouth, the last land we saw on the 24th was the Lizard, and from that time we saw no land until we reached Virginia. I shall not detain you with the particulars of our voyage, which was, as usual, made up of storms and fair weather, but shall at once tell you, that on the 31st of May, in the afternoon, we found ourselves in thirty-four fathoms depth, and were glad to see land before us, which we were informed was Smith's island. We tacked about until the 2d of June, in the morning, when we cast anchor in seven fathoms depth, with joy and gladness. We went afterwards to seek a safe harbour in James river, in which we remained some days while the captain was making his arrangements; thence on the 10th of June we sailed by Maryland, New Port, Rappahannock, Potomac, Point Lookout, the first point in Maryland, and Patuxent, to a town on the river Severn called Annapolis, where resides the Governor, Francis Nicholson, and there we cast anchor on the 19th of June. I would fain relate to you all the attention we received from the said governor, but suffice it to say that he treated us with the greatest kindness and respect. Our gracious sovereign, and his royal family were duly remembered, and had we been sent recommended to that gentleman directly from Sweden he could not have done more for us. We remained four days in his house, during which time he did all in his power to entertain us, and show us every thing worth seeing. When at last we were obliged to go on board our ship to continue our voyage, he took all the trouble upon himself to see every thing properly done. When we took leave of him, he accompanied us part of the way, gave us a sum of money, and sent two men with us to put on board as many bottles as they could carry, filled with all kinds of liquors. The governor is a single man, looks like a brave soldier, and is greatly attached to his king, of whom he is a faithful servant.

On the 23d of June we went on board with all our things; and we can never forget the captain's goodness, who carried us through such a long voyage without charging us any freight or

passage money. At last, with a fair wind, we sailed about seventeen miles to 'Transtown,* situate on Elk river, at the distance of an English mile from our Swedish settlement,† where we joyfully landed, returning thanks to God for having safely brought us through such a long voyage.

Before we had been there a day and a night the people flocked in great numbers to see us. They came from the distance of ten or twelve Swedish miles, (fifty or sixty miles English,) in order to conduct us to the places of their meeting.‡ They welcomed us with great joy, and could hardly believe we had arrived until they saw us. They were, indeed, in great want of spiritual assistance. For at the time that I, though unworthy, was appointed to this high office, they were deprived by death of their venerable teacher, Jacob Fabritius, and since that time have had nobody but their reader, Charles Christopher Springer, a plain, honest, pious man. They did tolerably well with him, as he was very zealous, and spared no pains to promote their spiritual welfare, as I have myself always witnessed.

On the 27th of June we had only a small meeting, of prayer and thanksgiving, at the lower congregation. On the 29th we went up to Philadelphia, a clever little town, and waited on the lieutenant-Governor, William Markham, who, when he saw our credentials, received us with great kindness.

On the 30th of June we visited the upper congregation, at a

* "Transtown," probably in the neighbourhood of Frenchtown. Cranetown in English.

† This settlement, as a *settlement of Swedes*, is unknown to us. It was probably made up of the descendants of a company of Hollanders, who came to this country in 1640, under a license from the authorities at Stockholm, and now spoke the Swedish language.

‡ The church at Christina is about 22 miles from Frenchtown; the church at Tinicum was about 40 miles from it; and the church at Wicaco about 50 miles. But probably the roads *then* were not nearly so direct as they are at present.

place called Wicaco, which is the nearest to Philadelphia, and where the Swedes have a church, in which we gave them an account of our voyage and objects, beginning with their own letter to the Postmaster at Gottenburg, then his Royal Majesty's orders given thereupon, &c. &c. We did the same thing on the 2d of July to the lower congregation at Tran-hook,* where they also have a church. On the 11th of July, I, their unworthy minister, clad in my surplice, delivered my first discourse to them, in Jesus' name, on the subject of the righteousness of the Pharisees.

And now, to say something more respecting our congregations. I must confess that they did not entirely comply with what they had promised in their letter. The reason was, that they were most uncomfortably situated; the land which led to their church being then overflowed with water;† and yet they would not abandon the place until they should have ministers to whom they should commit the work: in which, through God's grace, I have succeeded, and agreed with them to fix upon a more convenient place to build a stone church, to be called *Christina church*. I hope it will be done within a year, for the congregations are rich, and easily persuaded by good reasons, such as I have given them."

"The country here is delightful, as it has always been described, and overflows with every blessing; so that the people live very well without being compelled to too much or too severe labour. The taxes are very light. The farmers, after their work is over, live as they do in Sweden, but are clothed as well as the respectable inhabitants of the towns. They have fresh meat, and fish in abundance; and want nothing of what other countries produce. They have plenty of grain wherewith

* Trana, in the Swedish language, is a Crane. This place is called by the English Crane-hook.

† The large body of marsh in that neighbourhood, both that on the Christeen and that on the Delaware, were then uninclosed with banks, and under water at every flood tide.

to make bread, and plenty of drink. May God continue them in the enjoyment of these blessings. There are no poor in this country, but they all provide for themselves; for the land is rich and fruitful, and no man who will labour can suffer want."

CHAPTER II.

By the foregoing letter we learn that Crane-hook church was unfavourably situated, and poorly adapted to the wants of the Swedes in the neighbourhood of Christina Fort. At this time New Castle had become comparatively a large town. The Dutch inhabitants there had provided a place of worship in their own vicinity, and dissolved the partnership under which they had united with the Swedes in building Crane-hook church.* Under these circumstances the crisis was peculiarly favourable to the design of building a new church at Christina. In that neighbourhood the great body of Swedish emigrants had settled. Along the banks of the Minquas, or Christina, of White-clay creek, Red-clay creek, Brandywine, Shelpot and their tributaries, and on the west bank of the Delaware as high as Naaman's creek they were thickly settled. A considerable number had also settled in Jersey, on Oldman's creek, Raccoon creek, and along the shore from the mouth of Salem creek to the northerly part of Penn's Neck. To all these, the site proposed by Biorek was favourably circumstanced. Nature had provided a landing at the rocks, within a few steps of the church door, a landing full of interesting associations to every lover of the land of his forefathers—to every one capable of connecting the present with the past. Here their "pilgrim fathers" first set foot on their "promised land,"—here stood their first temple dedicated to divine worship; and here the first sacrifice of praise to the author of every blessing from

* William Penn, in a letter dated in 1683, says, "The Dutch have a meeting place for religious worship at New Castle." This was sixteen years after they had joined the Swedes in establishing a church at Crane hook. See Clarkson's life of Penn, vol. 1, p. 309.

European lips, was offered on the western shore of the Delaware.

In another letter of Biorek's, to a clergyman in Sweden, dated 19th of November, 1700, after Christina church was finished, he gives a particular description of the building, and states some preliminary facts, extremely interesting, to those particularly who are concerned to know every thing connected with its origin, progress, and completion. He says, "Shortly after my arrival at this place I persuaded the congregation to agree in selecting a better place for a church than Tran-hook, to wit, Christina: and I immediately commenced the work in the Lord's name, though with little money: but I never doubted, notwithstanding my unworthiness, of Divine assistance. I therefore made a bargain with bricklayers and carpenters, and bound them and me so strongly, that otherwise the work would not have been finished in less than three years. *We laid the first stone at the north corner on the 28th of May, 1698.* The size of the church, inside of the walls, is sixty feet in length, thirty feet in breadth, and twenty feet in height. The walls are of hard gray stone, up to the windows three and a half feet thick, but above that only two feet.

"There are four doors; a large one at the west end, and a smaller one at the south: there are two smaller ones on the north side, one of which leads into the vestry room.* There are two windows on the north, and two on the south, all of the same size; but there is a larger one at the east end, and a small one over the western door. There is a small belfry at the east end. The roof is arched with logs, and plastered. It is covered with cedar shingles.

"The pews in the church are made of fir; the chancel is circular, and the inner bannister, as well as the pulpit, are of walnut wood well turned. There is a large aisle, eight feet in

* It appears from this passage, that originally there was a vestry room on the north side of the house near the east end, where one of the arched buttresses now stands.

breadth, from the chancel to the large door, and [one] across the [said] aisle from the north door to that on the south. Between the chancel and the first row of pews there is also a little way, with six pews on each side, to the cross aisle. There are also long pews along the wall for the men, from the south door to the east end; and there are seats in the chancel for the ministers. In the lower part of the church, from the north and south doors to that on the west, there is a large aisle, with eight pews on each side."

The building was formally dedicated on the day called *Trinity Sunday*, (in the Fifth month, May,) 1699, and was named TRINITY CHURCH. Rudman officiated that day, and preached from the text, Psalm cxxiii. 3, "*The Lord hath done great things for us, whereof we are glad.*" There were many hundred persons present, who, after the service was over, partook of refreshments, which had been prepared by the order of Biorck. A collection was made, and about two hundred dollars raised,—a very large sum for that day, when money was so valuable.

In the foregoing letter we are told, that the parties were bound "so strongly that otherwise the work would not have been finished in less than three years." A copy of the Articles is preserved in the records of the church. We shall present them to the reader, "*verbatim et literatim*," lest in changing the language, or the spelling, we might lessen its interest.

Articles of agreement made, done, and concluded by and be twixt Hance Piettersen, John Stalcop, and Charles Springer, of the County of New Castle, and Christeen Creek, of y^e one part, and Joseph Yard, Mazon and Brick Layer of Philadelphia, of y^e other party wittnesseth as followeth :

It is agreed & I Joseph Yard, doe obledge and engage myself and my heirs, that is, with the help of God, to lay all the stone and brick work of a Church wh: is to be built in and upon y^e

church yard at Christeen,* near John Shallcop's, the lenth of it shall be 66 fot from out to out, the breath shall be 36 foot from out to out, and to be laid in y^e ground, a good & firm foundation, and the height from y^e Top of y^e ground upwards 20 foot, and the thickness of y^e wall from y^e foundation to the lower end of the windows 3 foot thick, and then afterwards 2 foot thick upwards, and all y^e windows & doors upon the church shall be arched, and the doors & windows arched and quined† with bricks, and this abovementioned worck must be, and shall be done sufficiently, firmly, and substantially, in all respects, as y^e stuff will allow, and to be done with all expedition that possible may or can be.

Now for the consideration heareof, Wee, the aboue named, Hans Piettersen, John Stallcop & Charles Springer, doe engage to pay Joseph Yard, or his Ass^s the aforesaid work, Eighty and six pounds In Silluer Money, to be paid as followeth, 'Twenty & Three pounds in Siluer Money at the beginning of y^e work, that is, at the first Stone Laying, and 23 pounds when he y^e said Yard comes to put In y^e door cases, and then 20 pounds more when he comes to y^e upper end of y^e Arched work of Doors and Windows, and y^e Remainder, that is, 20 pounds more when y^e stone work is finished, and withall wee doe obledge Our Selues to find the s^d Joseph and his Assistance during y^e time of y^e said work, with sufficient Meat, Drink, Washing, and Lodging, with Sufficient Labourers, for him & his Assistance, and to finde all necessary Materials fitt for y^e work, and the s^d Joseph not to be hindered for Materials, or Labourers, or Carpenter's work.

* "Upon the church yard at Christeen." This phrase shows that the ground on which the old church stands was a church yard before the erection of that building. There can be little doubt that it had been a burying ground from the time of the first arrival of the Swedes.

† "Quined." A word from our Norman ancestors; the orthography changed to suit the pronunciation. "Coin," a corner. "Quined," cornered. This part of the contract was faithfully performed, as may be seen by inspection at the present time.

Now for the true performance of this abovementioned Articles of Agreement, doe wee, Hans Piettersen, John Stallcop & Charles Springer, Binde our Selues and our Heirs, Executours, & Administratours, Joinly & Seuerally of y^e one party In a penall Bond & Obligation of 172 pounds Silluer Money, and also doe I Joseph Yard, binde my self and my heirs, Executours, & Administ^{rs} of y^e other side In a penal Bond & Obligation of 172 pounds In Siluer Money, to be paid upon demand, that is, If it be not on both sides truly and duly performed according to every p^r in y^e Articles Specified, Butt If it be on both sides performed, then the Bond shall be of none effect, if otherwise, to stand in its full force and Virtue, Whereunto wee have sett our hands and seals.

Dated at Christeen, y^e 19 of May, 1698.

HANS PIETTERSON, [L. S.]

JOHN STALLCOP, [L. S.]

CHARLES SPRINGER, [L. S.]

Wittness

ERICUS BIORK, Minister of y^e Crane-hook's congregation.

J. AUREEN,

JOSEPH YARD, Junior.

It appears that the ceremony of laying the corner stone was performed the day before the aforesaid contract was executed. The contract only bound Yard to do the stone work up to the square, that was "from the top of the ground upwards twenty feet." This he finished before the 12th of August following, as will be seen by the following receipt and acquittance :

"I, Joseph Yard, of the citty of Philadelphia, Mazon, doe acknowledge that I am fully satisfyed, that is, for laying the stone work of y^e Church at Christeen, which is 66 foot long, and thirty-six foot broad from out to out, and 20 foot high, for which I have Receiued of y^e Reuerend Minister, Ericus Biork, that is, Eighty and six pounds in Silluer Money, and Likewise, I haue Receiued in full for my Morter Labourer, the Neger, five pounds,

four shill. & 6 pence, and this receipt I have given to satisfye the church wardens & congregation of Christeen Church, that I am fully satisfied, as Wittness my hand,

JOSEPH YARD.

The 12 of Aug. 1698, at Christeen.”

After about two months, in which the mortar cement had sufficient time to harden, Yard entered into another contract to build the gable ends of the church, above the square, to plaster the inside of the walls and arched ceiling, and to pave the floor. The contract is as follows:

Articles of Agreement made, done, and concluded, by and betwixt Joseph Yard, Mazon, of y^e city of Philadelphia of y^e one party, and the Reuerend Minister, Mag^r Ericus Biorck,* Minister for y^e congregation of Crane-hook, of y^e other party wittneseth as followeth.

In primis, It is agreed and concluded, that I, Joseph Yard, Mazon, shall well & truly make up & lay the Stonework of y^e Gabell ends of y^e Chürch at Christeen, and to be well & artificially and sufficiently done, as behoueth a good workman.

Secondly. I doe engage and promisse, with the help of God, to doe & plaister all y^e archwork & plainwork of y^e walls within side of y^e afores^d Church, and to nail up the Latts in y^e Roof for y^e Archwork, and Likewise to doe it sufficiently.

Thirdly. I doe engage & obledge myself also to lay the floor of y^e afores^d Church partly with stones & partly with bricks, and he not to hew the stones, butt lay them as well as I can, and as y^e stones will be workt.

Now this aforementioned work I will partly doe if the weather fauours before Winter, & the Rest shall be done betimes In y^e spring of y^e year with y^e help of God.

Now for y^e consideration of this aforementioned work, that is, the Gabell ends, and plaister work, and laying of the floor of the Church, doe I, Ericus Biorck, Minister of y^e congregation of

* The minister's name is sometimes spelt Biork, he signs his name Ericus Biorck. In the church records it is *mostly* spelt as he spelled it himself; yet often with the C left out.

Crane-hook, obledge & engage my self to pay, or cause to be paid unto 'Joseph Yard, or his Ass^s the summe of fourty & fue pounds of Silluer Money, and to pay it at three payments, as first when the Gabell ends is finished Twenty pounds, and when y^e plaisterwork is finished then to pay y^e said Yard fifteen pounds, and when the floor is laid and finished Tenn pounds, and moreouer, I doe obledge myself to finde the said Yard, and his workmen & labourers, good sufficient Meat, Drink, Washing & Lodging, during y^e time of the aforesaid work, and to finde all Materials necessary for the work, that he shall not stay & waste his time in Vain. And further, doe I obledge my self to finde him good Labourers and sufficient Shaffolds.

Now for the true performance of all & every Article of both parties, doe wee binde our selues & our heirs, In a penall bond & Obligation of Ninety pounds of Silluer Money, that is to pay it, he that doth not pay or performe the afores^d work, and to doe it sufficiently, butt if truly performed this obligation to be void & of none effect, or else to stand in its full force and virtue, Whereunto wee have sett our hands and seals.

Chreesteen y^e 7 of Octob^r 1698.

Wittness,

JOSEPH YARD, [L. S.]

J. AUREEN,

CHARLES SPRINGER.

The contract for the carpenter-work was made before those for the stone-work, and before Biorck had discovered the necessity of inserting in the articles of agreement a penalty for non-performance of the contract. From some cause the carpenter failed, whether because not "bound so strongly" as the mason had been, cannot now be known. But the diligence and good management of Biorck found a remedy for the defect. The whole was finished with great promptitude, under circumstances not favourable to despatch.

The contract with the carpenters was as follows :

Articles of agreement, made & confirmed by and between John Smart & John Britt, carpenters, both of y^e city of Philadel-

phia, and Ericus Biorck, of the county of New Castle, Minister.

The s^d John Smart & John Britt, doth couenant & agree with Ericus Biorck, to build & finish a certain Church on Christeene Creek, near John Stallcop's house, to be sixty foot long & thirty foot In Breath, both in the clear to builde the carpenters work, to vct: One large & four smaller Windows proposable to the s^d biggness before said, two large & one lesser Door Casses with Door & four pewess enclosed, the other with rails and a flancher & Benches & Doors & encloses y^e ends of the Pews at the passages thereof. The Rufe to be framed with Nealing Principles & Ouale* in the inside, also with an ornamental Eueses,† with a Pulpet & Canape‡ over the same, & to make a Table and convenient casements to y^e Windows. The same Ericus Biorck to finde all Timber & Boards and Iron worck, & all ready sawed and brought to place & also to finde & allow y^e said carpenters Meat, Drinck, Washing and Lodging duering y^e said worck, and the said John Smart and John Britt, obledge them selves to finish y^e same by y^e Last of Octob^r next insiuing the date hereof, and y^e said John Smart & John Britt heare to have for y^e afores^d worck and biulding One Hundered & Thirty pounds current Silluer Money, to be paid in three payments, vct: fourty and three pounds & 6 shill^s and 8 pence, at the entering upon the said worck, & fourty & three pounds 6 shill^s & 8 pence, to be paid at y^e Raising of y^e Rufe thereof, and fourty & three pounds six shill^s & 8 pence, at the finishing of y^e same, as wittness our hands & seals, this 29 of March, 1698. -

JOHN SMART, [L. S.]

Testes.

JOHN BRITT, [L. S.]

his
ERTMAN E HINE,
mark.
JOHN STALLCOP,
THO. JENNER.

* "Ouale." Perhaps oval. The ceiling was an arch running from end to end of the house. Ouale, or elliptical in its form.

† "Eueses," meaning perhaps an ornamental cornice.

‡ "Canape," a canopy, which is still preserved in good order.

The preceding contract was not performed according to the stipulations made between the parties. The stone-work, as high as the square or eaves, had been done by the 12th of August; and before the 23d of December the gable walls were up, and the house inclosed. From the contract which Smart afterwards made with John Harrison, it appears that all the outside work, and a considerable part of the inside work were finished at that date. Some judgment of the state of the building may be formed by reference to the following agreement between Smart and Harrison, by which the latter undertook to complete Smart's contract.

Articles of Agreement, made, done & concluded of, by & between John Smart of Philadelphia, Carpen^r of y^e one party & John Harrisson, Joiner and Carpenter, of y^e same place, Wittnesseth as followeth :

In primis, doe I, John Smart, Lett unto John Harrisson, a certain pieace of worck to finish at the Church of Christeen, I was Employed to doe of y^e Reuerend Minister Ericus Biork, and hath not performed according to y^e Articles of Agreement to y^e time nominated.

Secondly. Doe I, John Harrisson, Obledge & engage my self & my heirs, to finish this afores^d pieace of work with the help of God, with al expedition as possible may be, that is, I doe obledge to do all y^e Inside work of y^e aforesaid Church, that is, all y^e pews & windshot work & the pulpett with a canope over it, and a pew of each side of y^e communion Table, and also with Reals & Banisters about y^e chancel, and all y^e inside work is to be done according to y^e draught, and as it specifyeth more at large, and all this to be done sufficiently as a good workman.

Thirdly. Doe I, John Harrisson, engage to doe & finish all the sealing joice wh: is to doe and fitt in y^e sealing of y^e Roof, when they are brought in place, and hewed to my hands.

Fourthly. Doe I, John Harrisson, obledge my self to doe with plained boards ouer y^e three doors in y^e Church, where it is left undone.

Now for this aforementioned work & the consideration thereof, so shall I John Harrison have at y^e finishing of y^e work, thirty & six pounds and Tenn shillings in Silluer Money, and Reuerend Minister, Mag^r Ericus Biork, shall become his paymaster, and during the time of this afores^d work so shall the afores^d Harrison and his Assistance have their Meat, Drink, Washing & Lodging, In y^e bargain. Now unto these afores^d Articles have wee Both Interchangegeably sett our hands and seals.

Christeen, y^e 23 of Decemb^r 1698.

JOHN HARRISON, [L. S.]

JOHN SMART, [L. S.]

Signed, sealed, and delivered in y^e presence of us,

ERICUS BIORCK, Minister of Crane-hooks congregation.

CHARLES SPRINGER.

CHAPTER III.

It has already been stated that the church was dedicated to the divine service in the 5th month, (May,) 1699, just one year from the time of its commencement. This could not have been done in so short a time, had the congregation not possessed such a faithful, untiring agent and friend, as Biorck. In that year all the funds were to be raised by his personal exertions and influence. The sum total of seventy-two subscriptions was only £180 11s. 9d., or \$481.60, averaging less than \$7, per each individual, and this list included all the richest members of the church. The highest subscription was Wholle Slobey's £30, or \$80. The next was Hans Peterson's £10, or \$26.67. There

was one of £8 2s, one of £7, one of £6, three of £5, three of £4, and all the rest smaller sums. The lowest was six shillings. There were eighty-one persons who contributed labour, amounting to nine hundred and twenty-three days' work, averaging a little more than eleven days for each subscriber. The highest subscription was forty-one and a half days' work, the lowest two days. Masons, carpenters, labourers, and others, were to be boarded and lodged, &c. Many subscribed corn, wheat, rye, malt, rum, boards, timber, stone, &c., &c. To manage all these concerns, and to complete the great object in so short a time, required extraordinary qualifications, and the congregation found in Biorck an agent such as the crisis demanded. He must have been an amiable, prudent, active, devoted friend of his people. We never find him involved in any dispute or difference with his parishioners, which cannot be said of all his successors; we do not find him changing his place of residence, and shifting about from the care of one flock, to the charge of another, as did some of the missionaries. He served the congregation at Christina sixteen years; returned to Sweden, and died at a good old age in 1740, having retained a warm interest for the Swedes in America to the last.

The building, when completed, had a belfry at the east end, but no bell, so far as can be ascertained. When it was removed is not known. Sixty years ago there was a belfry on the roof of the easternmost portico on the north side of the house. It had a bell hung in it, which they used to toll at funerals, and ring to announce meeting time.* The bell-ringer, when called upon to perform his office, used to climb up into the belfry, sit astride on one of the cross beams, and by means of a rope tied to the bell-clapper, pull it forcibly against the bell. Thus producing the desired effect, not as is usual, by bringing the bell to the clapper, but the clapper to the bell; as they were obliged to do in Russia, with the TSAR KOLOKOL, the largest bell in the world.

* This bell was cast by Pack and Chapman, London, 1772.

In the east end of the church, over the large window, iron letters were built in the wall, forming the following Latin sentence, to wit:

LUX L. I. TENEBR. ORIENS EX ALTO.

On the west end, over the large door, was the following inscription in the same kind of letters built in the wall.

1698.

SI DE, PRO NOBIS QUIS CONTRA NOS*

SUB IMP. REG. D. G. ANG.

WILL. III.

PROPR. WILL. PENN, VICE GUB. WILL†

MAGNIF. REG. SUEC. NUNC GLOR. MEMOR.

CAROL. XI.

HUC ABLEG:

E. T. B.

W S.

P L

On the south front over the door was the word,

IMMANUEL‡

And on the north side was the following sentence,

POL, NR CHRIST,

* "If God be for us, who can be against us." Rom. viii. 31.

Under the reign of William III., by the grace of God, King of England. William Penn, Proprietary, William Markham, Vice Governor, and in the reign of Charles XI., of Sweden. Their great king, now of glorious memory, sent to this place, E. T. B. Biorck. W. S. P. L. Wholly Slobey, highest subscriber.

† These inscriptions are copied from the church records. There has probably been an omission at this place of the vice governor's name. Will *Markham*.

‡ "God with us."

In the year 1762, the north and south walls had become bulged outward six or eight inches, owing to the heavy pressure of the arched ceiling, rafters, and roof. The congregation were much alarmed, lest the whole should fall and bury them in the ruins. A consultation was held, and various remedies proposed. It was concluded, that in order to prevent further damage, there should be two porticoes built on the north side, to serve as buttresses or supports to the wall; and one large portico on the south side over the only door in that wall. The three supports were accordingly built. Each portico was formed by extending two massive walls at right angles with the side of the building, eight or ten feet long, springing arches for the gable, and roofing over from wall to wall. Over the south portico, the word Immanuel, in iron letters, which was originally built in the south wall, was now fixed, and yet remains in perfect preservation. The stone and brick work of the porticoes was done by Cornelius Hains, or Hines, as it was formerly pronounced. His name and the date, 1762, cut in a corner stone of the south or main portico, is yet plainly to be seen.

In the year 1802, the congregation built a small steeple of brick at the west end of the church, against the large door; and hung the old bell in it. It still occupies the place then assigned it, and on funeral occasions announces in peculiarly solemn tones, the last rite performed for the dead. The steeple is not, perhaps, in good keeping with the old church, but is the better for the want of skill, or knowledge of design in the architect. It looks antiquated, although it is not old.

Until lately, the church yard was inclosed with wooden fences excepting in front, where there was a stone wall with a gateway.

About ten years since, a substantial wall was built on the other three sides, so that the whole yard is now surrounded by a permanent stone fence. The oldest grave stone within the inclosure, (so far as we certainly know,) has no legible date. It is that of WILLIAM VANDEVER. The church records say he was interred Oct. 11, 1719. The stone is a massive piece of gra-

nite. It was made with skill, is very old fashioned, and so corroded by time as to leave no trace of the date of his death. A few years ago a rough unhewn stone was raised from the ground near the south-east corner of the church, almost covered with earth. On cleaning the flat side of it, the letters B. C. 1726, very rudely, but very legibly cut in the stone, were discovered. On examining the record of deaths for that year on the church books, it was found that a great many of their members had died,* amounting to double the average number. The only name on the list of the dead, whose initials answered to those on the stone, was that of Brita Cock, daughter of Andrishi Cock, a family of some distinction in that day. She was buried on the 16th December, 1726, aged 18 years. On the 18th, only two days afterwards, her younger sister Katharine was buried by her side. On searching near the place of Brita's interment, another stone was discovered with K. C. cut in it, leaving no doubt, that here had been interred the two daughters of Andrishi Cock, cut off in the bloom of life. It was at that time too expensive and difficult to procure marble monuments for the dead; and those who desired to fix memorials to the graves of the deceased, were obliged to use the rough stones of the country, or at best those that had been smoothed by the hand of nature.

This fact accounts for the absence of tombstones of earlier date, for the records of the church show that the yard had been used as a cemetery long before the decease of William Vander-

For one hundred years after the adjacent city of Wilmington was laid out, the old church stood nearly half a mile from the built part of it. Its situation was secluded and quiet. The scenery all round it was indeed beautiful, but calculated rather to tranquillize the feelings than to excite them. The Christina flowed by between its green bordering of reeds, but a few paces

* Some epidemic, probably small pox, prevailed. More persons died in December, alone, of that year, than in any whole year for ten years before. The average for eighteen years, from 1713 to 1730, inclusive, was ten deaths a year.

from the church yard walls. Many a bright sail was to be seen on a summer evening, gliding along its noiseless current. Behind it was the beautiful Brandywine, and beyond it the majestic Delaware, bounded by the blue line of Jersey woods, and rolling its mighty waters toward the mightier Atlantic. Rich green meadows lay immediately round the church; all these, with the countless interesting associations connected with the place, combined to make a walk to the old church yard a favourite object both to the old and the young.

In no spot, perhaps, on this side of the ocean, where almost every thing is new and fresh, where there is so little to excite feelings of veneration, or gratify the taste of the antiquary, are there so many circumstances, enabling us to realize some of the best productions of the British muse, as in our old church yard. If the poet, Thomson, had been buried here, Collins's beautiful ode on his death, would have suited the surrounding scenery as well as it suits the vicinity of Richmond Church.* Had Gray written his incomparable Elegy here, he would have wanted but few subjects to have made it what it is; and he might have found interesting substitutes for such as we have not. We have indeed no "ivy-mantled towers," those beautiful monuments of feudal barbarism, but we have "ivy-mantled" trees, which in the evening of the year, are clothed in colours, more splendid than any the poet ever witnessed, in the changing foliage of his own country. These, from the fact that this very splendour is the sure precursor of its own fall, an infallible sign that the gentle hand of death is upon it, are as appropriate subjects of church yard meditations, as any in his poem. It is true, we have no "Yew tree's shade," but we have our "rugged elms," and many other trees, natives of our country, whose branches are as thickly interwoven, and who as kindly throw their broad shadows o'er the quiet mansions of the dead, as the cypress or the yew. Our old cemetery contains, in sober truth, the relics of those who cleared the dense forests and tangled brakes of our

* See Appendix.

country, who literally "bowed the woods beneath their sturdy stroke." We can say of it, without any draft on poetic license for the sake of embellishment,

"Beneath the sycamore's extended shade,
Where heaves the turf in many a mould'ring heap,
Each in his narrow cell for ever laid,
The rude *forefathers* of the hamlet sleep."

But alas! "*Time* that spoils all things," and *trade*, which has no poetry in it, have made sad encroachments on the venerable monuments of our Swedish predecessors. The city is fast invading the quietude and retirement of the old church. Within seven years, some hundreds of houses have sprung up on that side of the town. The Philadelphia, Wilmington and Baltimore rail road has pushed its unrelenting way through a part of the grave yard. The beautiful site of the little town of Christinaham, is cut through for the passage of "the rapid car." The very spot where the valiant governor of the New Netherlands, Peter Stuyvesant, of warlike mien* and memory, with his sage counsellor Nicatius de Sylle, of the one part, and John Claudii Rising, governor general of New Sweden, with his Commissary Elswyck, of the other part, held a parley for the surrender of Fort Christina, nearly two hundred years ago—that very spot *is now a yawning gulph*, excavated wide and deep, out of which have been taken thousands of tons of stone, to make the Delaware Breakwater. But what is more censurable than all, as having less excuse, a most magnificent row of trees, which ranged along the eastern boundary of the grave yard, has been sacrificed, not to necessity, but to a miserable want of taste. A noble old walnut tree which grew there, and which old Minuit, their first governor, has many a time gazed upon—measuring seven feet

* Governor Stuyvesant had lost a leg in some of his military enterprizes, and was now supported, on one side, by an artificial one. Tradition informs us, the leg was made of silver. Probably it was ornamented with silver inlaid, and which, it was said, he was fond of exhibiting as evidence of his military service.

in diameter at its base,—flourishing and vigorous, and perfectly sound, was, not many years ago, sold for a few dollars, and cut down to be converted into gun-stocks!* Sic transit gloria mundi!

After the church was completed, the old Cranehook church property was sold to a certain Peter Mounson. The articles of agreement for its sale are on record, and, as giving further insight into the state of literature at that time, the price of land, and reasons for selling it, as stated in the document, we think it worth preserving.

Articles of Agreement done made and concluded by & between Pietter Mounson of y^e One party & Charles Springer of y^e other party wittnesseth as followeth:

Be it known that I Pietter Mounson doe acknowledge that I have bought a certain Tract of Land namely 100 Acres with all the conueniences thereunto belonging Lying & being upon Delaware River Joyning next unto my Land which Tract of Land did formerly belong unto Hance Piettersen and Charles Springer, and the rest of y^e Church Wardens which then at that time were Church Wardens did buy this afores^d Tract of Land for a Minister to live upon wh: they did in the behalf of y^e Congregation then y^e Cranehooks Congregation called, Butt when it pleased God of his mercy, that when our Reuerend Minister arrived, and the Congregation did conclude to Biuld y^e Church upon Christen so was this Land altogether found not conuenient for a Minister to live upon, and so with a common consent for to be sould. Which afores^d Tract of Land with 13½ Acres of Marish, and all y^e conueniences wh: thereunto doth belong, I Charles Springer as Church Warden & in y^e behalf of y^e Congregation doe sell this unto Pietter Mounson for him and his heirs for to have & to hold for euer.

And for which afores^d Tract of Land I Pietter Mounson doe

* It was sold to the late Frederick Schrader, the gun smith, in West street.

obledge me & my heirs to pay unto Charles Springer or his Ass^s the full & just summ of Thirty five pounds In Siluer Money, Twenty pounds of Siluer money to be paid at the 21 of Novemb^r at which day Charles Springer doth obledge himself to make this afores^d Land ouer to Pietter Mounson If it please the Lord to permit him Life & health, and the other 15 pounds the s^d Pietter Mounson is to pay at or upon y^e 15 of Sep^{thr} 1700. As Wittness our hands & seals.

Christeen y^e 1st of Nou^{br} 1699.

his

PIETTER P MOUNSON

mark

CHARLES SPRINGER

Signed Sealed and delivered In y^e presence of US

ERICUS BIORCK

Minister of Christeen Congregation

his

LUCAS LS STEDHAM

mark

Thus was alienated to common uses, the old church property at Crane-hook; and the church being no more used as a place of worship, was suffered to go down by a gradual decay; but the grave yard, containing the remains of the dead, who, for more than thirty years had been collecting within its enclosure, remained to be used as a cemetery, by some families, for many years afterwards; as both tradition and the church records testify.

By the articles, we find that one hundred and thirteen acres of land and marsh, beautifully situated, and of an excellent quality, sold in 1699, for the sum of thirty-five pounds in specie, or ninety-three dollars and thirty-three cents, which is 80½ cents per acre for the land, and “all the conueniencies thereunto belonging” into the bargain. *That* land would probably sell at the present day, for at least one hundred times that price! Such is the increase in the value of land, together with the decrease in the value of money, in less than one hundred and fifty years.

