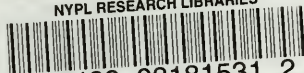


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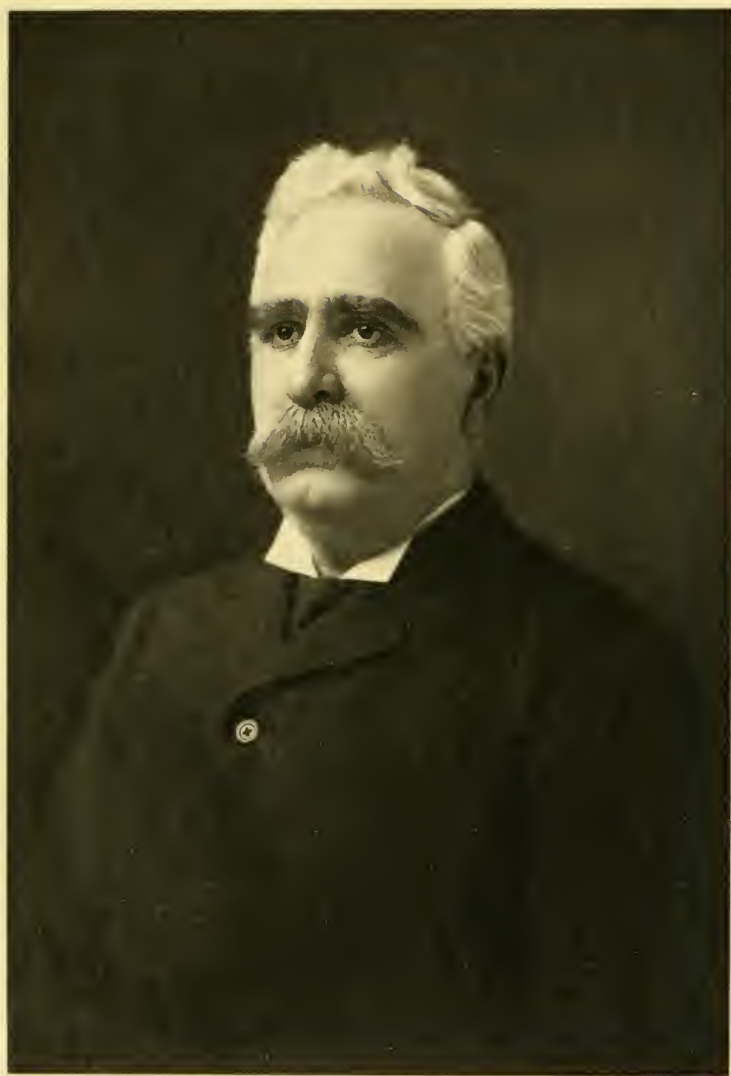
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Henry Bonnell

HISTORY  
OF THE  
STATE OF DELAWARE

BY  
HENRY C. CONRAD

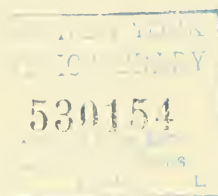
FROM THE EARLIEST SETTLEMENTS TO THE YEAR 1907

IN THREE VOLUMES

VOLUME I

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# HISTORY OF THE STATE OF DELAWARE.

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## NAME AND DIMENSIONS.

WITH an extreme length from north to south of ninety-six miles, and a breadth varying from thirty-five miles at the widest part to less than ten at the narrowest, the territory of the State of Delaware comprises a total of 2,120 square miles, or 1,356,800 acres, bordered by Pennsylvania on the north, by Maryland on the west and south, and the Atlantic Ocean and Delaware bay and river on the east. The State is divided into three counties—New Castle, Kent and Sussex—each extending from its eastern to its western boundary, and all with township subdivisions called “Hundreds.” Delaware derives its name from that of its bordering river and bay which, although previously discovered by Hudson while in the service of the Dutch, received the final name of Delaware in honor of Lord De La Warr (Sir Thomas West) who, it is claimed, discovered the bay in 1610 while on his voyage to Virginia, of which colony he was the first governor.

## THE ABORIGINAL TRIBES.

The native red men found in the State belonged to the general family known as the Lenni-Lenape or Delawares, who comprised in all about forty tribes and were so ancient and extended in range as to have been acknowledged by other tribes as the “original people,” and bore the familiar name of the “Grandfathers” of the red men. Of this great Indian family the tribe of Nanticokes, or “Tide-water people” occupied the lower part of Delaware and the eastern shore of Maryland, and were distinctively a fishing and trapping peo-



ple rather than great hunters or warriors. Among the hills of northern Delaware dwelt kindred tribes of the same great race who were proud to own as their chief the renowned and noble Tamanand, whose most permanent residence is believed to have been in the northerly vicinity of Wilmington. Although the first European settlement in lower Delaware was cut off by the savages in revenge for the white man's hasty violence, subsequent dealings with the red men were peaceable and prosperous. The Swedes who settled here seven years after the massacre of the De Vries colony, anticipated Penn's just and kind treatment of the Indians and lived ever in unbroken friendship with them. All the tribes disappeared from the State during the first half of the last century, the last remnant of the Nanticokes having left the neighborhood of Laurel, in Sussex County, in the spring of 1748.

#### THE GEOLOGY OF THE STATE.

The geology of the State comprises Archean, Cretaceous, Tertiary and Quaternary formations with their respective divisions, the oldest Archean rocks in a general way occupying all that portion of the State which lies north and west of the line of the Philadelphia, Baltimore and Washington Railroad, where they are overthrown and tilted in such exposed confusion as to afford an interesting field for the studious geologist. This area includes, with other rocks, hornblende and feldspar, as well as deposits of kaolin which have been utilized with good results, while throughout half of the Archean area rocks of great practical value abound, including the celebrated Brandywine granite, a beautiful dark blue stone of great density and firmness, of which vast quantities continue to be quarried for use and export at Bellevue, near the Delaware, and in the vicinity of Wilmington. Immediately south of the Archean region and extending across the State the Cretaceous formation affords inexhaustible masses of plastic clay suitable for terra-cotta manufactures. This belt also contains marl beds of the several kinds, which although

practically limited to St. George's Hundred, are found there in quality and quantity promising extensive future means for the durable fertilization of the soil. South of the Cretaceous area the whole State is underlaid by the Tertiary of both the Miocene and Pliocene age, of which the northern portion, and including all of Kent County, is underlaid by a drab or white clay deposit of highly plastic quality, which in places abounds in fossils, but which, in its purer forms is probably well suited to the potter's varied uses ; while further southward and underlying the whole of Sussex County is a later deposit of the Tertiary with an uppermost layer of blue clay and an under deposit of pure white glass sand of good quality which would be of much practical value were it less deeply overlaid with gravel and loam.

Iron-ore beds have long been known to exist in New Castle and Sussex Counties, official records in the former showing references to them as early as 1661. At Iron and Chestnut Hills, abrupt elevations along the northwestern boundary of the State, mining and smelting operations were begun early in the eighteenth century and at various times have since been extensively prosecuted. As early as 1725 a forge and furnace were built at Iron Hill, which after being operated at intervals, with changes of ownership, came at length, with adjacent property, into possession of the proprietors of the Principio Furnace beyond the State's border in Maryland, by whom they were operated for many years.

These ores are known as the "dome" variety, while bog ores of the "layer" kind abound in Sussex County near the sources of the stream flowing westwardly into the Chesapeake bay. From these large quantities of iron were produced and shipped to England prior to the war of the Revolution. Operations were arrested by the exigencies of that exhausting contest but were resumed near the beginning of the last century. In recent years nothing has been done with these ores with the decline of the visible supply, but with new discoveries there will probably be a resumption of operations as well as of the fair profit which formerly accrued to the State.

Overlying the several geological formations of Delaware and forming its soil is a broad surface deposit of sand, loamy gravel and clay which in New Castle County generally embraces two layers, an upper firm clay called Philadelphia brick clay, and an under one of red sand and gravel. The upper layer varies from the stiffness of pure brick clay to a friable loam of great fertility which generally characterizes the cultivated surface of New Castle County.

In Kent County the surface layer of brick clay becomes more sandy in character, assuming the general nature of a sandy loam widely celebrated as the rich peach land of that region. Continuing southward, the two Quaternary gravels merge into a single deposit of a mingled sand, gravel and loamy nature which marks the soil of Southern Kent and all of that of Sussex County.

#### THE TOPOGRAPHY OF THE STATE.

The topography of Delaware may be briefly said to embrace two quite unequal areas, divided by a line following the general course of White Clay and Christiana creeks. Northward of these winding streams long, bold hills and pasture valleys varied with wooded slopes and rocky knolls extend in picturesque succession to the northern circular boundary. Southward of this small hilly section, embracing two-thirds of New Castle County and all of Kent and Sussex, the country is uniformly level or gently undulating, nowhere elevated more than seventy feet, and attaining that altitude only on the sandy ridge of table-land passing north and south through the State. In this table-land, the water-shed of the peninsula between the two bays, most of the rivers and streams take their rise and flow eastwardly into the Delaware and westwardly into the Chesapeake. These streams are fed by swamps and tributary brooks, and, deepening in their course to the sea on either hand, become navigable for small craft in many places far enough inland to afford cheap and easy transportation of farm products. The land being free from

stones and other rugged obstacles, and the soil of a sandy nature, easily tilled, the cheap farms obtainable in the two lower counties offer rare inducements to cultivators of small means. Indeed with a warm, quick and kindly soil adapted to every product of the temperate zone and with a climate softened by the soft-water influences of the bays on either hand, which insure early springs, this whole region, with the eastern shore of Maryland, forms a central peninsula which for all the purposes of agriculture and especially for its finer products with reference to both their ready production and consumption, affords greater facilities perhaps than those of any other equal area on the Continent.

While yielding excellent crops of wheat, corn and other products of ordinary farming, the position of this region between the great markets of Philadelphia and Baltimore, as well as the conditions of its climate and soil, renders it peculiarly adapted to trucking and fruit growing on a large scale. Its early vegetables, its fresh strawberries and other luxuries and table delicacies find ready sale in all the surrounding cities. It has long been famous as the great peach region of the country, and it is equally noted for the quality and abundance of the oysters and fish and other products of the numerous tidal creeks and the estuaries, inlets and sheltered coves indenting its shores.

In the northerly portion of this peninsular region agriculture of a more general character is pursued, and many noble farms, notably in the latitude of Middletown and Delaware City, afford commendable examples of high-class farming. Southward of this vicinity the land steadily grows more level and sandy to the southern boundary of the State which runs through the noted Cypress Swamp, twelve miles long and six wide, and abounds in evergreen shrubbery and a tangled growth of trees, mostly cypress, affording a cover for game of all kinds.

The immediate bay coast is low and marshy, while further south the Atlantic coast is marked with sand beaches which

frequently enclose shallow bays or lagoons. The largest of these, Rehoboth and Indian river bays, have each a surface of twenty-five square miles with a depth of four or five feet in the latter, while the former admits vessels of six feet draft. The other topographical division is the small remainder of the State spanned by the area of its northern boundary and extending southward to the creeks Christiana and White Clay, before named as separating it from the greater alluvial region of the State below. This hilly section is free from swamps and alluvial levels, and much diversified in appearance and products. Rolling in surface and well watered by springs and streams its productive agriculture and substantial farm-buildings, as well as its landscapes and people, are similar to those of the adjoining Pennsylvania Counties of Delaware and Chester, so justly celebrated for thrifty and intelligent husbandry.

Hardly less famous is this region for its pastoral sylvan and romantic scenery. The wooded highlands skirting the Delaware river in the northeast afford openings of cultured fields alternating with luxuriant groves and grassy slopes so charming as to have long ago become the chosen abode of successful artists and other lovers of the beautiful. Further inland the country is moulded in longer undulations, and while in the absence of mountains the State has scarcely the element of grandeur in its scenery, its landscapes near the westerly end of its circular northern boundary are both nobly and quaintly picturesque.

Majestic elevations at places reaching a height of over 500 feet and crowned with stately woods, terminate graceful upward slopes checkered with groves, grain fields and orchards, wherein nestle farm-houses overlooking sunny brooks meandering through valleys dotted with brushy copse and pasturing cattle, altogether forming pictures of both near and distant beauty. This section embraces the somewhat noted Hockessin valley, and the charming features of the neighborhood have been vividly depicted in the graceful verse of Bayard Taylor,



whose residence was a few miles distant. This highland quarter is crossed and watered by a succession of swiftly flowing streams with rocky beds and wooded banks. Mill and Pike creeks, White and Red Clay creeks and other streams, besides the historic Brandywine—which with lesser runs and rills afford views of picturesque charm, while the larger streams in addition afford water-power for numerous manufacturing establishments on their banks. Further east, ward are other streams with rugged beds and romantic features, among which are Naamans and Quarryville creeks entering the Delaware in the Northeasterly corner of the State, and the rocky Shellpot with its rustic branches, entering the Brandywine at Wilmington.

#### THE TIDAL STREAMS OF THE STATE.

The largest stream in the State aside from the Delaware river is its tributary, the Christiana, which is navigable for vessels of eighteen feet to central Wilmington, three miles, and for smaller vessels three miles further to Newport, while still lesser craft ascend about four miles beyond to the head of tide at Christiana, from which place flour was once largely shipped by water, while Newport was an ancient and extensive shipping port for breadstuffs hauled from distant inland mills.

The Brandywine, from its entrance into the Christiana, is navigable for about two miles for sloops and schooners, by means of which extensive foreign and domestic shipments used to be made of breadstuffs manufactured at the large flouring mills at the head of tide, which were of world-wide reputation and of such vital importance that Washington ordered the removal of their stones to prevent grinding flour for the supply of the British army while occupying Philadelphia during the war of the Revolution.

Appoquinimink creek is navigable for about seven miles from the Delaware, steamboats ascending as far as Odessa, formerly Cantwell's Bridge, which was once the shipping centre of a large and productive farming country whose pro-

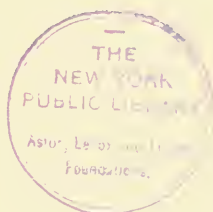
ducts have since found speedier transit by rail. Duck Creek, which divides New Castle and Kent Counties, is navigable to Smyrna, in all about eight miles, reaching the bay through Thoroughfare channel. Blackbird, Little Duck, Murderkill and Broadkiln Creeks are each navigable for small craft for various distances not exceeding ten miles. Mispillion Creek admits steamboats, schooners, and large sloops ten or twelve miles to Milford, while St. Jones Creek is navigable for steamboats and vessels of two hundred tonnage through its tortuous course of twelve miles to Dover the capital of the State. Other streams flowing into the bay, some of them more or less navigable, are Cedar, Drapers, Slaughters, Primehook, and Lewes Creeks.

Line, Middle, Herring, and Guinea Creeks flow into Rehoboth bay, Pepper, Vine and White into Indian river and bay, and many other small streams, as well as ponds, marshes and other water deposits take an easterly course more or less directly to Delaware Bay and the Atlantic, while water communication from Seaford and other points is found through the Nanticoke River and its tributaries westwardly into the Chesapeake Bay. The Pocomoke River rising in the State flows southward into Cypress Swamp, while further north the Wicomico in Sussex County, the Chester, Choptank and Marshy Hope in Kent, and Back Creek, the Bohemia and Sassafras Rivers in New Castle, all have their source in the sandy, swampy table-land along the western boundary of Delaware, most of which streams are navigable far enough inland to afford additional facilities for the transportation of Delaware products.

#### CANALS.

The waters of the Chesapeake and Delaware bays are connected by a capacious canal extending from Delaware City on the river Delaware to Chesapeake City on Back Creek, a navigable branch of Elk river flowing into Chesapeake bay, in Maryland. The canal is thirteen and a half miles long,







LORD DELAWARE.

sixty-six feet wide at the top and ten feet deep, allowing the passage of large coasting vessels and steamers from bay to bay. Through the highest dividing ridge which is four miles wide there is a cut of ninety feet, and the canal is provided with two tide and two left locks. The work was completed in 1828 at a total cost of \$2,250,000, and has been of great value in enlarging the practical outlet of both States to the markets of the large cities. Its gross annual receipts are about \$160,000. There is a prospect that the work will soon be so enlarged as to admit the passage of ocean ships of large dimensions.

An inland water-way has been begun to extend seventy-five miles from Lewes to Chincoteague Bay on the eastern shore of Maryland and Virginia, which by producing a current through connecting waters is expected, besides promoting navigation, to make available seventy-five square miles of oyster grounds, capable of adding to the present capacity of the oyster plant products estimated now to be worth \$20,000,000. As connected with the promotion of commercial navigation the State has a friendly interest in the Government Breakwater and accompanying works on the coast near Lewes, where vast quantities of stone from Delaware quarries and large sums of money continue to be employed in perfecting studied plans for the protection of life and property.

#### THE EARLY SETTLEMENTS.

It is claimed that so far back as 1524 Verrazano, the Florentine, touched land somewhere about the latitude of Wilmington, but this is a matter of antiquarian rather than historical interest. More to the purpose is it that Hudson in 1609 entered Delaware Bay, although the claim of discovery was afterwards made for Lord De la Warr. Hudson's reports of the New World led the Amsterdam merchants to hope for a rich trade, although the agricultural possibilities of the country were scarcely noticed.

This is not surprising. A trading post can be defended by a few armed men, while a sloop-of-war in the offing may warn

pirates to keep their distance. Settlers who press their way inward beyond the sight of the coast, beyond the signals of friendly ships, incur greater risks than the merchants on the shore. Retreat is practically impossible, the perils from the savages increase, and the dangers from wild beasts become more serious with every league.

At all events merchants and speculators in London and Amsterdam expected to draw great stores of wealth from across the ocean. Sailors knew there was a large river which the Indians called Poutaxat, Chichohockee, Mariskitten, Moherishkitten and Lenape Whittuck; Dutch writers spoke of the Nassau River, Prince Hendrick's River, Charles River, and the Zuydt or South River; New Swedeland Stream tells of another origin, and Arasapha, once famous, is as dead as any of Jefferson's pet names for Western States. Newport and Godyn's Bay are also known to antiquaries, but the English tongue is in the ascendant, the bay and river bear the name of Delaware, and that name will apparently remain.

The London and Plymouth Companies enjoyed the favor of King James the First, and received large grants of American territory. North Virginia extended from the forty-first to the forty-fifth degree of north latitude; South Virginia from the thirty-fourth to the thirty-eighth degree. The Plymouth Company was lord of North Virginia, the London Company of South Virginia, but the intervening district, from the thirty-eighth to the forty-first degree, was open to settlement by both companies, provided neither came within one hundred miles of the other. In other words, all of Delaware and Maryland, the main part of Pennsylvania, nearly all of New Jersey, Manhattan Island, Staten Island, and the greater part of Long Island, was common ground for the two English corporations. As maps were poor, boundaries uncertain and Indians still more uncertain, this opened all sorts of possibilities to commerce and combat. The royal grants were made before anybody in England knew that the Delaware River existed, and those who know anything about the wranglings of mod-

ern corporations will perceive that friction over landmarks was not a rare occurrence.

In 1621 the Dutch West India Company was chartered for a term of twenty-four years, the government of Holland making the corporation a handsome present, besides buying a large number of shares of stock. The company was given the sole right of trade, so far as the natives of the United Netherlands were concerned, with a large part of Africa, with the West Indies and the American continent, and with portions of the East Indies; it could make treaties and contracts with native princes, build forts, appoint military and judicial officers, plant colonies, and, in short, its powers were very extensive. Yet common sense led the home government to keep a great deal of power in its own hands, and the company was not permitted to declare war, while it was plainly given to understand that if it engaged in war it must pay a large share of its own expenses. Reports were required, and the new corporation began with a sense of its importance, coupled with a sense of responsibility. Trade was its chief object, yet it was recognized that without colonies great trading operations would be impossible. As there were five branches or chambers in different parts of Holland, it is evident that thrifty merchants expected a large business.

As is always the case, little craft sail before large ones. Hendrickson in the "*Onrest*" or "*Restless*" had in 1616 sailed up the Delaware and landed on Delaware soil. He bought three natives, giving in exchange bottles, beads and merchandise. Trading privileges had been granted to some Dutch navigators, but there is no evidence that they actually carried on commerce along the banks of the Delaware. The charter of 1621 points to a genuine not a fictitious commerce, and human nature being the same then as now, it is not surprising that the English immediately began to complain of Dutch encroachments, both commercial and territorial. From the Virginia Company the English protest sounded to their privy council, and from the privy council it was carried by

Sir Dudley Carleton to the State of Holland. All New York, New Jersey and Delaware, with part of Connecticut, were claimed by the Dutch under the general title of New Netherlands, but this claim was never acknowledged by the English. Both nations were suspicious, and suspicion often ran into hostility, even as it has since done in South Africa, while the rights of the native Indian were regarded as Boer and Briton have since regarded the rights of the Kafir.

In 1623 Captain Cornelis Jacobson Mey (after whom Cape May is named), took command of the good ship *New Netherlands*, and sailed for the country which he had seen in a former cruise. He planted a settlement on the Delaware, and named his outpost Fort Nassau. Accounts of this fort vary, but all agree that it was built near the mouth of Little Timber Creek, in New Jersey, and that it was not an enduring or successful outpost.

Modern times furnish abundant proofs that a statute may have other objects than those avowed in the preamble, and that corporations chartered for one purpose may achieve another. The Dutch West India Company began its existence at a time when Holland was at war with Spain, and privateering yielded larger dividends than faraway colonies. It seemed as if the new company was not much better than a Pirate Trust, Limited, and it even protested against peace on the ground that its privateering enterprises were too lucrative to be surrendered. Nevertheless John De Laet, Killiaen Van Rensselaer, Samuel Godyn, Samuel Blommaert and others held that colonization was better than war. In 1629 they obtained a charter granting land bounties and privileges of various kinds to all who might found settlements in the New Netherlands. From this charter the famous patroon system of New York took its rise. A man who should within four years plant a colony of not less than fifty adults was virtually a feudal baron. He might rule a tract of land sixty-four miles in length, or half that long, if on two sides of a navigable river, he had exclusive privileges of fishing, fowling, milling,





DAVID PETERSON DE VRIES,  
Commander of the First Colony that Settled in Delaware.





founding settlements and appointing officers. Verily the patroon was to be master of all he surveyed, unless a panther seized his throat or an Indian his scalp. The home government was remote, mail communication was often interrupted, and even if a patroon committed a hundred acts of petty tyranny there was not much peril of removal, though, on the other hand, if he carried his despotism too far and a tenant murdered him, the culprit might easily find a lodge in the vast wildness before the news crossed the ocean.

Under the new charter, Samuel Godyn obtained a tract of land including Cape May and the surrounding part of New Jersey, while Samuel Blommaert became lord of a thirty-two mile strip of southeastern Delaware. Shortly after the patroon system began to show itself along the banks of the Hudson, and no name is better known in the annals of American real estate transfers than Van Rensselaer.

Despite occasional land grabbing and many displays of arrogance the old patroons are held in respectful memory, not only because their traditions reached down to Cooper and Irving, but also because they were often broad-minded, open-handed men, with their patriarchal virtues as well as patriarchal faults. The patroon system was a great improvement on the privateer system, and yet such men as Godyn and Blommaert were associated with men who encouraged a reckless, frequently a lawless, warfare on the sea. Holland was no worse than France, than England or than New England. For many generations public opinion tolerated on the sea what it refused to tolerate on the land. In Elizabeth's time, and even later, sea captains boldly displayed wealth which could not have been gained by the legitimate profits of their cargoes.