Another circumstance is mentioned on the records of the church, shortly afterwards, which for its moral beauty, as well

as for its piety and beneficence, ought not to be lost. At the time when their excellent and laborious pastor was anxiously exerting himself to raise up for the Swedes a more comfortable and convenient house, in which to meet for the worship of Him, from whose bounty proceed all our blessings, a certain John Hans Stellman lent to Biorck, for the use of the congregation at Christeen, and for the express purpose of building the church, the sum of one hundred pounds. Stellman took of Biorck a bond for its repayment, with the usual interest of ten per cent. per annum, for the use of the money. When the interest became due, Stellman declined receiving it, and so continued to do until the year 1706, when he executed and presented to the church the following release:

Know all men by these presents, whom it may, or hereafter shall concern, that I John Hance Stellman, of y^e County of Cœcill in y^e Province of Maryland, Merchant, doe heareby acquitt Release & forever discharge Mag^r Ericus Biorck, Minister of Christeen Congregation, of a Bond and Obligation Dated in Elk River, y^e 30th of June 1698, Containing One hundred pounds Sill^r money, with Tenn pound Interest yearly, & every yeare, which Money Mag^r Biorck had upon y^e acc^t and for y^e use of Christeen Congregation, for y^e Biulding of y^e Church; which Bond & y^e Sum and Interest, I doe give freely, and of a pure concientious heart, for the honour of GOD, to y^e Holy Trinity Church; and doe heareby alsoe declare & testifie, that I never did design nor have taken any Interest for y^e afores^d hundred pounds, for I have never made up my acc^{ts} untell this Day, nor have disclosed my mind, what I have Resolved and had in minde, untell now, wheareunto I have sett my hand & seal.

JN^o. HANS STELLMAN, [L. s.]

Christeen y^e 16th Nov^{br} 1706

Wittness

his

PIETTER P STALLCOP

mark

JOHN JUSTASON

CHAPTER IV.

The care of the Swedes to keep up their institutions for public worship, has been already noticed. The following account of their ministers will give a condensed view of the concern on the part of the government at Stockholm to furnish the colony at Christina with the means of public instruction, from the first settlement of the country, until the final dissolution of their religious connection.

Reorus Torkillus, was the first c'ergyman from Sweden who came to America. He accompanied Minuit in 1638, and officiated at the church within the fort at Christina until his death, on the 7th of September, 1643, which took place after a lingering illness of six months and two weeks, at the age of thirty-five years. He was born at West Gothland, and after finishing his education, was chosen a professor in the college at Gottenburg. He married in this country, and left behind him one child.

John Campanius Holm succeeded Torkillus. He came over with Governor Printz, and arrived at Christina on the 15th February, 1643. He remained here six years, and on his return to Sweden was appointed first preacher to the admiralty, and afterwards pastor to the church at Frost Hultz and Herenwys, in Upland. He translated Luther's Catechism into the Indian language, which was published. He died in the year 1683, aged 82 years, and was buried in the church at Frost Hultz, where a handsome monument was erected to his memory.

Lawrence Charles Lokenius, commonly called Lock, came to this country during the administration of Governor Printz, and remained here until his death, in 1688. He preached both at Tinicum and Christina, until 1677, when Frabritius being employed to serve the upper congregations, Lock devoted himself to the service of the congregation which met at Crane-hook.

Israel Holg came to America during Printz's government, but soon returned to his native country, where he officiated as a minister in the Island of Sokn, West Gothland.

A clergyman named Peter ———, came to this country with Gov. Rising in 1654, and returned in 1656, soon after the conquest of the colony by the Dutch.

Another clergyman whose name was Matthias, came over in the ship Mercury, which arrived here in 1656, soon after the conquest. He returned in 1658.

Jacob Fabritius, a Dutch clergyman, who had officiated at New York, was employed by the congregation at Wicaco in 1677. The old blockhouse there, being then useless as a military defence, was fitted up as a place of worship, in which Fabritius preached his first sermon, on the day called "Trinity Sunday," 1677. After five years he lost his sight, which did not, however, prevent him from preaching. He served them nine years after he became blind, and until the infirmities of age disqualified him for the work. Rudman says he died in 1693 or 1694.

From the year 1691, when Fabritius failed, until the year 1697, when Biorck, Rudman, and Auren arrived, the Swedes were without a minister. During the interval the only religious performance in the churches was reading homilies or sermons, singing psalms, and prayer. This service at Christiana was done by Charles Springer, and at Wicaco by Anders Bengtson.

Ericus Biorck continued to reside at Christina until the year 1714, having, as their faithful friend and pastor, served his congregation for the space of 16 years. He managed their concerns with eminent prudence and activity, struggling with them through all their difficulties, and sympathising with them in all their sorrows. In 1712, Andrew Hesselius was sent over by Charles XII. of Sweden, to take his place. Biorck had now lived so long among his friends at Christeen, and had become connected with them by so many ties of affection and interest, that it required two years to wind up his affairs. Finally, in the summer of 1714, with his wife, a native of this neighborhood,

and five children, he sailed for Sweden. The king appointed him rector of Falun, a city of Dalecarlia, situate in a district famous for its copper mines. He continued to correspond with the principal men of his American flock, and to give them his advice on all difficult and important occasions. The directors of the copper mines, knowing the warm interest and attachment of their pastor for his old friends and desirous of giving him a proof of their affection for himself, presented to the congregation at Christina a large silver chalice and other silver plate, all richly gilt, for the use of the church.*

Andrew Hesselius continued to act as the pastor of the church here until his recall in the year 1723. During this period, the English Episcopal churches and the Swedish Lutheran churches, in America, found themselves so nearly united in doctrine, and in sentiment respecting other matters, that there was no obstruction to a free religious intercourse, and they occasionally officiated in each other's churches. "Indeed," say the English clergymen, in a letter addressed to the ecclesiastical authorities in Sweden, "so great was our mutual agreement in doctrine and worship, and so constant were they in attending our conventions, that there was no visible discrimination between us, but what proceeded from the different languages wherein they and we were bound to officiate."

At this time the English population in Pennsylvania had become numerous, and many of their congregations were without a regular service. Under these circumstances they were glad to have Hesselius to preach for them, and he frequently gratified them, so much to the satisfaction of the English, that "the society for the propagation of the gospel in foreign parts" sent from England ten pounds sterling, as an acknowledgment of their gratitude for his services, with a promise of as much annually in future, on receiving satisfactory evidence that he had preached in the English churches at least twenty times a year." When

* Rudman. Tradition says, this chalice was stolen from the church by some one who broke through one of the windows.

he left this country, three Episcopal clergymen, George Ross, a missionary at New Castle; John Humphreys, a minister at Chester, and William Becket, a missionary at Lewes, gave him a certificate, stating their approbation of his character and conduct, and warmly recommending him for promotion on his return to Sweden. He died in 1733.

Samuel Hesselius, a brother of the aforesaid Andrew Hesselius, came to America in the year 1719, and settled as a clergyman at a place called Manating,* somewhere on the Schuylkill. How long he resided there is uncertain, but the records of the church at Christina show that he was married here on 9th of June, 1720, to a certain Brita Leikan. On the departure of his brother, he took charge of the congregation here, and remained until 1731. But the practice introduced by his brother, of serving others, *as a preacher*, and receiving gratuities or annual allowances for the labour, proved a source of much uneasiness and contention between the new pastor and his flock. In the year 1729 he was charged with neglecting his duties and not preaching at his own church for many weeks together. In consequence of which, they refused to pay the monies subscribed for his support. Letters of complaint against him had been written to their former pastor Ericus Biorck and to his bishop in Sweden. Hesselius charged Charles Springer with the authorship of these letters, and petitioned the Governor of Pennsylvania for redress. Commissioners were appointed by the governor to hear the parties in the dispute, and report to him their judgment in the case. The report was made, and Hesselius was cleared of some of the charges, but it was evident that there was a breach between the parties, that no judicial proceedings could heal, and without leave from his bishop, he returned to Sweden in the year 1731.†

* Clay's Annals, p. 113.

† On the 1st of November, 1731, a letter was written by Archibald Cummings, commissary, and *four* clergymen of the Episcopal church, and furnished to S. Hesselius expressing their approbation of his voyage for Sweden, without his bishop's direction. They gave as a reason for his

He was succeeded by John Eneburg, who resided here until the year 1742. It was in the course of his ministry that the little village of Willingtown began to show itself on the shore of Christeen, and before he left it there was probably more than one hundred and twenty houses built, and a charter obtained, by which it changed its title, and became known as the *Borough of Wilmington*, which it retained almost one hundred years.

When Eneburg was recalled, he was succeeded by Peter Tranberg, who had been sent to this country sixteen years before, and had officiated at Raccoon Creek. He remained here until his decease in 1748. His remains were interred in the great aisle of the old church near the pulpit. A marble slab marks the spot, and contains the following inscriptions:

“In memory of the Reverend PETER TRANBERG, Missionary from Sweden, first fourteen years at Raccoon and Pennsneck churches, then seven years here. He departed this life Nov. the 8th, 1748, aged 52 years.

He left this world, this gloomy scene of pain,
 Tho' to his friends a loss, yet lasting gain
 To him; the patron of a virtuous life,
 And good conductor from that monster strife.
 Who can forget the pains this worthy spent,
 In painful journeys by his duty bent,
 The sick to comfort, and to warn the vain;
 So sweet his presence, urging rules, how plain!
 Whose tender care and universal love,
 Proved his commission from the God above,
 Who gave him strength at first, and then did fill
 His soul, propensed to do his holy will;
 To hazard health, nay, life and pleasure too,
 His Lord's command with ardour to pursue;
 For which he rests with God, in bliss to be,
 Freed from this world to all eternity.”

“Also his son Peter Tranburg, who departed this life July 29th, 1750, aged nine years, 6 months, and two weeks.”

departure that he had sold his household goods, and had little encouragement to continue here. The clergymens' names were George Ross, missionary at New Castle; Richard Backhouse, missionary at Chester; Walter Hacket, missionary at Apoquinimink; and William Becket, missionary at Lewes.

Tranburg was succeeded in the ministerial office by the justly distinguished historian of the colony, Israel Acrelius.* He remained here eight years, having officiated as their pastor from 1748 to 1756, when he was recalled. During his residence at Wilmington, he made use of such opportunities as his public position and other favourable circumstances afforded, to collect materials for a history of the Swedish colonies on the Delaware. It was then more than one hundred and ten years after their arrival, and much of the important matter for a clear and connected account was for ever lost. He appears, however, to have made good use of his means, and has produced a very valuable, and the most clear and faithful narrative of facts relating to his subject, that has been published. That part of it which has been translated into English is, however, much too brief, being generally confined to great leading facts; in the narration of which he is mostly correct, and may be relied on with much confidence. A translation of his whole work, in a clear modern style, is very desirable. A part of it, translated by Nicholas Collin, has been published by the New York Historical Society, in a volume of their collections, 1841, for which the public are much indebted to them. The volume contains many other works of deep interest to those who would inquire into the early history of our country. He died in 1800, aged 86 years.

Erick Unander succeeded Acrelius. He came to America in 1749, and having served the congregations at Raccoon and Penn's Neck until the recall of Acrelius, he came to Christina. How long he remained here is not very clearly stated. Clay says, Andreas Borell was sent to preside over the Swedish Churches in 1757; arrived at Christina in 1759, and was Pastor in 1762. It is probable Unander was recalled in the last mentioned year.

Borell died in 1767. At that period Clay's account ceases;

* Only a small portion of his history has yet been translated into English. It is much to be desired that the whole should be given to the public by some competent hand.

but many are yet living that can well remember a Swedish missionary who officiated here within the last sixty years. His name was Lawrence Gerelius, and his voice, his foreign accent, his venerable aspect, and solemn manner at the interment of the dead, are all yet as familiar to some, as the events of yesterday. He returned to Sweden about the year 1790.

In the year 1786, the vestry of Wicaco church authorized the wardens to write to the archbishop of Upsal, and inform him that N. Collin had expressed a desire to return to his native country, and that "whenever his majesty of Sweden should think it proper and convenient, to grant him his recall, the mission to the American congregations would undoubtedly cease." The Swedish language at that time had ceased to be intelligible to the hearers, and the congregations being able to provide for themselves a more acceptable ministry, announced the fact to the king, after a grateful acknowledgement for his former care over them. To the letter of the wardens the archbishop sent the following reply :

" To the Swedish Congregations in America.

Grace and blessing from God our Father and the Lord Jesus Christ through the Holy Ghost.

The death of the late Archbishop, Dr. Menander, with many other circumstances, which have hindered the laying before the king of the business relating to the American congregations, are the reasons wherefore the letter of the congregations, through their ministry, of the 16th of June, 1786, could not before have been answered. But since I have now had the opportunity of laying before my gracious sovereign and lord the letter of the congregations, his majesty hath been graciously pleased to receive with pleasure the acknowledgement of the congregations, for his (as well as his royal predecessors of glorious memory) tenderness and care for the spiritual welfare of the Swedish congregations in America. And as his majesty also finds the reasons sufficient, for which the congregations would rather, here-

after, chuse themselves teachers from the natives of their country, than that they should be sent to them from Sweden, his majesty hath ordered and directed me to give to this proposition of the congregations his royal approbation and assent ; in consequence whereof, those in America yet remaining Swedish ministers, commissaries L. Girelius, and N. Collin, have obtained his majesty's gracious permission of returning to their native country, whenever their circumstances shall render it most convenient for them.

The king, my sovereign, still wisheth, with the love he beareth to the Swedish name, that the members of the congregations, who are for the most part the offspring of Sweden, may ever, jointly and severally, enjoy all manner of felicity, spiritual and temporal, and will have them at all times assured of his royal favour and benevolence.

My, in like manner, sincere, hearty wish and earnest prayer shall likewise be ever, that God with his grace may embrace the members of the respectable congregations, and that the Gospel light, which under Divine Providence was first kindled in those parts by the tender affection of Swedish kings, and the zealous endeavours of Swedish teachers, may there, while days are numbered, shine in perfect brightness, and bring forth fruit to everlasting life.

That the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, the love of God, and the fellowship of the Holy Ghost may be with you all, wisheth most heartily your affectionate well wisher.

No date.

UNO VON TOERL."*

Thus terminated the long intercourse between the Swedish churches in America, and the ecclesiastical establishment in the father-land. Like the intercourse between a parent and his child, it had been warm and affectionate, and the final separation, like the parting of such near relations, was with filial grati-

* The letter, of which the foregoing is a copy, is the original, under the hand of the archbishop. Whether his name is spelled exactly, is somewhat doubtful, as the writing is not very legible.

tude on the one hand, and on the other with parental benediction, and prayer for their present and eternal welfare.

The affairs of the other Swedish churches on the Delaware, after the arrival of Biorek,¹ Rudman, and Auren, present much the same aspect as those of Christina, and hardly require further remark. To those who would inquire more particularly concerning them, we would recommend Campanius's "Description of the Province of New Sweden," published by the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, 1834, and Clay's "Annals of the Swedes on the Delaware," so frequently referred to in the course of this narrative, 1835.

As monumental inscriptions sometimes mark the state of society, as it relates to the tastes, the literature, and the opinions of the periods in which they were adopted, and are interesting on many accounts, the following selection, chiefly from the more ancient tombstones, has been made, under the belief that they will be deemed an acceptable addition to this account of the ecclesiastical affairs of the Swedes.

The oldest stone in the church-yard is that of William Vandevere. It bears the following inscription :

"Here lieth the body of WILLIAM VANDEVERE, who was born A^o 1656, and diedd 8th October 17—," (date not legible ; the church records say 1719.) On the reverse side of the stone is the following text, "Rom. 6 : 7, 8. He that is dead is freed from sin. Now, if we be dead with Christ, we believe that we shall also live with him."

The next stone in the order of time, was erected to the memory of Breta Cock. It has only her initials and the date of her death. "B. C., 1726." By its side is one to the memory of her sister Katharine. It has only the initials "K. C." She died two days after Breta.

The following memorials of the dead are selected as among the oldest, and on account of the inscriptions, and the descent of the parties from the early settlers :

“In memory of ALICE KIRKE, wife of Samuel Kirke, who departed this life March y^e 13th, 1732, aged 63 years.

Reader, behold this stone, to know
What choice remains are hid below,
Beloved in every scene of life,
A maiden, widow, mistress, wife ;

Courteous, chaste, charitable, free,
Compassionate and prudent she ;
And, which completes her honour here,
Was ever pious and sincere.”

“In memory of ELIZABETH STIDHAM, late wife of Timothy Stidham, who died May 5th, 173 $\frac{7}{8}$, aged 42 years.”

“In memory of PETER SMITH, son of Hance and Mary Smith, who departed this life Jan’y. 8, 174 $\frac{7}{8}$, aged 27 years.

Death, thou hast conquered me,
I by thy darts am slain,
But Christ shall conquer thee,
And I shall rise again.”

“In memory of JOHN STALCOP, son of Israel and Susannah Stalcop, who died Nov’r. 9, 1747, aged 26 years.

Watch and pray, do not delay,
For time doth quickly pass,
For you may see, that pass by me,
Man’s days are like the grass.

I was young when Christ called home
My soul to leave its frame,
And in the dust, my body must
Till the last day remain.”

“In memory of INGEBORG STIDHAM, daughter of Peter and Ingeborg Jaquet, born Oct. 12th, 1690: married Lucas Stidham, Oct. 26th, 1715: departed this life April 4, 1748.

“Behold an obedient child ; a chaste maid ; an honest, loving, virtuous wife ; a good endeavouring mother ; a helpful neighbor ;—example take by me, as in my life I showed thee : having a desire to depart and to be with Christ, which is far better. Philips. 1st and 23d.”

“In memory of MARY SMIDT. She was born y^e 15th of March, 1697. She went to Sweden in 1714, and returned in 1721. She departed this life y^e 19th of Nov’r., 1750.”

“Here lieth the body of JONAS WALRAVEN, who departed this life the 6th day of Nov’r., 1751, aged 47 years, 5 months, and 6 days.

My glass is run, my work is done,
And I lie under ground ;
Intombed in clay, until the day
I hear the trumpet’s sound.”

“In memory of CASPARUS JAQUET, son of Cornelius and Mary Jaquet, who departed this life March 29th, 1755, aged 35 years, 4 months, and 2 days.”

“In memory of JESPER POULSON, [originally Paulson,] who died 1763, aged 73 years.”

“In memory of HENRY COLESBERY, [originally Kalsberg,] departed this life Aug. 12, 1760, aged 58 years.”

“In memory of PETER HENDRICKSON, [originally Hindricson,] who departed this life Sept. 1, 1761, aged 55 years.”

“In memory of WILLIAM HEDGES, who departed this life Jan’y. 28th, 1765, aged 38 years.”

“In memory of MORTON JUSTIS, [originally Gostafson,] who died May 29th, 1765, aged 77 years.”

“In memory of WILLIAM DERICKSON, [originally Didricsson,] who died June 1, 1766, aged 62 years.

The poor his bounty felt in need,
His charities few did exceed.”

“In memory of JOHN LYNAM, who departed this life 1768, aged 46 years.”

“In memory of INGEBOR ROBINSON, formerly wife of John Sinex, who died June 8th, 1768, aged 64 years.”

“In memory of ELEANOR, daughter of William and Johanna

Vanneman, [originally Van Nemans,] who departed this life August 27, 1769, aged 17 years."

"In memory of WILLIAM TUSSEY, [originally Tossa,] died Dec'r. 13, 1771, aged 66 years.

He never murmured at his stay,
Or wished his suffering less,
But only craved a heart to pray,
To pray and never cease."

"In memory of ELIZABETH, wife of Henry Colesbery, who died Sept. 12, 1771, aged 62 years."

"In memory of SUSANNA, wife of John North, who died May 1, 1772, aged 47 years, 10 months, and 13 days."

"In memory of LYDIA, late wife of Thomas Gilpin, and daughter of Evan Rice, Esq., who died March 13th, 1775, aged 28 years."

"In memory of JACOB JUSTIS, son of Swen and Mary Justis, died Jan'y. 14, 1777, aged 24 years."

"In memory of BREATA JUSTIS, daughter of Swen and Mary Justis, who died Jan'y. 17, 1777, aged 21 years."

"In memory of GABRIEL SPRINGER, son of Charles and Margaret Springer, who died Aug. 12, 1781, aged 42 years and 3 months."

"In memory of ANN JUSTIS, daughter of Andrew and Maria Justis, who died 1781, aged 31 years."

"In memory of ANNA MARIA TUSSEY, who departed this life March 7th, 1786, aged 78 years.

My flesh shall slumber in the ground,
Till the last trumpet's joyful sound,
Then burst the chains with sweet surprise,
And in my Saviour's image rise."

"In memory of MARY JUSTIS, the beloved wife of Swen Justis, who departed this life Jan. 16, 1785, aged 54 years."

“In memory of SWEN JUSTIS, who departed this life Jan’y. 19, 1792, aged 66 years.”

In the cross isle of the old church is a small marble tablet with the following inscription: “In memory of PETER ABRAHAM GIRELIUS, who died Sept. 18th 1786, aged 19 days.” This was probably the son of Lawrence Girelius, the last of the Swedish missionaries who lived in Wilmington, of whom mention has been made in a preceding page. By reference to the Delaware Gazette, dated July 3d, 1790, it appears that L. Girelius was here at that time, and officiated as a clergyman before “the Delaware State Society of the Cincinnati,” at the old academy.

“In memory of ELIZABETH JUSTIS, wife of John Justis, who died 1795, aged 40 years, 3 months, and 23 days.

By piety too high refined,
For our terrestrial globe,
Her Jesus, merciful and kind,
Called her to his abode.

There clothed in robes of heavenly light,
With seraphim she sings ;
While tasting of the pure delight,
That from God’s presence springs.”

“In memory of JOHN JUSTIS, who died 1805, aged 55 years, 1 month, and 17 days.

Oh that my mouldering dust might teach
What man on earth should learn,
For dust and ashes loudest preach
His infinite concern.”

We shall close this list with the inscription on the tomb of HENRIETTA M. ALLMOND. In her last will she bequeathed \$640 to the church wardens and vestrymen of the old Swede’s church, by which they were enabled to put the house into decent repair, and fit it again for a place of worship. As such, on particular occasions, it is sometimes used. Its distance from the city caused the congregation, in 1830, to build another, in a more convenient location. But within the last seven years, the town

has been so much extended in the direction of the old church, as to make it probable that its distance may not be much longer any objection to use it for the purpose of its erection.

“ In memory of HENRIETTA M. ALLMOND, who departed this life Feb’y. 15th, 1843, aged 32 years.

Affliction sore long time I bore,
Physicians were in vain,
Till God did please to give me ease,
And take away my pain.”

The present officers of the church have lately caused to be engraved on the tombstone over her grave, the following acknowledgement of her bounty :

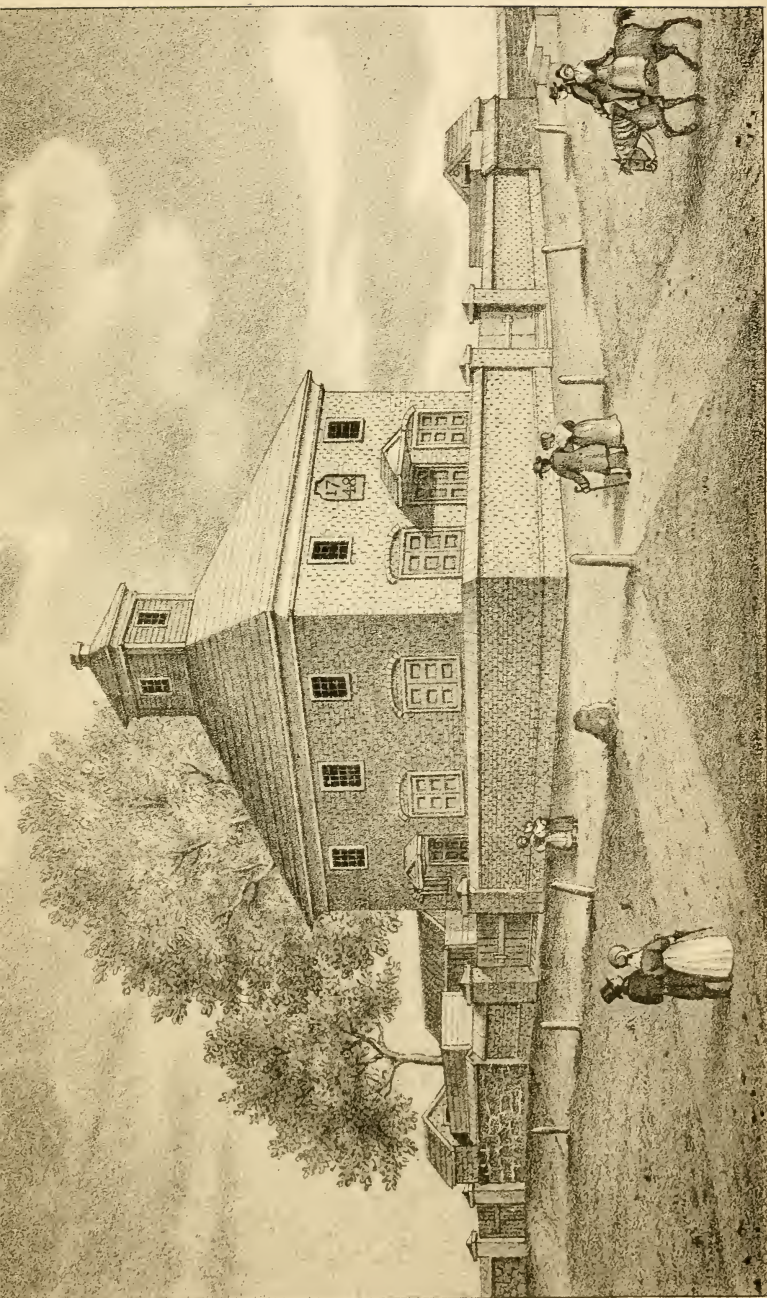
“ The liberal bequest of HENRIETTA M. ALLMOND, for the repair of the Swede’s Lutheran Church, is here, by the wardens and vestrymen, Anno Domini, 1845, gratefully commemorated.”

PART III.

CHAPTER I.

HISTORY OF WILMINGTON.

WILMINGTON lies between two rivers, the one adapted to navigation and commerce, the other to mills and manufacturing establishments. In these respects Nature has made our city to resemble the metropolis of Pennsylvania, while Art has been actively engaged in carrying out the resemblance. The streets of Wilmington are all laid out at right angles with each other, and those running from river to river are crossed by others that are named numerically. Through the central part of the city runs the main street, which is called Market street ; the others running parallel to it, are mostly named after the trees of the country, and after distinguished individuals. The reader will perceive in all these circumstances the striking resemblance between Philadelphia and Wilmington. The truth is, that the founders of our city were humble copyists, but in general judicious ones. The world could have hardly afforded them a better model. There have been several attempts to improve upon Penn's plan, but they have all failed ; and the city of Washington, whose founders had every advantage which talents, knowledge, and pecuniary resources could give, have perhaps failed the most conspicuously. No plan yet adopted for a city, whether with a view to business, cleanliness, health, convenience, or economy, has been found to answer these purposes better than that in which the streets are laid out at right angles, from fifty to one hundred feet wide, according as circumstances dictate. The citizens of New York have adopted this plan in the new parts of their city to great advantage.



Benj. Ferris del.

P.S. Duval Lith. Phila.

FRIENDS OLD MEETING HOUSE, WILMINGTON, DEL.

AS IT STOOD IN 1817, JUST BEFORE IT WAS TAKEN DOWN.

Wilmington is “a city set upon a hill;” the highest point in Market street, near the great reservoir or basin, is one hundred and nine feet above the tide. This point is attained by a gentle ascent from the Christina, and distant from it three thousand seven hundred feet, being more than two-thirds of a mile. The distance from this point to the river Brandywine is seventeen hundred and thirty-two feet, making the whole distance from river to river, one hundred and fifty-two feet more than a mile.

Although Wilmington stands on a hill of such elevation, it is partly surrounded by a chain of hills still loftier, nearly in the form of a crescent, and distant from one to three miles. Beginning at the “high hills of Christeen” near the Delaware, and in a north-east direction from the city, they sweep round towards the north and west, with varying height, and waving outline, until they subside nearly in a south direction on the road leading to New Castle. The city stands on ground which gradually declines towards the east, until it finds both a natural and legal boundary in the two rivers, Christina and Brandywine, where they meander through the meadow lands beyond the old church, to meet each other and mingle their waters before they enter the Delaware.

The Christina approaches the city from the south-west, and is navigable for sloops of fifty tons about ten miles beyond it. The Brandywine comes to us from the north, having within four miles, a fall of one hundred and twenty feet, affording great power for manufacturing purposes, to which a considerable portion of its forces has already been applied.

It is navigable for vessels carrying 2000 bushels of wheat, as high up the stream as the mills, which are situate at the northerly extremity of the city. They are thirteen in number, and have long been celebrated for their power and efficiency as flour manufactories.

The land on which the city of Wilmington now stands, was granted by Colonel Francis Lovelace, Governor General of the territories held by the Duke of York, to John Anderson, and Tymen Stidham. The grant to Stidham is dated at Fort James

in New York, the old Fort Amsterdam, the 23d of May, 1671. Anderson's patent was probably taken out about the same time. The date is uncertain, but it could not have been later than 1673, as Lovelace left this country in that year, and did not return.

The patent granted to Stidham is not to be understood as an original grant of *unseated* land. As the patent recites, it was then "in y^e tenure or occupation of Tymen Stidham," and the deed was to confirm a title, which he had by possession, probably from the time of the first Swedish colony in 1638. After the conquest by the English, all the inhabitants were summoned to New York to receive deeds for their lands, whether those already occupied, or such as were yet vacant. The few deeds granted during the Swedish government, were for lands held by persons not subjects of Sweden, as the Finns and Dutch; and contained a condition in the *habendum*, "that they should hold them so long as they continued subject to the Swedish authorities."* As they had now promised allegiance to *another power*, many of them, probably afraid of losing their lands, availed themselves of the present opportunity to secure their titles. Anderson was a Dutchman, and may have deemed a patent from Lovelace necessary to make his title indisputable.

The patent to Stidham is curious, as showing the extreme looseness of description which at that time was satisfactory both to the grantor and the grantee; it is also worded so as to be, in some respects, unintelligible. "Brandywine kill," and "Rattlesnake kill," and "the Black Katt's kill," are yet well known. But a surveyor would now find it impossible to ascertain the beginning, the ending, or the quantity of the tract.

As a curiosity, and as connected with the history of Wilmington, it is deemed worthy of preservation. It is as follows,—to wit:

"Francis Lovelace, Esq., one of y^e gentlemen of his Majesty's Hon^{ble} privy chamber, and Governour Genn^l under his

*Acrelius, 427.

Royall Highness James Duke of York and Albany &c of all his Territoryes in America, to all to whom these presents shall come sendeth greeting. Whereas there is a certaine parcell of Land in Delaware River near unto New Castle, now in y^e tenure or occupacon of Tymen Stiddem as his proper right, beginning at y^e ffall of y^e Brandy-wine kill, and stretching in length to y^e Rattle-snake kill, and in breadth from y^e Rattle-snake path in a like breadth to his house: As also y^e meadow or valley upon y^e Hooke, from y^e Black-Katt's kill to the great Brandy-wine kill, and soe along to Christina kill: Now for a confirmation unto him the said Tymen Stiddem in his possession and enjoyment of y^e premisses, Know Yee that by vertue of y^e Commission and authority unto me given by his Royal Highness I have Ratified confirmed and granted, and by these presents doe ratifye confirme and grant unto Tymen Stiddem his Heires and Assignes y^e aforesaid recited parcell of Land and Premisses together wth y^e Meadow or Valley upon y^e Hook unto the said Tymen Stiddem his Heires and Assignes unto y^e proper use and behoofe of him y^e said Tymen Stiddem his Heires and Assignes forever. Yielding and paying yearely and every yeare as a quitt Rent unto his Ma^{ties} use, one Bushell of winter wheat when it shall be demanded by such officer or officers in authority as shall be empowered and establisht in Delaware River and parts adjacent to command and receive the same. Given under my Hand and Sealed wth y^e seal of y^e Province at ffort James in New Yorke the third day of May in y^e 23d yeare of his Ma^{ties} Reigne, Annoq Dni 1671.

Recorded by order of y^e Governor.

MATHIAS NICOLLS, Sec^r.

FRANCIS LOVELACE."

"Rattlesnake-kill," now called Rattlesnake-run, is a small rivulet which rises on lands lying west of the Wilmington and Kennett turnpike, formerly the property of Thomas Shipley, now of Alexander Moore. It crosses the road a short distance beyond the toll gate, and passing through lands late of Abraham

Ford and John Shallcross, enters the Brandywine at a point a little more than one mile above the bridge at Wilmington. Within the last quarter of a mile of its course, it passes over a bed of broken rocks, which in former times made a comfortable asylum for the rattlesnakes. These reptiles, like the people who gave the stream its name, have long since passed away, and left their possessions to other tenants.

“The Black-Katt’s kill” was a small creek which entered the Brandywine about a furlong below the rail-road bridge. It was formerly one of the outlets for the great body of water, which, on the recession of the tide, had to be discharged from the marsh below the old church. It is now filled up and converted into grazing ground, but can still be traced by its “reeds and rushes,” through all its sinuous course, to its former mouth in a small cove, on the south side of the Brandywine, nearly opposite a small two story brick house on Vandever’s place. It is said to have taken its title from a transport ship called “the Black Cat,” which came from Sweden about the year 1645, under Printz’s administration, and which wintered in the creek that still bears its name.

The Indian name of the Brandywine has not been transmitted to us. It was called by the Swedes, Fish kill. Tradition informs us that its present name was given it in consequence of the loss of a vessel in its waters, laden with brandy; in the Dutch language called Brand-wijn. This account is confirmed by the report of a number of old persons, who have declared that the remains of the vessel were frequently pointed out to them in early life by their ancestors, with the assurance that those remains were parts of the ship whose loss gave rise to the name of the river.* The wreck lay within the mouth of the Brandywine on the northern shore, about three hundred yards from its junction

* Frederick Craig, a very worthy citizen, and remarkable for a clear, retentive memory, who lived to eighty-five years of age, and died in 1841, has been frequently heard to say that the wreck of the ship which gave a name to the Brandywine had often been pointed out to him in early life, by the old people of that day.

with the Christina. It was said that the vessel belonged to the Dutch, and came to the place after the capture of the colony of new Sweden in 1655. This report is rendered probable by the fact that the name no where occurs in the early history of the settlement, nor until after that year. It is likely that the vessel attempting to pass the winter in the creek, was cut through by the ice in the spring, and sunk.