Blommaert set about his Delaware colony as he would have set about planting a new village at home. He bought cattle, farming implements, and all that was necessary for his colonists, and also made preparations for catching whales, which he supposed were numerous in the Delaware Bay. He desired David Pietersen De Vries, a sailor of high standing, to com-

mand his expedition, but De Vries held out for a share of patroonship, with all its honors and profits. In December, 1630, the "Walvis" or "Whale" and a yacht loaded with supplies sailed for America, but although the expedition is still called "the De Vries expedition," the weight of authority indicates that Peter Heyes was in command, and that De Vries remained for sometime longer in Holland.

Four months later the vessels reached the Delaware, and touched land near the sight of Lewes. The stream was named Hoornkill in honor of De Vries, who lived in Hoorn. At a later date there sprang up a tradition that the Indian women had behaved disgracefully, and English documents give the name of the creek as Whorekill, or, in some cases, the Harlot's Creek, but there is no foundation for the legend, which sounds as if it were merely a piece of scurrilous forecastle jesting. The surrounding region was called "Zwaanendael," or "the valley of Swans," those birds then being numerous. A fort was built and called Fort Oplandt; a treaty was made with the Indians; some land in southern New Jersey was purchased; and in September Heyes sailed away, leaving Giles Ossett or Gillis Hossett in command. Hossett may claim the rank of the first governor of Delaware, but his official honors were not long worn.

Every man in the little colony was massacred, and while the reports are uncertain, the general belief is that the Caucasians provoked the red men. The accepted version of the affair tells us that the Dutch built a pillar which bore a piece of tin marked with the coat of arms of the United Provinces. One of the chiefs stole the tin, which he probably regarded as almost valueless to the white man; and Ossett, or one of his subordinates, became enraged. Alarmed at the white man's wrath, the Indian apologized and offered to make amends; but his entreaties only called forth more harsh nouns and vehement adjectives. It is not at all probable that the chief recognized the Dutch coat of arms, or that he meant to offend the government of a country over the sea; nevertheless the

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LANDING PLACE OF FIRST WHITE SETTLERS AT LEWES, 1631.

whites were angry, and the red men were frightened. They probably stood in superstitious fear of persons who understood the use of instruments unknown to them, they certainly wished to bribe the newcomers into good humor, and they did what we might expect—killed the offending chief and brought his scalp to the fort as a token of their friendliness. To their amazement, the white men grew still more angry, the gift was rejected with horror, and the Indians departed, angry in their turn that a peace offering had been spurned. Friends of the murdered chief now seized their weapons, attacked the whites as they labored in the fields, killed them all, captured the fort, butchered the sick man who lay there, and seeing a survivor of the white man's power in a large dog, pierced the poor brute with arrows, and left him as a memorial of Indian vengeance.

This is the Indian story, and no white man remained to question its truth. In 1632, De Vries visited the ruins, and his verdict was that the Indian account was probably true. He showed no resentment, gave the Indians some trifles, and made an attempt at refounding the massacred colony. A few months later, however, it seemed that a little band of white men could not hold their own against so many Indians, and all returned to Holland. Once more the land was ruled by the savage.

It is strange to read that a settlement of thirty men, all of whom perished at the hands of savages, preserved a territory and made possible the identity of a State. Charles the First's patent to Lord Baltimore granted title to lands uncultivated and inhabited by savages; but could not apply to lands which civilized men had cultivated. Lord Baltimore's claim to Delaware was rejected simply on the ground that settlers from a civilized and Christian nation had for a time possessed a title by occupancy. It was not their voluntary abandonment of the land, but their bloody fate which re-established Indian supremacy.

At all events the tragedy was complete. Every white man



perished, and in grim truth no dog could bark at the vengeful Indian. The Delaware Bay seemed to be the property of the native, and these horrors, bad enough in their literal truth, and certain to be exaggerated in Amsterdam, would keep back further immigration. Five years passed before there was another effort to plant civilization on the shores that had witnessed the massacre.

It is scarcely possible to open a twentieth century newspaper without reading of a dispute among stockholders of a corporation; and their quarrels are often fought out at an election, or carried to the courts. There was factional strife in the Dutch West India Company, and 1624, the year that saw Peter Minuit appointed Director of the New Netherlands, saw William Usselinx turn from Holland to Sweden. Usselinx, although the founder of the Dutch West India Company, was out of harmony with its management and pleaded with Gustavus Adolphus, of Sweden, for a new company to trade with Asia, Africa and America, to spread the Doctrines of the Reformation and to enrich the royal coffers. In 1626, the Swedish West India Company was chartered, but it was to be considered as commencing May 1, 1627, and was to continue for twelve years, to be extended at the royal pleasure. Some of the features of the charter remind one of modern building associations. Foreign capitalists were welcomed by the provision that all funds invested were to be free from confiscation even in the event of war between Sweden and the nation to which the investors belonged. Something like our royalties appears in the provision that William Usselinx, of Brabant (Antwerp), was to receive one florin per thousand on all merchandise imported or exported.

Patriotism, religion and commerce united in support of the new company, and many subscriptions were made. It does not appear, however, that many Swedes were prepared to risk the chances of life in the New Netherlands. Gustavus Adolphus fell at Lutzen in 1632, and the death of the king, joined with the uncertainties of the war, retarded settlement. It



was, however, the settled purpose of Swedish statesmen and merchants to plant colonies in the New World, and the object dear to the heart of Gustavus Adolphus was not forgotten by his daughter Christina. Zwaanendael, a mere ruin, was sold by the patroons to the Dutch West India Company.

For some reason several prominent Dutchmen were displeased with the local administration, and desirous of Swedish favor. Peter Minuit had a quarrel with the Dutch West India Company, and in 1637 he took charge of a Swedish expedition bound for the Delaware. One of his vessels, the *Key of Kalmar*, was named after a Swedish town; the other, the *Griffin*, took its name from an old fable. Several of the emigrants were convicts, for Sweden, like other European powers, was fond of throwing its moral refuse on new soil. In April, 1638, they reached the Delaware, and re-named Minquas Creek Christina in honor of their young queen. Fort Christina, and Christinaham, or Christina Harbor, also bore the royal name which later generations have corrupted into Christiana. This was the beginning of Wilmington, and like most of our early settlements, some friction attended its birth. Mattahorn, the Indian proprietor in whom title appeared to be vested, received sundry trinkets for his land, but declared that Minuit never gave him some promised tobacco.

Swedish immigration was disapproved by the Dutch administration, and William Kieft, Director General of New Netherlands, solemnly warned Minuit not to continue his work. Minuit ignored the protest. Fort Christina was built without interruption, and the Swedes subsequently bought from the Indians all the land from Cape Henlopen to the Falls of Trenton. Blood has flowed for less serious causes of quarrel than those which arose between the Swedes and the Dutch, but the Dutch were calm because they deemed war imprudent. The Dutch Company dared not go to war without the consent of the home government, and if war broke out the States General were only bound to furnish half the cost of equipping a defensive squadron, while the expense of maintaining an arma-

ment was to be wholly borne by the company. Sweden and Holland were intensely Protestant, and their common hostility to Spain was stronger than their dislike of each other's Western aggressions.

Monopolies in trade are always unpopular, and few monopolies are strong enough to prevent all illicit commerce. Under the strictest game laws there will be poaching, and the largest navies in the world have not altogether suppressed illegal fishing. It is in perfect analogy with the life of our own time that the Dutch West India Company should have complained that lawless persons residing in the New Netherlands stole handsome furs, and even exchanged their worst skins for the best skins of the company. While no careful writer would pronounce the term "a skin game" classical, that term is proverbial, and, as Lincoln said of "sugar-coated," people will always know what it means. The early history of this country is full of disputes over skins. Taxes were often paid in skins, and it not unfrequently happened that the peltries brought to the tax office were inferior to those sold to wary merchants. Many a county treasurer denounced the unpatriotic pioneers who made the worse article appear like the better, and who defrauded the revenue by ingenious combinations of the tails of high-priced animals and the hides of those of lesser value. Classic fables tell how the ass donned the garb of the lion, and how the jackdaw posed as a peacock; while sacred history mentions that Jacob's smooth wrists were neatly covered by his deft-handed mother. Early colonial politics fought over the complications of the fur trade as men of later days have contended over poll-tax receipts, legal residence and the many intricacies of the ward caucus. There can be no doubt that the Swedes were active in the fur business, and it is asserted that in their first year they managed to export thirty thousand skins. Regulations might denounce confiscation of vessel and cargo against him who dared sail on the South River without license, and might even menace with death the man who sold guns and ammunition to the Indians,

but it was easier to lay down strict rules than to enforce them. If a Swedish trader offered better terms than an agent of the Dutch West India Company he made his bargain, and it is possible that servants of the company sometimes winked at transactions by which they themselves profited.

Among the puzzles of history one of the greatest is the perpetual variance between law and fact, statutes and their observance. All the enactments of a code may stand theoretically on the same basis, but some laws commend themselves to the majority, others can be enforced by police or military regulation, others are frequently evaded and others are openly scouted, especially by men in office. Old diaries, memoirs, good historical novels and standard dramas owe much of their value to the fact that they reveal social conditions, and help us, in some degree, to distinguish between the laws which practically everybody obeyed, the laws which many violated, and the laws of which perhaps the very existence was unknown, except to the educated few.

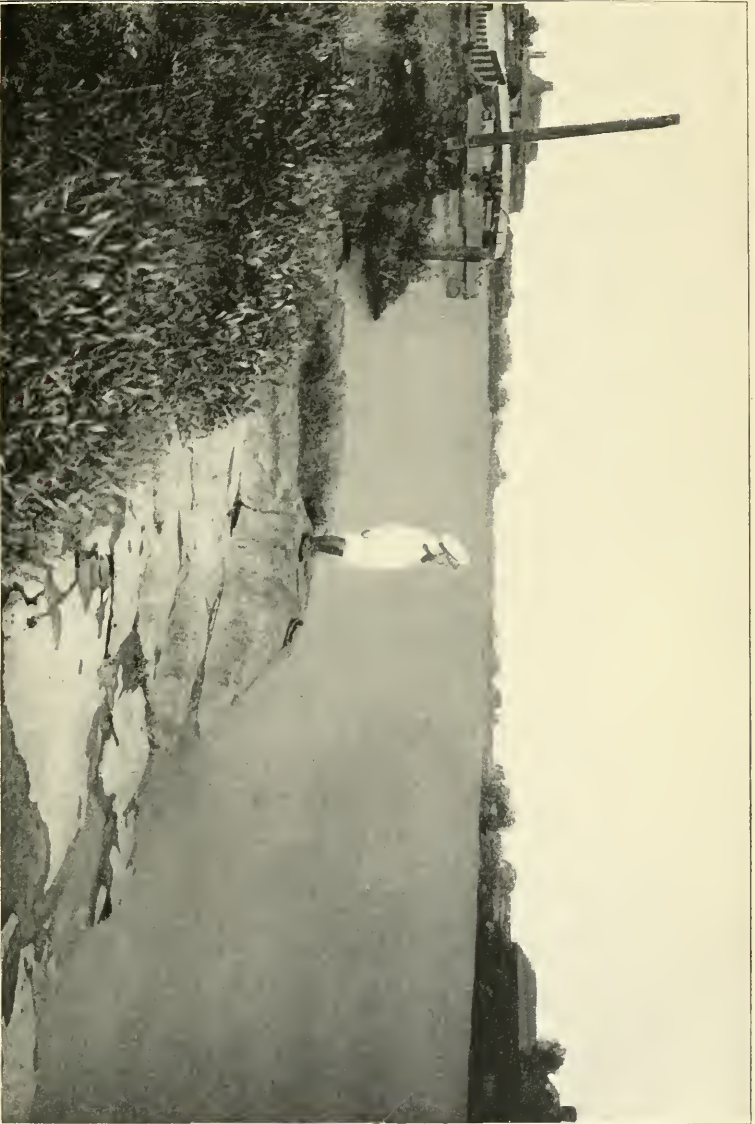
There must have been dozens of tragedies and comedies of which no historian can ever reproduce one act. Now the Dutch would scare away a timid trader, now an Indian would prefer Swedish bribes to Dutch approval, and the fur hunters went on, gaining or losing as conditions varied. Meanwhile the capitalists in Holland blamed the Dutch authorities over the sea for extravagance in building, and the Dutch colonial officials lamented that it cost a great deal of money to keep the Swedes from stealing away their fur trade.