Anderson's tract contained eight hundred acres of land. It was bounded on the north by Stidham's land, on the west by Rattlesnake run and a line of marked trees, on the south by Christina, and the meadows then under water, &c., and extending eastward into the neighborhood of the old church. On the 16th of April, 1675, Anderson, by an article written in the Dutch language, and which is now in the writer's possession, granted to Samuel Peterson and Lars Cornelison, one-half of his landed property, without stating or making out any definite line of division. Lars Cornelison sold his claim under the article to Justa Anderson. Anderson assigned his interest to Matthias Defoss, who afterwards sold it to a certain Charles Pickering; Peterson in the mean time holding his share under the original contract with Anderson.

Such was the position of the parties holding under old John Anderson, in the year 1686. At that time Anderson was dead, and all the owners agreeing to divide and hold their respective shares in severalty, employed Thomas Pierson, an official surveyor under the governor, to survey and lay them out accordingly.

By this division, which was made on the 26th of the First month, old stile, 1686, corresponding to the 6th of the Fourth month, April, according to the present mode of dating, *Samuel Peterson's* tract was bounded as follows: Beginning at a thorn-bush standing in the middle of French street, and nearly in the line of the lower side of Water street. It then passed up and along the middle of French street to a point about two perches above the upper line of Third street, thence by a line running diagonally across the town, in a north-westerly direction, and

passing through the easterly end of the upper market house, to the easterly end of Love lane, thence continuing the same course partly along the lane to a stake somewhere near Rattlesnake run, standing at the distance of 444 perches from the beginning of the line. From this point, the boundary line, by two courses in a south-westerly direction, extended fifty-five perches to a stake, and thence in a direct line to the mouth of a small rivulet which then entered the Christina, in a piece of low ground, formerly belonging to Frances Way, which lies a little west of John Hedge's rope walk, and thence by the margin of the creek to the thornbush. The rivulet alluded to now crosses Front street in a culvert, at its intersection with West street. In some places, the line terminating at the mouth of the rivulet, yet remains as a boundary line between lands lying west of the city. Westward of the old King's road it divides the land late of John Way, now of Dr. Coxe, from the lands belonging to New Castle county, for the support of the poor. It is marked by a row of Lombardy poplars, as it passes along between the poor house and the city, and may be distinguished from all others by its diagonal direction.

The tract assigned to *Charles Pickering*, began at a Spanish oak, near the head of a rivulet known as "Stalcop's run." This tree stood in what is now Poplar street, about five perches below Seventh street, within five or six feet of a spring, which still sends forth a small stream of water. It was at a corner of lands of the late William Kirk and Patrick O'Flinn. From this point the line extended in a north-west direction four hundred and sixty perches, or nearly one mile and a half, to a white oak tree, in the vicinity of Rattlesnake-kill. It still forms a dividing line to several lots westward of Tatnall street, and is the south-west boundary of lands of the late Dr. Wm. Gibbons. From the termination of the last mentioned line, Pickering's tract was bounded by a line running south-westerly seventy-four perches to a corner of Peterson's land, at the end of the four hundred and forty-four perch line, thence by that line to its beginning in French street near Third street, thence down French street to the old

thornbush, thence by the shore of the Christina to the mouth of Stalcop's run, thence along the run to the Spanish oak at the beginning of the survey.

The remainder of old John Anderson's land was divided between Christiana his widow, and Andrew his oldest son. The widow took all those parts of it lying eastward of Stalcop's run, and northward of Pickering's tract. It was bounded by Tymen Stidham's land on the north, by a line at or near Rattlesnake run on the west, and on the south by the Christina. Its eastern limits is not precisely known, but it was near to the church yard, as appears by the article with Joseph Yard, for building the church.

Andrew's portion lay on the south-west of Peterson's tract, and extended westward beyond the poor house about half a mile. How far south-westward its extent is not certainly known. It included all the lower part of Clement's creek, which is the first stream crossed on the Wilmington and Christiana turnpike road, by travellers in the route to Baltimore. On the westerly part of it stands the Poor house, Gailey's boarding school, the toll gate on the Wilmington and Lancaster turnpike, and a number of dwellings belonging to the descendants of Andrew Stalcop, the son of old John Anderson, or to their assigns.

The five tracts already described, include all the lands now within the corporate limits of the city of Wilmington, excepting perhaps, a small part of the Brandywine marsh. The patent to Tymen Stidham may include the whole of that marsh, but from the loose and indefinite character of the description, this is not quite certain.

The grant by Sir Francis Lovelace to John Anderson, like that to Tymen Stidham, was for the purpose of confirming to him his right, obtained either by purchase or original possession, most probably by purchase, for Anderson was a Dutchman, and the land held by him, was in the possession of the Swedes, at the earliest settlement of that people on the shore of Christina.

The time of Anderson's arrival is not known. It is probable he came to this country after its capture by the Dutch, at a

time when the fort at the rocks was abandoned as a military post; and when his Swedish neighbours were willing to occupy lands more remote from scenes which reminded them of their defeat and subjugation. Here they had lived as lords of the land, the surrounding nations bringing their treasures and pouring them out at their feet, and here the crown had been taken from their head. Where they once reigned, they had become captives, and in sorrow of heart had often "hanged their harps upon the willows."

Tradition informs us that Anderson came over from Holland as cook on board a Dutch ship. He wore a woollen cap, which, during the voyage, he so frequently used instead of a towel, that it became perfectly saturated with grease, and by constant handling acquired a very smooth surface, which reflected the light like polished steel. Hence the sailors nicknamed him *Staelkappe*, pronounced "*Stalcop*." The truth of this traditional account is much strengthened by the fact, that in the article of agreement with Samuel Peterson and Lars Cornelison, he signed his proper name Johan Anderson. In deeds of conveyance from his descendants reciting their title under him, he is called John Anderson *Stalcop*. His son John was actively concerned in the erection of the church at Christina, and in the contract with Joseph Yard he signed his name John *Stallcop*. On the division of the landed estate as aforesaid, his son Andrew is called Andrew *Stalcop*; and his widow is named Christina *Stalcop*, and called in the writings John Anderson *Stalcop's* widow. There is no evidence that the name of Anderson was retained by any of his posterity. He left four sons, Andrew, Charles, John, and Peter, who all took the nickname of *Stalcop*, which has descended to our own times as the family name, and as such is inscribed on the monuments of their dead. One of the last of the name, who possessed any of the family domain, was Andrew *Stalcop*. One of his daughters married Andrew Crips. She was the mother of the family of that name, yet living on part of the old tract. The wife of Andrew *Stalcop* long survived him, living in a small tenement on the wester-

ly part of their land. She was subject to occasional fits of insanity, in which state she would come into the town; and is still vividly remembered by those who were children at the time, and who had been terrified by her wild conduct, and had trembled at the sound of her name. Sixty years ago, the urchin who was tempted to wander from home, was kept within due bounds by the fear of Hannah Stalcop.

The tract which was Charles Pickering's, afterwards became the property of the Swedish Congregation, and was long known as "the church land." In the year 1736, the congregation by an indenture under the hands of John Eneberg, their minister, Charles Springer, Jacob Stilly, and Garret Garretson, then church wardens; and Philip Van De Vere, Mouns Justice, Timothy Stidham, Lucas Stidham, and Morton Justice, their vestrymen, together with many of the most conspicuous men of the congregation, appointed Charles Springer their trustee, who, with Jacob Stilly and Garret Garretson, their church wardens, and their successors, were authorized to lease and demise for term of years or for ever, in small lots, any part or parts of the said church lands.

The town of Wilmington had just been laid out, and between thirty and forty buildings erected. The church lands occupied that part of the city which is now nearly central. The prospect of rapid improvement in the value of their property, induced the congregation to come into the market with lots to lease at moderate rents; and had it not been either for the superior wisdom, or great want of foresight, in those who had the management of their real estate, the church at this day would have been much too rich for the best interests of any ecclesiastical institution.

The tract which became the property of Samuel Peterson, he by his will dated November 20, 1689, devised to that son who should live longest with his widow. Under this singular devise, his son Peter took the plantation, and his son Matthias, by deed dated December 4, 1702, released to Peter all his claim on the land. Peter held the tract during his life, and by his will

dated January 29, 1714, devised it to his son Peter Peterson. He by deed under the hand and seal of himself and Magdalen his wife, dated May 8th, 1727, granted and conveyed to Andrew Justison, all that part of the plantation lying on the Christina, extending from the old thornbush on the shore at French street, to the mouth of the rivulet west of the rope walk, on land late of Francis Way, and thence westward, within lines already described, to the dividing line between Thomas Shipley, and the assignees of the late John Way. This dividing line runs from Love-lane across the country, to a corner of Simpson's land, in the old diagonal line herein before particularly described.

This sale to Justison is one of the connecting links in the chain of causes which gave rise to the city of Wilmington, and it appears probable that he made the purchase with the view of laying out a town.

CHAPTER II.

THOMAS WILLING in the latter part of the year 1728, married Catharine, the daughter of Andrew Justison aforesaid, and by an assignment from his father-in-law, dated 26th of September, 1731, became interested in part of his land lying on the Christina, between West street and French street. That portion of it lying between French and Market streets had a good shore, the fast land extending to the high water mark.

Along this part of the shore Thomas Willing laid out streets at right angles with each other, after the Philadelphia model, and sold a number of lots with a view to the erection of a town. At what time this first crude plan of a town was adopted, is not exactly known, but it could not have been earlier than the month called October, 1731, The first house certainly known to have been built on Willing's plot, stood at the corner of Market and Front streets. It was a brick house and bore the date 1732, cut in a marble tablet, built in the gable wall, with the initials I. W. S. It stood out eight feet beyond the range of the buildings in Market street, and was occupied as a tavern until the year 1825, when it was taken down by the owner, Eli Sharpe, and a much more commodious building erected on the site. The original marble was rebuilt in the gable wall of the new house, and may there be seen, with the date of its erection added to the former inscription.

But Willing had not the means of pushing the settlement, and the little town, then called WILLINGTOWN, languished for want of settlers with sufficient capital and enterprize [to give life and growth to the new establishment. Up to the year 1735, the town contained only fifteen or twenty houses of every description.

In the year 1735, William Shipley, of Ridley, in Pennsylv-

vania, at the suggestion of his wife, who had travelled through the vicinity, and had been favourably impressed by the situation and beauty of the place, came to Willingtown on a visit of inquiry. On the 20th of May he purchased a lot of land of Samuel Kirk and Margaret his wife, situate at the easterly corner of Market and Second streets. The lot was said to be "on the Market Square," by which we learn that it was originally intended to build the market house in that part of the town. Other documents confirm this fact, and say that the design was to erect it in *Market street*, which probably was the reason for calling the street by that name. This view of the subject is corroborated by what is still obvious, that the town was originally laid out in close imitation of the plan of Philadelphia; so close, indeed, that, like the Chinese painters, who carefully copy defects as well as beauties, Willing copied, most faithfully, the worst feature in that beautiful city; a feature which never entered into the design of its liberal and enlightened founder, but since his decease grew out of those feelings which prefer present to future advantages. As Philadelphia had a narrow and unsightly avenue, passing close to the river, called Water street, so it was deemed proper that Wilmington should have one also, and accordingly one was laid out as narrow as its predecessor, being about one-half the width of the streets crossing it. As Philadelphia had a "Market street," with a market house ranging along the middle of it, so was it intended that Wilmington should be accommodated in like manner; and as that city had a street called "Broad street," near the central part of it, running across Market street at right angles with it, so about the middle of Wilmington, a street running in like manner was laid out, and called Broad street. Its character, however, did not correspond to its name, for it is quite as narrow as any, except Water street, being only forty-nine feet wide.

In the summer of the year 1735, William Shipley again visited Willingtown, and while here purchased a larger lot, evidently with a design of removing to the settlement. On the

9th day of August in that year, Andrew Justison and Breta his wife, and Thomas Willing and Catharine his wife, for the sum of £104, granted and conveyed to William Shipley eight acres of land, all lying between Market and West streets, above Second street and below Fifth street. At the same time he purchased of Charles Empson one acre and one hundred and four perches, adjoining the same land, and lying within the aforesaid limits.

On the 19th of the month last mentioned, William Shipley bought of Charles Empson another lot of land, containing one acre and four perches, for the sum of £40. This lot was bounded on the south by the Christeen, and lay between Market and Tatnall streets. John Harris's ship yard now occupies part of it. He also purchased part of the church land lying above Fourth street and west of Shipley street.

These purchases are mentioned as involving important consequences to the new establishment. William Shipley had wealth, enterprize, and influence. He and his wife were both distinguished and influential members of the Society of Friends. In the fall of 1735, they removed to the new town, and were soon followed by many of the most enterprising and industrious characters belonging to that religious persuasion. From this period the town grew rapidly; emigrants flocked to the settlement; and all was life and activity.

In the year 1736, there were thirty-three houses in the town. The plan of the city was extended northwardly to Seventh street, westwardly from Market to Tatnall street, and eastwardly to Walnut street. The streets were enlarged in 1740, by adding eight feet to the original width on each side. William Shipley at his own expense had erected a Market house in Fourth street, extending from Shipley street half way toward Market street: and had built that large house, yet standing at the westerly corner of Shipley and Fourth street.

The town being now laid out on a more liberal plan, the landed proprietors exerted themselves to dispose of building lots, as extensively as possible; and many of the farmers within twenty

or thirty miles, both in Pennsylvania and the territories on Delaware, became purchasers ; by which means many, not living in the town, became interested in its improvement. The want of a better municipal government began to be felt, and this year a united effort of the lot-holders was made to obtain a charter of incorporation, for which purpose the following petition was presented to the governor :

“ To the Honourable Thoman Penn, Esq., one of the proprietors of the province of Pennsylvania.

The petition of divers inhabitants and freeholders of lands situate at a place commonly called Willing-town, in the Hundred of Christiana, in the county of New Castle upon Delaware, and other freeholders of Pennsylvania and territories belonging in behalf of themselves and others humbly sheweth.

May it please the Hon^{ble} Proprietor.

Whereas divers of these petitioners and others in order for the erecting a town on a small neck of land lying between the rivers of Brandywine and Chistiana in the county of New Castle aforesaid, have been at great charge in the purchasing of lots, building of houses and removing their families ; and whereas, by the industry of these petitioners, who are now become as new adventurers, the said place begins to give the pleasing prospect of thriving and increasing, there being already divers houses built and others a putting forward ; and whereas the said river of Christiana, near which these improvements are made, hath a convenient landing place, the whole being well accommodated (as these petitioners conceive) with proper encouragement will prove a place advantageous for trade, and be a very considerable addition to the improvements already made within this province and territories :

These petitioners therefore pray, the premises considered, that the proprietor will be pleased so far to extend his favour to the inhabitants and owners of lands there, as to erect the same into a town or borough, that they may be authorized to keep markets on such days as may be thought convenient, that they may be empowered to chuse burgesses and inferior officers as shall be

found necessary for the encouraging virtue, preserving the king's peace, and the detecting of vice ; that they may be enabled to form and enact such ordinances for the regulation of the market and streets, and cleansing and mending the streets and highways within the precincts of the said town or borough, as may prove commodious and advantageous both to the said town and country adjacent ; that the precincts may be bounded, and that the proprietor will be pleased of his good favour to grant them such of these, or such other privileges as in his wisdom he shall think and esteem expedient, and these petitioners shall as in duty bound ever pray, &c.

Joseph Pennock,	Phillip Vandevere,	John Passmore,
William Shipley,	John Griest,	Robert Jonson,
Joseph Way,	William Cleneay,	Daniel Baily,
Cha. Empson,	Joseph Williams,	Mordecai Cloud,
Tho. Peters,	Richard Eavenson,	Daniel McForson,
Robert Read,	Edward Robinson,	Richard Doskrill,
Thomas West,	<i>Chester County.</i>	Thomas Heald,
Joshua Way,	Ellis Lewis.	William Key,
Tho. Broom,	William Webb,	John Marshall,
Edward Tatnall,	Gazen Miller,	W. Passmore,
James Milner,	Joseph Mendenhall,	Daniel Webb,
Samuel Pennock,	John Hoopes,	Jacob Way,
Griffith Minshall,	Samuel Hollingsworth,	John Heald,
Jon. Peirce,	James Few,	Jos. Gilpin,
Caleb Way,	John Way,	Thomas Chandler,
Erasmus Stidham,	Jeremiah Cloud,	Jos ^a . Harlan,
William Atherton,	Jacob Bennett,	Alphonsus Kirk,
Samuel Hooton,	George Grogg,	Samuel Greave,
John Smith,	William Levis,	Swithin Chandler,
Christopher Marshall,	Samuel Beverly,	Adam Kirk,
Mordecai Lewis,	Robert Lewis,	Jacob Chandler,
Matthias Morton,	Alexander Frayzer,	Christopher Wilson,
G. E. Folwell,	Joshua Peirce,	John Heath,
William Empson,	George Gilpin,	Thomas Hollingsworth,
Joseph Griest,	William Webb, Jr.,	Alexander Underwood,
Andrew Justice,	William Cooper,	John Clode,
Thos. Willing,	Will ^m Harvay,	Thomas Wilson,
Thoms. Tatnall,	Joseph Gilpin,	Thomas Nichols,
David Bush,	John Gregg,	Joseph Underwood,

Saml. Greave, Junr.,	Wm. Pim,	Joseph Townsend,
Joseph Maddock,	Aaron Mendenhall,	John Pennall,
Edward Jewett,	Ralph Eavenson,	Benja. Mendenhall, Jr.,
Samuel Gregg,	James Eldridge,	William Seal,
David Davies,	Benj. Mendenhall,	Wm. Dean,
William Pennock,	Zorobabel Hartshorne,	

The market house on Fourth street being completed, the parties concerned in its support published the following advertisement in manuscript hand bills :

Advertisement.

Whereas, it is thought very necessary that there should be particular days appointed and agreed to, on which days the country people may bring to town their victualing, which they are minded to sell, and when the inhabitants of this town may furnish themselves with what they think convenient,

Public Notice therefore is hereby given to all concerned, that it is agreed, that for the future, after the seventeenth day of this instant July, there may be a public sale of all sorts of victualing kept at the Market-house built in Willingtown on the fourth and seventh days, commonly called Wednesday and Saturday, in every week, hereafter, to begin about eight of the clock in the morning on the said days, to which publication we the inhabitants of Willingtown have set our hands.

Willingtown the 16th of July, Anno. Dom. 1736.

Signed,

Andrew Justus,	Edward Tatnall,	Samuel Milner,
William Shipley,	Samuel Pennock,	Dan Beeby,
Cha. Empson,	Griffith Minshall,	James Milner,
Tho. Broom,	Tho. Peters,	Joshua Way,
John Pearce,	Thos. Webb,	Tho. Willing,
Samuel Hooton,	Jas. Milner,	Thos. Downing,
Robert Read,	Daniel Calvert,	William Levis,
John Leeds,	James Garrett,	Robert Lewis,
William Atherton,	Joseph Way,	David Ferris,
Gouldsmith E. Folwell,	John Smith,	

The absence of all municipal government or authority, excepting that which was assumed or adopted by a common consent,

was a disadvantage severely felt at this time by the little community at Willingtown. It tended to engender a party spirit, and embitter the social relations whenever the least collision or supposed collision of interests occurred. A question which would have been quietly and permanently settled by the vote of a respectable majority, in a legally constituted municipal council, now agitated the whole community. Such a question at this time arose, and for a short period disturbed the harmony of the rising village.

CHAPTER III.

ABOUT the time that William Shipley first became interested in the new settlement, and when nearly all the houses in the town stood below Third street, the subject of a market house had engaged the attention of the settlers, and it was generally understood it was to be built in Market street, near Second street. With this proposition Shipley seemed satisfied. As it regarded his pecuniary interest, it does not appear that at any time it could have made much difference to him, whether it were located in Market street between Second and Third streets, or in Fourth street between Market and Shipley streets. He owned largely on both sides of Market below Third street, and only on one side of Fourth street, east of Shipley street.

Late in the autumn of 1735, W. Shipley, with Elizabeth his wife and two small children, removed to Willingtown. They passed the winter in a small brick tenement, standing on his own property, about fifty feet west of the westerly side of Shipley street, a short distance below Fourth street. This house is yet standing and is in good preservation. It is now used as a kitchen, attached to the new brick house late of Deborah Bringham, deceased. Here he planned his improvements for the following year, and amongst others, that of a new market house, which he found it easier to build at his own expense, on his own ground, than to unite his fellow citizens in an agreement to build it any where else. It was put up in the spring of 1736.

With this movement of Shipley, the people owning lots, and those resident in the lower part of the town were dissatisfied, as it was a *practical decision* of a question contrary to their interests, and to their views and intentions, before he came to reside among them.

After the market house was finished, and the advertisement

for opening it to the public use as aforesaid, was published, an open opposition was organized, and the two parties soon became involved in a warm controversy. As the town was not incorporated, there was no convenient tribunal to settle the dispute, and while their weapons of war were not more effective than opinions and censures, and reasons of private interest, neither party made much advance toward the attainment of its object.

One of the means resorted to by the up-town party, under a general notion of its efficiency for the purpose of vanquishing their opponents, was the publication of *written protests* against the acts of the opposition. The people of the lower district had determined to settle the question by building a market house for themselves. They had in the year 1737, procured some materials, and consulted some workmen for the purpose. This movement alarmed the up-town party, who immediately took measures to counteract it, and soon issued the following protest :

“ To all Christian People to whom these presents shall come— We whose names are hereunto subscribed, inhabitants of, and adventurers in Willingtown on the Hundred of Christiana in the county of New Castle upon Delaware, and others, inhabitants of the country and parts adjacent, send greeting :

Whereas there hath been already built in Willing Town aforesaid for the use and benefit of the said Town, and country adjoining, One certain house or building, commonly called a Market house or Shambles, and situate in High street,* and between Market street and Shipley street, in the said town : And Whereas, there is since proposed by some persons inhabitants in the said Town, and now by them a putting forward to be built, another Market house, proposed to be erected in Market street aforesaid, but down nigher the water side : Now these are therefore to declare to all persons, that WE whose names are hereunto subscribed, being very well satisfied that the Market house already built in High street as aforesaid, is and doth stand

*The name of this street has been since changed to Fourth street.

very commodious for the benefit of the said Town, both as to its situation, largeness and form of building: And that WE and every of us do approve the same, and that WE nor any of us do any ways approve of, but do utterly disallow and disapprove the building or erecting any other Market house or Shambles in the said Town at the present, and until we shall see more reasonable occasion for the same.

William Shipley,	Thomas Carleton,	Brineseby Barnes,
David Ferris,	Jacob Way,	Valentine Hollingsworth,
James Speary,	Christopher Marshall,	Alexander Frazier,
Thos. West,	John Glenis,	Daniel Mackfarson,
Edward Tatnall,	Job Jacob,	John Logue,
Joshua Way,	John Trimble,	Thomas McCullach,
William Warner,	Nathaniel Pennock,	James Phillips,
Samuel Hooten,	William Gorsuch,	Jonathan Langley,
Samuel Littler,	Daniel Calfet,	Ephraim Logue,
John Sweet,	Enoch Hollingsworth,	George Harlan,
Richard Nicholas,	John Ball,	Samuel Hollingsworth,
Gouldsmith E. Folwell,	Geo. Robinson,	Enoch Hollingsworth,
Jeremiah Haycock,	Nathan Wood,	Edward Way,
John Vanneman,	John Bite,	Ellis Lewis,
Robert Read,	Swithin Chandler,	Thomas Chandler,
Daniel Few,	Joseph Pennock,	Jacob Chandler,
Christopher Wilson,	John Gregg,	Samuel Greave,
Samuel Pennock,	John Heald,	Tho. Willson,
Joseph Mendenhall,	Wm. Passmore,	Samuel Greave, Junr.,
Thomas Hollingsworth	Daniel Webb,	Alphonsus Kirk,
William Levis,	Joshua Pearce,	Adam Kirk.
Robert Lewis,		

The Swedes having a distinct and deep interest in the settlement of this question, also came forward, and, as a body, opposed the erection of another market house in the lower part of the town. In the mode of opposition, they adopted the plan of their Anglo-Saxon neighbours, and issued a *written protest*. The exordium or preamble to their protestation was the same as that prefixed to the one already before the reader. In the statement of their objections to the plan of the opposite party, they go more at large into the subject, and honestly show that

they are primarily moved to make this protest for the sake of their interests, and the interests of their lessees, which very probably was the great spring of action with all the parties, however patriotically they may have chosen to express themselves on the occasion. They proceed to say :

“ Now these are to declare to all persons, that we whose names are hereunto subscribed, members of the said congregation, holding divers lands in the said Town for the use of the said church and minister thereof, and having by our trustees leased many lots of land there, to divers persons, and considering the interest of our said church and minister, and as well the interest and advantage of those persons that have already, or which shall hereafter lease any of our said church lands, and the future advantage, rise and growth of the said town in general, and being very well satisfied of the situation of the present market house already built in High street aforesaid, it standing nigh our line, and as we find very nigh the center or middle of the whole town,* and therefore very commodious for every part thereof, that we and every of us do approve the same, and that we nor any of us do any ways approve of, but do utterly disallow and disapprove of the building or erecting any other market-house or shambles in the said Town, at the present, and until we shall see more reasonable occasion for the same.

Signed,

JOHN ENEBERG.

Names of the Vestry of the said congregation enclosed in brace.

Justa Justis,	Peter Hendrickson,
Paul Justison,	Andrew Stilly,
William Tussey,	Chris. Brynberg,
Henry Stedom,	William Cleneay,
Geo. Read,	Jonas Walraven,
Joseph Springer,	John Springer,
Timothy Luc Stiddem,	Matthias Morten,
Andrew A. Lina,	Henry Colesberry,
Elias King,	Peter Peterson,
Hans Peterson,	Andrew A. Hendrickson,
James Sinnexson,	Jonas Stidham.

* Meaning the middle of the Town Plot as far as then laid down, which only extended to Seventh street. At that time there were but two or three houses in the town north of Fourth street.

At the present time, and under our circumstances, it may seem extraordinary that much dependance should have been placed in *protests*, resting on the authority of individuals having no legal power in the case. But at that time, when the great mass of the people had little wealth, and a very limited education, the weight of *personal influence and authority* in those who were raised much above the crowd in these respects, was often overwhelming, and would frequently overawe where it failed to convince. We can hardly doubt that the *name* of John Eneberg, the respected pastor of the Swedish community, and the venerated representative of ecclesiastical authority in the "fatherland," would be sufficient to deter almost any member of the congregation from joining a party opposed "to the said church and the minister thereof."* Nor can we suppose that the names of William Shipley, David Ferris, Edward Tatnall, Thomas West, Joshua Way, &c., would, on the other hand be lightly opposed by men connected with them in religious society, or looking up to them as the patrons and support of the infant community.

By the constitution or frame of government of Pennsylvania, established in 1696, one of the powers delegated to the governor and provincial council, was "to settle and order the situation of all cities and market towns in every county; modelling therein all public buildings, streets, and *market places*, &c."†

For want of municipal law, no charter having yet been granted in conformity with the prayer of the petitioners, an appeal was made to the Governor, Thomas Penn, and the Executive Council, that they might exercise the power conferred on them by the afore recited article of the constitution or frame of government, which authorized them "*to settle and order the public buildings and market places.*"

* Thomas Willing and his family were connected with the church. Andrew Justison was a Swede and a member of it; both more deeply concerned in locating the market in the lower part of the town than all the others, yet neither of them signed the address to the governor.

† Proud's Hist. Penn. Appendix, p. 36.

It appears by the following document that the governor, taking into consideration the subject of the appellants, and not entirely approving the proceedings of the party in favour of a market in the lower part of the town, as originally contemplated, he ordered James Steel to write a letter directing that party to suspend further proceedings in relation to their market house, until it would be convenient to the governor to pay them a visit.

In consequence of this procedure on the part of the governor, the party concerned called a meeting of those interested, and adopted the following address, in answer to his letter, and explanatory of their situation.

To the Hon^{able} Thomas Penn, Esq^r

One of the Propri^{rs} of Pensilvania.

We being animated by your virtuous and generous actions for the public good of this Province beg leave to offer to your wise consideration the reason for erecting a Market house in Willing Town.

From the first laying this place out for a town [there] was generously bestowed by Andrew Justis and Thos. Willing a lott of ground to the public, to erect a Market-house thereon. The purchasers at that time found the burden too heavy to build, chose rather to refer building till there was more posses'd with lotts, which wo'd render the expence more easey, and give more content to those that hereafter should become advent^{rs}.

William Shipley soon after became a purchaser, and then was informed of this Markett Lott: he approved and much commended the place appointed at that time; and at times after used endeavours to promote Market street by regulating the houses by putting them nine feet back of each side of s^d street, to make the said street commodious for the benefit and advantage of said Market place, and by his instigation encouraged persons to purchase Lotts near said place, who gave considerable greater prices for the same, than what might been purchased at other parts in the town, on the advantage of being near said markett, and by their Deeds said place is acknowledged.

To our concern and surprise, as William Shipley falling away from the public interest, and his former good intentions ; without the knowledge or consulting of us the freeholders has erected a Markett house on his land at his expense, from what motive, reason or justice should he derivate from so just a cause, if it was not with a vew to gratifie his private interest. The result will leave to y^r Hon^{rs} just reflection.

Tho at the same time it gives us a deep sense of concern, we being now in a capacity to build a Markett house for the public, that we should be represented as persons prejudiced to his interest, the regard we have is far from any design to injure him, we generously have offered to pay him the full expense he has been at in building his Markett house, but his resolution is so strong he is not to be moved to accept aney acknowledgement.

At the vew of James Steels letter by your Hon^{rs} request we readly would desist proceeding in building the public Markett house till it pleased you to visit this town, but provisions being made before the receipt of that letter for the going on of the same, would be a great detriment to us, the workmen being all ready employed, the bricks and other materials provided, and the season of the year being so far advanced, should it be delayed, it would injure those materials that hereafter would not be fitt for use.

The privileges that are intended by your Hon^r for this town will with due sence of acknowledgement be accepted whenever it pleases the Hon^{ble} Proprie^{rs} to bestow them grants on us, who are y^r Hon^{rs} well wishers.

Saml. Scott,	Thomas Milner,	James Hutchison,
Chas Empson,	Samuel Milner,	Joseph Stteell,
James Milner, Senr.,	James Milner,	John Buchanan,
John McArthur,	Thos. Downing,	Dan Beeby,
David Bush,	Timothy Scott,	Richard Dockrill,
Thos. Peters,	Joseph Tomlinson,	Alexander Hooge,
David Enoch.		

This address to the governor containing some reflections on the conduct of William Shipley, which he deemed to be unmerited,

in order to clear himself, he wrote a letter to the proprietor in substance as follows :

5th of 9th mo. (Nov.) 1737.

May it please the Proprietor :

Whereas, I am charged by Thomas Peters and others, in a letter sent to thee, with several things that are not true, I am under the necessity to give some explanation. In the first place, they say, I approved and much commended the plot or lot of ground given, or intended to be given, for to build a market house on. To which I answer, that to the best of my remembrance, I never did so ; but have always thought it a place too low and dirty for that purpose. The lot intended to be given, was offered on condition that the adventurers should approve of it, as suitable for that purpose, so I was informed. But many of them were dissatisfied therewith. Neither was there any deed at that time made and acknowledged for lands near the market lot, except for the one I bought.

Secondly. They are pleased to say that I was in favour of regulating the said Market street, and of setting the houses on both sides nine feet back, which is not true. I did, by the request of one man, speak of a single house being set back that it might range and be regular with those already built. It was but last night that Simon Edgehill accused me of preventing George Coates from setting his house back from the street, and that he could prove it.

Thirdly. As to the charge of encouraging persons to purchase lots on the said street, because the market was to be kept there, it is as untrue ; for I encouraged none but Thomas Tatnall, and I told him I believed the market would not be kept there. And at the same time Thomas Willing, the owner of the land, offered to sell me the ground whereon they are now building, and which they pretend had been given for that purpose.

Fourthly. As to falling away from the public interest, that is far from me. I think it my duty to act for the *public* interest, as for my own. And I conceive that to build a market house

on a pleasant plot of ground, convenient for the greater part of the people, both of the town and country, *is for the interest of the public.* To say it was built without the knowledge of several persons* who signed that letter, is untrue: for they not only knew it, but after it was built, signified their consent to it, by signing their name to an agreement, to hold markets at the said house on set days.

Fifthly. As for their offering to reimburse to me the costs of the said house, it manifests great weakness, for they know that the majority of the people, both in town and country, are well contented to have it where it already stands.

Sixthly. As for the allegation that provision was made for the erection of their house, before the receipt of the letter from James Steel, I believe it cannot be proved. The bricks were bought at Philadelphia a considerable time after the receipt of said letter.

WILLIAM SHIPLEY.

In this letter, Shipley expresses an opinion in relation to the ground on which the down-town party were building their new market house. He says it was "*a low dirty place.*" All the lower part of the square lying between Second and Third, Market and King streets, was at that time a low swampy piece of ground, retaining much of the water that naturally fell on it; its position and the nature of the soil being unfavourable for easy drainage. It appears by the oldest plot of the town, that the spot *finally fixed upon* for the lower market, was not in *Market street*, as mentioned in some of the earliest documents, but in *Second street*, and the lot alluded to, as having been "generously bestowed by Andrew Justis and Thomas Willing, to erect a market house upon," was part of the square just described. The market house stood on the spot occupied by the present one in Second street, and could not have been more than sixty feet long, that being the length of the lot obtained of Justison and Willing as appears by the aforesaid old plot.

* Six persons at least.

The charges against Shipley, laid before the Governor of Pennsylvania, somewhat affected his public and private character; and did not sit easy either on his own mind, or on the minds of his friends. It is true the charges did not amount to any thing very onerous, but to those unacquainted with the true state of the circumstances, they might pass for more than they were worth. About two months after Shipley had sent his letter to the governor, his friend David Ferris sent also the following testimony in relation to part of the charge.

“ A true relation of occurrences between William Shipley and Thomas Tatnall, concerning a lot of land which Thomas Tatnall bought of Thomas Willing in Willingtoun.

I understand it is reported and affirmed that William Shipley persuaded Thomas Tatnall to buy the said lot at a dear rate, telling him that it was joining upon the market place.

Now I was present when the bargain was made,⁷ and heard, I think, the whole of their discourse upon it. Thomas Tatnall having never seen the place, desired William Shipley to inform him how the lot was situated with respect to the water side and the market place. William Shipley frequently told him it was about mid-way from the water side to the market place as now intended. Moreover Thomas Willing repeatedly offered to sell to William Shipley the piece of ground which was formerly designed for a market place, saying, since the market was to be on the hill, he would sell the other piece; and this was said in Thomas Tatnall's hearing.

This discourse was at William Shipley's house in Ridley; and the same day Thomas Tatnall with Thomas Willing went to Philadelphia, in order to make the writings, and William Shipley, with myself, came the same day to Willingtoun. He showed me at that time where the market house was then concluded to be set, and was soon after built in the same place. At the same time, also, myself with divers others agreed for lots near this same market place, and there was no discourse of the other place, otherwise than as a thing out of date and laid aside.

Now I leave all to judge wherein William Shipley led Thomas Tatnall into any error about it in any respect.

DAVID FERRIS.

Willingtown the 14th of 11th mo., (Feb'r.) 173 $\frac{7}{8}$.

[Which according to the present style, would be February 25th, 1738.]

By this communication we learn that Shipley had fixed upon the site for his market house, before he removed from Springfield; and it must have been *after* he had made the purchase including the ground on which the Fourth street market house now stands. He purchased that ground on 9th of August, 1735, and removed to Willingtown before winter set in, which shows that his plan for locating the Fourth street market was arranged in the fall of that year.

Joseph Hewes, one of the earliest settlers in Willingtown under Shipley, and father of the late Edward Hewes, a well known and worthy citizen of Wilmington, came forward in defence of his friend, shortly after the date of David Ferris's testimony, just related. His object like that of Ferris's, was to weaken the charge against Shipley by invalidating the testimony of his accusers. He sent to the governor the following certificate :

Whereas, it hath been reported by some people in Willingtown, who are concerned in building a second market house there, that at the receipt of a letter sent there, by order of the proprietor, they had already employed the workmen, and provided the materials for the said house, and it being queried who they had agreed with, it was replied, with Joseph Hewes.

To which I answer, that they never bargained with me to build any market house at all. 'Tis true they sent for me to a meeting of theirs, and told me they had not agreed with any workmen, and if they could agree with me, they chose to employ me. They asked my price, and when they heard it, they said that they could have it done cheaper by several, and so left it to another meeting, which I never was at.

Now as for their stones, lime, and bricks and timber, there was not any at the place till long after, except shingles ; and I am not certain whether they were there at that time or not.

From under my hand,

JOSEPH HEWES.

Willingtown, the 16th of 11th mo., 1737.

CHAPTER IV.

UP to the period at which we have now arrived, every thing relative to the little village of Willingtown had been effected by *individual enterprise, or voluntary association*. Willing, in the first place, had laid out a few avenues or streets along the river side, on which a small number of scattering tenements had been erected. In 1735, Shipley arrived, and with him came some active business characters. The following year the town plot was revised, and, by general consent, greatly extended. The plan was accurately laid down, and a copy of it sent to the proprietary and governor, with a petition for a charter. A market house was built and dedicated to the public use; but all was done without municipal authority, and all lay open to the objections and opposition of individuals or parties, as the interests or caprice of such might dictate. The public market was private property. The very land on which it stood, the street itself, was the estate of William Shipley. In this state of things the public interests lay at the mercy of private persons; and changing circumstances might bring the people into collision with individuals. In this view of the subject, the landowners became dissatisfied with their position in relation to the market-house. They wished to possess an inalienable right to it, and to the land on which it was erected; and also to such an addition to the ground, as future circumstances and the enlargement of the town might require. To effect these objects they entered into a coalition, the nature of which will be explained by the following document:

“A true copy of the contract made between divers persons of Willing-town, in the Hundred of Christiana, in the county of New Castle upon Delaware, and parts adjacent, with their sub-

scriptions for the improving the shambles in High street in Willing Town as follows.

“To all Christian people to whom these presents shall come We whose names are hereunto subscribed, inhabitants of Willing Town in the Hundred of Christiana, in the County of New Castle upon Delaware, and the parts adjacent, send greeting:

“Whereas, William Shipley, of Willing Town aforesaid, hath very generously, at his own costs and charges, built and erected up in High street, in Willing Town, aforesaid, a market house or shambles, which we esteem as an act that hath been of great advantage to the said town, and very commodious to the country adjacent.

“And whereas, at the request and proposals of divers of us, the said William Shipley freely agreed that the same should be a public Market place for ever.

“And whereas, we being desirous that the same should be so established for ever, with the ground on which the present shambles are now built, with other ground thereto adjoining, whereon to erect other shambles or Market house, as occasion may require to extend from Shipley street to Market street in length, and in breadth thirty-three feet, with the privilege of the said High street, as it is now laid out to the breadth of five perches quite through the said William Shipley’s land, for the better convenience of the said Market place.

“And that the same may be surely established for the public use, we being minded to make a purchase thereof, DO THEREFORE make the following subscriptions, which in these presents, to our several respective names, are attached, and which sums respectively, we do promise and obligate ourselves, and our respective heirs, executors, and administrators, to pay or cause to be paid into the hands of our trustees, hereinafter named, or some of them, within six months after the date hereof.

“And we do nominate, constitute, and appoint our trusty and well beloved friends, Thomas West, and Joseph Hewes, of Willing Town aforesaid, Timothy Stidham and Henry Colesbury, of New Castle county, and Joseph Mendenhall, and Jacob Chan-

dler, of Chester county, our trustees, in and upon the premises ; empowering them our said trustees, or a majority of them, to receive and collect the said subscribed sums, to make the said purchases, to accept of all necessary conveyances of the premises, for the said uses ; to finish the said shambles ; to build an additional part thereto, as a further improvement of the premises for the public use, if the subscriptions will amount thereto, and they shall see occasion for the same. Hereby providing, that our said trustees shall make up their accounts with any number of us, who shall be and appear at the said Market-place, on the fourteenth day of December next ensuing the date hereof, at which time and place of meeting, it shall be lawful to and for us, the said subscribers, and our heirs, or so many of us then so meeting, or the majority, to choose two or more delegates for the making up the said accompts with our said trustees, and when we shall choose new trustees, or retain the old ones already chosen for the next ensuing year, who shall then on the said fourteenth day of December, render us an account by our delegates (for that end chosen) of all their proceedings, and so on yearly forever. And we do hereby propose, that at every such yearly meeting, our trustees and delegates then being, or a majority of them, shall direct what shall be done in the year ensuing, for the enlarging, erecting, rebuilding, or amending the said Market-house, and shambles, for the public use ; and according to our present intent of promoting the same : And we do propose, that these presents, or an exact copy thereof, be kept by some one of our said trustees, or some person whom they shall nominate for the same, as like minutes of all proceedings from time to time transacted, relating to the premises, as a public record : And we do hereby propose the acceptance of any other donations, which we or any who shall subscribe further and other gifts, for the enlarging, beautifying, and improving the premises, to the public uses aforesaid. Hereby ordering our said trustees, and their successors, whomsoever hereafter, to receive the same, and make report of, and account for the same, at their then next general meeting.

Dated this 15th of December in the eleventh year of the reign of George the Second of Great Britain, &c., King, Anno Dom. one thousand seven hundred and thirty-seven. (New style, December 26th, 1737.)

Here followeth the subscribers names with their several respective subscriptions:

£ s. d.				£ s. d.			
William Shipley	-	-	10 0 0	Jacob Chandler	-	-	0 10 0
Joshua Way	-	-	4 0 0	George Jenkin	-	-	0 10 0
David Ferris	-	-	3 0 0	Daniel Barker	-	-	0 10 0
Thomas West	-	-	2 0 0	Joseph Williamson	-	-	0 10 0
William Levis	-	-	2 0 0	Andrew Jolley	-	-	0 10 0
Edward Tatnall	-	-	2 0 0	Richard Eveson	-	-	0 10 0
Robert Lewis	-	-	2 0 0	Daniel Calfat	-	-	0 10 0
Griffith Minshall	-	-	2 0 0	Nathaniel Pennock	-	-	0 10 0
Gouldsmith Edward Folwell	2	0	0	Isaac Lobdell	-	-	0 6 0
Joseph Mendenhall	-	-	1 10 0	Owen Evans	-	-	0 6 0
Joseph Hewes	-	-	1 10 0	Nathan Wood	-	-	0 6 0
Christopher Wilson	-	-	1 0 0	William Wetton,	-	-	0 6 0
Samuel Hooten	-	-	1 0 0	Daniel Few	-	-	0 6 0
Samuel Littler	-	-	1 0 0	Moses Minshall	-	-	0 6 0
Enoch Lewis	-	-	1 0 0	Jonathan Sell,	-	-	0 5 0
William Warner	-	-	1 0 0	Jacob Stilley	-	-	0 5 0
John Swett	-	-	1 0 0	Jacob Springer	-	-	0 5 0
Richard Carson	-	-	1 0 0	Mouns Justis	-	-	0 5 0
James Speary	-	-	1 0 0	Joseph Springer	-	-	0 5 0
John Vanneman	-	-	1 0 0	Jonas Walraven	-	-	0 5 0
William Cleny	-	-	1 0 0	John Way	-	-	0 5 0
William Seal	-	-	1 0 0	Samuel Pennock	-	-	0 5 0
Stephen Foulk	-	-	1 0 0	Joseph Davis	-	-	0 5 0
Timothy Stidham	-	-	1 0 0	<i>Persons not interested in the</i>			
Hance Smith	-	-	1 0 0	<i>town.</i>			
Anthony Benezet	-	-	1 0 0	Ellis Lewis	-	-	0 1 0
Joshua Littler	-	-	1 0 0	John Bird	-	-	0 1 0
Job Jacob	-	-	1 0 0	Samuel Greave	-	-	0 10 0
George Howell	-	-	1 0 0	Swithin Chandler	-	-	0 10 0
Thomas Hollingsworth	-	0	15 0	Robert Pusey	-	-	0 10 0
William Hewes	-	0	15 0	John Gregg	-	-	0 5 0
John Trimble	-	0	10 0	Joseph Underwood	-	-	0 5 0
John Gleaves	-	0	10 0	Thomas Wilson	-	-	0 5 0
Christopher Springer	-	0	10 0	William Pennock	-	-	0 5 0
William Tussey	-	0	10 0	Jacob Bennet	-	-	0 5 0

£ s. d.					£ s. d.				
James Pryor	-	-	0	5 0	Joseph Pennock	-	-	0	5 0
James Phillips	-	.	0	5 0	George Gregg	-	-	0	5 0
Robert Miller	-	-	0	5 0	Stephen Davis	-	-	0	3 0
Abraham Marshall	-	-	0	5 0	Richard Buffington	-	-	0	2 6
Joshua Peirce	-	-	0	5 0	William Marshall	-	-	0	2 6
Robert Mendenhall	-	-	0	3 0	Samuel Osborn	-	-	0	2 0
John Hope	-	-	0	3 0	Jeremiah Dean	-	-	0	2 0

As taken from the originals, the 27th June, 1738.

GOULDSMITH EDWARD FOLWELL."

The object of this association being accomplished, the market house in Fourth street became public property. This circumstance, however gratifying to the up-town party, rather increased the uneasiness of the inhabitants residing in the lower part of the village, and the controversy continued with increasing asperity until the town, by its charter, was erected into a borough. During this interval the down-town people became greatly exasperated. At one time that party, represented by two athletic champions, came to the market house in Fourth street, provided with axes to cut it down. The house stood on large white-oak posts, and the men arranging themselves in due order for the purpose, commenced the work of destruction by driving their axes into one of these pillars. A very stout young man, belonging to the other party, excited by this outrage, promptly interfered, and while the two men stood near each other, put one hand on each of their heads and brought them together with so much force, that they both fell senseless to the ground. The dissension having now proceeded to personal violence, and threatening more serious mischief, the moderate men of both parties were convinced that measures ought speedily to be taken to settle the disputed point; and by their representations to the governor, a clause was inserted in the charter, by which it was provided that the burgesses, freeholders, and such of the inhabitants who were housekeepers, might, at an election to be held for that special purpose, "chuse some fitting place or places within the said borough, for holding of fairs and markets, which place or places so made choice of, being recorded by the town

clerk in some book by him to be kept for recording the transactions of the said corporation, should thereafter remain, for the holding of the said fairs and markets, without any alteration, for ever." In pursuance of the power thus granted, it was, on the 30th of November, 1739, "Ordered by the Burgesses, High Constable, and Assistants of the said borough, that the 10th day of December, then next following, should be the day for the electing the said place or places, for the said uses. And accordingly on the said 10th day of December, 1739, the freeholders and inhabitants of the said borough being met, gave their voices thus :

"That the Saturday Market, and Spring Fair, should be kept at the Market place in High street ; by a majority of 146 voices.

"That the Wednesday Market, and Fall Fair, should be kept at the Market place in Second street ; by a majority of 27 voices."

By this vote it is apparent, that the kindly spirit of compromise predominated in the election ; for there was a majority for both places, although the Fourth street Market place had much the largest number in its favour.

Thus was happily, and most judiciously settled, a controversy, which for four years had disturbed the harmony of the village, and in some cases embittered the feelings of the citizens toward each other. This arrangement has now been maintained nearly one hundred and four years, and has been obviously advantageous to the extension of the town, the diffusion of business, and the value of property.

At the time of this decision it appears, that the down-town people had finished their Market house in Second street. The long existing controversy on the subject of a Market place, had excited and given strength to feelings of rivalry, and, in the disposition to surpass their competitors, they had erected a building of a more substantial character, and in a much handsomer style, than the one in Fourth street. The roof was supported by brick pillars instead of wooden ones, and at the end nearest Market street they built of brick a neat little Town Hall, over the Market place, on arches, springing from the columns which

divided the stalls. During a part of the time of its existence, it was used as a school room, the stairway to which was on the outside of the house. After the year 1774 the Burgesses and Assistants assembled there for the transaction of public business, having previously met at taverns. The building had a small square cupola, surmounted by a spire and vane, the whole being a close imitation, on a small scale, of the old Court House, which stood at the intersection of Market and Second streets in the City of Philadelphia. It was taken down about fifty years ago.

The minutiae of the controversy in relation to the market houses have been narrated as matters of history, and with a view to explain the circumstances which led to the adoption of the present plan, of holding markets alternately at the Fourth street and Second street houses. Why two market houses should be built for the accommodation of one market, is a question which has often been asked, and which few have been able to answer. Happy would it have been for mankind had all the angry contentions arising from collisions of interest, been terminated as advantageously to both parties as was this first and greatest controversy that ever agitated the citizens of Wilmington.

By the Charter now granted, the Burgesses were constituted Conservators of the Peace, with power to arrest and punish rioters and other disorderly persons breaking the peace,—to bind to good behaviour,—to commit offenders to prison for trial at the Quarter Sessions of the County,—and generally to do all other matters and things pertaining to the office of a Justice of the Peace. As the County Courts were held at New Castle, distant from the village five miles, it became necessary to have a prison within the borough, for securing prisoners, until they could be conveyed to the county jail. The first ordinance passed by the authorities under the charter, was enacted for this purpose. It was dated March 31, 1740, and provided, “that, for the better preserving and keeping the King’s peace, and for the better ordering and good government of disorderly persons, &c., there be a piece of ground purchased of William Shipley, of this borough, situate in Market street, adjoining to the lot of

ground belonging to Samuel Hooten, to extend in the front thirty feet, and in depth back from the edge of the street, as it is now settled by the charter, fifty-eight feet, in order to have a cage, or place of confinement, and a pair of stocks and whipping-post erected, for such disorderly persons to be punished at, according to law. And we do order and appoint George Howell and Thomas West to treat with William Shipley about the said piece of ground, and that a necessary title be obtained for the same according to the charter." The same ordinance then goes on to provide for the erection of stocks, a whipping-post and cage. The cage was "to be built with brick, ground-pinned with stone, to the length of twelve feet on the front, and to the depth back of twelve feet, and in height from the floor to the top of the square, eight feet," and it was ordered "that the said cage, stocks and whipping-post be finished by the 28th day of April next."

In pursuance of this ordinance the ground mentioned was bought of William Shipley, and the cage, stocks and whipping-post were duly erected; whether within the short period of twenty-eight days we have not the means to determine; but that the cage was erected, and stood more than fifty years, the "opprobrious residence" of many a poor depraved creature, we have yet many living witnesses to prove. The lot of ground mentioned in the charter is on the northwest side of Market street, a few doors above Third street, and is occupied by a goldsmith and jeweller's shop, now in the tenure of J. T. Robinson, and the toy shop of Eliza Dauphin, widow of the late Joseph Dauphin.

The cage afterwards obtained the name of "the smoke-house," and until the year 1798, though it was only twelve feet square, was the most distinguished public building in Wilmington. It stood in the most public part of the town, had two doors with little grated windows, through which the prisoner might see and be seen, and by which the pure air from without might refresh the wretched sojourner. In front of the cage, at the outer edge of the pavement, stood the stocks, in which was often seen some unlucky vagabond, who thus paid the penalty

of his aberrations from the pleasant paths of temperance, or from the wholesome rules of moral propriety. This penalty consisted not only in his public exposure, and the cramped position of his legs and arms, but also in the gratuitous infliction of divers punishments not mentioned in the statute. They were inflicted by the rude spectators of his confinement, of their own mere motion and voluntary desire to aggravate the miseries of the culprit. He was often covered with the contents of rotten eggs and other offensive materials, well calculated to impress him with a desire for the future to keep out of the fangs of a law which exposed him to such odious inflictions. In addition to all these sufferings, he was sometimes sentenced to be "drummed out of town;" which was always attended with such additional punishment as must have made him abhor the bare idea of ever paying us another visit.

Within the recollection of many yet living, public fairs were held in our city twice in the year. These fairs were often attended by the citizens of other states, and being the favourite resort of the rude and licentious part of society, were frequently scenes of disorder and riot. By an ordinance dated April 25, 1740, the sale of rum and other intoxicating drink at the fair, was confined to persons residing in the county. This attempt to monopolize, for the benefit of our own citizens, all the profits arising from drunkenness, it is hardly needful to say, was easily eluded, and proved abortive. In the early period of our country's settlement, such fairs may have been useful, but the disadvantages of various kind attending them, the vice and disorder they always introduced, at length convinced the community that they were far more fruitful of evil than of good, and after an existence of forty-five years they were suppressed by an act of the Legislature, dated June 4th, 1785.

The first election under the charter was held on the 8th day of September, 1740. By that instrument, all the inhabitants who were freeholders, and all renters to the amount of five pounds per annum, having resided one year in the town, were entitled to a vote. As the town had now assumed the character of a borough, and the citizens were for the first time called upon

to choose their municipal officers, it is probable that this occasion excited much interest, that the village was all in motion, and that a general exercise of the elective franchise took place. The result is on record, and the following named citizens were elected, by the number of votes placed opposite to their names respectively :

Chief Burgess, . . .	William Shipley, - - - - -	61
Second Burgess, . . .	Joseph Way, - - - - -	50
High Constable, . . .	Charles Empson, - - - - -	54
Assistants {	Thomas West, - - - - -	96
	David Ferris, - - - - -	87
	George Howell, - - - - -	78
	Robert Hannum, - - - - -	58
	Joshua Way, - - - - -	50
	Joshua Littler, - - - - -	45
Town Clerk, . . .	Gouldsmith Edward Folwell, -	96

By the foregoing returns of the election, it appears that the highest vote given was 96. It may enable us to form some estimate of the number of inhabitants then in the town. Allowing for the absence of some of the voters, on account of sickness, and other circumstances; supposing there were some widows having families of children, and some renters under five pounds per annum, or not having resided one year in the town; there were in Wilmington at that time, probably, one hundred and twenty families, which at five persons to a family, would make a population of six hundred inhabitants. Five years before that period, the number of families did not amount to more than thirty, consequently the increase in that time was fourfold.

In this year, [1740,] William Shipley, David Ferris, Joshua Way, Griffith Minshall, and others, built the first vessel for foreign trade that ever belonged to this port. This vessel was a brig, and was named "THE WILMINGTON." She was loaded with flour, ship-bread, white and black-oak staves, beef in barrels, butter, &c., &c., and bound to Jamaica in the West Indies. She sailed in the summer of the following year. We find in an old memorandum book of William Shipley, a charge

for pilotage, dated 3d mo., 27th, 1741, O. S. ; answering to May 7th, according to the present mode of dating. This was the commencement of a trade, which was continued with considerable enterprise through the whole time of our colonial state. During the revolutionary period, extending from the year 1775, to the peace of 1783, it does not appear among any authentic records that this trade was pursued with much energy. Nor do we find testimony to show that any considerable revival occurred until five or six years afterwards. Several years subsequent to the close of the war, all kinds of business was very dull. Our country, like a patient who has survived a violent attack of disease, was for a long while in a very debilitated state ; nor did any very decided improvement appear until after the adoption of the Federal Constitution. That happy event was directly succeeded by symptoms of returning strength, and Wilmington partaking of the vital energy then diffused through the whole body, soon became an efficient member of it. In the year 1789, we find a number of vessels belonging to the town actively engaged in foreign commerce. The schooner *ISABELLA*, Capt. Parks ; schooner *PRATT*, Capt. Tho. Mendinball ; sloop *HANNAH*, Capt. Samuel Lovering ; brig *POLLY AND BETSY*, Capt. Andrew Morris ; sloop *INDUSTRY*, Capt. Hill ; sloop *SUKEY AND POLLY*, Capt. Ingham ; sloop *HOPE*, Capt. T. Newbold ; sloop *POLLY*, Capt. Congdon ; brig *MUNTON*, Capt. Staunton ; brig *MARIA*, Capt. Fort ; brig *KEZIA*, Capt. Collins ; were here at that time, and all engaged in the West India trade. At the same time the brig *BROTHERS*, Capt. James Jefferies ; brig *KEZIAH*, Capt. Brown ; brig *MARIA*, Capt. Fort ; brig *SOPHIA*, Capt. T. Thomson ; ship *HAPPY RETURN*, Capt. Erwin ; ship *NANCY*, Capt. Crawford, were engaged in the Irish trade. They took out flaxseed and other articles of American produce, and brought in Irish linens, window glass and other glass ware, together with emigrants, seeking an asylum on our shores, from the hardships of their native country.

For several years after this period, the foreign trade from this port continued to increase, particularly that with Ireland. Several

ships from three hundred to four hundred tons, belonged here. The principal object of this trade, was the transportation of passengers, of whom great numbers were brought into our port, and it is with satisfaction we add, that many who came over at that time, have since appeared on the stage of action among our most useful and respected citizens.

The insurrection of the blacks at St. Domingo in 1791, and the massacre of the white population which followed, drove hundreds of families into our country, and Wilmington became a favourite place of residence for the refugees. Many families settled here ; and so large a number made it a temporary residence, as greatly to enhance the price of provisions in the markets. The cost of butter, eggs and poultry, was doubled. The old residents complained at the change, but the little advance on the cost of produce was amply compensated by the rise of rents and the increased activity of trade. If the consumer paid more, the producer had more to spend ; it was a season of real prosperity to our borough, whose livelier aspect contrasted finely with its dull and stagnant condition but a few years before.

But this was not the only circumstance by which Wilmington, about that time, was made prosperous by the adversity of others. In the year 1793 the yellow fever made its appearance in Philadelphia. This awful disease spread consternation and alarm among her citizens, thousands of whom fled for refuge into the surrounding country. Our town being a seaport, and lying between that city and the ocean, presented the only good harbour and otherwise eligible situation for the ships and vessels belonging to her merchants. They flocked to Wilmington in great numbers. Every house and part of a house, that could be spared by our citizens, were taken at high rents. The Christiana, from the old ferry to the upper wharf, was so crowded with ships and vessels of all sorts, that there was scarcely room left for the passage of a boat. All the wharves were constantly occupied in the discharge of cargoes, and every stable, carriage house, and other building affording shelter from the weather, were used for storing goods and merchandize. The shores re-

sounded with the cheerful cries of the sailors heaving the anchor, or hoisting out the lading of their respective vessels; every ship carpenter was busy, and the whole town was perfumed with the wholesome odours of boiling tar and pitch. Such were the scenes exhibited in Wilmington, in the memorable year 1793; scenes never before witnessed in our little town, and most probably such as will never be witnessed again.

At this period, Wilmington contained about 2500 inhabitants. A considerable number of those who took refuge here at that time, settled among us, materially augmenting our population.

The French revolution was now in rapid progress. Already had Louis XVI. been beheaded, and the old dynasty destroyed. The spirit of rational liberty, in which that revolution originated, soon passed the bounds of sober reason, and ran into excesses, justly alarming to the friends of *constitutional* freedom. Our country was just recovering from the weakness of a long and wasting war. Her wisest statesmen saw that peace and repose were necessary to her safety. The wild enthusiasm which pervaded France, plausible in its professions, and infectious in its character, had begun to manifest itself amongst us. A generous sympathy for our late allies was producing effects, whose tendencies were calculated to involve us in the struggle existing between the European belligerents. Already enjoying *all the blessings of a perfectly free government*, the sagacious mind of Washington clearly saw that such a course could not possibly do us any good, and must inevitably do us much evil; perhaps destroy the fair fabric of our freedom, reared at so much cost, and with so much suffering. With all the firmness, for which he was remarkable, he employed the whole weight of his character and influence, which was unparalleled, to counteract those tendencies. In the year 1794, he appointed John Jay our Ambassador to the court of St. James, with full powers to negotiate with England a treaty of commerce. This measure was so unpopular, that when the treaty was laid before Congress, it was opposed by a decided majority; and it was with difficulty the Senate could be induced to sanction it; so strong was the popu-

lar feeling opposed to such an arrangement with our late enemy, then at war with France our late friend. But experience manifested the wisdom of the measure, and added a new debt of gratitude to the great statesman then at the helm of government. All Europe soon became involved in a long and cruel war, during which the United States, from her neutral position, was enabled to engross much of the carrying trade, which, together with an extensive and lucrative commerce, produced a state of mercantile and national prosperity, perhaps unprecedented in this or any other nation.

Wilmington, in common with the whole country, soon felt the animating influence of this revival of trade, infusing life and vigour through every department of society. The demand for our agricultural products was vastly increased,—commercial capital was enlarged,—and manufactures encouraged. In this state of things the want of a banking institution was for the first time felt in this borough. Application to our legislature for a charter was made, and a company incorporated under the title of “The President, Directors and Company of the Bank of Delaware.” The act was passed February 9th, 1796. It has now existed nearly fifty years, and during all the vicissitudes of that long period, has been managed with so much ability, discretion, and sound judgment, as to rank it with the very best institutions of that kind in the United States. Its stock has always been much above par, at the present time it will sell for 175 dollars per share above its original cost. Since it went into operation there have been three other banks instituted in our city,—“the Bank of Wilmington and Brandywine,”—“the Farmer’s Bank of the State of Delaware,” and “the Union Bank of Delaware.” They are all flourishing institutions, and stand high in the estimation of the public in our own and neighboring States.

Before the year 1798, the municipal officers of the borough had no other public place of meeting than the old town-hall at the west end of the lower market house. The rising importance of the town, and its improved financial condition, induced the corporation in that year to erect the present City-Hall. In it

they placed a town clock, and in the cupola a bell of fine tone, and so large as to be distinctly heard three or four miles from the hall. The bell was presented to the corporation by the late Joseph Tatnall, who was the first President of the Bank of Delaware. The building, for its size and the elegance of its architecture, is a creditable monument to the liberality and public spirit of the citizens of Wilmington, at a time when its population could not have been much more than 3000 individuals. In this hall the city courts hold their sessions, and the city council meets to transact the business of the corporation. In the large room in the second story, is the Wilmington Library. Two other rooms are appropriated, one to the use of the clerk of the council, and as a depository of the city records ; the other for the meetings of fire companies, and other public bodies. In the basement story are placed the cells, for the temporary confinement of offenders against the laws, and other subjects of imprisonment.

CHAPTER V.

IN the year 1793, the yellow fever as an epidemical disease, first appeared in our country in an alarming way, since the commencement of the eighteenth century.* For more than ten years after that time the maritime cities of the United States, with few, if any exceptions, suffered more or less under its awful visitations. In that year it made its appearance in Philadelphia. Many of the citizens fled in terror, to escape the dreadful scourge. A large portion unprovided with places of refuge, and not understanding the nature or character of the malady, remained and suffered severely. In the short space of five months, with a population of less than 50,000, and after a great part of that number had left the city, more than 3000 persons were consigned to the tomb. In the year 1795 and 1796 it again appeared in Philadelphia, but did not spread so widely as to cause an extensive desertion of the city. In the year 1797, it appeared again in a more malignant form; spread over the city, and caused a general flight of the inhabitants. It again made its appearance there in the early part of the summer of 1798, but did not spread rapidly till the eighth month (August) of that year, when it suddenly burst out like a flame that had been confined, and with unparalleled rapidity spread death, indiscriminately, among all classes of her citizens. The flight became general. Out of a population of less than 70,000, it was supposed that not more than 20,000 remained; yet such was the unprecedented malignity of the disease, and such the extent of its ravages, that from this small remnant of her inhabitants, death selected one hundred and nineteen victims in a single day, and more than 4000 during the season.

* There was, it is believed, some appearance of the disease in Philadelphia in 1762, but it did not occasion much alarm.

In that year, for the first time, the disease made its appearance in Wilmington. The season was unusually hot and dry. Every thing in the state of the weather seemed calculated to increase its malignity. Such was the condition of the air that before the yellow fever prevailed, the cats and common house flies, both in Philadelphia and Wilmington, died in great numbers. The lower part of the town first became infected ; thence as the season advanced, the disease spread into the higher situations, and even into the village of Brandywine. On the north-easterly side of that stream, Joseph Tatnall lost two of his sons, who were cut off by it, in the bloom of manhood. Near the city hall, James Lea, senior, and several others, fell victims to its malignity. It was believed that the deaths by yellow fever in Wilmington that year, nearly equalled those in Philadelphia, in proportion to the amount of our population.

The last and only other visitation of that disease in Wilmington, was in the year 1802. Previous to its appearance here, it had broke out in Philadelphia. The citizens there had generally closed their stores, and were fleeing in all directions. Our Board of Health, to prevent, if possible, its introduction here, had established a rigid quarantine. Vessels were not permitted to come nearer to the town than the mouth of the Brandywine. All the avenues of approach to it were vigilantly guarded. At the bridge on Brandywine a watch was kept night and day, to prevent the introduction of persons infected with the disease. But these precautions proved in vain. The fever made its appearance, and spread among us with all its usual malignity. The last person who fell under its desolating power, was John Ferris, junior. He was a member of the Board of Health at the time of his decease; and during its prevalence, from a benevolent desire to alleviate the sufferings of the sick and afflicted, was in the practice of visiting every person within the borough who had the disease. He was frequently the only one left in the houses of the sufferers, to perform the last offices of laying out and burying the dead.

Shortly after his decease, the following article appeared in the Wilmington newspapers.

“Died on the 1st instant [November] John Ferris, of this borough, a most unexceptionable character; his temper mild and conciliating. He was a most worthy citizen and useful member of society, which has suffered a serious loss in his death. He fell a sacrifice to his indefatigable exertions to administer comfort to the sick and others, during the late mortality. The Board of Health have entered on their minutes the following just tribute to his memory.”

“Sensible of the loss which the citizens of this place in general, and this board in particular, have sustained in the death of our worthy fellow labourer, John Ferris, Jun., who left this transitory, for, we hope, a happier state of existence, at seven minutes before 3 o'clock this afternoon, we conceive it to be our duty, and we are impelled by our feelings, to insert on our minutes a record of his extraordinary services. The prevalence of the yellow fever of 1798, first made us acquainted with his disposition and exertions to relieve the afflicted, but the present year has more intimately informed us of his usefulness. As soon as the disease, appeared which has made such ravages among our citizens, and consigned *eighty-two* of them to the grave, he commenced his arduous services, and during its continuance did not, for a single day, intermit his attention to the sick, the dying, and the dead. The first mentioned, he was in the constant practice of visiting twice a day; he took upon him the care of the funerals of the latter. After performing a serious tour of duty, a duty enjoined by his commiseration for the distressed, and anxiety for their relief, he fell a victim, a late sacrifice to his exertions for the happiness of others, and has left on the hearts of his fellow citizens a grateful remembrance of his labours and his virtues.”

In the year 1804, under the favourable influence of peace with foreign nations, our country had been ten years rapidly increasing its agriculture and commerce. Seldom has so

short a time produced more happy results to a people. Wilmington had during that period greatly increased its trade and wealth. A cotton manufactory, the first ever seen in this part of the country, had, within that time, been set into operation, in the Old Academy on Market street. It was afterwards removed to the shore of Brandywine, to be driven by water power. In the years 1806 and 1807, Bonaparte issued his Berlin and Milan decrees, which were soon followed by the British Orders in Council. Our commercial marine, which had lately covered every sea, was now in danger of destruction. Many hundreds of our ships, with their cargoes, were captured and condemned, and our commerce reduced to little more than a coasting trade. To protect our shipping and the commercial interests depending on it, our government passed a general embargo act. This was followed by the non-intercourse act, extending both to France and England. Our intercourse with foreign countries being thus obstructed, the attention of our citizens was generally turned to the establishment of manufactures. Our city and neighbourhood partook largely of the public feeling at this time. Manufactures of wool, cotton, iron, powder, and other articles, were introduced and established among us, by which a foundation was laid for the permanent prosperity of Wilmington.

Up to the year 1807, the road leading to New Castle from Wilmington, and the country situate to the North-east, North, and North-west of it, crossed the Christeen at the old Ferry, about half a mile below the town. It passed near the old Fort, and over the ground where the Dutch troops, under Governor Stuyvesant, had erected several of their batteries at the siege of Fort Christina, in 1655. Passengers and their carriages were conveyed over the ferry in flat bottomed boats or scows, and often in winter were subjected to much suffering, delay, and danger, by reason of the floating ice. On the south side of the creek, lay a large body of excellent land and marsh, which on account of the difficulty of access to it, was of little value. The road to the town of New Castle, where the county courts are held, and the public records kept, was sometimes impassable,

and the intervention of a tedious ferry, always a source of delay, was often vexatious and frequently of serious disadvantage. In the year 1806, the attention of our public spirited citizens being renewedly called to the subject, a company was formed for the purpose of erecting a bridge over the Christeen, at or near the town. On the 20th of the First month, (January,) 1807, the Legislature of the state granted them a charter, under the title of "The Wilmington Bridge Company," with power to build a bridge *at Wilmington*, and to lay out a road across the Holland's Creek Marsh, to the fast land near the dwelling house of Major Peter Jaquet, and thence by a direct line to the old New Castle road. A bridge was accordingly built, at the lower end of Market street, by which all the evils of the old system have been completely removed. But the benefits of this change have not been confined to the removal of former difficulties; it has produced numerous advantages both to the public and individuals. To the public, by opening an easy and safe access to the courts and offices of the county; and withal so expeditious, that a person can ride to New Castle now in less time than was frequently spent in crossing the ferry. The trade of the city has been increased by opening an avenue into a country of considerable extent, to the great advantage of our markets and stores. The land and marsh opposite Wilmington have been doubled in value, inducing the owners to drain and cultivate them, by which the healthfulness both of the town and country have been improved. To individuals by enhancing the value of their property, increasing their business, securing their health, and improving their comfort in a variety of ways, which those who never suffered under the old system cannot appreciate.