"Who shall watch the watchers?" is a question older by far than the Roman satirist. It is probable that without connivance on the part of some of the Dutch functionaries, the Swedes would have been less successful in their dealings. The history of custom houses, excise legislation and game protection is marked by innumerable alliances between those who profited by violating the law and those who profited by conveniently overlooking the violation. If we had the facts the record of the old fur trade on the Delaware might be as stirring as the tales of the wreckers on the coast of Cornwall.

But no trade, however flourishing, can alter the fact that colonists must endure many inconveniences, and the settlers at Fort Christina had their trials and hardships. Some accounts declare that they were on the point of abandoning their settlement, and certainly a few good farmers would have been welcome additions to their number. Minuit left them and perished at sea, and they were in depressed spirits when in the spring of 1640 the Fredenburg, Captain Jacob Powelson, arrived, and it is said brought over the new governor, Peter Hollendare. Governor Hollendare brought with him new settlers, cattle and useful supplies of many kinds. With him came Reorus Torkillus, the first Christian pastor Delaware ever knew. The new governor urged on the colonists the importance of farming, as well as trading, and recommended them to live in peace with their Dutch neighbors. In his short term, ending in 1643, it is probable that he bought large portions of land reaching as far as Trenton.

Some political or personal grievances must, as has been said, have caused a number of Dutchmen to court the friendship of Sweden. The Fredenburg was a Dutch vessel, with a Dutch crew and Dutch passengers. Usselinckx years before had sought the help of the Swedish Crown. Blommaert hoped for the success of the Swedish Company. Spiring's actions hint that he possibly had some grievance against the Dutch West India Company. The arrival of a shipload of men from Holland, every man anxious to put himself under Swedish directions is noteworthy, and soon after, the name of Cornelis Van Vliet, another Dutchman, appears among the agents of Swedish colonization.

New Netherlands embraced New York, New Jersey, Delaware and part of Connecticut, while New Sweden referred to Delaware alone, although the Delaware of those days was vague in its boundaries. A Dutch colony in New Sweden was to be planted, and the charter, though first given to others, passed into the hands of Heinrich Houghamer or Henry Hockhammer. By this charter Hockhammer and his partners were



FIRST LANDING PLACE OF THE SWEDES. WILMINGTON.







to take up lands along the South River, at least five German miles below Fort Christina, under the protection of the Crown of Sweden. The colonists might look forward to Western Nobility, and with their descendants were to exercise a sort of patroonship, and for ten years were to pay a tax scarcely more than nominal, while the commercial, manufacturing, mining and other privileges were tempting. On the other hand, the colonists were to fit out their own expedition, to establish schools and to sustain missions among the Indians. Their commerce was restricted to vessels built in Sweden, and unless in cases of necessity, no colonial merchandise was to be sent to other than Swedish posts. Orthodox Lutheranism marks the charter's preference for the Augsburg Confession, although "the so-called reformed religion" is tolerated.

To-day American statesmen are called on to restrict foreign immigration; in those days it was difficult to get the necessary labor to cut down the trees and turn the unploughed soil. Europe had its wars, its feudal tyrannies, its religious persecutions, but yet the average European preferred to bear the ills he had rather than to fly to the unknown perils of the New World. The dread of wild beasts and of merciless savages was not unreasonable, and long voyages exposed the traveler to the risk of death or slavery among pirates as well as to the hazards of tempest, fog, darkness and reefs. Sanitary conditions were so bad that many emigrants died at sea.

The reluctance of the average European to enter on a new life in a new land explains and partly excuses the old fashion of sending convicts to America. Swedish policy, milder than that of England, favored transporting disobedient soldiers with their families to New Sweden to be brought back in two years. Efforts were also made to enlist a better class of recruits, and a number were gained, Finns as well as Swedes became colonists. Blommaert and other Dutch investors grew jealous of the Swedish Crown, but still retained their interests in the West India Company. By degrees the Swedes grew more confident, and in 1641 the Crown offered to buy out the hold-

ings of any Dutchman who wished to part with his stock. The Dutchmen who were willing to live in a Swedish colony and obey Swedish laws seem to have been well treated, and the peaceful relations of the Swedes with the Indians show that the white man treated his red brother with courtesy and fairness.

Little is known of the Dutch colony in New Sweden, or of Jost de Bogardt, its governor, but the settlers must have broken ground somewhere near St. Georges Hundred in New Castle County.

From the scanty traditions that still remain Minuit seems to have been a governor of energy and public spirit. Hollendare, though less vigorous, was respected by the colonists. But John Printz, the blustering and hard-headed, is still a vivid personality, and his name might be almost as famous as that of Stuyvesant had not Stuyvesant won the homage of Washington Irving. De Vries, who did not like Printz, speaks of his excellency as a man weighing four hundred pounds and taking three drinks at every meal. The four hundred pounds might shrink, but the numberless quarrels of Governor Printz with his Dutch and English neighbors, and the unparliamentary expressions in which he now and then indulged, warrant the suspicion that he might have allowed an enemy to enter his mouth and steal away his brains.

Printz had a large share of vanity, a desire to make others bow before him, and a total lack of perception of the ridiculous. The twentieth century mayor or governor who oversteps the bounds of modesty incurs the severe discipline of the cartoon. Printz had not the fear of the cartoon before his eyes, and he played the bully to his own satisfaction and to the annoyance of the wiser heads among his countrymen. It will be necessary to review his administration with some fullness.

Queen Christina was anxious to make the new settlement distinctly Swedish, and Swedish immigrants were in special demand. Elfsborg and Värmland, married soldiers who had

committed various military offences, were ordered to be transported to New Sweden, their wives and children to accompany them. The government promised that they should return in a year or two; but even this provision did not fire the Swedish army with any enthusiasm. It was only too plain that free citizens, respectable mechanics, experienced farmers, and trained servants did not want to go to the new colony.

However, by untiring labor some emigrants were gathered and the "Key of Kalmar," or "Kalmar Nyckel," to give her her Swedish name, sailed away, for her second voyage to America. Spiring and Blommaert had raised a Dutch crew, and Cornelis Van Vliet, a Dutch captain, was in command. The most distinguished passenger was Peter Hollendare, the second governor of the colony, and his name also indicates a Dutch origin. After thrice returning to Holland for repairs, Captain Van Vliet was discharged for dishonesty and negligence. Pouwell Jansen succeeded him, and on February 7, 1640, the Key of Kalmar left the Texal, reaching Christina on April 17. It is probable that the Rev. Reorus Torkillus, the first pastor in Delaware's annals, was one of the passengers on this expedition; but it cannot be claimed that the influence of Torkillus was in any sense analogous to that of the great divines of Puritan New England, or to the Jesuit missionaries of Canada. While he is known to the student of early Delaware, he did not stamp his personality on history as Joliet or Marquette, as Captain Roger Williams or Cotton Mather did.

On a surface view there is an inconsistency between the Swedish laments over the wretchedness of their settlement, and the Dutch complaint that they were fast monopolizing the fur trade. It is easy, however, to reconcile the statements. Nearly every prosperous merchant of to-day feels it his bounden duty to assert that his business, once thriving, has been wrecked by competition; and the agents of the Dutch West India Company, no doubt saw ruin to Holland in every skin bought by their Swedish neighbors. The Swedes may have been and apparently were good traders and poor farmers.

It was easier for them to make bargains than to raise crops. Wealth and hardship may have gone hand in hand on the banks of the Delaware, as they have since done among the gold-seekers of California and the Klondike. There is no doubt that the Dutch were jealous, for as Governor Hollendare sailed by Fort Nassau he was fired upon, this act leading to a remonstrance on his part. Royal instructions directing the colonists to cultivate peaceful relations with their Dutch neighbors were obeyed, and the two settlements went on their way, suspicious and occasionally indulging in a growl, but with a recognition of the fact that the Crown of Sweden and the States of Holland wished to avoid war.

Wyndert Wyndertsen Van Horst, scarcely known to history, is saved from oblivion because he begged her Swedish Majesty for a charter empowering him to plant a Dutch colony in New Sweden. Then as now charters passed from hand to hand, and the document granted to Van Horst was transferred by him to Hendrick Hockhammer and other Dutchmen. Under royal sanction these colonists were to take up land on both sides of the Delaware, four or five German miles below Christina, to be exempt from taxation for ten years, to trade only in Swedish vessels and with Swedish ports. Jost van Bogardt was chosen as agent in charge of the new colony and Captain Jacob Powelsen of the Fredenburg was to transport the Dutchmen to their new home. While the time of sailing is uncertain, the Fredenburg reached the Delaware on November 2, 1640 and a settlement was made not far from Christina. The Dutch colony, like "the lost State of Franklin," has disappeared from history, and barring one reference to it in the Instructions to Governor Printz, nothing is known of it. We may not unreasonably conclude that the newcomers mingled with the earlier colonists and that all trace of their separate existence was soon lost.

New Sweden's fields and furs attracted settlers from New England. Captain Nathaniel Turner and George Lamberton, both of New Haven, seem to have bought land from the

Indians under doubtful titles. From the best evidence that can now be collected, it seems that the lands in question had been bought by the Swedes and formally conveyed to them. At all events a small number of English people settled in New Jersey, and their arrival was construed to mean a possible invasion of Delaware by Englishmen. No one can be certain about the surveys made two hundred years ago, especially if the surveyor was not at all afraid of his employers in Sweden or Holland, and very much afraid that if he did not hurry through his work he might tread on a rattlesnake or be scalped by an Indian.

But the Swedish Government was not seriously concerned about the few Englishmen who came to New Jersey. It was more agitated over the decided reluctance of Swedes to emigrate to Delaware. Yet the government was hopeful, and early in 1641 Spiring was authorized to pay eighteen thousand guilders if necessary to buy out all the Dutch stockholders. Either in the summer or fall of 1641 the third colony landed. The English showed a disposition to advance further along the Delaware, and the Swedes and Dutch made common cause against them. Sickness weakened the English settlers, and the Dutch made it difficult and perilous for Englishmen to trade on the river.

All these events took place before the great civil war which sent an English king to the scaffold and made Cromwell a dictator. In 1642, the capitalists of Sweden organized a new company generally called the South Company, although its official title was the West India American and New Sweden Company. Of the capital, thirty-six thousand riksdaler in the aggregate, half was contributed by the South and Ship Company, one-sixth by the Crown, and the remainder by individuals, the best known being Chancellor Oxenstiern, Spiring, Fleming and others. The new company was to enjoy the monopoly of the tobacco trade in Sweden, Finland and Ingermanland.

In August, 1642, the crown selected for governor of New



Sweden John Printz, who had been dismissed from the army, restored to favor, and even raised to the ranks of the nobility. His military delinquencies, whatever they were, had probably been forgiven, because of his zeal in recruiting emigrants among the Finns. Now as governor he was to exercise many functions, to guard the fur trade, to raise tobacco, to breed cattle, to hunt for valuable timber, to plant vineyards, to establish the silk industry, to develop salt works and fisheries. It was enjoined upon him to open schools, to maintain the established church of Sweden, and to labor for the conversion of the Indians. With regard to the Dutch colonists, he was charged to see that they kept within the bounds of their charter; he was to seek peace with the Dutch authorities at Manhattan and Fort Nassau, though not to submit to oppression. The English settlement was a subject left to his discretion, and he might bring them under Swedish control or drive them away as he deemed expedient. In the government of his province he was to be aided by a lieutenant, sergeant, corporal, gunner, trumpeter, drummer, twenty-four private soldiers, a chaplain, clerk, barber-surgeon, provost and executioner. Agencies were to be established in Gottenburg and Amsterdam, the latter being a clear proof that Sweden wished to keep on friendly terms with Holland.

On the first of November, 1642, the *Fama* and *Svanen*, or "Fame" and "Swan," left Gottenburg. Governor Printz and family and Lieutenant Mans Kling, who had already visited the Delaware, were among the passengers, while something must be said of the Rev. Johan Campanius Holm. Holm is better known simply as Campanius. He is not likely to be forgotten, and yet he lives not so much because of his own merits as because he was the grandfather of Campanius, the historian. Odd bits of information gathered by the missionary were used by his descendant, but the junior was credulous and careless. While his book is continually quoted, it is often laughed at for inaccuracy, and yet it contains much that is not to be found elsewhere. Peace to the memory of



Campanius. If every writer who has treated of the fauna, flora and topography of this country were to be scrutinized as harshly as he has been, many would suffer. Campanius had merits, or he would not have drawn the fire of several generations of critics.

In those days most vessels leaving Sweden for America ran down by Portugal and Barbary, passed the Canaries, touched at Antigua, and thence proceeded to the Western Continent. With the Governor came over a new installment of forest-burning Finns, and the voyage was lengthened by snow-storms. Chaplain Campanius, besides the journal from which his oft-abused grandson drew so much material, worked at translating Luther's Catechism into the language of the Indians.

According to Washington Irving, Governor Wouter van Twiller was five feet six inches high, and six feet five inches in circumference. His Excellency, according to the same authority, took four meals a day, allowing one hour to each, searched and doubted for eight hours, and slept for twelve hours. De Vries disrespectfully says of Governor Printz that he "weighed upwards of four hundred pounds, and drank three drinks at every meal." Outside of dime museums, people are rarely seen who weigh over four hundred pounds, but three drinks a meal, blended with natural irritability and official arrogance, may partly account for some of the fantastic tricks which marked the administration of Governor Printz.

On February 15, 1643, Governor Printz, his chaplain, his soldiers, his surgeon, his Finns, and all his retinue landed at Fort Christina, and he was not long in building himself a good house; while a log fortress, called New Gottenburg, expressed his loyalty to the good town whence he had sailed. Both these structures were on Tinicum Island, and by Mill Creek; a battery called New Elfsborg turned its frowning brass guns on every vessel that passed up or down the Delaware. A Dutch skipper was obliged to strike his flag and give an account of his cargo, and this affront rankled in the

soul of De Vries, who was on board, and whose uncomplimentary description of the Governor has been already quoted. Buildings rose, grain was sown, tobacco was planted, and boats gave the settlers an opening for trade up and down the stream.

It will be remembered that the royal injunctions which urged Governor Printz to seek the good will of the Dutch, allowed him to use his own discretion in dealing with the English, and he was not likely to err on the side of suavity. He visited some of the English at their houses, and forced them to swear allegiance to the Crown of Sweden. A warrant from the governor brought Lamberton, the stubborn English trader, before a Swedish court; and passionate as he might seem, Printz went about the trial in a most effective and lawyer-like fashion. Lamberton's claim that he had bought land from the Indians was answered by proof that said land had previously been sold to the Swedish Governors, Minuit and Hollendare.

Next followed satisfactory proof that Lamberton had carried on an illegal trade with the natives, and that he had repeatedly been ordered to cease from this unlawful commerce. The more serious charge of bribing the natives to murder the Swedes and Dutch was supported by less certain evidence, and the court postponed action. It was no light matter to hang a British subject, although such responsibility, five generations later, was readily assumed by General Jackson. Lamberton did not wish to lie under the charge of directing a massacre, and in September, his complaint was finally laid before the Commissioners of the United Colonies of New England. This body, without taking up the cudgels for Lamberton, expressed its sympathy for him, and advised him to discuss the matter with Governor Printz. A second trial made it appear that Printz had acted justly in the former proceedings, and friendly, or at least civil, letters passed between the Governor of Delaware and the Governor of Massachusetts. Official courtesies did not, however, alter stubborn facts, and the

Swedes and Dutch were united in cutting off all chance of trade between the Indians and the New Englanders. It is hinted, not at all obscurely, that Governor Printz gave his word not to molest the New England vessels, and that he kept his pledge in the letter while privately suggesting to the Dutch that it might be well to thwart the movement.

Sir Edmund Plowden also found that a patent from Charles the First would avail him little. Governor Printz treated Sir Edmund with the respect due to his rank, and surrendered to him some fugitives who had deserted Sir Edmund in an hour of peril. This was characteristic, for Printz believed that all servants should be kept in due subordination. But when it came to sailing up the river, Governor Printz would not permit Sir Edmund Plowden or any other Englishman to do that. Sir Edmund, though he bore the proud title of Earl Palatine of New Albion, could not force his way past the fortresses, and he sailed away. King Charles the First had no fleet or army to help the Earl Palatine; on the contrary, the unfortunate Stuart found that his rebellious subjects were aggressive, and the colonists had to settle their disputes without aid from him.

The year 1644 witnessed what rarely happened in the annals of Swedish Delaware—a hostile movement of the Indians, and several whites were murdered. Governor Printz called out a strong force, the natives craved pardon for the crime of those whom they really or diplomatically did not know, a treaty was made, and nominal peace was restored, though Printz was distrustful of the savages, and begged the home government for more troops. Anxiety over possible uprisings came on the heels of several years of hardship and a few bad outbreaks of disease, one of which had swept away six per cent. of the male residents.

A fifth expedition, landing in March, 1644, brought a few more settlers, and some inferior supplies, but did not materially strengthen the garrison. The most notable arrival was Johan Papegaja, who took command of Fort Christina,

and married Printz's daughter. At this time, judging from a report made by the governor, the whole white population of New Sweden consisted of ninety men, besides women and children; and of these men a number were culprits brought to the country against their will, and forced to labor in a state of servitude. The outlook was not promising, and matters grew worse when on a night in November, 1645, New Gottenburg was destroyed by fire. Printz arrested the incendiary, a gunner, and sent him to Sweden for trial; but the homeless immigrants were not so easily provided for, and great hardships were endured in the winter and early spring following.

While the Swedes and Dutch had cheerfully agreed in thwarting the English, they had never trusted each other, and their old dislike grew more decided. In June, 1646, a sloop reached Fort Nassau, and sought to run into the Schuylkill, but the Swedes ordered her to leave at once. Hot words followed, and the Dutch had reason to fear that Printz would seize the vessel and cargo. Printz threw off all pretence of friendship. He told the Indians to beware of their enemies from Manhattan, and the Indians checked a Dutch mining expedition. Affronts were offered to Dutch officials, and Printz formally ordered the Swedish colonists not to trade with their Dutch neighbors.

Governor Printz was a man of violent temper. Tradition says that he did not scorn with his own hands to put fetters on captives, and that he would order his servants to seize offenders and toss them about the room until, breathless and bruised, the unhappy victims were ready to yield to any terms his excellency might propose. Andries Hudde, the Dutch governor on the Delaware, charged that Printz sought to induce the Indians to attack the Dutch. He also states that he (Hudde), while dining with Printz, urged that the Dutch were older settlers on the Delaware than the Swedes, to which Printz answered "The devil was the oldest possessor of hell, but he sometimes admitted a younger one." Holland was not likely to overlook such insults, and Sweden, occupied by

a war with Denmark, ignored her colonists, until the boldest grew anxious.

With joy the Swedes received the Gyllene Hajen, or Golden Shark, which arrived on the first of October, 1646. It is doubtful if she brought any new settlers, but the cargo of cloth, iron-ware and other necessities relieved existing wants, and revived the drooping trade with the Indians. The Shark, like the Fama, discovered that the Delaware tobacco crop was not large enough to supply the home market, and the great bulk of the cargo was purchased elsewhere. Printz sent home a cheering report, to the effect that health conditions were better, that the forts had been strengthened, and that a number of the settlers were thriving. Nevertheless, he admitted that more immigrants were urgently needed, and confessed that several officers, himself included, wanted to return home. Papegaja sailed on the Shark's homebound voyage, but returned in the Swan, a vessel which brought a good supply of gun-powder. Immigrants were few, and the Crown sent word to the effect that Governor Printz must remain at his post until a successor was chosen. In May, the Swan set off for Europe, and Chaplain Holm was on board, while Papegaja sent a letter begging for an official post in Sweden.

Printz might bully a little trading sloop, or frighten a lonely Englishman, but he met his match in Petrus Stuyvesant, who, in May, 1647, succeeded Willem Kieft as Governor of New Netherlands. According to Stuyvesant, all land from Cape Henlopen to Cape Cod belonged to Holland, and Printz recognized that the sturdy Dutchman was not a foe to be despised. Irving's account of Stuyvesant, while near the truth so far as the worthy Governor's obstinacy and bad temper were concerned, does not do justice to the hard-headed ruler's good sense and executive capacity. Printz did all he could to thwart the Dutch in building and trading, and the signs pointed to war. In the spring of 1649, the Swedish government fitted out the "Kattan," or the "Cat," whose captain, Cornelius Lucifer, found it an easy task to secure passengers.



A number of mechanics volunteered their services to New Sweden, three hundred Finns were eager for Western homes, guns and military stores were abundant, and such resources might have preserved Swedish rule for several years. Yet the *Kattan* never reached the Delaware. She struck on a rock on an island near Porto Rico, her passengers were robbed by the Spaniards, and many tragedies followed before the little remnant got back to Sweden. Printz continued to write home glowing accounts of the colony, and incidentally to beg that he might be relieved from official cares.

With all due gravity and decorum, the Dutch West India Company began to discuss a plan for applying to Queen Christina for a settlement of the boundary line. Stuyvesant, less ceremonious, sent an armed vessel to Fort Christina. Printz sent a vessel which drove her away. Stuyvesant collected eleven vessels, sailed up and down the stream, landed near New Castle, and built Fort Casimir, cut down Swedish boundary posts, levied toll on foreign vessels, and drove Governor Printz into a frenzy. All these acts, Stuyvesant asserted, were justified by the States General, but in reality he went ahead on his own responsibility, and did what seemed to him best, trusting that his government would ratify his action. Like Jackson in Florida, he acted in haste and left others to explain at their leisure. The Dutch West India Company was alarmed at his boldness, and the Swedish government was disposed to call for redress. Once more the "*Svanen*" was chosen for an expedition across the ocean, but a year rolled on, nothing was done, the settlers grew discouraged, and though Printz still boasted of the colony, he admitted that water had spoiled the grain, and that a vessel built for the defence of the emigrants was only waiting for sails, rigging and guns. A brisk attack from an English or Dutch man-of-war might have shown that a vessel which lacks "only" sails, rigging and guns is not of much use in the day of battle. In another letter, the Governor, though he still made the best showing he could for his colony, admitted that the soldiers sought to escape with or



without leave, that no letters from home had been received for five years and a half, that the English trade was a memory, that the fur trade was unprofitable, that it was impossible to drive the Dutch from Fort Casimir, and that the Indians were doubtful friends. Still once more he wrote, he sent home his son, and in the fall of 1653, he appointed his son-in-law, Papegaja, Vice-Governor. Then, pledging to return or send over a vessel and cargo, he left for Holland, taking his wife and several other persons with him. By the following April he was in Sweden, glad to be free from the duties which had so long weighed upon him.