The increasing prosperity of Wilmington, by producing surplus capital, was attended with its usual consequences. It sought employment in the advancement of public improvements. About the year 1808, the attention of capitalists was turned to the construction of *turnpike roads*. The popular current in their favour at that time ran so strong, that in a few years almost every highway leading from our city became a turnpike road.

On the 1st day of the Second month, (February,) 1808, a company was incorporated by the title of "The Wilmington Turnpike Company." Its object, which they soon completed, was to make an artificial road from Wilmington, about six miles, to connect with the Gap and New Port turnpike. By this means a communication was opened the whole distance from the Susquehanna river at Columbia, through Lancaster, to our city, on a stoned road, passable by loaded waggons at all seasons of the year, and bringing to us the heavy products of a rich and extensive agricultural region.

"The Wilmington and Kennet Turnpike Company," was chartered on the 21st of the First month, (January,) 1811. It constructed a stone turnpike from our city to the line of the state, about seven miles. Its object was the easy introduction of agricultural products from the state of Pennsylvania.

A company called "The Wilmington and Great Valley Turnpike Company," was incorporated on the 23d day of the month and year last mentioned. They made a stone turnpike from Brandywine bridge to the line of the state along the old Concord road, on the east side of Brandywine. Its object was similar to that of the last named company.

Another company was incorporated on the 1st of the Second month, (February,) 1813, for the purpose of making an artificial road from Wilmington to the state line near Marcus Hook. It was made nearly the whole way on the old Philadelphia road, and was intended to facilitate the communication between Wilmington and Philadelphia.

The last of the series of turnpike roads was made by a company incorporated by the title of "the President, Managers and Company of the Wilmington and Christiana Turnpike Road." They made a road about nine miles long, to Christiana Bridge, at the village of Christiana. The object was to improve the communication between this city and Baltimore. It was chartered 1st mo. 30th, (January,) 1815.

The institution of rail roads and canals, and the introduction of steam boats, have greatly lessened the value of turnpikes; at

least to the enterprising companies who made them. But they remain a monument to the zeal and public spirit of our capitalists, at a time when travelling over the earth at the rate of fifty or sixty miles an hour never entered the mind of the most sanguine speculator. The long season of exemption from the countless evils of war, both in Europe and our own country, has happily turned the attention of man to the cultivation of the arts of peace. Since the pacification of Europe in 1814, the advancement of mankind in science, in mechanics, and in useful inventions, has been without a parallel in the history of the world. The course of improvement has been so rapid, as to outstrip the calculations of the most gifted of men. It is now no dishonor to the highest order of thinking minds, to be found a little behind the actual march of science and discovery.

During the war of 1812, though the inhabitants of Wilmington suffered as little as their fellow citizens, generally, in other parts of the United States; yet being within the limits of annoyance by ships of war, and easily reached by an invading army, they lived in a painful state of apprehension, lest the enemy, emboldened by the hope of easy victory, might lay the town in ashes, or expose its population to the ravages of a brutal soldiery. There was no efficient protection on the river below New Castle, to allay their fears. At one time a report was circulated that a squadron of British ships of war was coming up the Delaware. A panic ensued. The timid were made to tremble, and the warrior to buckle on his armour. The old seat of military array at "the rocks," was once more converted into a fortress, mounted with cannon, and bristling with bayonets. But the alarm was groundless. The report was soon contradicted. Wilmington was saved from annoyance, and her soldiers from conflict, to the great joy of all parties. The old fort had never been a scene of *sanguinary* strife. The shores of our placid Christina, as if consecrated to the GENIUS OF PEACE, had never resounded to the war-whoop of savages, nor to the clamor of conflicting troops, and her soil was once more left unstained with blood.

At the time of the bombardment of the fort at Baltimore, the sound of the British cannon, booming along the waters of the broad Chesapeake, was distinctly heard in Wilmington, and caused intense anxiety for the consequences to that fair city, and its suffering inhabitants. Nor were our citizens without alarm for the consequences to themselves. Had that city fallen, there was a strong probability that the march of the victors would be northward, and that Wilmington might not escape the effects of military ferocity, from a foe that had not spared Washington city, nor confined his ravages to military institutions. The citizens of Philadelphia were terrified. They turned out without distinction of classes, to erect fortifications in its suburbs and near vicinity. Men, whose hands had never handled a spade, were seen at labor, casting up intrenchments, and mounting them with cannon. A great mound yet remains in the fork of the roads, one leading to Gray's Ferry, and the other to the permanent bridge over the Schuylkill at Market street, a monument of their fears as well as of their industry. Baltimore was saved, and we were happily spared the trial. The dulcet sounds of peace soon allayed our fears, and restored our beloved country to all the blessings that follow in her train. The treaty which again placed the parties in a state of harmony, was signed at Ghent, on the 24th of the 12th mo. (December) 1814, James A. Bayard, a distinguished citizen of Wilmington, having been one of the negociators of that treaty. After performing this important service for his country, he returned in ill health to his family and his home, and expired a few hours after his arrival.

In the spring of 1819, an occurrence of the most painful nature took place in our vicinity. On the Brandywine, four miles above Wilmington, stood the powder manufactory of the late Eleuthere Irene Dupont & Company. It was then, as it is now, one of the largest establishments of the kind in the United States. About the middle of the Third month of that year, from some unknown cause, the powder in one of the preparing mills exploded. The roof was blown to pieces, and the ignited fragments scattered in all directions. By this means fire was

communicated to the drying mill, which was instantly blown to pieces. Such was the power of the explosive forces, that the building, which was a large wooden structure, was literally shivered to splinters, so small as to thickly cover acres of ground. The citizens of Wilmington being immediately apprized of the disaster by the noise and concussion it produced, large numbers instantly hurried out to the scene of distress, some in carriages, some on horseback, and many on foot. Before they could reach the spot, a third explosion took place. This was the magazine, in which, it was said, was stored more than thirty tons of powder. The building was made of stone, in a solid rock in the side of a hill, excavated with great labour, expressly for the purpose, at the distance of two or three hundred yards from the buildings previously destroyed. It was so completely torn to pieces that not one stone was left upon another, nor was a sign of human labour remaining in its place.

After the buildings were all destroyed, the citizens were thrown into great alarm by a report that the magazine was on fire, and must shortly explode,—that the quantity of powder in it was so large, that the town must be destroyed by the concussion. Such was the consternation produced by this report, that the inhabitants, men, women, and children, the aged, the sick and the decrepid, left their houses, and took refuge in the streets and fields. Some were seen weeping and wringing their hands, some running up and down the streets in a frantic state; while others were as busy, benevolently endeavouring to allay their fears, and restore them to quietness and confidence. The report proved erroneous, the magazine had already exploded, and no further mischief ensued. The only damage done to the city, was the destruction of window glass, which was less than had been generally expected.

It was a happy circumstance, that the crowd of persons flocking to the place, did not arrive before the last explosion, for circumstances made it too evident that many were killed by it, some by the mere concussion, on whose persons no wound could

be discovered, and others by the fragments of stone ejected from the building.

The consequences of this desolating accident were appalling. Thirty-six persons were instantly killed. Many of their bodies mangled and torn to pieces, lay scattered in fragments, over many acres in extent. Four died afterwards from the injuries they had received.

Some of the effects of this explosion were very extraordinary. The numerous buildings in the vicinity were all more or less injured. Many of their roofs were crushed in, as if some great weight had fallen upon them. It was supposed that the expansive force of the gases, suddenly set at liberty by the ignition of such a vast quantity of powder, had so completely removed the ordinary weight of the atmosphere, that when it returned upon the roofs, they were crushed in by the pressure.

Houses at the distance of more than a mile from the powder mill, had all their window glass destroyed. The broken fragments of the glass were found, in all cases, outside of the houses ; some at twenty feet from the windows. It appears that the air within the walls, in rushing out to fill up the vacuum occasioned by the explosion, drove the glass with it so forcibly, as to carry it to the distance of ten, fifteen, and twenty feet.

Another curious phenomenon was related by some who were near the magazine when the explosion occurred. They were instantly deprived of the power to see. Though their eyes were open, and they exerted the usual powers of vision, all around them appeared as dark as the darkest midnight. In this state they remained until the atmospheric equilibrium was restored. Some operation on the optic nerve by the state of the air, was supposed to be the cause of this phenomenon.

By this calamitous event, many were left widows, and helpless orphans. In this case, the benevolent disposition of E. I. Dupont, had ample room for exercise. He pensioned every widow, and provided an asylum for every orphan, at his own expense ; furnishing them with clothing and the means of education. He lived thirteen years after this event, the father and

friend of the bereaved. The blessings of the poor and afflicted cheered him through life, and when death terminated his earthly existence, his grave was wet with their tears. He died in Philadelphia of the Asiatic cholera, in 1832, and was buried in the family grave yard, on his own land, not far from his late residence.

The ground on which Wilmington stands is undulating, and in many places the original declivity of the streets, especially in the middle parts of the town, was too great to admit the easy passage of loaded wagons. Near the intersection of Shipley and Fourth streets, the ground descended toward the Christeen, the Delaware, and Orange street by a steep descent. This place was long called "the Hill."* The old houses in this neighbourhood, stood eight or ten feet higher than the present regulation. The house at the North corner of that intersection formerly had its front door on Shipley street, in what is now the second story, where the marks of the old doorway may still be seen. Many can yet remember the old fashioned porch, and the family occupying it on a hot summer evening. Two large old buttonwood trees stood by the gutter at the gable end, whose roots grew far above the surface of the present pavement. Under their shade, in the olden time, the neighbours used to gather, in little groups, to hear the news. In Shipley street, between Second and Third streets, there was a very steep hill. The valley in Fourth between Orange and Tatnall streets, has been filled up at least ten feet, and Market below Fourth street has been lowered several feet. These changes which extended to other parts of the town, sometimes left the houses standing high above the streets. The authority to fix or alter the ascents and descents was then vested in the Burgesses and Assistants, who were often changed at the annual election. Different councils differed in judgment. The consequences were *frequent alterations*. One year a street was taken down, the next year the same street was raised; and as the owners of the property had to pay the

* See the letter, p. 219.

expense, it often amounted to a burdensome charge. But a still greater grievance followed this course. They were sometimes irreparably injured by finding, after a final adjustment of the case, that the ground floors of their houses were below the pavement. These evils induced the call of a town meeting, where the subject was discussed, and it was unanimously agreed to apply to the Legislature for a remedy. The Council caused the streets to be accurately surveyed, expensive instruments were purchased for determining the true levels, and the ascents and descents being accurately ascertained, a plot of the whole was laid before a town meeting, and adopted. This plot was submitted to the Legislature of the state, and in the year 1822, a law was passed confirming it, as "*the true map or ground plan of the borough.*"

The advantages of this regulation have been extensive. Before its adoption builders were uncertain how to act, so as to avoid injury to their property, by changes which they could not foresee. At present they have only to ascertain the true regulation, by means which the law has provided, and they are safe from injuries arising from the instability of opinion. Since the passage of that act, the city has been advancing with accelerated motion, having more than doubled in population since the year 1820. In that year the number of its inhabitants was 5268; at present it amounts to 10,639.

But perhaps no act of our city authorities, nor any act within the power of man to achieve, for the benefit of a compact city population, whether it relates to the health, safety, or comfort of such population, can be compared in its importance with the power which can furnish it with a plentiful supply of *pure, wholesome water*. "Cloud capped towers, gorgeous palaces, solemn temples," lofty monuments, and antique obelisks, may adorn and give splendor to a city, but her true glory consists in the virtue and intelligence of her citizens, and in public institutions for promoting the health, the comfort, the relief and improvement of her population. With the former, the people *may* be miserable; with the latter, they *must* be happy.

In 1827, the corporate authorities of Wilmington purchased a mill at Brandywine, formerly the property of Joseph Shipley, deceased. This mill, being one of the first that was built on the long race, had what is termed "a first right;" that is, if by reason of a long continued drought, or from any other cause, there should be a deficiency of water, that mill should have a supply in preference to others. This mill was purchased for 28,000 dollars. Soon afterwards the city authorities bought a lot of land including the whole square, lying between Market and King streets, and between Tenth and Eleventh streets; occupying nearly the highest point of the hill, between the Christeen and the Brandywine. On this land a reservoir or basin was built, from which to distribute the water through the city. Its elevation above tide water, is one hundred and nine feet, and the height of the water in the basin, above the natural surface of the ground, gives a head for distribution of about one hundred and twenty feet, from which every family in the city can draw an ample supply. The water is thrown into the reservoir by the forcing pump at the mill. Iron pipes, leading from the basin, convey it to the door of every dwelling, and hydrants, for the supply of fire engines and hose companies, and for cleansing the streets, are duly distributed in every quarter of the city.

With a skill and promptitude highly creditable to those who planned and executed the concern, the works were in operation within a year from their commencement, and at a cost, including the consideration for the mill, and the expense of distribution, of less than 100,000 dollars.

That generous sentiment which prompts the benevolent mind to rejoice in the happiness of others, is gratified to know that our sister cities have the benefit of streams of fine water, flowing from the fountains of the Croton, the Schuylkill, the Falls, and the springs in their vicinity; but the most narrow selfishness needs never to envy them these blessings, while we enjoy, in overflowing abundance, the pure and stainless waters of our Brandywine. To the untiring ardour and unremitting attention of our fellow citizen, William Townsend, Wilmington owes a debt

of gratitude for the prompt and successful execution of one of her noblest public works.

By an act of the State Legislature, passed in 1832, our town was constituted *a city*, by the name of "THE CITY OF WILMINGTON," with authority to hold courts, for the trial of criminal offences, enumerated in the charter; together with such other powers, as are necessary to the good government of a municipal corporation. If there be any dignity or utility in the title and constitution of *a city*, which did not appertain to the old system, they were conferred by this act. Our first Mayor was Richard H. Bayard, who, by his legal knowledge, and devotion to the concern, was eminently useful in organizing and putting in operation the city government, under the new charter.

The first continuous range of houses in Wilmington, was built on Shipley near Tenth street, about the year 1822, by our enterprising fellow citizen, James Canby. Since that time his example has been followed in many instances; and our city can now exhibit a considerable number of such rows, which, for size and elegance, would do no discredit to the fairest cities in our country. The extensive plain below the original town, on its eastern side, towards the Old Swedes' Church, is fast filling up with handsome brick houses. It is understood that about two hundred such buildings have been erected within our limits in the present year, [1845.]

Manufactories of iron and paper, worked by steam, have lately been erected. New shipyards have been established,—one for building *iron ships* of any magnitude, by our fellow citizen, Mahlon Betts, at which several beautiful vessels, of large size, have already been completed. Our markets are abundantly supplied with the best of beef, butter, poultry, vegetables, and other articles; and for its size, variety, and the excellence of its provisions, is probably unrivalled by any city of the same dimensions in America. "The Philadelphia, Wilmington and Baltimore Rail Road" passes through the town, giving facilities to travellers never anticipated in olden times.

A number of steamboats daily ply between this city and Philadelphia, employed in the transportation of passengers and merchandize. The successful enterprize of our citizens, in various ways, too numerous to be described within our limits, has given a cheerful aspect to Wilmington, as a place of business, and a well grounded hope for its permanent prosperity.

It was the intention of the writer to give a detailed account of circumstances connected with the two old churches at New Castle, belonging to the Episcopal and Presbyterian congregations. But their history is so imperfect, and difficult to obtain, that after spending some time and pains in the cause, he has not succeeded in procuring satisfactory information on the subject. The drawing of the Episcopal church, which is presented in this work, will give a very correct view of that interesting old edifice.

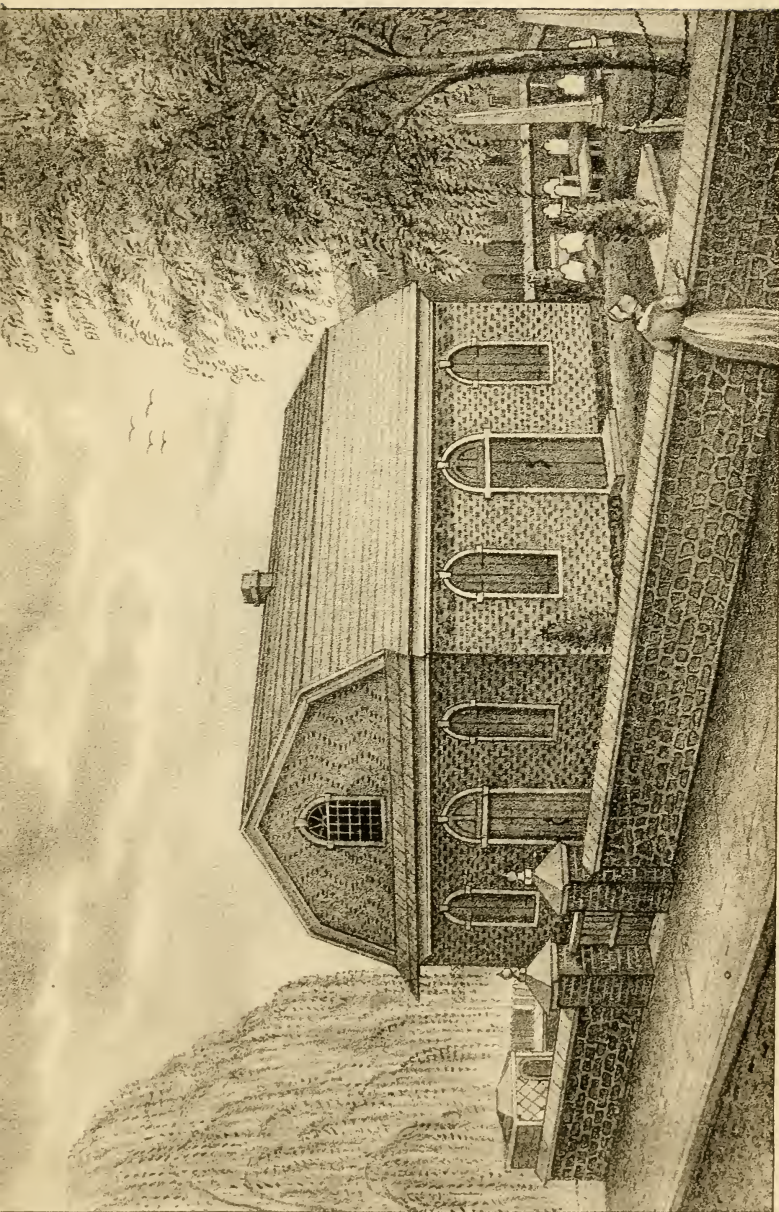
In the course of the author's inquiries preparatory to writing the history of the Original Settlements on the Delaware, a number of interesting facts and circumstances connected with the objects he had in view, came to his knowledge. To have introduced them in the order of their occurrence, would have too much incumbered the narrative; to have omitted them altogether, would have been inconsistent with the object of the work. It has, therefore, been determined to give them in the closing chapter of the book, by way of addenda.

CHAPTER VI.

HISTORICAL ADDENDA.

THE following memoir of William Shipley and Elizabeth his wife, is principally taken from a manuscript memorandum book, in the family of one of his descendants. To William Shipley, Wilmington was indebted for many of its improvements, and much of its prosperity, in its infant state. The dream of his wife is related as a *curious* occurrence, without the least desire to support or increase any confidence in the wild vagaries of the mind during sleep. It is given as a circumstance connected with the history of Wilmington,—as a *well authenticated fact*, which had, at a very early period, a powerful agency in promoting the settlement and increase of the town. Whatever may have been its origin, *its consequences* were highly important to the little village of Willingtown, and productive of more substantial fruits than usually result from the unbridled ramblings of the mind.

William Shipley was born in Leicestershire, England, in the year 1693. His wife was the daughter of Robert and Ann Tatnall, from whom are descended all the families of the Tatnalls, the Leas, the Canbys, the Shipleys, and Prices, in the neighborhood of the Brandywine Mills ; and all the Richardsons and Latiners, near Mill Creek, on the New Port road. William Shipley and his wife, with their three children, Thomas, Ann, and Elizabeth, embarked at Bristol, in England, in the spring of 1725, on board a ship bound to Philadelphia, commanded by a Captain Dicks. The vessel was crowded with passengers, having upwards of



Benj. Ferris, del.

P. S. Duval, Lith. Phila.

FIRST PRESBYTERIAN MEETING HOUSE, WILMING. DEL.

FOUNDED 1740.

eighty persons on board, several of whom afterwards became conspicuous and valuable citizens of Wilmington.*

The ship arrived at Philadelphia in the month called July, after a passage of two months. During the voyage the small pox appeared on board, of which several of the passengers died. This circumstance so alarmed the inhabitants of that city, that they assembled in crowds, and ordered the ship to leave the place. She dropped down the river, and anchored off the Swedes' church, near which the passengers landed, and were kindly received by a person named Barnes, who conducted them through a dense forest, (in which they saw plenty of wild game,) to a house near South street, called "the Blue House tavern." After the passengers had recovered from the small pox, and their quarantine had expired, they were permitted to enter the town; and were taken to the "Boatswain and Call," a public house, near the draw-bridge in Front street. One of the passengers says that on the way from the Swedes' church to this tavern, they passed but three or four houses, the trees cleared away immediately round them, and without any inclosure. There was then but two wharves between the Draw-bridge dock and Market street, one the property of Anthony Morris, and the other belonging to the estate of the late William Allen.

* The following named persons will be recognized by the old citizens of Wilmington. Wm. Shipley, Edward Tatnall, father of the late Joseph Tatnall, Elizabeth Canby, who was the mother of the late William and Samuel Canby, and afterwards, by a second marriage, of the late Wm. Poole. Thomas Shipley who was the father of the late Joseph Shipley of Brandywine Mills, and of Sarah Newlin, wife of the late Cyrus Newlin. Jane Elwall, afterwards Jane Farson, who lived to a great age, and will be remembered for her eccentricities under the decline of her faculties.

In the same ship came Wm. Taylor. He settled at Darby, and made the first Smith's bellows ever manufactured in Pennsylvania. Also George Warner, who lived to the age of ninety-nine years, and retained his mental faculties to his death, which took place in 1810. Also Thomas Tatnall, who settled between Darby and Chester, and from whom are descended the families of the Knowleses and Shallcrosses, of that neighborhood.

Very soon after his arrival, William Shipley purchased a tract of land in Ridley township, about ten or twelve miles southwest of Philadelphia, and there settled with his family. In the early part of the year 1727, he lost his wife, who died after a short illness. In about two years, he again entered the marriage state, with Elizabeth Levis, a daughter of Samuel Levis, of Springfield, in the county of Chester. She was a distinguished minister in the Society of Friends, and in many respects a very extraordinary woman.

It was soon after her marriage that she had the important dream to which we have alluded. She dreamed she was travelling on horseback, in a southerly direction, accompanied by a person in the character of a guide. The country through which she passed, appeared to be generally in its wild, original state, with few roads, and no bridges across the principal streams of water. After travelling a considerable distance from her home, she dreamed they ascended a high hill, from the summit of which a landscape of surpassing beauty opened on the view. Sloping lawns, wide rich vallies, broad rivers, and winding streams, lay stretched out before them, interspersed with tall forests, clumps of trees, and here and there a settler's cabin. On the presentation of this delightful prospect, Elizabeth Shipley inquired of her guide, what country this was. He replied, it is a new settlement, and from its natural advantages is likely to become very populous: and I am authorized to inform you, that it is the design of Divine Providence, that William Shipley and his family should remove from Ridley and settle here, to which, if you submit, you shall become instruments of great benefit to the place and people; and the blessing of Heaven shall descend upon you and your labours.

When Elizabeth Shipley awoke, this dream remained vividly and deeply impressed on her memory. In the morning she related it to her husband, with all its extraordinary particulars. He smiled at the brightness of her imagination, and, perhaps, also at the importance she seemed to attach to the visionary occur-

rences of the narrative : at the same time remarking that he did not think it probable they should ever become inhabitants of her fairy-land !

Closely occupied with the cares of an increasing family, and the duties of her station, the scenes of Elizabeth Shipley's dream gradually faded away ; and, during several successive years, she seldom or never thought on the subject. They were settled on a fine large tract of land, in a good neighborhood, surrounded by their friends and near relatives, and all within a convenient distance from Philadelphia, the rising metropolis of the colony. Indeed, they had as little apparent reason to pull up the stakes of their tent, and venture on a new establishment, as any settler in the country.

After the lapse of several years, Elizabeth Shipley believed it to be her duty to make a religious visit to the meetings of Friends residing on the peninsula between the Delaware and Chesapeake bays. The road, which was then the great thoroughfare between the eastern and southern colonies, crossed the Brandywine at a place called "the Old Ford." It is situate at the northern extremity of the city, as described in the act of incorporation, and just below the old Rockbourn factory. When the waters of the creek are low, the fording place may be plainly seen. It is distinguishable from other parts of the channel, by its smooth sandy bottom, and by the absence of rocks, which had been removed to make the stream passable, before the public were able to erect a bridge. From the Brandywine, the road passed up the hill by the public cemetery, and thence over the high lands west of the city. It is still open from the Kennett to the Lancaster turnpike, and continues to be known by its old name "the king's road."

Through the waters at that ford, and along this road, Elizabeth Shipley had to pass on her way to the peninsula. Quietly pursuing her journey and ascending the hill, she arrived at a spot in the road near the eastern end of the stone wall, which incloses the orchard late the property of John Way. Near this

point Samuel Peterson, a Swedish settler, had erected for himself a humble cabin, and cleared away the forest, which had covered the southern declivity of the hill. Here, suddenly raising her eyes, a widely extended prospect opened on her view ; it was the same bright and beautiful scene which had been so deeply impressed on her imagination in the aforesaid dream. On the south, there were the beautiful sloping lands descending into the Mill Creek, the rich green meadows of Deer Creek and Middleburg ; there was the meandering Christeen, with its rich bordering of reeds. On the eastern side of it Long-hook and Crane-hook, and the Old-ferry point, with the lower alluvial lands intervening ; all covered with woods, or clothed with verdure. And beyond all these the great river Delaware, spreading abroad its waters, and glittering in the sun.

Although Elizabeth Shipley had, in fact, never before seen this beautiful landscape, yet every part of it seemed as familiar to her eye, as the scenery round her own dwelling. She now reined in her gentle steed, and sat a considerable time contemplating the widely extended view, at the same time silently wondering at the exact similitude between her dream and the reality. Whilst thus engaged, her mind was renewedly impressed with the belief, that it would be consistent with the divine will that they should remove to the new settlement.

Elizabeth Shipley now proceeded on her journey, and after accomplishing the object of her visit, returned to her home in Ridley. When a suitable opportunity occurred, she related to her husband the circumstances of her travels, and particularly the singular coincidences she had discovered between the landscape of her dream, and a real scene in the vicinity of the Christina. From the little now known of William Shipley's character, it is very obvious that he was a thoughtful, prudent man, not very liable to be caught and carried away with visionary schemes ; but rather resembling the good man of old, who must needs try the fleece "wet and dry," before he would yield to the most plausible presentations. It is said that, on quietly listening to his wife's narrative, he gently put it by, saying, "it

may do to think about another time." William Shipley was doing very well at Ridley, and he knew it was a maxim, founded on the general experience of mankind, that it is best to "let well-enough alone."

At a proper time his wife renewed the subject. Her views and feelings in relation to it were more and more confirmed. She declared to him her full conviction, that it would be right for them to remove, and so confident was she in the promise of the divine blessing, that she told him she would be perfectly satisfied he should assign, or make over, all his estate in Ridley, to the children of his first wife, and that she would cheerfully trust to Providence and the success of the enterprise for the settlement of her own.

The full persuasion of Elizabeth Shipley, that they were called to settle at Wilmington, and her firm confidence in the rectitude of her views in relation to the event, at length induced her husband to visit the new settlement. With great confidence in the judgment and prudence of his wife, he nevertheless wished to examine the subject for himself. On viewing the place, he found it situate between two rivers of very different character. The one on the north, rocky and rough, having, within four miles of the settlement, a fall of one hundred and twenty feet; the one on the south having a deep channel, with a tide that rose and fell about seven feet. The sagacious mind of William Shipley soon perceived that nature had designed to favour this spot, in no ordinary degree; that the river on the north was admirably adapted for mills and manufactories, while the other was as well suited to navigation and commerce. He was now as well satisfied with the evidence of his senses, as his wife had been from the internal evidence which had produced conviction on her own understanding. Before he returned, he purchased a lot at the easterly corner of Market and Second streets, and, before the close of the year, he bought more than twelve acres of land lying between Second and Fifth streets, extending from Market street westwardly nearly to West street.

In the year 1743, Elizabeth Shipley, in company with Esther White, another distinguished minister of the Society of Friends, residing in Wilmington, visited, on a religious concern, their friends in North Carolina, from whence they sailed for England, and travelled over Great Britain and Ireland. They returned in 1745. She was at that time considered one of the greatest ministers of her own profession on the continent of America. She lived to see Wilmington grow to be the largest town in the state of Delaware, and departed this life in the fall of 1777, at the advanced age of eighty-seven years, having retained the full possession of her mental faculties to the end of her days.

We shall close this memoir, after relating one more remarkable circumstance in the life of Elizabeth Shipley :

The last illness of this excellent woman occurred during the gloomiest period of the revolutionary war. The Americans had lately been defeated at Brandywine ; and Philadelphia had just been taken by the British army. Many, the most friendly to the American cause, were dismayed ; their hands were hanging down in despondency.

At this juncture she was confined to her bed. Some of her friends calling one evening to see her, were invited into her room. After sitting silently by her bed side, for a few minutes, she desired her nurse to raise her up, when being supported in a sitting posture, she addressed the company in relation to the existing state of public affairs. After alluding to the general distress of the country, the long wasting civil war in which they were involved, the difficulty of obtaining the necessaries of life, and the suffering and loss sustained by the people, from the ravages of the contending parties, she said, “ But I have seen, in the light of the Lord, that the invader of our land shall be driven back ; for the arm that is mighty to save and able to deliver from the hand of the oppressor, is stretched forth for the deliverance of this nation, which, I am firm in the faith, will secure its independence.”

This communication is the more remarkable, as being deliver-

ed at a time when every outward indication pointed to a different result. It made a deep impression on the minds of those present, and became a subject of interesting conversation among her friends. The solemnity of the occasion, the character of the speaker, and the circumstances under which it was delivered, greatly increased the interest it was otherwise well calculated to excite. It was a voice from the borders of the grave, uttered by one who had long been considered an extraordinary person, and now just entering the portal of an eternal state.

A circumstance of so much interest could not be concealed from the public. An American officer of the army, hearing some of the facts of the case, sent them (as is supposed,) to the editor of a Whig paper, then printed at Trenton, who published them under date of March 11th, 1778. At that period a Tory paper, called "the Pennsylvania Ledger," was printed in Philadelphia, under the patronage of Lord Howe, who, with the British army under him, was then lying in that city. The editor, James Humphreys, Junr., transferred the article into the Ledger, and published it in his paper of March 21, 1778, with a short sarcastic introduction, as follows :

"The publisher of the last week's Trenton paper, introduces a most comfortable prophecy of a good lady, who lately died at Wilmington. It is no new device among these deceivers of the people [the whigs] to call in the aids of popular superstition, in support of their ambitious projects. And though we think it rather a profanation to amuse the people with such idle tales, under the name of prophecy, we hope our readers will excuse our inserting this of the good madam Shipley, not doubting but it will have all the weight which it merits, with those for whose encouragement it was published in New Jersey."

The article from the Trenton paper is as follows:

"The public has been already informed of the death of Elizabeth Shipley, of Wilmington, but a circumstance relating thereto, is perhaps a secret except to a few. On her death-bed, as well as during her better state of health, she was much affected with the calamity that this country now labours under from the cruel oppression of the King and Parliament of England; but a ray of that light by which the soul can look into future events, springing up in her, she was comforted; and with godly confidence

declared THAT THIS COUNTRY SHOULD NOT BE CONQUERED BY GREAT BRITAIN. This she uttered with such solemnity that it commanded the particular notice of all who heard her, and is now made public for the encouragement of every well-wisher to the freedom and liberties of America. Every one who had an opportunity of knowing this great and good woman, whether they be whig or tory, will be inclined to give credit to her prophecy; and for the sake of all such who knew her not, they are now informed that she was a woman eminently endowed with knowledge both natural and divine.”*

Between fifty and sixty years ago, there was seen moving about the streets of Wilmington, a little old mulatto woman, of singular form and motions, every where known by the name of “Old Joan.” Her person, originally under the common size, was excessively bent, partly from age, but more from original weakness, or malformation. She was aided in her walk by a staff or cane in each hand, going in fact upon *all fours*: but, notwithstanding her deformity, she got over the ground with more celerity than seemed compatible with her uncouth shape, and very advanced age. She always lived alone in some small cabin or shed, which the good natured owner allowed her to occupy rent-free; and in the latter years of her life, when incapable of earning a livelihood, old Joan had numerous calling-places, where she was sure of a welcome, and where all that was necessary to her comfortable subsistence was cheerfully given her. The last earthly mansion she is remembered to have occupied, was a long and narrow shed, which stood in Tatnall street, between Fourth and Fifth streets, on the north-west side, at the end of a two story brick house lately in the tenure of Enoch Roberts.

“Old Joan” was not only singular in her appearance, she was

*See “the Pennsylvania Ledger, or the Philadelphia Market-day Advertiser, Saturday, March 21st, 1778, printed by James Humphreys, Junr., in Market street between Front and Second streets, and nearly opposite the guard-house,” page 2d.

quite as much so in her disposition and habits. The passion of *acquisitiveness*, was a striking trait in her character. Without leading her beyond the bounds of strict honesty, it led her into great oddity. It manifested itself in an excessive desire to accumulate *household furniture* ! If any one would give Joan a rickety old table, or broken-back chair, an old iron pot, with a hole in the bottom, or a pair of tongs, with only one leg, her joy and gratitude would be expressed in the liveliest manner, and with noisy thankfulness. The last time we were in her cabin it exhibited a curious spectacle. Her old and perfectly worthless furniture, was piled up on each side of the room, to the very ceiling or roof; a narrow passage only being left to pass into the back part of her shed, where there was barely space enough for her cot-bed and a chair. Her passion for useless household stuff was wonderful; it was a species of avarice, for which our language wants a name, though perhaps it was not more absurd than several other species of the same genus.

All her wealth in this world, besides her furniture, was her pig, and a better feeling than subsided between them, seldom cheers a family circle. Like its mistress, it was much indebted to the public bounty, which, however, it mostly received at second hand; as Joan chose in the first place to select for herself, and afterwards to be the dispenser of the neighbours' charity. Her pig was well lodged in a covered apartment adjoining her cabin, the door of which was never fastened, as the creature was particularly averse to solitary confinement, and Joan had found out, what many have since discovered, that it is much cheaper to keep a pig on the public than at one's own expense. When in the street it always recognized her, and would often follow her home, especially if Joan was carrying the well-known swill-bucket. The greatest trouble it ever occasioned her was at its death; when, it was ludicrous enough to see the effects of the struggle she had to endure, between her love of the pig, and her love of the pork. She would tell, with tears in her eyes, of its sagacity and attachment, and at the same moment call atten-

tion to its plump condition, with a particular view to the quantity of lard it would yield! The thought of the lard and bacon seemed to give her great comfort and support during its last agonies.

Joan lived to an advanced age, and carried her maiden name to the grave. She died in the latter part of the year 1794, in the 85th year of her age. There is perhaps not a native of Wilmington, male or female, over sixty years of age, who does not remember old Joan Hugall. She was one of a large family of children, well known in Wilmington one hundred years ago. She had a twin-sister Rose, who died in 1798. The following story of their parentage is curious, and as the circumstances related are of undoubted authenticity, they may be relied on as nearly correct.

George Hugall their father, had been an officer in the British army, in the latter part of the seventeenth century, and was evidently a weak, superstitious man. One night he dreamed that he was married to a black woman. The impression left upon his mind by this whimsical dream haunted him day and night, for he construed it as a proof, that by an irreversible sentence, such an union had been decreed in the counsels of fate! Under this notion, Hugall determined to abandon his native country, and spend the remainder of his days in obscurity in some foreign land. Soon after coming to this conclusion, finding a vessel bound to Pennsylvania, then a new settlement, he agreed with the captain for his passage, and went on board the ship. After a tedious voyage, during which he often appeared in a low, desponding state of mind, they arrived in the Delaware. The vessel proceeded up the river as high as Cherry-island, when she was met by the ebb tide, and the wind dying away they were obliged to drop anchor. The passengers longing for fresh milk and fruit, the captain invited Hugall to accompany him ashore in the long boat, in order to procure them. The invitation was accepted, and the boat was steered toward a house standing on the first point of high land above the present mouth of Christeen, formerly called Smith's place, then belonging to

an old Swedish settler whose name was Didricsson 'or Dirickson. Passing along a low, marshy shore, Hugall perceived a young negro woman engaged in cutting that kind of rushes which in olden time was used for making chair bottoms. This was the first black female he had ever seen. Immediately he recollected his dream, and nothing doubting the necessity of its fulfilment, he advanced toward her and made her an offer of marriage. The earnestness of his manner convinced the woman that he was not jesting. She, having no scruples on the subject of amalgamation, promptly accepted the offer, and finding a clergyman in the neighborhood, they were soon joined in the silken bond of matrimony. They settled in Brandywine hundred, where they resided until after Wilmington was laid out as a town, when George came here and purchased a lot, on the north-east side of Fourth street, a few doors below Walnut street, where he built a log house which is yet standing.*

Soon after Wilmington obtained a charter of incorporation, it was found necessary, in order to carry out its provisions for the good government of the town, to have a prison, as a place of temporary confinement for malefactors. The authorities accordingly provided a lot of land for the purpose; the lease for which is dated June 14th, 1740. It was situated on the north-west side of Market street, a short distance above Third street, on a spot now occupied by a goldsmith and jeweller's shop. The house was one story high, built of brick, about twelve feet square. It was divided into two separate apartments, one for males and the other for females, and both without chimneys or windows, excepting, that in each of the doors there was an iron grating in an opening about a foot square, for the admission of light and air. The doors were fastened with padlocks over a clasp and staple. Prisoners for trial were confined here,

* Since writing the foregoing article, the house has been taken down, to make room for a handsome row of three story brick houses.

until convenient to send them to the county jail at New Castle. It was also a receptacle for vagabonds and disorderly persons not residing in the town, where they were confined until expelled according to law, or by authority of the borough ordinances.

It was the practice, sixty years since, for the constables to take up vagrants and unruly disturbers of the peace, and to bring them before the burgesses, who had authority to have them "drummed out of town." Many now living can remember the circumstances of this legal ceremony, which was attended with such palpable violations of decency and humanity that it now seems incredible that public feeling could have so long endured it.

When it became publicly known that a culprit had been sentenced to be "drummed out of town," the busy hum of preparation was soon heard among the boys, and rotten eggs, particularly, were in great demand. That boy who could show the largest stock, and throw them with the greatest precision, was quite an object of distinction, and was considered as one of the princes of the mob.

Some time before the ceremony was to commence, the ground in front of "the smoke-house" would be crowded with children and well-grown boys, all prepared for action, and all waiting in anxious expectation for the appearance of the officers appointed to carry the sentence into execution. At length the pains of suspense were relieved by the appearance of the constable and drummer, marching up to the door of the prison. The padlock was then removed, and the wretched object of punishment brought out of his cell to receive the sentence of the law, and as much more as the boys were pleased to inflict. He was placed in the street a few paces in advance of the drummer; the constable taking his station at the head of the procession, a short distance before the culprit. The parties being all in their places according to the order of march, the ceremony began by the constable giving out the word "forward." A roll on the drum then announced a preparation to perform the musical part of the

service, and the march commenced. A scene was now exhibited that baffles all description. The boys, grown and half-grown, were arranged on each side of the poor vagrant. The first step he took was the signal of attack, and in one moment a shower of every kind of offensive matter was poured upon him; so that, before he arrived opposite the upper market house, he was dripping from head to foot with the contents of rotten eggs, and all the filth of the streets and gutters; the wretched sufferer all the while, in the most imploring attitudes, begging for mercy,—and begging in vain! The rattle of the drum, the shouting of the mob, the cries of the victim, together with the disgusting scenery of such an occasion, cannot be realized by any but the actual spectator; and once seen, can never be forgot.

Such scenes have often been exhibited in this city, long within the recollections of many yet alive, some of whom can distinctly remember following such a procession to the city limits, at Brandywine bridge, at which place, and nothing short of it, the noise of the drum ceased to grate upon the ear, and the abuse of the culprit to lacerate every tender feeling of the beholder. When such a state of society is compared with that which now happily exists, who will venture to say that the world is growing worse?

This old prison was commonly known by the name of the "Smoke-house."* When and why first so called are now matters of conjecture. The building having no fire place or chimney, it is probable, that, in very cold weather, a chafing dish of coals was sometimes charitably allowed the prisoner; who, to keep up the fire, would occasionally add a few chips, which would soon make it in reality a "*smoke-house*." It was the only place of confinement for criminals for almost sixty years. Its last public service as a prison, was in the year 1798, when it was taken down and cells in the new town hall provided as a substitute.

In the latter years of its existence, it became very frail, and

* In the corporation records it is called "the Cage."

quite insecure as a place of confinement, especially when the prisoner was shut in against the popular will. Not long before its demolition, a sailor, for some unruly conduct, was put in ward. His brother tars, taking it as a great indignity that a comrade should be put into such a vile place as the smoke-house, came up from the ship armed with handspikes, knocked off the padlock, took Jack out, and bore him away to the wharf in triumph. A satirical pasquinade appeared in the next Gazette, ridiculing the prison, and the city authorities for retaining it. This, by turning the public attention more particularly to the subject, was a means of hastening its downfall, and the old smoke-house is now among the things that are gone for ever.

The circumstances of which we have been speaking, occurred within six or eight years after the Revolutionary war. Happily for the present and succeeding generations, the state of society, which sustained such an institution as the smoke-house, and tolerated such inflictions as have been described, has long since passed away. At that period the country was impoverished by a long, and, to the public morals at least, a disastrous war. The state of education was low, and the means difficult; the schools in general were of a very wretched character. A taste for intellectual improvement did not generally exist. Rough, noisy sports, or low, sensual pleasures, were with many the chief sources of relief from the pains of idleness. Besides, the country was overrun with robbers, thieves, drunken beggars, and vagabonds of the worst description, both male and female. These had mostly been the hangers-on and followers of the army, who, by the return of peace, were thrown back on society, too lazy to work, but not ashamed to beg and steal, whenever an opportunity presented. In addition to this class of vagrants, the public were dreadfully annoyed by another set of marauders, whose atrocities of every description, kept the whole country in fear. These desperadoes were known by the name of "WHEEL-BARROW MEN." They were the discharged convicts from the Philadelphia prisons, where the punishment had been

to work on the high roads and public streets at the *wheel-barrow*, with an iron collar on the neck, and a heavy iron ball chained to one leg, which they had to drag after them as they moved at their labour. These wretches, when liberated, seemed to be reckless of consequences, and prepared for every kind of wickedness. Highway robbery, burglary, arson, theft and murder, were not uncommon occurrences at that day, and kept the public mind in constant agitation and alarm. These hardened wretches, prowled about the country in bands and single, and by their numbers and audacity spread terror over the whole body of society. Far remote, and secluded farm houses, and the most public situations, were alike the objects of violence and pillage.*

The situation of Wilmington has long been considered as favourable to health. It stands high. The ground on which it is built, gradually rises from the tide water to an elevation of one hundred and twenty feet. The lands on the West, North, and North-East, are higher than the highest part within the city limits. The river Brandywine, a fine falling stream of pure water, rolls two miles along its northern and eastern boundary. On its southern side flows the meandering Christeen, on the borders of which the land is alluvial, and much lower than that on which the town stands. During the revolutionary war, the great body of meadow land opposite the city, called the "Holland's Creek Marshes," was inundated by the breaking of the banks, and in the derangement and confusion of the times it was long suffered to remain in that condition. Every flood tide covered it with water several feet in depth, and every ebb tide left it covered with a vast accumulation of vegetable matter ex-

* In the Delaware Gazette under the date "April 18, 1789," Jacob Broom, then a magistrate, advertises stolen goods taken from two "Wheel-barrow men," named John Ferguson and Michael Snody, whom he had committed to prison. This is the last public notice we find of these outlaws in our newspapers.

posed to the sun where it decayed and generated an unwholesome malaria.

In this state of the marshes, Wilmington, which had before been celebrated for the salubrity of its situation, became subject to autumnal fevers, at least that part which lay low, and in the immediate vicinity of the drowned land. A few years subsequent to the peace of 1783, after complaint made to the Burgesses and Assistants against the owners of the marsh, the great breach in the bank was finally closed. Since that time those fine meadows have been drained and cultivated, and the cause of the sickness being removed, the town has enjoyed its wonted health, and will bear a favourable comparison with the most salubrious climates.

In the year 1794, when Wilmington was supposed to contain nearly three thousand inhabitants, our late valued citizen, William Poole, deceased, in conjunction with Isaac H. Starr,* made a list of all the persons they could find in the borough, who had arrived at *sixty years* of age ; intending to record their deaths as they occurred, in order to ascertain, as far as the experiment might serve that purpose, how far the situation was favourable to longevity.

We shall give this list to the reader as a curiosity as well as to enable him to judge how far it may go to prove the healthfulness of Wilmington, and the tendency of its locality to promote long life.

The first column of figures, denotes the age of the persons at the time the list was made ; the second shows the year of their decease, and the last one, their age at the close of life.

* Isaac H. Starr is yet living, and is now in his eighty-sixth year. He has lived to record the deaths of 133 of those on the list, and is yet an active man, enjoying the blessing of sound mental faculties.

	In 1794.	Died in	Aged.
Elizabeth Blackford - - -	61	1816	83
Widow Burgess (removed) - -	61		
Watkins Crampton's wife - -	61	1806	73
Jonas Canby - - - - -	61	1822	87
George Evans - - - - -	61	1814	80
Widow Ford - - - - -	61		
James Hall (coloured) - - -	61	1814	80
Philip Truax - - - - -	63	1795	64
Henry Metz - - - - -	61	1821	88
Widow Reynolds - - - - -	61	1798	65
Orpha Shallcross - - - - -	61	1806	73
Jacob Shreve (coloured) - -	61	1819	86
Samuel Biays - - - - -	62	1797	65
Widow Hewen - - - - -	62	1820	88
Joshua Kirk's wife - - - - -	62	1795	63
James Buckingham's widow -	63	1802	71
Jehu Hollingsworth - - - -	62	1819	87
Vincent Gilpin - - - - -	63	1810	79
John Dickinson - - - - -	63	1808	77
Jacob Fussell - - - - -	63	1815	83
Jane Starr (widow of William) -	63	1812	80
Joseph Shallcross - - - - -	63	1814	83
John Wood (fishing tackle) -	63	1815	85
Widow Wilson - - - - -	63	1814	83
Philip Sliver - - - - -	63	1797	66
Jas. Valentine's wife (coloured)	63	1800	69
Hannah West, widow of Joseph	63	1806	75
Jeremiah Carter's wife - - -	64	1794	64
James Craig - - - - -	64	1812	82
John Erwin's wife - - - - -	64	1821	91
Jane Griffith - - - - -	64	1812	82
Isaac Hewes's wife - - - - -	64		
Hugh Montgomery - - - - -	64	1806	76
Rebecca Shipley - - - - -	64	1797	67
John Thelwell - - - - -	64	1812	82
Bancroft Woodcock - - - - -	64	1819	89
Watkins Crampton - - - - -	64	1820	90
John Lea's wife - - - - -	64	1808	78
Widow Rumsey - - - - -	64		
Caleb Seal - - - - -	64	1824	93
Joseph Nicholson (coloured) -	65	1816	87

	In 1794.	Died in	Aged.
Gerard Blackford - - - -	65	1816	87
Thomas Dean's wife - - - -	65	1805	76
Rose Hugall (coloured) - - - -	84	1798	88
George Harrison's wife - - - -	65	1804	75
Widow Robinson - - - -	65		
Wm. Shipley, son of Wm. and Elizabeth	65	1794	65
Samuel Bonsall - - - -	65	1795	66
Widow Cline - - - -	66		
William Kennedy - - - -	66	1800	72
Joshua Kirk - - - -	66	1818	90
Hannah Mendenhall - - - -	66	1816	82
Jonathan Stacy - - - -	66	1817	89
Widow Vining - - - -	67	1800	73
Bridget Woodward - - - -	66	1798	70
Ruth Byrnes - - - -	67	1815	88
Jeremiah Carter - - - -	67	1798	71
John Erwin - - - -	67	1797	70
Sarah How - - - -	67	1795	68
Widow Rankin - - - -	67	1802	75
Isaac Starr - - - -	67	1811	84
Peter Steinmetz - - - -	67	1797	70
John Thelwell's wife - - - -	67	1794	67
James Valentine (coloured) - - - -	68	1807	81
Isaac Hewes (carpenter) - - - -	68	1807	81
Cornelius Hines - - - -	68	1803	77
John Lea - - - -	68	1803	77
Nicholas Robinson - - - -	68	1814	88
Robert Thomas - - - -	68	1816	90
Widow Wilson 2d - - - -	68	1802	76
William Westbay - - - -	68	1795	69
Thomas Dean - - - -	69	1797	72
John Hawkins - - - -	69	1796	71
Hugh Montgomery's wife - - - -	69	1803	78
Jane McKinley - - - -	67	1805	78
William Harlan's wife - - - -	67	1807	80
Widow Springer - - - -	61	1802	69
Obadiah Holt - - - -	67	1808	81
Widow Jefferis - - - -	67		
Widow Kayford - - - -	70	1810	86
John Campbell - - - -	68		
Elizabeth Vaughan (nurse) - - - -	68	1806	83

	In 1794.	Died in	Aged.
William Conner - - - -	71		
William Collett - - - -	71		
Widow Giffing - - - -	71	1798	75
William Harlan - - - -	71	1819	96
Widow Jordan - - - -	71		
Jane Hartley - - - -	71	1798	75
Margaret Lea - - - -	71	1805	82
Hugh Means - - - -	71	1798	75
Widow Nichols - - - -	71	1802	79
Widow Smith - - - -	71	1790	76
Peter Valoe - - - -	71	1795	72
Widow Wallace - - - -	71	1807	84
Widow Woolston - - - -	71	1800	77
Hannah Shields - - - -	71	1794	72
Terence Boyd - - - -	72	1800	78
Widow Crow - - - -	72	1801	79
James Lea - - - -	72	1798	76
Mercy Minshall - - - -	72	1797	75
George Harrison - - - -	72	1811	89
Jonas Stidham - - - -	74	1795	75
John Armstrong - - - -	73	1807	86
A. Davidson's wife - - - -	73	1807	86
Fortune, Dr. M'Kinley's African - -	73	1803	82
Joseph Rider - - - -	73	1805	84
Benjamin Mendenhall - - - -	67	1797	70
Samuel Hogg - - - -	74	1797	77
Samuel Hogg's wife - - - -	74	1796	76
Martha Boyle - - - -	70	1807	83
Vincent Bonsall - - - -	74	1796	76
Captain Davis - - - -	74	1795	75
John McKinley - - - -	74	1796	76
Widow Woodcock - - - -	74	1796	76
Martha Cove - - - -	75	1795	76
Alexander Davis - - - -	75	1796	77
Joseph Bennet - - - -	76	1808	90
Isabella Lisle - - - -	76	1800	82
Widow Richmond - - - -	76	1797	79
Widow Alrichs - - - -	77	1794	77
Widow McIntyre - - - -	77	1795	78
Sarah Snow - - - -	76	1803	85
Zechariah Ferris - - - -	78	1803	86
George McNealy - - - -	78	1795	79

	In 1794.	Died in	Aged.
Martha Hewes - - - -	79	1795	80
John Kendall - - - -	80	1795	81
Samuel Fisher - - - -	81	1800	87
Ann Armstrong - - - -	81	1799	86
James Broom - - - -	81	1794	81
Dutch Dolly - - - -	84	1806	96
Negro Fortune - - - -	81	1800	87
Lucy (colored woman) - - - -	83	1806	96
Old Joan Hugall - - - -	84	1794	84
Griffith Minshall - - - -	84	1801	91
Widow Ford - - - -	86	1800	92
Mary Gilpin - - - -	86	1794	86
John Hedges - - - -	85	1794	85
William Vanneman - - - -	85	1801	92
Jane Porter - - - -	87		87
Sarah Lee - - - -	89	1800	95
Donald McDonald - - - -	89	1799	94
Mary McKinney - - - -	90	1794	90
Saba (coloured) - - - -	99	1798	103
Rachael Woodward - - - -	85	1794	85
Mary Taylor - - - -	91		91
Brutus (coloured) - - - -	101	1795	102
Widow Campbell - - - -	68	1817	91

NOTE.—Some of the persons named in this list were cut off by the yellow fever in 1798 and 1802, which circumstance has diminished the average length of life of the whole number of persons whose names are here inserted.

The following list of names was taken at periods since 1794.

	Born.	Died.	Aged.
George Smith - - - -	1760		
Isaac H. Starr (yet living) - - - -	1760		
Thomas Richardson - - - -	1760	1825	65
Thomas Jones - - - -	1738	1824	86
Phebe Woolley - - - -	1741	1819	78
Caleb P. Bennett - - - -	1758	1836	78
Henry W. Physick - - - -	1758	1821	63
Wm. Canby - - - -	1748	1830	82
Martha Canby - - - -	1747	1826	79
Samuel Canby - - - -	1751	1832	81
Edward Hewes - - - -	1741	1826	85

	Born.	Died in	Aged.
Edward Brookes - - - -	1758	1826	68
Joseph Ashburnham - - - -	1744	1822	78
Rachael Ashburnham - - - -	1750	1822	72
Mary Warner - - - - -	1744	1823	79
Stephen Hayes - - - - -	1742	1830	87
Caleb Johnson - - - - -	1740	1819	79
Mary Johnson - - - - -	1741	1820	79
John Jones - - - - -	1758	1825	67
Frederick Craig - - - - -	1756	1841	85
Mary Hanson - - - - -	1743		
Rebecca Robinson - - - - -	1752	1841	89
Elizabeth Yarnall - - - - -	1742	1828	86
Joseph Shipley - - - - -	1752	1832	80
Mary Hewes - - - - -	1751		
John Pennock - - - - -	1753	1840	87
John Saville - - - - -	1749		
John Welsh - - - - -	1751	1823	73
Ezekiel Costen (coloured) - - - -	1741	1841	100
William Cook - - - - -	1730	1821	91
Frederick Schrader - - - - -	1756	1828	72
Cyrus Newlin - - - - -	1747	1824	77
Sarah Newlin - - - - -	1751	1824	73
Moses Rea - - - - -	1751	1834	83
Sarah Rea - - - - -	1751	1839	88
Richard Molan - - - - -	1750	1822	72
Nathaniel Richards (yet living) - -	1756		
Francis Way - - - - -	1752	1824	71
Joshua Stroud - - - - -	1753	1834	81
Barney Harris - - - - -	1744	1825	81
Ann Donaldson - - - - -	1743	1825	82
David Kirkpatrick - - - - -	1754	1839	85
Ann Latimer - - - - -	1760	1839	79
Hance Naff - - - - -	1757	1841	84
Polly Naff - - - - -	1759		
Edward Gilpin - - - - -	1760	1845	85
John Ferris - - - - -	1746	1828	82
Allen McLane - - - - -	1746	1828	82
Eli Mendenhall - - - - -	1756		
Wm. Hemphill - - - - -	1743	1823	80
Isabella Hemphill - - - - -	1743	1825	82
Valentine McNeil - - - - -	1760		

	Born.	Died in	Aged.
Ann White - - - - -	1742	1822	80
Sarah Rumford - - - - -	1748	1820	72
Sarah Richardson - - - - -	1744	1834	90
Capt. Henry Geddes - - - - -	1749	1833	84
James Hamilton - - - - -	1755	1824	69
Edward Roche - - - - -	1754	1821	67
Widow Broom, of Jacob - - - - -			
Ruth Nichols - - - - -	1754	1842	88
James Lisle - - - - -	1753	1829	76
Bridget Benderman - - - - -	1754	1839	85
Joshua Jackson - - - - -	1745	1822	77
Joseph Hedges - - - - -	1740	1823	83
Hannah Hedges - - - - -	1742	1828	86
John White (hatter) - - - - -	1755	1826	71
Abm. Doras (coloured) - - - - -	1758	1825	67
Samuel Bush - - - - -	1747	1831	84
Archibald Croxen - - - - -	1756		
Isaac Hendrickson - - - - -	1757		
Samuel Painter (turner) - - - - -	1743	1829	86
John McCloskey - - - - -	1740	1824	84
Rebecca Martin - - - - -	1756		
James Brobson - - - - -	1759	1833	74
Mary Bonsall - - - - -	1743	1825	
Michael Wolf, sen. - - - - -	1736	1825	89
Hannah Chandler - - - - -	1750	1841	91
Edith Ferris - - - - -	1742	1815	73
Tabitha Roberts - - - - -	1750	1844	94

Of the deaths of persons named in the first list, fourteen remain to be recorded. We have already the times of the decease and the ages of 133 individuals, who were alive in the year 1794, and then sixty years of age and upwards.

2 of these died at more than one hundred years old ;

16 of them died at ninety years of age, and less than one hundred;

52 of them died at more than eighty years of age and under ninety ;

50 of them died at more than seventy years of age and less than eighty, and

13 of them died upwards of sixty years of age and less than — seventy.

We find that the years which these 133 persons lived, when added together make the sum of *ten thousand seven hundred and ninety-four years*. So that the average term of their lives was *eighty-one years, one month and twenty-seven days*.

Another evidence of the healthfulness of Wilmington may be found in the fact that the true *cholera infantum* of large cities, which destroys so large a proportion of infantile life in them, is very little known in our city. One of our physicians, whose practice is perhaps the most extensive, was heard to say a few years since, that he had but one case of it during the whole season. The number of children that swarm in our streets, has often been a subject of remark to strangers; and the number of schools for the size of the city is remarkably large.

When the Swedes first arrived in this country, all that large tract of meadow land bordering on the Delaware, extending from the mouth of Christeen up the river about three miles to a point of fast land, and bounded westerly by the high ground of the old Robinson and Vandever farms, was at high tide several feet under water, excepting one small spot. That spot was a beautiful little island, containing a few acres of land, studded with lofty forest trees, and called by the Indians "Manathan." It was seen from the shore, looming up out of the wide waste of waters, green as the oasis in the desert, and presenting the only verdant object, short of New Jersey, for the eye to rest upon in the long range, from the highlands of Christeen, down to New Castle.

This island was probably one of the few places on the Delaware remaining in possession of the Dutch, after their very general removal to New-Amsterdam; which took place subsequent to their first settlement near Gloucester point, under Cornelius May, and before the Swedes came to this country. Campanius, who arrived here in 1642, only four years after Governor Minuit, mentions the fact, that the spot was then inhabited by two Dutch families, with their workmen, who followed the business of ship carpenters, boat builders, and coopers. Here they built yachts,

a kind of fast sailing trading vessels, with which they could run up the creeks and inlets along the shores of the river to trade with the natives: and likewise boats and galleys. They also made casks and tubs; articles of the first necessity, and of general use in the settlements. From this circumstance the place received the name of "Cooper's Island," by which it was known in Governor Printz's time.

This little spot was the original seat of the mechanic arts on the Delaware. Here was the first "manufacturing establishment" in our part of the country. From its proximity to the main land the rattle of the cooper's tools, as he hooped the sounding barrel, and the sharp stroke of the caulker's hammer as he filled the seams between the planking of the yacht, must have been plainly heard at fort Christina, and often cheered the solitary planter along shore, with the pleasing consciousness of advancing civilization.

When the country became more extensively settled, the Dutchmen found it better policy to live among the planters, and they abandoned their isolated home, where every customer had been obliged to come to them in a boat, which the ice in winter, and storms at other seasons, must have rendered sometimes impracticable and always inconvenient. Being left again to the care of nature, unassisted by man, the cleared parts of the island were soon covered with the wild plum, or mountain cherry, which grew up spontaneously, and was the cause of its taking the name of "Cherry Island."

By the embankment of the meadows, the island lost its insular character, but the name was retained to give a distinctive appellation to the land around it, which is still called "*Cherry Island Marsh.*"

In Wilmington "sixty years ago," there were no oysters or other articles of food brought to the door for sale, excepting things for the use of children. Little boys and girls, the children of the poor, used to carry about molasses candy, stuck on a board to tempt a penny from the children of wealthier parents.

At that time there was old Michael Wolf, the first of that name in Wilmington, of portly mien, and blessed memory, who in one single day, gave more heartfelt pleasure, and made more bright smiling faces, than some people do in their whole lives.* How many, after a long course of years, and after buffeting the storms of time for half a century, can look back with unalloyed pleasure at his fine plump form, his great cake board on his head, piled up with hot ginger-bread, glossy light cakes, sweet rusk, and A P's. Who can forget his cheerful face, his winning aspect, and kind tones of voice, inviting the children to partake of his good things? Certain it is, that no man can be more sure of the returns of gratitude, or the affectionate remembrance of those who survive him, than he whose business or pleasure it is to make *children* happy.

"Sixty years ago," when a boat loaded with oysters arrived at the wharf, the owner of the cargo would employ a bell-man to go round the village, and, by public outcry, announce to the inhabitants the arrival of his treasure. The practice of the crier was to stop at the intersections of the streets, and after a deliberate pause, begin to ring his bell; that operation faithfully performed, the term *oysters* was three times loudly and most drawlingly repeated, after which the public were informed that the article was to be found at such a wharf, and at such a price as he then announced. This brings to mind the figure of old Peter Steinmetz.

"Sixty years ago," there were semi-annual fairs held in Wilmington, and other parts of the State. They had been established, some of them, by Proprietary Charters, and some by Acts of Assembly, at a time when the country was thinly set-

* He died in the year 1825, at the advanced age of 89 years. He was born in 1736, and of course he was nearly 50 years of age sixty years ago. At that time he resided in an old fashioned house, with a double pitched roof, standing on the spot now occupied by the Reliance fire engine house in Market near Seventh street.

tled, and stores for the sale of merchandize were in number few and far asunder. These fairs were announced in the Almanacs of that day, as regularly as the times of holding courts, or other stated meetings of importance. Great numbers of people flocked to them, from all the country round, as well as from the neighboring colonies. The town, on such occasions, was crowded to overflowing—some coming on business, others for dissipation. Merchants attended with goods of many descriptions, particularly of the lighter kinds, such as shoes, stockings, hats, dry goods, millinery, toys, and all kinds of fancy articles. On such occasions the market houses were used for displaying the multifarious medley. The brilliancy of the scene, was well calculated to charm the eyes of children, and to leave bright and deep impressions on the memory. The tiny drums and trumpets, and whistles, and other toys, bright and gaudy, which then covered the stalls, will not soon be forgotten.

The last of the fairs was held in Wilmington nearly “sixty years ago.” The Legislature about that time passed an Act for their suppression. Among other reasons assigned for the abolition of the fairs were “*the excessive use of strong liquors, quarrels, and the practice of every species of vice and immorality, to the grief and annoyance of the virtuous part of the community.*”

On such occasions, scenes were publicly exhibited in our streets, which, if faithfully and graphically related, would hardly obtain full credit. Drunkenness prevailed to a degree that was shocking;—many were seen reeling about the streets, and rolling in the gutters;—the market houses, and other public places, resounded with profane and indecent language;—gaming was openly carried on upon the stalls and benches;—and almost every tavern resounded, night and day, with the sounds of the fiddle and the dance. But the act mentions “quarrels,” as one reason for suppressing fairs. The following facts may illustrate the force of *that* reason.

At the westerly end of the lower market house, “sixty years ago,” there was a two story brick building, standing on arches. It had a small cupola on the roof, which was surmounted by a

vane. This was the old town-hall. The chamber in which the town-council met was, of course, in the second story; to which the members ascended by a stairs on the outside of the building. The space on the pavement under the hall was, at fair time, the favorite resort of bullies, and the lowest kind of vagabonds. Here they not only challenged each other to battle, but decided on the spot the question, Who is the greatest brute? Two men of athletic form, and large dimensions, have here been seen to dare each other to the combat, merely for a trial of pugilistic skill. They have been seen to strip to the waist, in broad day light, and deliberately abuse and beat each other, until their bodies and the pavement under them were well covered with blood; and until not a lineament of the human face was left so plain as to designate the man. And all this was done in the most public part of the town; without any attempt to interfere, either by individuals or the public authorities! Perhaps it is only by comparing the present state of society with one which has *long* passed away, that we can be sensible of the progress of improvement, or rightly appreciate the advantages we enjoy.

It is now nearly three thousand years since the following sentence was written:—"Say not thou, what is the cause that the former days were better than these? for thou *dost not inquire wisely* concerning this." Eccles. vii. 10. Perhaps the folly of the question lay in this circumstance, that it assumed as a fact what was not true. It shows, however, that human nature is the same in all ages, for all ages have produced a class of persons who insist upon it, that "the former days were better than these." To set the matter right, it may be very well, now and then, to pry a little into the ways and doings of our predecessors, not to set them lower than they deserve, but to open our eyes to the magnitude of our own blessings.

"Sixty years ago," the Christiana above the city was upwards of three hundred and twenty feet wider than it is at present. This has been ascertained by actual measurement. The diminution in its width directly opposite to the city is, perhaps,

not quite so much, but some can yet remember, when the bowsprits of large vessels, lying in the docks below Market street, extended over Water street,—and when the “Liberty,” a ship of 360 tons, was built on the land now occupied by the wheelwright’s shop, at the westerly corner of Market and Water street. Many acres of ground, between Water street and the Christeen, now occupied as wharves, and as yards for wood, coal, and lumber, and where many stores and houses are now standing, were under water at high flood tides “sixty years ago.” These facts are rather alarming, and may well excite inquiry to ascertain the cause, and whether any means ought to be taken to apply a remedy. One circumstance, perhaps, has tended to tranquillize the public mind on the subject; the depth of the creek is found to be nearly as great as it was forty-five years ago,—but supposing that to be true, it ought not therefore to be concluded, that *no contraction of the width* will ever diminish the depth.

“Sixty years ago” nearly all the land between Shipley and Orange streets, from Front street to the river, excepting the ground occupied by the old ship yard of John Harris, was a low, flat morass, covered with reeds; through which the rivulet, which flows down the valley west of Orange street, wound a very serpentine course, and entered the Christeen nearly opposite Shipley street. That rivulet was then much larger than it is at present; the tide flowed up it into Orange street above Front street, and there the boys used to find a very pleasant swimming place, nearly as high as where Moore & Haman’s plough manufactory now stands. It is not sixty years since there was, at the westerly corner of Orange and Second streets, a water wheel for sawing marble, turned by that stream; and that was the first stone-cutter’s establishment in Wilmington. The *water power* not being sufficient for the wants of the concern, the owner removed to the easterly side of the Brandywine, near the bridge, where he had one sufficient for all his purposes.

“Sixty years ago” little children used to go a Maying, on the meadows which then were included between Second and Third, and between Orange and West streets. Tatnall street

had not then been opened through these lands. This was fine playground for the little rambles. There we have seen them gathering the blossoms of the wild honey-suckle, of the red root, of the May apple, and the violet; and there they were wont to pluck the stems of the golden dent-de-lion, to make chains for the neck, and bracelets for the arms. There they "gathered kingcups in the yellow mead, and prinked their hair with daisies," by a beautiful brook which then made its murmuring way through a bed of flowers,

"As sweet as e'er breathed on the bosom of Spring."

"Sixty years ago" there was no tan yard in that meadow, nor any of the noisome appendages of such an establishment; no encroachment on its green area by rows of three story brick houses, or other buildings, for man or beast. But there the girls in summer, and the boys in winter, found ample playground, the latter with their skates having a fine long course on what every body then knew by the name of "Sheward's race." The place of its location has since been called the "hop-yard."

Charles Springer,* or, as he is sometimes called, Charles Christopher Springer, whose name so often occurs in the early records of the Old Church, was one of the most useful and distinguished Swedes in the settlement at Christina. He was a man of learning and piety, and by his steady devotion to the interests of his countrymen, promoted their welfare in a variety of ways, both civil and religious. After the government of the Colony had passed out of Swedish hands, and all their clergymen were either dead, or, through infirmity, unable to serve them, he lent his aid to maintain public worship by acting as "lay-reader, who, besides the prayers and psalms, read homilies or sermons."† It was Charles Springer, who, on behalf of his

* He signs his name CHARLES SPRINGER, without the middle appellation, but is sometimes called by the three names when spoken of by others.