During the summer of 1653, the Vismar was ordered to be fitted out for the relief and protection of the colonists on the Delaware. For some reason the "Ornen" or "Eagle" was chosen instead, and the Gyllene Hajen was also stored with needed supplies. Sven Schute was to rule over the emigrants and Hans Amundson to have charge of the defences of the colony. Queen Christina wrote to Printz that he might come home (her Majesty did not know that he had already left the Delaware), but requesting him to wait until his successor had been chosen. She selected Johan Claeson Rising as his assistant. A good salary and a substantial land grant were to console Rising for leaving his native land, while his place as Secretary of the College of Commerce was to be held open in case he should return. He was to aid Governor Printz in the routine duties of his office, encourage immigration, peacefully remove the Dutch from Fort Casimir (gentle sovereign, not all the Queen's horses and all the Queen's men could peacefully thwart the fiery Stuyvesant), and guard against English encroachments.

Damages compelled the Gyllene Hajen to abandon her voyage, and February 2, 1654, the "Orner" sailed alone, many would-be passengers remaining at home because the ship could not find them lodgeroom. Elias Gyllengren, who had served under Governor Printz, was a passenger on this expedition, which also included Peter Lindstrom, the celebrated

engineer, and two Lutheran divines, Petrus Hjort and Matthias Nertunius. The voyage was full of hardship, many fell sick, the ship came near being captured by the Turks, and a hurricane played havoc with the rigging. On May 20 the emigrants gazed on a ruin which had been Fort Elfsborg, and on the 21st day they anchored off Fort Casimir, seized the place, hoisted the Swedish flag, and called it Trinity Fort, in honor of Trinity Sunday, the day of its capture. Rising soon reached Christina and compelled the Dutch who wished to remain on the Delaware to take the oath of allegiance to Sweden. He looked after the various settlements, made a treaty with the Indians, exchanged civilities with the New England colonies, and granted an audience to Lawrence Lloyd, the English commandant of Virginia. Lloyd pressed the old claim of Plowden, while Rising deferred action until word could be received from Sweden. Affairs quickly changed for the better, and Rising's sanguine letters were justified. He could not, however, find enough produce to give the Eagle a cargo, and he shipped a quantity of tobacco, purchased in Virginia, to be sold in Sweden on his private account. Papegaja returned in the "Örnen."

After learning that Printz had left New Sweden, the queen appointed Rising temporary governor, and Schute was placed in command of the defences. Amundson was removed from the Gyllene Hajen, Sven Höök taking his place. Bent on reviving the colony, the queen granted further privileges to the farmers and merchants. On April 15, 1654, the Gyllene Hajen, with emigrants and stores on board, left Gottenburg, but either by a blunder or the treachery of the mate, she ran into New York harbor. Most, if not all, of the crew, supposed that they were in the Delaware, a mistake of brief duration, for Stuyvesant would not allow them to depart unless Governor Rising should make amends for the seizure of Fort Casimir. Rising would neither beg pardon nor pay cash, and the wrathful Dutchman laid hands on the cargo and fitted out the ship for the service of the Dutch West India Company.

The chance to pay off the old score was too good even for men of gentler nature than Peter Stuyvesant.

Efforts had been made by the governments of England and Sweden to settle their American boundary lines, but pioneers are not, as a rule, students of law or scrupulous observers of the statutes they know to be on the books. The old New Haven project of a settlement on the Delaware was revived, Governor Rising opposed it, the Swedish colonists generally were unwilling to have Englishmen settle among them, and the New Havenites deemed it best to wait for a more convenient season.

Queen Christina left her throne and Chancellor Oxenstiern died, but the home government was still mindful of New Sweden, and King Charles X reproached the West India Company for its lack of zeal in the good cause. There were threats that the company might have to give place to a new company, and these hints stirred up new activity. Rising was commissioned as commandant, military and civil officers were chosen, and the tenth Swedish expedition was organized. Hendrich Huygen, Johan Papegaja, Chaplain Matthias, and others, eighty-five in all, shipped on board the *Mercurius*, leaving behind them a hundred more, who vainly begged for a breathing space. An official promise that another ship should follow was not kept, for Swedish Delaware was almost at an end. Stuyvesant's bold seizure of the ship was approved by the Dutch West India Company, a large ship was fitted out to assist in the movements against New Sweden, and the Dutch prepared for war. They hoped to turn the tables on their old enemies. If Printz had forced Dutchmen to swear allegiance to Sweden, they decided that Swedes might remain near Fort Christina as subjects of Holland.

On the last day of August, 1655, Stuyvesant's flotilla was in front of Fort Trinity. A small reinforcement for the relief of the fort was captured, a mutiny weakened the garrison, and the Swedes surrendered, Stuyvesant promising security of person and private property to the officers, and pledging

himself to restore the guns to the Swedish authorities. Moving on to Fort Christina, Stuyvesant rejected all talk of parley or delay, and began to throw earthworks and train his guns on the Swedes. He granted easy terms of surrender, and on the 15th of September, 1655, Fort Christina was his. The Crown of Sweden might have its property, the South Company might keep its belongings, the residents might retain their goods, stay in Delaware if they pleased, enjoy civil and religious freedom, or if they wished to return to Sweden, they might be sent back free of expense. Governor Rising and Secretary Elswich, according to a secret agreement, were to be landed in France or England. Stuyvesant has been often blamed for a hasty temper, a stubborn will, a narrow provincialism, and a tyrannical spirit, but few conquerors have laid a lighter yoke on the shoulders of the conquered.

"In politics," said Beaconsfield, "it is always the unexpected that happens," and the saying is equally true of war. After Rising had accepted the terms offered by Stuyvesant, the Dutch Governor proffered another and totally different olive branch. He now suggested that the Swedes should re-occupy their fort, and hold the lands up the Delaware, while the Dutch should possess all below Christina Creek, and that the two nations should form an alliance. Rising asked that this be put in writing, and the document was laid before the Swedes, who rejected the proposition. They feared that Stuyvesant was playing a deceitful part, and were even more afraid that the English and Indians, already hostile to the Dutch, should become enemies of themselves in case of a Dutch alliance. In their judgment, the claim of Sweden to all New Sweden might be jeopardized by such a treaty. Dr. Keen inclines to the belief that Peter the Headstrong was shrewd and business-like. Indians were sweeping down upon the New Netherlands, the Swedes might retake all their territory, and he may have thought it judicious to form an alliance with neighbors, whose aid might be of great service. Whatever the motive, the facts are interesting. It rarely happens that

a fortress surrenders on easy terms, and is then offered terms which might be termed generous, if not prodigal.

Many thefts were committed by the Dutch soldiers, and Rising estimated the direct loss at more than five thousand florins, while the indirect losses were much heavier. Rising, Elswich, Lindström, Nertunius and Hjort set off for Holland, suffering many inconveniences, one of which, the loss of Lindström's maps and papers, is also a loss to posterity.

At last, on March 14, 1656, the *Mercurius* reached the Delaware only to learn that another flag was hoisted, and that that of Sweden had been lowered. The passengers were forbidden to land except by permission from Stuyvesant; and the only alternatives seemed to be to set sail for Sweden, or, if supplies were needed, to betake themselves to New Amsterdam. Huygen begged the Dutch authorities to grant his men a brief run on shore, but the request was denied, and he prepared to sail for Manhattan. Papegaja and others would not permit this, they boarded the vessel and compelled her to land both passengers and freight. Knowing that the Dutch were anxious to avoid an Indian war, they induced some friendly Indians to accompany them on board the *Mercurius*. The Dutch were afraid to fire lest they should injure the natives, and the guns of Fort Casimir were silent. After more or less official delay, the *Mercurius* sold her cargo in New Amsterdam, and made her way back to Gottenburg in September.

Ten times had the Swedish Crown labored to colonize the New World, and yet storms, disease, hunger and the fortunes of war had baffled every attempt. A paper demanding the restoration of Swedish authority or the payment of indemnity was submitted to the States General of Holland, while Rising meditated the reconquest of the territory wrested from him by Stuyvesant, both to learn that Sweden found her wars with Denmark too bloody and costly for her to strive with Holland also. A number of Finns joined their friends on the Delaware, and, as they sailed in a Dutch ship, this increased the dislike of Sweden for Holland. Vain efforts were made to



secure French and English aid, although at a later day Holland suggested that Swedes and Dutch should make a joint effort to retake the land from its English captors. Further appeals and discussions merely consumed time and wasted paper; Holland could not if she would, and would not if she could, pay for territory which had passed into English hands; England might throw out a few civilities, but was not inclined to pay money on account of an old claim, and after 1669, Sweden appears to have quietly submitted to the logic of events.

New Sweden became an English territory, and yet the Lutheran congregations along the Delaware still kept up communication with their ecclesiastical superiors in the old country. Long after English was the language of courts and commerce, Swedish prayers were offered, and Swedish Bibles held an honored place in many an old farmhouse. Undoubtedly, the Revolution weakened the ties between the Lutherans of this country and those in Sweden, nevertheless, the last Swedish pastor of Gloria Dei Church, Philadelphia, was not gathered to his fathers until 1831, and not until his death was the old alliance broken. As a political and military force, New Sweden went down before Stuyvesant, but the memory of brave pioneers, industrious farmers, model housekeepers, kindly hospitality and quiet reverence does not die so easily. In the history of Delaware, Pennsylvania, New Jersey and of the West the record of the Swedes is a highly creditable one.

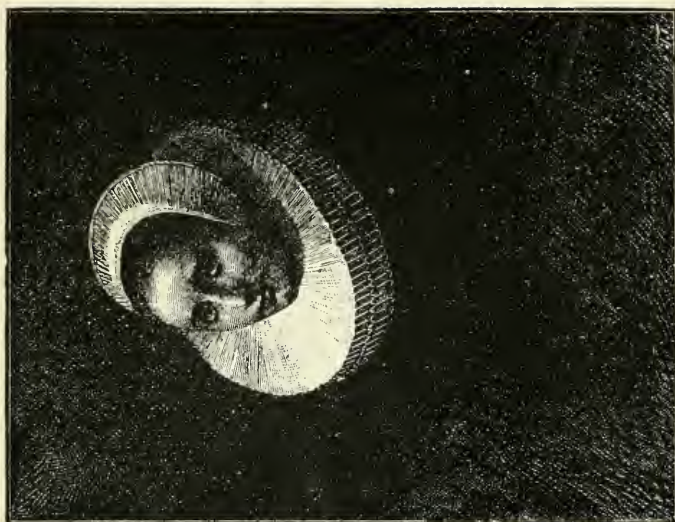
It may be said that the English conquest of Delaware, and indeed of all the New Netherlands was a foregone conclusion. Before Jamestown was settled, the English had driven back the Armada; in Cromwell's time their fleets conquered the Dutch, and a century later they were able to wrest Canada from its French masters. Virginia was a strong colony, the New England settlements were growing, and nothing but a miracle could have prevented the English from seizing the intervening space. The Dutch along the banks of the Delaware were in the position of men against whom fate has







PETER STUYVESANT,  
Governor of New Netherlands.



ANNEKE BAYARD STUYVESANT,  
Wife of Governor Peter Stuyvesant.

already decided. No philosopher need elaborate the causes of their decline and fall ; it is enough to briefly review the facts, all of which point in the same direction.

Stuyvesant, who had plenty of work to do in the Manhattan region, left as Governor of Delaware Derk Smidt, whose term was brief, but memorable for two events. The Indians tried to take Fort Casimir, and Abraham Lucenna, Salvador de Andrade and Jacob Cohen, the first Israelites named in the annals of Delaware, were permitted to trade on the South River. Before the close of the year, John Paul Jacquet, ancestor of the well-known Jacquettes of later days, assumed charge, with Andries Hudde as Secretary and Elmerhuysen Klein as Counsellor. Governor Jacquet and his two military advisers were ordered in all military cases to consult with two sergeants, in civil affairs with two citizens. Sunday observance was prescribed, the sale of liquor to Indians forbidden, guard was to be kept lest anyone plunder gardens and plantations. No officer or soldier was to be permitted to be absent from the fort at night, and no freemen, "especially no Swede," to stay there at night. Officers were to see that Indians and foreigners did not make a critical examination of the fortress, and trading vessels were compelled to anchor within easy reach of its guns. Lands were not to be granted without proper security that a community of at least sixteen persons should reside on the land. The old custom of land tithes was set aside, and rents were laid at twelve stivers per year for each morgen, a morgen covering about seven acres. No land between the creek and the fort or behind the fort was to be sold, all such ground being held in reserve for possible fortifications. In case any Swedes should be found disloyal, such persons were to be sent away "with all imaginable civility," and, if possible, to be conveyed to New Amsterdam. "With all imaginable civility" faintly suggests the direction of the Spanish inquisitors to the executioner, "Use all possible tenderness."

Jacquet's appointment was partially due to his knowledge

of affairs and commerce gathered during his residence in Brazil. He seems to have been anxious to deal fairly with the Indians, withholding liquor from them, but giving them various useful articles, and subscribing generously from his own purse. All the traders of New Amstel (New Castle of the present) joined the governor in his subscription save two, who it was said "preferred to depart the river and abandon the trade rather than assist with the other inhabitants to maintain the peace and tranquility of the community." Was a subscription in those good old colonial times like the "voluntary contribution" of a public servant? It would be worth while knowing whether the two unresponding were obliged to leave the river. Plans for removing the Swedes and settling them in villages were discussed, but the Swedes pleaded the promise of Stuyvesant that they should be allowed to occupy their holdings for one year and six weeks.

In March, 1656, Stuyvesant received a letter from his official superiors, and their comments are too diplomatic to be omitted. "We do not hesitate to approve of your expedition to the South River, and its happy termination. While it agrees in substance with our order, however, we should not have been displeased that such a formal capitulation of the surrender of the forts had not taken place, but that the whole business had been transacted in a similar manner, as the Swedes set us an example of when they had made themselves masters of Fort Casimir; our reason is that all which is written and copied is too long preserved, and may sometimes, when it is neither desired or expected, be brought forward, whereas words not recorded are by length of time forgotten, or may be explained, construed or exercised as circumstances may require. But as all this is passed by, our only object in making this observation, is to give a warning if similar opportunities might present themselves in future." Stuyvesant might be pardoned if he saw in this letter a hint to seize any outpost he might desire, write nothing, and say as little as possible. It might even be imagined that in some

cases important manuscripts might be thrown into the fire, and their owners quietly shipped off to the West Indies, or, if very troublesome, heaved overboard.

The tone of the letter indicates what the history of the time proves, that Stuyvesant's action had roused the anger of Sweden. Appleborm, the Swedish resident at the Hague, complained to the States General, argued in favor of the Swedish title to "the South River of Florida" (colonial geography is more or less confused), and desired that the territory be restored to the Swedes. Correspondence on the same topic arrived from Amsterdam, Rotterdam, and Hoorn, whereon the States General promised to examine into the affair, and render a decision within a short time. Like Tennyson's chancellor, they "dallied with the golden chain, and smiling, put the question by." Years passed, the Swedes remonstrated many times, but the government of Holland was even more lethargic than our own government in its dealings with the French spoliation claims. Evidently the States General were satisfied with what Stuyvesant had done, and merely regretted any formal documents or written proof of the transaction.

Ignorant of the Dutch invasion, the Swedes sent over the *Mercurius* with one hundred and thirty immigrants. On reaching the South River towards the end of March, the vessel was forbidden to land, and the Council sustained the action of Jacquet. No more Swedes were desired, although Papegaja and Schute begged that indulgence be shown to their countrymen. Some of the newcomers were, it was alleged, relatives of Swedish settlers, and Captain Huygen pleaded for them, but the door was shut so far as South River was concerned, although the newcomers were notified that they might settle at New Amsterdam, which they did not desire to do. Fearing that there might be trouble, the Dutch Council thought it best to send for a man-of-war to convey the *Mercurius* to Manhattan. Pending a solution of the problem, Papegaja with some Swedes and Indians went on board the *Mercurius*, sailed



by Fort Casimir, and landed cargo and passengers at Marcus Hook. They were for a time in easy range of the forts, but a volley from its guns would have injured or killed some of the Indians, and this calmed the ardor of men who remembered the gruesome tale of the settlement which had been massacred, even to the dog.

After the horse is stolen the door is carefully shut, and after the *Mercurius* had landed men, women and goods, she was overhauled by the *Balance*, and taken to New Amsterdam. The authorities concluded that it was Papegaja who was to blame for disobedience of orders, and that the captain was in no respect censurable. After paying the duties on her cargo, the *Mercurius* was permitted to sail homeward, and it is likely that Papegaja found it discreet to go on board of her. He is never again mentioned in Delaware history, although his wife, the daughter of Governor Printz, obtained from the Council permission to take possession of Printzdorp and Tinnakonk.

Financial pressure bore on the Dutch West India Company, and that corporation was unable to repay the city of Amsterdam for the expenses of Stuyvesant's campaign. Accordingly, all the land on the west side of the river from Christina Creek to Bombay Hook was ceded to Amsterdam, and called the "Colony of the City," while the ground from Fort Christina northwards bore the name of the "Colony of the Company." On the newly acquired lands the burgomasters of Amsterdam proposed to found the colony of Nieuwer Amstel, which, in time, became New Castle. The city of Amsterdam was to provide vessels, and transport colonists with their families to America, the freight to be advanced by the city and afterwards refunded. Defences were to be erected by the city, the land was to be divided into streets and lots, a market was to be opened, and a schoolmaster, who should read the Scriptures in public, and set the Psalms, was to be paid out of the public purse. Clothing, provisions and garden seeds were to be given to the settlers for the first year; a large storehouse was

to shelter their supplies from weather and screen them from Indians. All necessary articles were to be sold at Amsterdam prices. Local government was to be modeled on that of Amsterdam, with burgomasters, schepens and councilmen. A smith, a wheelwright and a carpenter, were to be sent over with the colonists. No poundage, ham or salt money was to be paid for ten years from the first sowing or pasturing, afterwards the settlers were to pay a tax no higher than the lowest paid in any other district of the West India Company. Persons who discovered minerals, crystals, precious stones, or marbles, were to keep these treasures duty-free for ten years, and then pay ten per cent. of their proceeds. It would be a matter of interest to compare these ancient agreements with the terms of the Homestead Act, and with the agreements between the Pacific railroads and the settlers beyond the Rocky Mountains. In November, 1656, it was decided to build a bridge at Fort Casimir, the first bridge in the annals of the colony. Official documents announced that there might be a large trade in tobacco, provided that rigid inspection prevented fraudulent practices. Meenes Andriessen and William Maunts were to take care that no uninspected tobacco be delivered, received or exported. Special orders were given that the names of the informers who detected breaches of the tobacco regulations were to be kept secret. The culprits were numerous, and sometimes so influential that an informer might have fared as an internal revenue detective fares among a crowd of Kentucky moonshiners.

Fort Christina became Altona, and Jacob Alrichs, whose descendants have dropped the final *s*, was appointed director of the colony. Prospects were brightening, and it was thought probable that many of the exiled Waldenses would choose Delaware as their home. A Dutch writer assured the world that the Delaware was the finest river on the American continent, and predicted that many an epicure would feast on the carrion made from its sturgeons. Some capital was invested in the manufacture of bricks, and vague plans of in-

dustrial enterprise were talked of on the decks of ships and in the counting-houses of Amsterdam. Stuyvesant was ordered to forestall the competition of other nations by purchasing all the land between the South River and the hook of the North River. Nevertheless, he was indirectly cautioned not to be too zealous in his efforts for New Amstel, as its rapid growth might draw settlers from New Amsterdam. Boom towns had their morbid fascinations for roving mechanics and hungry fur traders as well as for oil projectors and silver mine hunters. Dutch money, Dutch brawn and Dutch brain were moving westward, only to yield to the aggressive and conquering English.

To understand the downfall of Dutch colonization, it will be necessary to go back before the days of the English Civil War. Sir Edmund Plowden, Sir John Lawrence and others wished to obtain from Charles the First, Long Isle, or Isle Plowden, "near the continent of Virginia," and also requested that they might have forty leagues square of the adjoining continent. This territory was to be called New Albion. In 1632, seventeen years before he literally lost his head, the King gave Plowden and his friends a grant of the island between 39° and 40° north latitude, and of forty leagues of the adjoining continent. In 1634 an exploring expedition under Robert Evelyn sailed up the Delaware in the hope of finding a vast inland sea. Some account of the great lakes may have misled them. Plowden was, it is claimed, the descendant of Edmund Plowden, the well-known legal authority, but Sir Edmund himself rarely allowed the statutes to bridle his own will, boasted the title of Earl Palatine, and pushed his authority to the fullest extent. He regarded a Swede or a Dutchman as an intruder, and his arrogance would have raised a gentler spirit than that of John Printz. Most of Sir Edmund's life in this country, extending from 1642 to 1648, was passed in Virginia. His plans for distributing honors among his followers and carrying on missionary enterprises were all on a large scale, but the fruit was not equal to the boastful display of leaves. Like

other English adventurers, Plowden did not think it judicious to permit any of the land of the Delaware to remain under Swedish control. Under Cromwell, the Delawareans were not molested, but danger hovered over the colony. In the eighteenth century, Charles Varlo bought one-third part of Sir Edmund's claim, and in 1784, though England had acknowledged our independence, sought to recover his land by law. Petition to the king, an appeal for compensation, an address to the Prince of Wales, were all tried without avail. The British lion had heard news from Yorktown, and was not going to interfere with the land titles of the young republic.

English seamen were daring, English soldiers were resolute, and English monarchs did not frown on bold fellows who took prizes for their country. Dutchmen on both sides of the Atlantic knew this, and they had reason to fear that if England ever had the strength to seize the New Netherlands she would do so without any pretext. But there were pretexts, neither of them wholly unreasonable. The English claims to Delaware antedated those made by the Dutch, and the Dutch settlements aroused one continual protest from the English authorities. Besides, the very word "Amboyua" roused English wrath, for at Amboyua in the East Indies the Dutch had seized the English traders and had been guilty of many cruelties. These outrages had called down the vengeance of Cromwell, and years after Cromwell's death, the wrongs of the merchants at Amboyua gave Dryden materials for a play. Hideous as it really was, exaggerated by drunken sailors, and distorted by men who wished to strike at the Dutch territories, "Amboyua" was what "Remember the Maine" was to our sailors in 1898.

In December, 1656, the "Prince Maurice," the "Bear" and the "Flower of Guilder" left the Texel, and early in the next year they reached the South River. Governor Alrichs was making improvements, the town had been laid out, buildings erected, the bridge was an accomplished fact, the guard house and a bakery told of moral and material pro-

vision ; there were residences for public officials, and by the end of 1657, New Amstel was a goodly town of about one hundred houses. With the enlarging trade, however, came a brisk movement in smuggling, and Stuyvesant ordered William Beekman, Vice-President of the district, to safeguard the interests of the company. The news of 1658 was bad. Unfavorable weather damaged the crops, bilious fever was prevalent, there were all sorts of frauds on the revenues, the Swedes were troublesome, food was scarce, and the Governor's account of the new arrivals is depressing. In his opinion, the artisans who crossed the ocean were more likely to be run-away apprentices than expert mechanics. They shirked, so he declared, the labors of the farm, and preferred loafing to any regular work. No one could accuse the Governor of idleness, but many accused him of tyranny and of harshness to the poor. His wife fell a victim to the fever, and in 1659 he wrote of the various agricultural and financial difficulties. There was a dread of the Swedes, and letters from Holland blame Stuyvesant for allowing any of them to hold military commands, recommending him to disarm the entire body of Swedes, if he sees cause ; and urging him to separate them and scatter them among the Dutch settlers. Either the Dutch were merciless tyrants or the Swedes exceptionally dangerous, for disarmament in a land of wild beasts and lurking Indians is a measure of great severity. Stuyvesant complains that Alrichs by his harshness drives poor settlers out of the colony, the taxes being made unduly heavy. Alrichs continues his laments over scarcity of provisions and widespread disease. Religious differences increased the dislike already existing between Dutch and Swedes. Children died at such a rate that there was little hope for the next generation, and while the arrival of the mill increased the population, it did not increase the stock of provisions. A colony that is poor, weak, sickly, and torn by factional disputes, is in no condition to fight for its life, and the house divided against itself was near its fall.