† Clay's Annals, p. 38.

countrymen on the Delaware, wrote the beautiful letter to THELIN, the postmaster at Gottenburg, already inserted in these memoirs; and who was a principal instrument in procuring the appointment of Rudman, Biorck, and Auren, as missionaries to America in 1697, by which the interesting revival in their religious affairs was effected, both at Wicaco and Christina. When Biorck, the tried and faithful friend of the Swedes in this neighborhood, undertook the arduous task of procuring them a new and substantial church, it was Charles Springer who, with steady zeal and untiring patience, seconded all his efforts, and stood close by him through every difficulty, to its final accomplishment. Most of the church records, from the arrival of the missionaries to the close of Biorck's service, in 1714, are in his hand writing.

At what time Charles Springer came to America is uncertain. The first authentic record of him is found in Rudman's Memoirs, which shew that he was here in 1692, and at that time a conspicuous actor in the church and colony. It is probable he was here several years before that period, as tradition informs us that he came into the neighbourhood in early life.* At the last mentioned date he was about thirty-four years of age. He had several sons who survived him, and who left numerous representatives to transmit his name to succeeding generations. Many of his descendants are yet living, and some who have passed away have been distinguished and valuable members of the community. He died May 26, 1738, aged 80 years. His body was interred in the most conspicuous part of the old church-yard, close to the south wall of the church, near the easterly side of the door-way. In the year 1762, when it became necessary for the support of the house to erect the present portico, it was found that his remains occupied a part of the ground on which the wall was to stand; and a consultation was held, to determine whether to remove his body, or to build

* He was born in the year 1658. If he were 20 years old at the time he was kidnapped, and served five years, as is affirmed in Clay's Annals, page 40, then he came to Christeen at 25 years of age in 1683, which is probably nearly correct.

over it. It was finally concluded to be more respectful *not to disturb his ashes*, and the wall was built directly over a part of his remains. In the month following his decease, his son Charles was chosen a vestryman of the Swedes' Church at Christina; the record says "in the room of his father;" and his son Christopher was at the same time elected a church warden.

Joseph Springer, another of the first Charles' sons, lived to be ninety years old, as the monument to his memory, in the old church-yard, shows:—and Joseph's son Joseph died in the year 1832, in the ninety-third year of his age, at his farm about two miles west of Wilmington. In the autumn of the year before his decease we called at his house, on purpose to make him a visit; when we were informed that he was *out in the field at work!* On arriving at the place, he was found cutting faggots and piling up the small refuse-wood to burn. After the usual salutations, he in the kindest manner invited us to take a seat with him on a broad fence rail, which he had arranged for the purpose. In the course of a very interesting conversation, on subjects connected with the early history of the Swedes, he related the following anecdote concerning his grandfather. "My grandfather, when a youth, was sent by his parents into England, for the purpose of finishing his education. One evening in London, as he was walking to his lodgings, a party of ruffians seized and gagged him. They then hurried him into a carriage, and driving it down to the river, put him on board of a ship, bound to Virginia, and confined him in the hold. When the vessel arrived at her port of destination, Springer was sold to a planter for a term of years. During the time of his bondage, he learned, that in a country lying far to the Northeast, there was a settlement of his countrymen, which he determined immediately to visit, as soon as his term of service should expire. When that time arrived he set out on foot to seek them, and after many difficulties in crossing a new country, much of it in its wild state, inhabited only by Indians, he to his great joy

found them at Christina, and settled himself permanently among them."

The old man related this anecdote with much interest and animation. His mental faculties appeared to be wholly unimpaired. His person was vigorous though slender, his eye clear and bright, his countenance florid, his motions quick, and his whole manner lively. Before parting with him for the last time, for so it proved to be, he said, in a very pleasant manner: "I will tell you one thing more before we part,—I am now in the ninety-third year of my age, and can say, what perhaps can truly be said by few others,—I never struck a man in anger, nor was ever struck by one,—I never sued any one at law, and was never sued by any one,—I never took snuff—chewed tobacco, or smoked it, and I never was intoxicated in my life." So lived, and so died the venerable, the excellent old Joseph Springer. Having nearly travelled the round of a century, he "came to his grave in a full age, like as a shock of corn cometh in, in his season." Job v. 26.

A white marble slab lies over his remains in the old churchyard. They repose nearly midway between the graves of his father and grandfather. He was born on the 17th of October, old style, 1739, and died the 12th of March, 1832.

A certain William Dean, who, at the time Wilmington was laid out, lived on the southerly side of Christeen, about three miles above the town, after the decease of his first wife, married a Dutch girl, who had lived in his family. On his decease, she found herself the owner of the plantation on which she resided, it having been devised to her by her husband's will. Her situation in the country not suiting her widowed state, she removed to Wilmington and settled in a house yet standing, on the south side of Fifth street, below Shipley street, adjoining the property of the late Dr. Jaques. She was one of those women, invaluable to society, especially in the early stages of it, who have, what is sometimes called, "a turn for doctoring;" and who seem to take great pleasure in assisting their neighbors

in cases of sickness ; one, who from experience, has learned the virtues of herbs and roots, which grow spontaneously ; and which often possess valuable healing properties. Such was "Caty Dean." But Catharine's skill was not confined to *herbs* and *roots*. In her attendance on the sick, she had learned the properties of calomel and tartar emetic, and other articles mentioned in the *Materia Medica*. Availing herself of this valuable knowledge, she opened a shop for the sale of "DRUGS AND MEDICINES, CHEMICAL AND GALENICAL ;" so that both kinds of professors, the "vegetable doctors," and the "mineral doctors," could be accommodated at the "Potecary Shop" of the kind and skilful Catharine Dean.

This was the first shop expressly established for the sale of Drugs and Medicines in Wilmington. Her whole stock of merchandize was kept in a front closet, in the north corner of the house, fronting Fifth street. It is but about four or five feet square, and has a small window in it, to admit the necessary light. This house and the closet yet remain, almost in their primitive state. Catharine was a very respectable woman. After her settlement in town, she lived many years, the friend and "doctress of the neighboring poor," to whom, and to the public, her death was a loss much felt, and sincerely lamented.*

The state of schools in Wilmington, "sixty years ago," has before been alluded to. It is well known to many yet living that, in country places, it was then common to employ, as school-master, any tolerably decent looking traveller who would apply for the office. The first and most important inquiry was, at how low a price would he teach a child for three calendar months. If that question was satisfactorily settled, and it was found that he could "read, write and cypher," the bargain was concluded. It most frequently happened that the applicant was a foreigner, who spoke English (if it can be said that he spoke

* The facts here stated are given on the authority of the late Frederick Craig, who distinctly remembered the "good Caty Dean."

it at all) with a broad, uncouth accent, or vile brogue; announcing that he had just come ashore from some passenger ship; and it very often turned out, that he was an habitual drunkard, who spent a goodly portion of his time during school hours in sleep. To such teachers was it then common to expose the morals of children!

In Wilmington, however, even "sixty years ago," things were not quite so bad. The teachers were frequently good moral characters, though often very deficient in other respects. The course of instruction very rarely extended beyond reading, writing and arithmetic. About the year 1787, the committee having the charge of the school "on the hill," procured a teacher from Philadelphia, who was at that time accounted an extraordinary scholar, as he could teach Latin and Greek. He introduced, as an additional branch of instruction, English grammar; but for want of suitable books for the purpose, his effort was almost an entire failure. No other branches were attempted. Geography was no more thought of as a branch of school education than Astrology.

As late as the time we are now alluding to, the old barbarous custom of "barring out" had not become entirely obsolete. The last attempt of the kind was so disastrous that it never was repeated in that house. It took place during the incumbency of the late John Webster, a man of considerable notoriety afterwards in Wilmington. On the evening before Christmas, the boys had got possession of the school-house, and employed themselves in carrying a quantity of wood from the cellar, and piling it against the doors inside of the room. They then secured all the windows but one, which was kept open as a kind of draw-bridge to go into the castle.

Next morning early, such of the boys as had courage to stand a siege, entered the fortress, and fastening the place of entry, awaited with anxiety the arrival of the master. At length he made his appearance, and after unlocking the door as usual, he found it would not turn upon its hinges. On searching after the cause, he discovered that the house was in possession of his

scholars, who had barred every entrance, and now refused him admission, unless, on his honor, he would promise them a vacation for the day. To this humbling condition he refused to submit ; and now came on the tug of war.

After some fruitless attempts to open a breach in the ramparts, and while the master was looking for more effectual means to gain the fort, some elderly Friends were discovered coming up the hill, with deliberate step, on their way to meeting : for this memorable siege happened on their day for public worship. No sooner had they understood the case, than they promptly joined the assailing force. One of them procured a crow-bar, and, with a crash that made every defender of the place to tremble, bursted open a window, fronting on West street. Many of the besieged, and especially the weaker members of the garrison, now saw that all chance of escape was lost. But some of the larger boys, who foresaw that they would have to bear the heaviest part of the consequences, made an effort to get away ; and opening a window on the back part of the house, began to jump out : but one of the assailants not feeling easy that the guiltiest should so avoid the salutary inflictions which awaited them, had seasonably stationed himself at the place of sortie, and with his cane so effectually administered the law of Moses, which forbids that the guilty should go free, that the greater part surrendered at discretion. A regular court for the trial of the offenders was now held, in the presence of the grave captors, who sat as judges in the case, the school-master being the executive officer ; and such was the efficacy of their administration, that the stoutest heart ever afterwards quailed at the bare suggestion of a "barring out."

Griffith Minshall was perhaps the last survivor of all those whose names appear on the petition for a charter, presented to Governor Penn, by the inhabitants of Willingtown, in the year 1736. He was one of the very useful men, who were induced at that time to settle here by the example and influence of Wm.

Shipley. By trade he was a bricklayer; a most substantial joiner, of bricks and mortar, as all have good reason to know, who have had to take down any walls of his erection. In the year 1736, he built for William Shipley that large house which is yet standing at the westerly corner of Shipley and Fourth streets, and in 1737, for David Ferris, that at the northerly corner of the same streets—and indeed almost all the older brick houses of that period in the city were built by him. It is believed he outlived every man whose name appears on any document of that year; standing to the last a creditable sample of the active business men of his day. In appearance he was rather austere, his aspect roughish; but these belonged altogether to the “outward man.” They were nothing more than the manners which had descended from our old English ancestors; and which had not then yielded to a better taste. In height he was about the middle size, in person straight, in dress and appearance neat and gentlemanly. He possessed a most kind heart, great benevolence and undeviating rectitude. The irrepressible smile of good nature, which often lighted up his countenance, contrasted very ludicrously with his harsh tone, when speaking to children and servants. He passed many years, in the after part of life, in retirement from business,—with cheerful serenity of mind, and in the enjoyment of “health, peace and competence;” the consequences of a useful, temperate, exemplary life. He lived to a great age, leaving to survivors a bright example of all the moral virtues. By his last will he devised to trustees some valuable real estate, for the schooling of poor children. He departed this life in the year 1801, aged 91 years. “The memory of the just is blessed.” Prov. x. 7.

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At that time there was old Michael Wolf, the first of that name in Wilmington, of portly mien, and blessed memory, who in one single day, gave more heartfelt pleasure, and made more bright smiling faces, than some people do in their whole lives.* How many, after a long course of years, and after buffeting the storms of time for half a century, can look back with unalloyed pleasure at his fine plump form, his great cake board on his head, piled up with hot ginger-bread, glossy light cakes, sweet rusk, and A P's. Who can forget his cheerful face, his winning aspect, and kind tones of voice, inviting the children to partake of his good things? Certain it is, that no man can be more sure of the returns of gratitude, or the affectionate remembrance of those who survive him, than he whose business or pleasure it is to make *children* happy.

"Sixty years ago," when a boat loaded with oysters arrived at the wharf, the owner of the cargo would employ a bell-man to go round the village, and, by public outcry, announce to the inhabitants the arrival of his treasure. The practice of the crier was to stop at the intersections of the streets, and after a deliberate pause, begin to ring his bell; that operation faithfully performed, the term *oysters* was three times loudly and most drawlingly repeated, after which the public were informed that the article was to be found at such a wharf, and at such a price as he then announced. This brings to mind the figure of old Peter Steinmetz.

"Sixty years ago," there were semi-annual fairs held in Wilmington, and other parts of the State. They had been established, some of them, by Proprietary Charters, and some by Acts of Assembly, at a time when the country was thinly set-

* He died in the year 1825, at the advanced age of 89 years. He was born in 1736, and of course he was nearly 50 years of age sixty years ago. At that time he resided in an old fashioned house, with a double pitched roof, standing on the spot now occupied by the Reliance fire engine house in Market near Seventh street.

tled, and stores for the sale of merchandize were in number few and far asunder. These fairs were announced in the Almanacs of that day, as regularly as the times of holding courts, or other stated meetings of importance. Great numbers of people flocked to them, from all the country round, as well as from the neighboring colonies. The town, on such occasions, was crowded to overflowing—some coming on business, others for dissipation. Merchants attended with goods of many descriptions, particularly of the lighter kinds, such as shoes, stockings, hats, dry goods, millinery, toys, and all kinds of fancy articles. On such occasions the market houses were used for displaying the multifarious medley. The brilliancy of the scene, was well calculated to charm the eyes of children, and to leave bright and deep impressions on the memory. The tiny drums and trumpets, and whistles, and other toys, bright and gaudy, which then covered the stalls, will not soon be forgotten.

The last of the fairs was held in Wilmington nearly “sixty years ago.” The Legislature about that time passed an Act for their suppression. Among other reasons assigned for the abolition of the fairs were “*the excessive use of strong liquors, quarrels, and the practice of every species of vice and immorality, to the grief and annoyance of the virtuous part of the community.*”

On such occasions, scenes were publicly exhibited in our streets, which, if faithfully and graphically related, would hardly obtain full credit. Drunkenness prevailed to a degree that was shocking;—many were seen reeling about the streets, and rolling in the gutters;—the market houses, and other public places, resounded with profane and indecent language;—gaming was openly carried on upon the stalls and benches;—and almost every tavern resounded, night and day, with the sounds of the fiddle and the dance. But the act mentions “quarrels,” as one reason for suppressing fairs. The following facts may illustrate the force of *that* reason.

At the westerly end of the lower market house, “sixty years ago,” there was a two story brick building, standing on arches. It had a small cupola on the roof, which was surmounted by a

vane. This was the old town-hall. The chamber in which the town-council met was, of course, in the second story; to which the members ascended by a stairs on the outside of the building. The space on the pavement under the hall was, at fair time, the favorite resort of bullies, and the lowest kind of vagabonds. Here they not only challenged each other to battle, but decided on the spot the question, Who is the greatest brute? Two men of athletic form, and large dimensions, have here been seen to dare each other to the combat, merely for a trial of pugilistic skill. They have been seen to strip to the waist, in broad day light, and deliberately abuse and beat each other, until their bodies and the pavement under them were well covered with blood; and until not a lineament of the human face was left so plain as to designate the man. And all this was done in the most public part of the town; without any attempt to interfere, either by individuals or the public authorities! Perhaps it is only by comparing the present state of society with one which has *long* passed away, that we can be sensible of the progress of improvement, or rightly appreciate the advantages we enjoy.

It is now nearly three thousand years since the following sentence was written:—"Say not thou, what is the cause that the former days were better than these? for thou *dost not inquire wisely* concerning this." Eccles. vii. 10. Perhaps the folly of the question lay in this circumstance, that it assumed as a fact what was not true. It shows, however, that human nature is the same in all ages, for all ages have produced a class of persons who insist upon it, that "the former days were better than these." To set the matter right, it may be very well, now and then, to pry a little into the ways and doings of our predecessors, not to set them lower than they deserve, but to open our eyes to the magnitude of our own blessings.

"Sixty years ago," the Christiana above the city was upwards of three hundred and twenty feet wider than it is at present. This has been ascertained by actual measurement. The diminution in its width directly opposite to the city is, perhaps,

not quite so much, but some can yet remember, when the bowsprits of large vessels, lying in the docks below Market street, extended over Water street,—and when the “Liberty,” a ship of 360 tons, was built on the land now occupied by the wheelwright’s shop, at the westerly corner of Market and Water street. Many acres of ground, between Water street and the Christeen, now occupied as wharves, and as yards for wood, coal, and lumber, and where many stores and houses are now standing, were under water at high flood tides “sixty years ago.” These facts are rather alarming, and may well excite inquiry to ascertain the cause, and whether any means ought to be taken to apply a remedy. One circumstance, perhaps, has tended to tranquillize the public mind on the subject; the depth of the creek is found to be nearly as great as it was forty-five years ago,—but supposing that to be true, it ought not therefore to be concluded, that *no contraction of the width* will ever diminish the depth.

“Sixty years ago” nearly all the land between Shipley and Orange streets, from Front street to the river, excepting the ground occupied by the old ship yard of John Harris, was a low, flat morass, covered with reeds; through which the rivulet, which flows down the valley west of Orange street, wound a very serpentine course, and entered the Christeen nearly opposite Shipley street. That rivulet was then much larger than it is at present; the tide flowed up it into Orange street above Front street, and there the boys used to find a very pleasant swimming place, nearly as high as where Moore & Haman’s plough manufactory now stands. It is not sixty years since there was, at the westerly corner of Orange and Second streets, a water wheel for sawing marble, turned by that stream; and that was the first stone-cutter’s establishment in Wilmington. The *water power* not being sufficient for the wants of the concern, the owner removed to the easterly side of the Brandywine, near the bridge, where he had one sufficient for all his purposes.

“Sixty years ago” little children used to go a Maying, on the meadows which then were included between Second and Third, and between Orange and West streets. Tatnall street

had not then been opened through these lands. This was fine playground for the little ramblers. There we have seen them gathering the blossoms of the wild honey-suckle, of the red root, of the May apple, and the violet; and there they were wont to pluck the stems of the golden dent-de-lion, to make chains for the neck, and bracelets for the arms. There they "gathered kingcups in the yellow mead, and prinked their hair with daisies," by a beautiful brook which then made its murmuring way through a bed of flowers,

"As sweet as e'er breathed on the bosom of Spring."

"Sixty years ago" there was no tan yard in that meadow, nor any of the noisome appendages of such an establishment; no encroachment on its green area by rows of three story brick houses, or other buildings, for man or beast. But there the girls in summer, and the boys in winter, found ample playground, the latter with their skates having a fine long course on what every body then knew by the name of "Sheward's race." The place of its location has since been called the "hop-yard."

Charles Springer,* or, as he is sometimes called, Charles Christopher Springer, whose name so often occurs in the early records of the Old Church, was one of the most useful and distinguished Swedes in the settlement at Christina. He was a man of learning and piety, and by his steady devotion to the interests of his countrymen, promoted their welfare in a variety of ways, both civil and religious. After the government of the Colony had passed out of Swedish hands, and all their clergymen were either dead, or, through infirmity, unable to serve them, he lent his aid to maintain public worship by acting as "lay-reader, who, besides the prayers and psalms, read homilies or sermons."† It was Charles Springer, who, on behalf of his

* He signs his name CHARLES SPRINGER, without the middle appellation, but is sometimes called by the three names when spoken of by others.

† Clay's Annals, p. 38.

countrymen on the Delaware, wrote the beautiful letter to THELIN, the postmaster at Gottenburg, already inserted in these memoirs; and who was a principal instrument in procuring the appointment of Rudman, Biorck, and Auren, as missionaries to America in 1697, by which the interesting revival in their religious affairs was effected, both at Wicaco and Christina. When Biorck, the tried and faithful friend of the Swedes in this neighborhood, undertook the arduous task of procuring them a new and substantial church, it was Charles Springer who, with steady zeal and untiring patience, seconded all his efforts, and stood close by him through every difficulty, to its final accomplishment. Most of the church records, from the arrival of the missionaries to the close of Biorck's service, in 1714, are in his hand writing.

At what time Charles Springer came to America is uncertain. The first authentic record of him is found in Rudman's Memoirs, which shew that he was here in 1692, and at that time a conspicuous actor in the church and colony. It is probable he was here several years before that period, as tradition informs us that he came into the neighbourhood in early life.* At the last mentioned date he was about thirty-four years of age. He had several sons who survived him, and who left numerous representatives to transmit his name to succeeding generations. Many of his descendants are yet living, and some who have passed away have been distinguished and valuable members of the community. He died May 26, 1738, aged 80 years. His body was interred in the most conspicuous part of the old church-yard, close to the south wall of the church, near the easterly side of the door-way. In the year 1762, when it became necessary for the support of the house to erect the present portico, it was found that his remains occupied a part of the ground on which the wall was to stand; and a consultation was held, to determine whether to remove his body, or to build

* He was born in the year 1658. If he were 20 years old at the time he was kidnapped, and served five years, as is affirmed in Clay's Annals, page 40, then he came to Christeen at 25 years of age in 1683, which is probably nearly correct.

over it. It was finally concluded to be more respectful *not to disturb his ashes*, and the wall was built directly over a part of his remains. In the month following his decease, his son Charles was chosen a vestryman of the Swedes' Church at Christina; the record says "in the room of his father;" and his son Christopher was at the same time elected a church warden.

Joseph Springer, another of the first Charles' sons, lived to be ninety years old, as the monument to his memory, in the old church-yard, shows:—and Joseph's son Joseph died in the year 1832, in the ninety-third year of his age, at his farm about two miles west of Wilmington. In the autumn of the year before his decease we called at his house, on purpose to make him a visit; when we were informed that he was *out in the field at work!* On arriving at the place, he was found cutting faggots and piling up the small refuse-wood to burn. After the usual salutations, he in the kindest manner invited us to take a seat with him on a broad fence rail, which he had arranged for the purpose. In the course of a very interesting conversation, on subjects connected with the early history of the Swedes, he related the following anecdote concerning his grandfather. "My grandfather, when a youth, was sent by his parents into England, for the purpose of finishing his education. One evening in London, as he was walking to his lodgings, a party of ruffians seized and gagged him. They then hurried him into a carriage, and driving it down to the river, put him on board of a ship, bound to Virginia, and confined him in the hold. When the vessel arrived at her port of destination, Springer was sold to a planter for a term of years. During the time of his bondage, he learned, that in a country lying far to the Northeast, there was a settlement of his countrymen, which he determined immediately to visit, as soon as his term of service should expire. When that time arrived he set out on foot to seek them, and after many difficulties in crossing a new country, much of it in its wild state, inhabited only by Indians, he to his great joy

found them at Christina, and settled himself permanently among them."

The old man related this anecdote with much interest and animation. His mental faculties appeared to be wholly unimpaired. His person was vigorous though slender, his eye clear and bright, his countenance florid, his motions quick, and his whole manner lively. Before parting with him for the last time, for so it proved to be, he said, in a very pleasant manner: "I will tell you one thing more before we part,—I am now in the ninety-third year of my age, and can say, what perhaps can truly be said by few others,—I never struck a man in anger, nor was ever struck by one,—I never sued any one at law, and was never sued by any one,—I never took snuff—chewed tobacco, or smoked it, and I never was intoxicated in my life." So lived, and so died the venerable, the excellent old Joseph Springer. Having nearly travelled the round of a century, he "came to his grave in a full age, like as a shock of corn cometh in, in his season." Job v. 26.

A white marble slab lies over his remains in the old church-yard. They repose nearly midway between the graves of his father and grandfather. He was born on the 17th of October, old style, 1739, and died the 12th of March, 1832.

A certain William Dean, who, at the time Wilmington was laid out, lived on the southerly side of Christeen, about three miles above the town, after the decease of his first wife, married a Dutch girl, who had lived in his family. On his decease, she found herself the owner of the plantation on which she resided, it having been devised to her by her husband's will. Her situation in the country not suiting her widowed state, she removed to Wilmington and settled in a house yet standing, on the south side of Fifth street, below Shipley street, adjoining the property of the late Dr. Jaques. She was one of those women, invaluable to society, especially in the early stages of it, who have, what is sometimes called, "a turn for doctoring;" and who seem to take great pleasure in assisting their neighbors

in cases of sickness ; one, who from experience, has learned the virtues of herbs and roots, which grow spontaneously ; and which often possess valuable healing properties. Such was " Caty Dean." But Catharine's skill was not confined to *herbs* and *roots*. In her attendance on the sick, she had learned the properties of calomel and tartar emetic, and other articles mentioned in the *Materia Medica*. Availing herself of this valuable knowledge, she opened a shop for the sale of " DRUGS AND MEDICINES, CHEMICAL AND GALENICAL ;" so that both kinds of professors, the "vegetable doctors," and the "mineral doctors," could be accommodated at the "Potecary Shop" of the kind and skilful Catharine Dean.

This was the first shop expressly established for the sale of Drugs and Medicines in Wilmington. Her whole stock of merchandize was kept in a front closet, in the north corner of the house, fronting Fifth street. It is but about four or five feet square, and has a small window in it, to admit the necessary light. This house and the closet yet remain, almost in their primitive state. Catharine was a very respectable woman. After her settlement in town, she lived many years, the friend and "doctress of the neighboring poor," to whom, and to the public, her death was a loss much felt, and sincerely lamented.*

The state of schools in Wilmington, "sixty years ago," has before been alluded to. It is well known to many yet living that, in country places, it was then common to employ, as school-master, any tolerably decent looking traveller who would apply for the office. The first and most important inquiry was, at how low a price would he teach a child for three calendar months. If that question was satisfactorily settled, and it was found that he could "read, write and cypher," the bargain was concluded. It most frequently happened that the applicant was a foreigner, who spoke English (if it can be said that he spoke

* The facts here stated are given on the authority of the late Frederick Craig, who distinctly remembered the "good Caty Dean."

it at all) with a broad, uncouth accent, or vile brogue; announcing that he had just come ashore from some passenger ship; and it very often turned out, that he was an habitual drunkard, who spent a goodly portion of his time during school hours in sleep. To such teachers was it then common to expose the morals of children!

In Wilmington, however, even "sixty years ago," things were not quite so bad. The teachers were frequently good moral characters, though often very deficient in other respects. The course of instruction very rarely extended beyond reading, writing and arithmetic. About the year 1787, the committee having the charge of the school "on the hill," procured a teacher from Philadelphia, who was at that time accounted an extraordinary scholar, as he could teach Latin and Greek. He introduced, as an additional branch of instruction, English grammar; but for want of suitable books for the purpose, his effort was almost an entire failure. No other branches were attempted. Geography was no more thought of as a branch of school education than Astrology.

As late as the time we are now alluding to, the old barbarous custom of "barring out" had not become entirely obsolete. The last attempt of the kind was so disastrous that it never was repeated in that house. It took place during the incumbency of the late John Webster, a man of considerable notoriety afterwards in Wilmington. On the evening before Christmas, the boys had got possession of the school-house, and employed themselves in carrying a quantity of wood from the cellar, and piling it against the doors inside of the room. They then secured all the windows but one, which was kept open as a kind of draw-bridge to go into the castle.

Next morning early, such of the boys as had courage to stand a siege, entered the fortress, and fastening the place of entry, awaited with anxiety the arrival of the master. At length he made his appearance, and after unlocking the door as usual, he found it would not turn upon its hinges. On searching after the cause, he discovered that the house was in possession of his

scholars, who had barred every entrance, and now refused him admission, unless, on his honor, he would promise them a vacation for the day. To this humbling condition he refused to submit ; and now came on the tug of war.

After some fruitless attempts to open a breach in the ramparts, and while the master was looking for more effectual means to gain the fort, some elderly Friends were discovered coming up the hill, with deliberate step, on their way to meeting : for this memorable siege happened on their day for public worship. No sooner had they understood the case, than they promptly joined the assailing force. One of them procured a crow-bar, and, with a crash that made every defender of the place to tremble, bursted open a window, fronting on West street. Many of the besieged, and especially the weaker members of the garrison, now saw that all chance of escape was lost. But some of the larger boys, who foresaw that they would have to bear the heaviest part of the consequences, made an effort to get away ; and opening a window on the back part of the house, began to jump out : but one of the assailants not feeling easy that the guiltiest should so avoid the salutary inflictions which awaited them, had seasonably stationed himself at the place of sortie, and with his cane so effectually administered the law of Moses, which forbids that the guilty should go free, that the greater part surrendered at discretion. A regular court for the trial of the offenders was now held, in the presence of the grave captors, who sat as judges in the case, the school-master being the executive officer ; and such was the efficacy of their administration, that the stoutest heart ever afterwards quailed at the bare suggestion of a "barring out."

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ground, east of King street and above Eighth street, where they stood for a period of eight or ten years after the war. In "the Columbian Magazine," published in Philadelphia, about the year 1787, there is an engraved view, taken from the Old Academy, looking towards the Delaware, in which those trees are represented. The scene of public rejoicing for the peace of 1783 was among these old trees, on the ground just described. It used to be called "the Academy hill." Here cannon were fired, sky rockets sent up, and splendid fireworks exhibited in celebration of that happy event. And here, for several years afterwards, the anniversary of American Independence was announced by the discharge of artillery, and other noisy modes of expressing the public joy.

The ground in that neighborhood has been much lowered within forty or fifty years, and the whole aspect of things greatly altered. Under that hill there was a fine body of building sand, and the surface being too high for the legal elevation of the street, there was a double inducement to take it down, which operated effectually. A row of three story brick houses now occupy the very spot where the cannon were planted which shook the town on the ratification of the treaty, acknowledging our country to be a free and independent nation.

The stream on the southwest side of the city, formerly called "Clement's Creek," crosses the road leading to Baltimore, about one hundred yards west of Front street, at the first stone bridge on that road. The late Jonas Canby, who died in the year 1822, at the age of eighty-seven years, has often been heard to say that he could remember when shallops used to come up that creek as high as the aforesaid bridge, to take in wood for the Philadelphia market. By banking out the tide water, and by the reduction of the springs, since the country round it has been cleared of its forests, it is so much reduced that a batteau could not now pass up it, to the old landing place. The name of "Clement's Kill" is of very ancient date. It is found in the article of agreement between old Johan Anderson

and his assignees, Samuel Peterson and Lars Cornelison, dated April 16th, 1675. After it was assigned to John Stalcop, on the division of his father's property, in 1686, it gradually assumed the name of "Stalcop's Gut." The stream passing down the Valley, east of Walnut street, which before that time was called "Stalcop's Run," afterwards took the name of "MULBERRY DOCK." The names of *Stalcop's Run* and *Stalcop's Gut* being so nearly alike, a change became necessary to prevent misunderstanding. But many of the old people never called the stream below Walnut street Mulberry Dock, but always distinguished it by its old name of Stalcop's Run.

Many of the natural curiosities of our country, as described by Campanius to his countrymen, will appear as wonderful to the reader of the present day, as they did to the astonished Swedes one hundred and forty years ago. Of the well known *fire-fly*, he says, "There is also a kind of fly, which the Indians call *Cucuyo*, which in the night gives so strong a light that it is sufficient, when a man is travelling, to show him the way: one may also *write and read the smallest print by the light which they give*. When the Indians go in the night a hunting, they fasten those insects to their hands and feet, by which they can *see their way as well as in the day time*. One night those flies frightened all the soldiers that were on guard at Fort Christina, in New Sweden: they thought they were enemies advancing toward them with lighted matches."

Campanius tells his readers that "there is here also a large and horrible serpent, which is called a *rattle-snake*. It has a *head like that of a dog*, and *can bite off a man's leg as clear as if it had been hewn down with an axe*. There are horny joints in their tails, which make a noise like children's rattles; and, when they see a man, they wind themselves in a circle and shake *their heads*, which can be heard at the distance of a hundred yards, so that one may put himself on his guard. These snakes are *three yards long, and thick as the thickest*

part of a man's leg. They are as many years old as they have rattles in their tails : their colour is brown, black, and yellow.”

“ At Spider's point [Bombay Hook] when the South wind blows, a great many *Sea Spiders* are driven on shore, which are not able to return into the water. They are as large as tortoises, and like them have houses over them of a kind of yellow horn. They have many feet, and their tails are half an ell long, and made like a three edged saw, *with which the hardest tree may be sawed down.* When they are well boiled and dressed, they taste like good lobsters.”

“ From *Aquikonasra* to *Sineessingh*, the land is high and not well suited for cultivation. In this place grows the Fish-tree, which resembles box wood, and smells like raw fish. It cannot be split; but if a fire be lighted around it with some other kind of wood, it *melts away.* At *Sineessingh* the Renappi Indians catch tortoises, sturgeons, and other kinds of fish.”

Between *Quinkoringh* and *Rancoques Creeks* [Rancocas below Burlington] the land is hilly, but not such hills as in Sweden; they are clay and sand hills. Some of them are naturally disposed to the production of metals; for instance, there is a hill at *Mekansio Sippus* [Crosswick's Creek] in which there is good *silver ore*, and along the Creek the strand is covered all over with flint stones, some of which are of a round shape; and when broken, there are found in them *grains of pure silver*, some larger and some smaller. Mr. Lindstrom says that he himself has broken more than a hundred of them, and taken out the *silver* that was therein.”

“ From Trakonick, [in the neighbourhood of Bordentown,] and further up on the east side of the river, the soil is fine, and bears *black maize, of the colour of tar*;—the Indians have planted it there for many years. The land within is very rich in animal productions. There are beavers, otters, elks, bears,

wolves, and *lions*, with *every other kind of wild beasts* ; also a great quantity of swans, geese, turkeys, pigeons, and other wild fowl.”

“ About the falls of *Assinpink*, [Trenton,] and further up the river, the land is rich. It does not produce much Indian corn, but a great quantity of grape vines, white, red, brown, and blue ; the inhabitants want only to know how to press the grape in order to have a rich wine country. As to the interior, nothing is known about it, except that it is believed to be a Continent.”

“ *Poaetquessings Creek*, [Poquesing, on the Pennsylvania side of the Delaware, in Philadelphia county,] is by nature provided with every thing that man can desire. The land is high on both sides. The first fall cannot be above musket shot from this Creek. There are mill seats, to which one may approach so near with a vessel, as to be able to hoist up every thing with ropes. Opposite *Poaetquessing* there is a kind of fish with great long teeth, which the Indians call *Manitto*, which means spirit or devil ; it plunges very deep into the water, and spouts it up like a whale. The fish is not to be seen elsewhere in the river.”

“ Between *Murderer's Creek*, [Mother-kill,] and *Wolf Creek*, [Dover Creek, in Kent county, Delaware state,] there grow plenty of mulberry, cyprus, and cedar trees, *two or three fathoms thick*. In *Wolf creek* there is a black clay, which, when it is prepared *serves for ink*, and may be used for painting. There is also a blue earth, which when it is well tempered may serve for blue paint.”

“ At *Christina Creek* is fort Christina, and behind it a little town laid out by the engineer Lindstrom,* and afterwards built

* This is an error. Lindstrom came to America with Governor Rising, only one year before the destruction of the town by the Dutch. It was built fifteen years before the arrival of Rising. Lindstrom drew a plot of the town, a copy of which is given in this book.

and settled, but was since ruined by the Dutch. This creek is a deep navigable stream, and runs far into the country. On both sides of it the land is excellent, both to sow and plant, and there grow upon it all sorts of rare fruit trees. No words can be found to describe the fertility of this land; indeed it may well be called a land flowing with milk and honey. At *Christina Creek* grape vines grow in great abundance. The Swedes once found here a grape vine two ells thick, which thickness has not been found in a grape vine any where else.”

“On the shore of *Tennacongs** there is found *gamboge*, which is as good as yellow ochre; but it is not used in the country except to colour deer-skins. In these parts there grow walnuts, chesnuts, and an immense quantity of sweet smelling sassafras trees. To the south of *Tennakongs* island there is a lake which is always full of birds and fowls. At *Swapecksisko* or *White Clay Creek*,† there is a fine white clay, and when it is dry and well prepared, is *as good as white lead*.”

“At *Huiska Kimensi* creek, [Red Clay creek,] and at *Nut-tree island*, [Bread and Cheese island,] there is a red earth, which when dried, pounded and well prepared, is *used instead of Cinnabar*.”‡

“Between *Grapevine point*, [New Castle,] and *Nittabakonck*, [Schuylkill,] there grow abundance of white, brown, blue, and red grape vines.”

“About the falls of *Allumingh* [uncertain] there grow wal-

* This refers to the land opposite fort Christina, and about the old ferry house, formerly Jaquet's farm. It is so called on the map or plan of *Fort Christina*, as drawn by Lindstrom, to show the manner in which that fort was besieged by Stuyvesant. See the drawing.

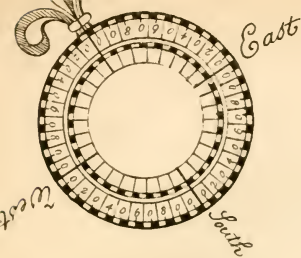
† Called on Lindstrom's map of the Delaware, “Hwitler's Kilen.”

‡ Cinnabar is a brilliant crystal of mercury, of a cochineal and sometimes carmine colour. Some varieties are bright scarlet red.

nut, chesnut, peach, and mulberry trees, and several sorts of plumb trees, and grapevines. Hemp and hops grow in abundance. On this river there grows a plant, the fruit of which is round, and is called *Callabash*. It is a vine that runs along the ground. The fruit is shaped like a pear. Some are as large as a great pompion, and others are small as a little snuff-box. The skin is yellow, smooth, and thin as glass; it is hard and tough as horn. If they chance to fall on the ground they will not split to pieces. Within they are full of seeds, like pompions. When these seeds are taken out, the fruit serves as a vessel for several uses. If sawed in two they will make bottles, cups, and dishes, and for rarity's sake they may be rimmed with silver. Some of them are so large that they will hold a gallon or more."

Such are the descriptions of our country and its productions as related by Campanius. With a credulous disposition, he might in some instances have been deceived, while fondly listening to the tales of wonder told him by his countrymen. But Campanius lived here *six years*, and must have had opportunities to detect the error of many of these stories. His willingness to relate them as *historical facts*, goes to show that the love of the *marvellous* was a predominant feature in his character, and that the temptation to tell "travellers' tales" was not always duly resisted.

The following table of exports by the Dutch from New Netherlands, is taken from De Laet's history of the West India Company. It will give some idea of the value of their establishments at Manhattan, and other places within their territories, previous to the colonization of the Swedes on our shores. As the Dutch had an establishment at fort Nassau during most of the time embraced in this table, it includes of course, all the furs obtained from their station on the Delaware and its tributaries.



Willingtown, now Wilmington, as it was laid out in the year 1736.

Exports from New Netherlands, by the West India Company, from 1624 to 1635.

Date.	Beavers.	Otters, &c.	Guilders.
1624 - -	4,000 - -	700 - -	27,125
1625 - -	5,295 - -	463 - -	35,825
1626 - -	7,258 - -	857 - -	45,050
1627 - -	7,520 - -	370 - -	12,730
1628 - -	6,951 - -	734 - -	61,075
1629 - -	5,913 - -	681 - -	62,185
1630 - -	6,041 - -	1,085 - -	68,012
1632 - -	13,513 two years	1,661 - -	143,125
1633 - -	8,800	1,383 - -	91,375
1635 - -	14,891 two years	1,413 - -	134,925

The Imports for the same time were as follow :

1624 in two ships, goods, wares. &c.,	- - -	25,569
1625 several ships	- - -	8,772
1626 two ships	- - -	20,384
1627 four ships	- - -	56,470
1628 - -	- - -	no imports.
1629 three ships	- - -	55,778
1630 two ships	- - -	57,499
1631 one ship	- - -	17,355
1632 one ship	- - -	31,320
1634 one ship	- - -	29,562
1635 one ship	- - -	28,875

The only buildings now standing in Wilmington, which are marked on the plan of the town made in 1736, a copy of which is given in this work, we shall now mention. We shall notice them in the *supposed* order of their erection, for there is no written evidence of that order, so far as is known. Circumstances alone give any clue to determine the question. One remark, however, may throw some light on the subject. Those houses which have roofs with a double pitch from the centre of the building, commonly called heap-roofs or hip roofs, have perhaps been all built by the English settlers. The inhabitants of Northern Europe, subject to deep snows pressing with great weight on surfaces not sufficiently inclined to throw off the incumbrance, almost always build their houses with very steep

roofs, as is seen in the buildings of Norway, Sweden, Germany, Holland and other cold countries, and in most of the Dutch houses in this country. The island of Great Britain being surrounded by the ocean, the inhabitants in the middle and southern parts of it, seldom find it needful to guard against heavy snows, and do not give their houses such steep roofs. These facts lead to the conclusion that our hip-roofed houses were all built, or at least planned by the English emigrants, and this opinion is strengthened by historical evidence. William Shipley's house, at the corner of Shipley and Fourth streets; the late Deborah Bringham's back building, on the adjoining lot; Griffith Minshall's house, in Shipley street, below Third street; the old brew house at the corner of Fourth and Tatnall streets; and many others, are cases in support of the opinion.

It is probable the first house built in Wilmington was put up for his own use, by Thomas Willing, on the occasion of his marriage with the daughter of Andrew Justison. This marriage was consummated in 1628, the year after the land on which it is erected was purchased by her father. It stands at the north corner of King and Water streets. The building is a wooden one, and has a hip-roof. Thomas Willing was an Englishman.

A brick house at the south corner of Market and Water streets. It has a steep single-pitch roof indicating that it was built by a Swede.

A brick house at the south corner of Market and Second streets. It has a double pitch-roof, and does not stand parallel with the line of the street. It was built before the plan of the town had been accurately laid down.

A brick house at the east corner of Market and Third streets, now occupied as a grocery store. It originally had a hip-roof.

A frame house on the north east side of Front, a short distance west of Tatnall street. It has a single-pitch roof, indicating that it was built by a Swede.

A large brick house at the west corner of Shipley and Fourth streets. It was built by William Shipley in 1736, and has a double-pitch roof.

A small one story brick house, now a kitchen, on land late of Deborah Bringhurst, back of Shipley street, on the west side, below Fourth street. This building was standing in 1735, and it is probable that it was built that year by William Shipley, after his purchase of the land from Andrew Justison and Thomas Willing. It has a hip-roof.

These are all the houses now standing in Wilmington which existed at the time when the petition for a charter was sent to Governor Penn in 1736. Several houses which were laid down on that plan have been removed within a few years. One of which, *a frame building*, stood on the south-east side of Walnut street, a short distance below the Methodist meeting house, between Second and Third streets. It had a hip-roof, and the sides and ends were shingled. One stood at the west corner of Orange and Fourth streets. It was a *one story brick building*, with a hip-roof, and had at the south-west end of it a wooden building, same height as the house, probably built for a kitchen. Both of these are laid down on the plan. *One large wooden house* marked on the plan, stood in Spring alley between French and Walnut streets, on the south side. It belonged to the Swedes' church, and was the residence of their minister, before they had built for his use that fine old brick house on Walnut street, at the west corner of Spring alley, which is yet standing.

Frederick Craig told the writer that he could distinctly remember being sent to this old wooden house in 1765, to request the parson to come to his father's, to administer baptism to a younger brother, Peter Craig, who was very ill, and supposed to be dying. F. Craig was then ten years old.

A few very *old brick houses* are yet standing, whose ages are known. One built by Griffith Minshall, in Shipley below Third street, north-west side, built in 1741. One at the east corner of Walnut and Fourth street. It was built by Joseph Hewes, already mentioned, page 220. In the gable wall are the letters I. A. H., the initials of the names of himself and his wife, Joseph and Ann Hewes. The date 1738 is added, all distinguished by black

glazed bricks. *One* at the north corner of King and Front streets has the date, 1739, on the gable, marked by black glazed bricks, now covered by paint. *One* at the north corner of Shipley and Fourth streets, built by David Ferris in the year 1737. And the old brew house at the north corner of Fourth and Tattall streets, in 1750.

The first house for divine worship, built in Wilmington after its settlement as a town, was erected by the Society of Friends, in the year 1738. It was built within three years after the first member of that religious persuasion settled in the village. Before it was erected they held their meetings in the private dwelling of Wm. Shipley, then standing at the west corner of Orange and Shipley streets, a small one story brick building before described ; and afterwards about one year in Shipley's new house, at the corner of Fourth and Shipley street, where their meetings were held until their meeting house was ready for use. That house is yet standing, with the date of its erection marked by black glazed bricks in the gable wall. It is situate on West street between Third and Fourth streets, being occupied as a school house. To this useful purpose it has been devoted since the year 1748, and thousands of children have there received the first rudiments of an English education. It is built of brick, 24 feet square, and one story high. It originally had a broad pent-house, or projecting roof, at the south-west end, extending across the whole of that front. A sun dial was placed over the small window under the peak of the roof in the gable wall, where it kept its place more than sixty years, notwithstanding the *gnomon* was frequently a mark for the scholars who felt disposed to show their skill in throwing stones.

In ten years after the erection of this house, the society had become too large to be accommodated in it, and they built another on the lot immediately opposite. It was 48 feet square, two stories high, with galleries extending over one half the ground floor. Over each of the doors was a double-pitch roof, and an elliptical arch over each of the windows in the first story. The

form of the building was very singular. The four sides being equal, the roof was a truncated pyramid, the angle of ascent on each side being about the same as the great pyramid at Memphis. On the top of the pyramid, occupying the truncated part, was another small building about six feet square, its roof also pyramidal, with a chimney rising out at the apex, and a window in each of its sides to light the garret. But the drawing facing page 192 will convey a better idea of the whole than can be given by any verbal description.

It stood until the year 1817, the society having, in the preceding year, built the large house which it still uses, on West street.

In the year 1827, the society having divided, those who left the old meeting house, built for themselves a new one, at the easterly corner of Tatnall and Ninth streets. It is a neat frame building, in an airy, and very pleasant situation, much retired from the noisy part of the town.

The second place for divine worship built in Wilmington, is the Presbyterian meeting-house on Market street, near Tenth street.* The ground on which it stands was purchased of Timothy Stidham, and is part of the old Tymen Stidham tract mentioned in the patent granted by Sir Francis Lovelace, in 1671. It was bought in the year 1737, as appears by a plot of the land now in the writer's possession, and is described as follows:

"A draught of a piece of ground bought of Timothy Stidham for a burying ground and meeting house, by the trustees of the congregation belonging to the Presbyterian church, and situate in Christiana Hundred in the county of Newcastle upon Delaware, and BEGINNING at a stake standing in the east side of Market street in Willingtown, in Christiana road, thence south $48\frac{1}{2}$ E^{ly}. 13.9 p. to another stake in the said road side, and in the west side of King street, thence up said street N. 32 E^{ly}. 12.48 p. to another stake in the west side of King street, thence N. 58 W^{ly}. 13.76 p. to another stake in the east side of Market street, thence S. 32 W^{ly}. 10.76 p. to the place of beginning; containing one acre of land, as surveyed this first of December, Anno Domini 1737." PER G. E. FOLWELL.

* See page 252.

The meeting house was not built until 1740, as appears by the date marked by black glazed bricks in the north-east wall. The road mentioned in the aforesaid description is now closed. It extended from the Kennet road near the corner of Tatnall street down to the old Christina Fort, and is marked on the plot, "Road to the Rocks." Since it was vacated, the congregation have added to their burying ground a part of that road, and the whole is now inclosed with a stone wall.

The Presbyterian church have two other large meeting houses in the city; one standing at the north corner of Sixth and King streets, and one on the southerly part of the aforesaid lot. They are both elegant structures.

The Baptist society have two meeting houses in this city. One, a handsome plain brick building, on a beautiful elevated piece of ground, in King street, near Tenth street; and one in Walnut street, at the west corner of Fifth street, which is a large stone building. This house was bought in 1835, of the Second Presbyterian church. The congregation was formed in that year of thirteen members of the first Baptist church. They have now upwards of three hundred members, under the pastoral charge of Morgan J. Rhees.

The first meeting house used by the Methodist society in Wilmington, stands at the southerly corner of King and Third streets, and was first used as a place of worship about the year 1790. Since that time the society have become very numerous, and have two large churches in this city. The first one built by them, for the purpose of worship, was a small brick structure in Walnut near Third street. By repeated additions it has now become one of the largest meeting houses in the city. In the year 1844 they built an elegant house on the north-west side of Market street, between Seventh and Eighth streets, ornamented by a row of massive columns in front.

In the present year a congregation of Protestant Methodists have erected a neat plain meeting house at the north corner of Orange and Third streets.

The people of colour, of the Methodist persuasion, have three

meeting houses in Wilmington. One a substantial stone building at the south corner of French and Ninth streets, and one a commodious brick building in French street between Eighth and Ninth streets. They have one, a frame house, in Second street between West and Tatnall streets.

In the year 1816, the Roman Catholic congregation built the first church that was erected for their accommodation in Wilmington. It is situate at the southerly corner of West and Sixth streets. Since that time they have greatly enlarged it by adding a building at the southerly end of it, and at right angles with it. By this addition the building has assumed the form of a cross, the older part being the nave, and the newer the transept. It now covers more ground than any other place of worship in Wilmington.

In the year 1828 the congregation which had met for worship at the old Swedes' Church was divided. One part of it united in the proposal to build a church in a more convenient situation. They accordingly erected a handsome building at the west corner of Shipley and Eighth streets, which they named St. Andrew's church. In the year 1839 they built at the easterly end of it, on Shipley street, a handsome steeple, one hundred and twenty feet high to the top of the spire. A bell, weighing 1450 pounds, was placed in it, and first sent forth its fine tones into the surrounding city and country, on the 24th of the Twelfth month, (December,) 1839. In a few days afterwards, by some accident, the house took fire and was wholly consumed, with all its contents, including the steeple and bell. In the year following the congregation rebuilt and greatly enlarged the church, at the same time they prepared for another steeple, by erecting the mason-work of it, rising high above the main building.

The other part of the congregation, who consider themselves the more immediate successors of the old Swedish Church, erected a church, or chapel, at the east corner of King and Fifth streets. It is a handsome brick building, and was built

about the time, or very soon after the first church, dedicated to St. Andrew.

It appears by an old Account Book of William Shipley's that the annexed prices are charged for the articles mentioned.

	£	s.	d.	Dolls.	Cts.
1737. Bricks, the run of the kiln, per 1000,	0	16	3	2	16
Best cedar shingles, per 1000, -	-	2	5	0	6 00
River sand, per bushel, at the wharf, -	0	0	1	0	1 $\frac{1}{8}$
Lime, per bushel, - - -	0	1	1	0	14 $\frac{1}{2}$
Wheat flour, (middlings) per 112 lbs, -	0	7	0	0	94
Mutton, per lb, - - -	0	0	2 $\frac{1}{2}$	0	2 $\frac{3}{4}$
1 Quarter of veal, - - -	0	2	10	0	38
1738. Butter from the Country in pots, per lb.,	0	0	16	0	6 $\frac{1}{2}$
Halling wood, per cord, - - -	0	2	0	0	26 $\frac{1}{2}$
Horse hire, per day, - - -	0	2	0	0	26 $\frac{1}{2}$
Labour, per day, - - -	0	2	6	0	33
Halling stone, per load, - - -	0	1	0	0	13
Indian corn, per bushel, - - -	0	1	8	0	22
Fire wood, delivered, per cord, - - -	0	6	0	0	80
Side of beef, per lb., - - -	0	0	2 $\frac{1}{4}$	0	02 $\frac{1}{2}$
Mollasses, per gallon, - - -	0	2	0	0	26
1739. Indian meal, per bushel, - - -	0	3	4	0	45
Sugar, per lb., - - -	0	0	6	0	6 $\frac{1}{2}$
Boards, per 1000, - - -	0	6	0	0	80
1750. Stable manure, per single horse load,	0	0	6	0	6 $\frac{1}{2}$
do. do. two horse load,	0	0	9	0	10

The first bridge on the Brandywine, within the present limits of Wilmington, stood at a short distance above the place where the rail road now crosses it. This bridge, which was built nearly one hundred years ago, landed at Vandever's point, on what was formerly called "Timber Island." The road from thence towards Philadelphia, led over Shelpot hill, nearer the river Delaware than the present one, coming out into it near the three mile stone. It passed eastward of, but close to an old brick house on that hill.

The first mill within the borough, was built about the year 1742, by Oliver Canby, father of the late William and Samuel

Canby. It stood near the side of the creek just below the north-easterly termination of Orange street. At the time it was built, no value was supposed to belong to the navigation of the Brandywine above the old bridge, except for small row-boats. The Swedes and other settlers used to bring their grain to be ground at that mill from New Jersey, and from the inlets along the Delaware, Christeen, and other places, in such boats. So late as the year 1762, when the plan of making a long race, and building overshot mills, was under consideration, Thomas Shipley, who owned part of the old water power, in a grant to the projectors of that scheme, reserved to himself the sole right to grind all the grist brought from any place within thirty miles of his mill. This circumstance, with other well known facts, go to show that, at that time, he did not consider the navigation of the creek, for large vessels, of any value, and indeed it was then of no value, for the old bridge below effectually prevented the passage of any such vessels to the old mill. After the long race was completed, and overshot mills erected, the old bridge was taken away, the obstructions in the creek removed, and the navigation for sloops opened as high up the stream as the present mills.

Of the precise time when a bridge was built over Brandywine at the site of the present one, near the north-easterly termination of King street, the writer has no authentic information, but it was not long after the year 1770. For some time before that bridge was erected, there was a ferry over the creek from a slip near the present termination of French street, landing on the other side, at the upper end of Edward Tatnall's lower mill. The old road from that ferry is still open, coming out into the Philadelphia road near the present residence of William Lea.

There was formerly an old mill, with a hip roof, one story high, standing on the ground occupied by a large mill, built by the late Thomas Lea, on the north-east side of the creek at the upper side of the old ferry landing. Such was the imperfection

of mill arrangements eighty or ninety years ago, that the meal and flour ground on the Wilmington side of the creek, were sent over to that mill in boats to be bolted. The old building was taken down within thirty or forty years.

An old saw mill formerly stood in Wilmington on the south-east side of the road leading over the Brandywine bridge, nearly opposite Hollingsworth & Harvey's machine shop. It was sometimes used for sawing mahogany. It was taken down about fifty years since.

The following "List of the Swedish families residing in New Sweden in 1693, with the number of individuals in each family," has been referred to in the preceding narrative, page 146. Some of the names are evidently Dutch, as Van der Weer, Starke, Meyer, &c. These were probably reckoned as Swedes, on account of their descent from them, on the female side, and from having adopted the language and customs of that people. The Swedish and Dutch names are so very similar that it is perhaps impossible to distinguish them with certainty. Many in the list may be Dutch with Swedish forms, owing to the mode of spelling them.

This list is very interesting and valuable. It leaves nothing to conjecture in relation to the amount of the Swedish population on the Delaware, at a period of fifty-five years after the arrival of the first colony under Minuit. That amount is 945, which of course includes all coming into the country both from emigration and by natural increase. The number appears very small when we consider how many ships arrived in the colonies during the first ten years of their existence, and the time that had elapsed before the list was made. But new countries to new comers are always sickly, and the locations chosen by the Swedes were the most unfavourable to health that could have been selected. They settled along the tide waters, on the banks of rivers and marshy creeks, often in the neighborhood of low swamps, and the means of preventing and curing diseases were probably little

understood among them at that day. Under all these unfavourable circumstances, there is little cause to wonder that their number was so small. A great many of the colonists under William Penn, with superior advantages in every respect, suffered severely from sickness during the early periods of their settlement in Philadelphia and its vicinity. Many of their family records which have come down to us, show a dreadful mortality among them, within the space of ten or fifteen years after their arrival.

This list is dated 1693. It was probably made out in the spring of that year, and sent to Sweden with the interesting letter written by Charles Springer, and signed by thirty of the principal men in the colony, giving an account of their situation, and soliciting the means of religious instruction. That letter was dated the 31st of May, 1693. See pp. 151 152 of this work.

H heads of Families.	P persons.	H heads of Families.	P persons.
*Peter Rambo, sen'r.,	2	Otto Ernst Cock,	5
Peter Rambo, jun'r.,	6	*Michel Nilsson,	11
Johan Rambo, -	6	Peter Jocom, -	9
Anders Rambo, -	9	Johan Bonde, -	1
Gunnar Rambo, -	6	Johan Scute, -	4
Capt. Lasse Cock, -	11	Matts Hollsten, -	4
Eric Cock, -	9	Johan Stille, -	8
Mans Cock, -	8	Anders Wihler, -	4
Johan Cock, -	7	Måns Gostafson, -	2
Gabriel Cock, -	7	Nils Laican, -	5
*Anders Bengtsson, -	9	*Eric Molica, -	8
*Andrew Bonde, -	11	Jonas Kyn, -	8
Sven Bonde, -	5	Matts Kyn, -	3
*Johan Svensson, -	9	Bengt Bengtsson, -	2
Gunnar Svensson, -	5	Christian Classon, -	7
Anders Nilsson, -	3	Nils Gastenberg, -	3
Brita Gostafson, -	6	Eric Gastenberg, -	7
Gostaf Gostafson, -	8	Lars Bure, -	8
*Jonas Nilsson, -	4	Lars Johansson, -	6
Nils Jonsson, -	6	Didrich Johansson, -	5
Måns Jonsson -	6	Peter Stillman, -	4
Anders Jonsson, -	4	Frederic Konigh, -	6
Jon Jonsson, -	2	Elias Toy, -	4
Hans Joransson, -	11	Jonas Stillman, -	4
*Måns Staake, -	1	Casper Fisk, -	10
Peter Stake, alias Petersson,	3	Staphan Ekhorn, -	5
*Marten Martensson, sen'r.,	3	Peter Dahlbo, -	9
*Marten Martensson, jun'r.,	10	Otto Dahlbo, -	7
Mats Martensson, -	4	Johan Mattsson, -	11

Heads of Families.	Persons.	Heads of Families.	Persons.
*Antonij Long, - - -	3	Johan Skrika, - - -	1
*Nils Mattsson, - - -	3	Matts Skrika, - - -	3
And. Perrson Longaker, - - -	7	*Olle Paulsson, - - -	9
Martan Knutsson, - - -	6	Johan Stillman, - - -	5
Nils Frende's, widow, - - -	7	Hindric Parchon, - - -	4
Anders Frende, - - -	4	*Simon Johansson, - - -	10
Reiner Peterson, - - -	2	Johan Grantum, - - -	3
Anders Hindricksson, - - -	4	Bengt Paulsson, - - -	5
Johan Von Culen, - - -	5	Lasse Kempe, - - -	6
Hindrich Faske, - - -	5	Gostaf Paulsson, - - -	6
Johan Hindricsson, - - -	5	Hans Gostafsson, - - -	7
Johan Arian, - - -	6	Johan Andersson, - - -	7
William Cabb, - - -	6	*Hindrich Jacobsson, - - -	4
Hans Kyns's widow, - - -	5	Jacob Van der Weer, - - -	7
Christins Stalcop, - - -	3	Cornelius Van der Weer, - - -	7
Lucas Stedham, - - -	7	William Van der Weer, - - -	1
Lyloff Stedham, - - -	9	Jacob Van der Weer, - - -	3
Adam Stedham, - - -	8	Hans Petersson, - - -	5
Asmund Stedham, - - -	5	Paul Petersson, - - -	3
Benjamin Stedham, - - -	7	Peter Petersson, - - -	3
Brita Petersson, - - -	8	Peter Mansson, - - -	3
Joran Anderson, - - -	5	Johan Mansson, - - -	5
*Broer Seneca, - - -	7	Hindrich Tossa, - - -	5
Jesper Wallraven, - - -	7	Johan Tossa, - - -	4
Jonas Wallraven, - - -	1	Thomas Jonsson, - - -	1
Conrad Constantine, - - -	6	*Jacob Clemsson, - - -	1
Olle Thomasson, - - -	9	*Olle Resse, - - -	5
Peter Palsson, - - -	5	Jacob Classon, - - -	6
Johan Ommerson, - - -	5	*Hindrich Anderson, - - -	5
*Mathias De Foss, - - -	6	Lucas Lucasson, - - -	1
Christiern Joransson, - - -	1	Hans Lucasson, - - -	1
*Carl Springer, - - -	5	*Olle Kuckow, - - -	6
*Israel Helm, - - -	5	Hindrich Slobey, - - -	2
*Anders Homman, - - -	9	Christopher Meyer, - - -	7
*Olle Diricksson, - - -	7	Hindrich Larsson, - - -	6
Anders Lock, - - -	1	Matte Ericsson, - - -	3
Mans Lock, - - -	1	Eric Ericsson, - - -	1
*Hans Petersson, - - -	7	Thomas Dennis, - - -	6
*Hindrich Collman, - - -	1	Anders Robertsson, - - -	3
*Jöns Gostafsson, - - -	3	Robert Longhorn, - - -	4
Johan Hoppman, - - -	7	*Andrew Didricsson, - - -	1
Frederick Hoppman, - - -	7	Peter Stalcop, - - -	6
Anders Hoppman, - - -	7	Jöran Bagman, - - -	3
Nicholas Hoppman, - - -	5	Eric Goransson, - - -	2
*Mans Hallton, - - -	9	Joran Joransson, - - -	1
Johan Anderson, - - -	9	Losentz Ostersson, - - -	2
Olle Pehrsson, - - -	6	*Johan Hindricsson, - - -	6
Lars Pehrsson, - - -	1	David Hindricsson, - - -	7
*Hans Olsson, - - -	5	Carl Peterson, - - -	5
William Talley, - - -	7	Isaac Savoy, - - -	7
Hindrick Jworsson, - - -	8	*Olle Fransson, - - -	7

Heads of Families.		Persons.	Heads of Families.		Persons.
Lars Petersson,	-	1	Nils Repott,	-	3
Matts Repott,	-	3	Hindrich Jacob,	-	1
Olle Stoby,	-	3	Matts Jacob,	-	1
Matts Stark,	-	3	*Anders Seneca,	-	5
Johan Stalcop,	-	6	Johan Hindersson, jun.	-	3
Israel Stark,	-	1	*Anders Weinom,	-	4
Matts Tossa,	-	1	Lars Larsson,	-	1
*Staphan Joransson,	-	5	Hindric Danielsson,	-	5
Lars Larsson,	-	7	Olle Thorsson,	-	4
Christiern Thomos's widow,	-	6	Jonas Skagges's widow,	-	6
Paul Sahlunge,	-	3	Lars Tossa,	-	1
Lars Halling,	-	1	Goran Ericsson,	-	1
*Paul Mink,	-	5	Jacob Hindricsson,	-	5
Johan Schrage,	-	6	Peter Lucasson,	-	1

NOTE.—Those persons to whose names an asterisk is prefixed were born in Sweden.

The list is copied from "Campanius's description of New Sweden," printed in 1702 at Stockholm. Many of the names have, since that day, undergone great changes in their orthography, and in some cases so great, as to destroy the resemblance. The following short list will give some idea of the transformation to which they have been subjected.

Bond has been changed to Boon.

Olle	"	William.
Bengtsson	"	Banksón.
Cock	"	Cox.
Konigh	"	King.
Kyn	"	Keen.
Gostafsson	"	Justison and Justis.
Hoppman	"	Hoffman.
Holsten	"	Holstein.
Halling	"	Hewlings.
Kalsberg	"	Colesberry.
Wihler	"	Wheeler.
Jocom	"	Yocum.
Van der Weer	"	Vandever.
Tossawa	"	Tossa and Tussey
Stille	"	Silly.

Dahlbo	“	“	Dolbow.
Seneca	“	“	Sinnex and Sinex.
Johansson	“	“	Johnson.
Thomasson	“	“	Thomson.
Paulson	“	“	Poulson.
Jonasson	“	“	Jones.
Meyer	“	“	Myers.
Von Culen	“	“	Culin.
Van Nemans	“	“	Vanneman.

In a preceding part of this work, some views have been given in relation to the healthfulness of Wilmington. From a long residence in the neighbourhood, the author has entertained the opinion that our city is an *unusually healthful* one. In order to ascertain from higher authority than his own, the facts in the case, he applied to the Wilmington Medical Society for their views on the subject, and they kindly furnished him with a certificate on the subject, signed by Dr. Henry F. Askew and Dr. L. P. Bush. It informs us that during a “period of twenty months, in the years 1835 and 1836, all the deaths occurring from disease, or other causes, amounted only to 228, and at that time the city contained a population of about 7000 persons.” “It cannot be said that there is now, or has been for many years, any disease which is endemic among us. The *typhoid fever*, which has prevailed extensively through the country, from six to ten or twelve miles to the west and north-west of us, has not been known in Wilmington or its immediate vicinity, except sporadically, for at least fifteen years.”

By the above statement, it appears that, *from all causes*, the yearly number of deaths in Wilmington, out of a population of 7000, was 136, or $2\frac{6}{10}$ persons per week. During the twenty months above mentioned, there was an accurate account kept, which, we regret to say, was afterwards discontinued. It is out of our power to give the whole of the above interesting certificate, as it came into our hands too late for insertion entire.

Since the last pages of this work were in type, we have received an interesting communication from Judge James Booth of New Castle, containing many particulars of an historical character, in relation to the Old Church at that place, and other ancient places of worship in the vicinity. We have also received a valuable communication from William T. Read, Counsellor at Law, inclosing copies of the monumental inscriptions found on some of the tomb-stones standing in the cemetery of the church at New Castle. It is with regret that we cannot avail ourselves of the very interesting information contained in these communications. Coming at the last and closing period of the work, neither time nor room was allowed to insert them. We shall, however, use the very small space left us, to make such extracts from them in a condensed form as circumstances will now admit.

The Old Church at New Castle is called IMMANUEL CHURCH, and was erected between the years 1702 and 1704.* A congregation has statedly assembled there since 1705, except perhaps during a part of the Revolutionary war. For one hundred and forty years they have had but *ten* clergymen, chosen as ministers or rectors. The first was George Ross, who was appointed in 1705, and remained until 1708. Robert Saint Clare, appointed 1710; succeeded by George Ross, who returned in 1714. He was succeeded by Clement Brooke, in 1755, who officiated two years. A clergyman named Cleaveland was appointed in 1757, but died before he entered on his parochial charge. In 1758, Eneas Ross, son of the aforesaid George Ross, was appointed their rector, and was succeeded by Charles Henry Wharton in 1784. He remained until 1788, when Robert Clay was appointed to take his place, which he retained until 1824. Stephen Wilson Prestman succeeded him, and remained their pastor until his death in 1843. George W. Freeman was his successor, and officiated one year, when he left them on his appointment as Missionary Bishop for the south-west. On that event, Thomas Billopp was appointed, and is their present rector.

* See page 144.

The church at Appoquinimink, near Middletown, called St. Ann's church, was erected in 1705, but has been rebuilt since that time. St. James's church, situated westwardly from Stanton, about two miles, was originally a frame building, built in 1716, which is now gone, and a brick one stands in its place. Christ church, Dover, was built in 1707, but is now in a dilapidated condition. St. Peter's church, at Lewes, was built in 1720.

In the burying ground of the church at New Castle is a pedestal of pure white marble, erected to the memory of George Read, one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence, from which the following inscription is copied:

"GEORGE READ, born 1732, died 21st December, 1798. Member of the Congress of the Revolution, of the Convention that formed the Constitution of the United States, and of the first Senate under it; Judge of Admiralty; President, and Chief Justice of Delaware, and a Signer of the Declaration of Independence."

ODE ON THE DEATH OF THOMPSON.

BY COLLINS.

In yonder grave a Druid lies,
Where slowly winds the stealing wave ;
The year's best fruits shall duteous rise
To deck its poet's sylvan grave.

In yon deep bed of whispering reeds
His airy harp* shall now be laid,
That he, whose heart in sorrow bleeds,
May love through life the soothing shade.

Then maids and youths shall linger here,
And while its sounds at distance swell,
Shall sadly seem in Pity's ear
To hear the woodland pilgrim's knell.

Remembrance oft shall haunt the shore
When Thames in summer wreaths is drest,
And oft suspend the dashing oar,
To bid his gentle spirit rest!

And oft, as health and ease retire
To breezy lawn, or forest deep,
The friend shall view yon whitening† spire,
And mid the varied landscape weep.

But thou who own'st that earthy bed,
Ah! what shall every dirge avail ;
Or tears, which love and pity shed,
That mourn beneath the gliding sail!

* The Eolian harp.

† Richmond Church.

Yet lives there one, whose heedless eye
Shall scorn thy pale shrine glimmering near?
With him, sweet bard, may fancy die,
And joy desert *the blooming year*.

But thou, lorn stream, whose sullen tide
No sedge-crowned sisters now attend,
Now waft me from the green hill's side,
Whose cold turf hides the buried friend!

And see, the fairy valleys fade,
Dun night has veiled the solemn view;
Yet once again, dear parted shade,
Meek nature's child, again adieu!

The genial meads, assigned to bless
Thy life, shall mourn thy early doom;
Their hinds and shepherd girls shall dress
With simple hands thy rural tomb.

Long, long, thy stone and pointed clay
Shall melt the musing Briton's eyes;
O! vales, and wild woods, shall he say,
In yonder grave a Druid lies!

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