State papers and formal histories cannot record every breath of Dame Rumor, and even that gossipy female does not note every feeling that agitates the body politic. Every Dutch settler was anxious, the Swedes might rise against their masters or the English might fall on the colony. Two things at least were certain : the colony was feeble, and the English were on the lookout for new territory. Confidence could not be restored. A vague feeling, more powerful day by day, urged many to leave Delaware, and those who remained dreaded conquest, not the awful conquest of fire and sword, but the tyrannical conquest of new masters who would seize the best lands and reduce the present settlers to a lot verging on that of hewers of wood and drawers of water.

When Evert Pieterse landed in 1658, he found himself a celebrity. Delaware had never had a schoolmaster, and he represented a large share of what little culture then flourished on the banks of the "South River of Florida." Pieterse declared that there were more Swedes than Dutch in the colony, and this may explain what at first puzzles the reader. Holland was noted for her tolerance in matters of religion ; but the Dutch in Delaware were not disposed to allow religious freedom to their Swedish neighbors. In theory, they frowned on any religious services except those of the Reformed Church of Holland, but there may have been a lurking dread that Swedish Lutheran assemblies might be a pretext for Swedish political gatherings. Religion and politics are strangely intertwined. Many a measure apparently political has a religious animus. Many an act, nominally framed in the interests of religion, has a political bearing. Pieterse, whatever his abilities, found that New Amstel was not a place for large classes or thriving congregations. Hot summers overpowered settlers from the milder climates of Europe, short rations undermined the health of many, soldiers left the forts and went to Maryland and Virginia. In the timid, worried state of public feeling, if a drunken corporal deserted because he had not as much grog as he wanted, people were

ready to believe that he had received a large bribe from the Crown of England, and that he would soon lead English troops against his old neighbors. At the end of 1659 the inhabited colony did not reach more than two miles from the fort.

On the death of Alrichs in 1659, Alexander D'Hinoyossa became Governor, with Gerrit Van Sweringen and Cornelis Van Gezel as Counselors. The new Governor was not popular; complaints of his harsh and overbearing manners were carried to New Amsterdam, and he scouted the regulations against selling liquor to savages. Amsterdam tired of its bargain, and wished to deed back New Amstel, but the West India Company declined. In 1661 a colony of Anabaptists or Mennonists came over, their leader being Pieter Cornelis Plockhoy. In February, 1663, the Dutch West India Company decided to grant the whole of the South River to Amsterdam, but the transfer was not executed until near the close of the same year. Beekman then became sheriff of a district on the North River.

Sweet is the song of the dying swan, and rich are the promises of handsome dividends issued just before a company goes into a receivership. D'Hinoyossa wrote to the burghers of Amsterdam that the plantations flourished; that there would soon be thriving breweries; that the beer would be paid for in good tobacco; and that the fur trade would yield substantial profits. Merchants and bankers risked their money on Delaware breweries as on costly tulips, and the leaky craft floated awhile longer, but the fear of the drunken Indian was stronger than the desire for capital from abroad, for the authorities forbade all brewing or distilling.

Early in the reign of Charles the Second, Lord Baltimore demanded his alleged rights through Captain James Neale, his agent in Holland. Colonel Nathaniel Uttie, in the days of Alrichs, had visited Delaware and ordered the inhabitants to surrender to Lord Baltimore or seek homes elsewhere. His small force, consisting of himself, his brother, his cousin and three others, did not seem formidable, but a very cheap bully

can frighten those who are already fearful, and Uttie's threats did much damage.

D'Hinoyossa had watched every stage of the proceedings, and he knew that the English were foes not to be despised. He also knew that there had been bitter feuds among the Dutch officials, and that a number of scandals had been publicly aired. Perhaps he was aware that one Dutch functionary had called Stuyvesant "a great muscovy duck with something of the wolf," and disrespectfully added that the older the renowned Peter grew, the more inclined he was to bite. D'Hinoyossa had quarreled with Van Gezel over the settlement of the Alrichs estate, Van Gezel being a nephew of Alrichs. Dismissing Van Gezel, the Governor had appointed John Prato in his place. Van Gezel appealed to Beekman for protection. Governor D'Hinoyossa ordered Van Gezel to appear before him; Van Gezel kept out of the way; the Governor went to Van Gezel's house and carried away a mirror and pictures. Beekman, disposed to favor Van Gezel, wrote to Stuyvesant. D'Hinoyossa intimated in plain Dutch that Van Gezel was slow in submitting his accounts of public auctions and of the funds contributed for the benefit of orphans. There seems to be no doubt that Alrichs believed D'Hinoyossa to be his friend, and there is no question that D'Hinoyossa wrote to Amsterdam that the colony had been injured by the misgovernment of Alrichs.

Under Governor D'Hinoyossa occurred the first criminal case of which records have been preserved. Govert Jansen cut Gerrit Herman in the palm of the left hand, and cut off his finger. Jansen was sentenced to pay Herman for loss of time, to pay the surgeon's bill, and to work for six weeks with spade and wheelbarrow in the fort at Altona. Had there been a vigorous reform movement there might have been several trials, the defendants being officeholders. There was a small Guy Fawkes excitement, for somebody found some gunpowder in a desk, and immediately the timid began to cry that the Swedes were going to blow up the Governor. Good

news was scarce, bad news plentiful, and those who recalled the peaceful days of Swedish rule, days of scarcely broken harmony between red man and white, were thrown into panic by the news that the bodies of three murdered Indians had been found on the lands of Jacob Alrichs. Popular suspicion pointed in the direction of two of the dead Governor's servants. The Indians who found the bodies grew wrathful and carried the news to their tribe. With fears of savage vengeance before their eyes, the whites fled inside the walls of the fort. Governor D'Hinoyossa saw fit to observe that he would not pay a farthing damages, that the community must bear all the expense, and that he was "pretty indifferent whether the savages went to war or not."

This speech, coming from an executive who had no popularity to spare, was injudicious, and Beekman made special efforts to prevent an uprising. News that the suspected criminals had been found was sent to Stuyvesant, who wrote back urging a speedy trial, and sent two officials to represent him. Meanwhile D'Hinoyossa had the men tried, convicted and sentenced, but it is generally believed that the higher authorities of New Netherlands reversed the decision. A public servant named Becker sold rum to the soldiers, who, while under its influence, burned a canoe belonging to the Indians. Becker was dismissed, and payment was made to the Indians on account of the murder already mentioned. Formally the Indians were satisfied, but pending decision they robbed Andries Hudde of a large share of his possessions, and their promise to return the stolen property was never redeemed.

Verily, whom the gods would destroy they first make mad. After poverty, disease, famine, cold winters, hot summers, religious bitterness, political strife, financial stringency, scarcity of labor, and friction with the Indians had nearly ruined the colony, the Dutch authorities revived the old movement to induce the Swedes to remove from their farms to wild regions. Men who had grown acclimated, and whose lands were yielding good crops, would not break new ground, court

a dozen years of bilious fever, and begin life over again. The proposition was a mere irritation, for the Dutch were not strong enough to deport their Swedish subjects, but it was a bad time to apply irritants to a colony which had little experience of anything else. The Swedes parleyed, dallied and refused to go to Passyunk. They refused with some tartness to go to Esopus, a region then noted for its war with the Indians. Amid the race troubles and rumors of hostilities comes the news that a Finnish woman seeks a divorce from a brutal husband, that a clergyman has performed an illegal marriage, and that an assault and battery case gives some trouble to the authorities. D'Hinoyossa took umbrage at a letter of reproof from Stuyvesant, and Stuyvesant was not prone to apology or explanation.

It is not probable that all the troubles of the colony were carried to Amsterdam, but the wrangles of men in office were fairly well known. Nevertheless when Neale, Lord Baltimore's attorney, notified the directors of his principal's claim, they felt or pretended to feel much surprise. Neale based his demands on the old grant from Charles the First, and promised that in case of compliance, Lord Baltimore would pledge indemnity for "all costs, damages and interest already undergone or yet to be incurred." The company asserted that it had long exercised the right of possession, undisturbed by anybody, and that it would defend its lands against invasion. While there was constant and increasing danger that the English would appear in the Delaware, the colonial records still repeat the old tale of faction. D'Hinoyossa, if we may credit Beekman, continued to sell liquor to the Indians, to flout the orders of Stuyvesant, to cast odium on the memory of Alrichs, and to manage the Governor's estate with little regard to legal formalities or ethical restraints. If one-tenth part of what one Dutch faction said against the other Dutch faction be true, the English may be pardoned for believing that the people of New Amstel privately encouraged the Indians to kill Englishmen. Lord Baltimore's son was



courteously received by Beekman, and sanguine people might pretend that they hoped that possibly the difficulties would be adjusted.

James, Duke of York, received in 1664 a patent which included New England, New York and New Jersey ; and in May of that year an expedition commanded by Colonel Richard Nicholls sailed from Portsmouth with instructions to reduce the Dutch to obedience. According to their orders, the Dutch colonies were a sanctuary for defaulters, runaway apprentices, and disreputable persons in general ; and the old grievance of Amboyua was brought forward as an excuse. While every Dutchman knew that attacks were not improbable—Englishmen had driven many Dutchmen from their homes in Long Island—there were no adequate defences even at New Amsterdam. In Delaware the colony of the Company and the colony of the City were still on bad terms, and more zeal was spent in cajoling servants away from their employers to new occupations than in getting ready for war. A projected attack from Sweden did not amount to anything because the vessels ran aground, but it gave one more proof that the colony was in danger.

The English expedition was a very different affair from the ill-fated Swedish cruise. It barely missed catching some African slaves, and on the 28th of August it was in the bay of Amsterdam. Letters passed backward and forward, but the brave old Stuyvesant was between two fires. A powerful local sentiment urged him to yield, the English refused to grant any further delay, terms were agreed on upon the 6th day of September, ratified on the 8th, and the formal surrender took place on the 9th of September, 1664. For some time there had been ill feeling between the traders and the soldiers, resistance would have been a bloody farce, and the sturdy Governor had to make the best of it.

The English, wishing the profit of a thriving colony rather than the spoils of a ruined one, granted easy terms, among which were security of lands and goods, permission to remove,

admission of immigrants from the Netherlands, trade with the English on the same basis as with the Indians, ships might go to Netherlands and come to Manhattan for the space of six months, inferior magistrates might hold their places, the Manhattan towns might retain several local liberties, no Dutchman or Dutch vessel should be pressed into war, and every Dutch soldier remaining in the country should have fifty acres of land. Conquest is never sweet to the conquered, but the prudent merchants who had feared that the assailants and defenders would rival each other in pillage, thought that these terms were easy. New Amsterdam became New York, and Sir Robert Carr was sent to the South River, where he found the Swedes, if not desirous of English rule, at least willing to see the end of Dutch rule. New Amstel was surrendered by the civilians, but D'Hinoyossa and the soldiers retreated to the forts. Terms like those granted at New York were announced, and the soldiers might have profited by the example of the burghers. Two broadsides from the ships battered the fort, the soldiers carried the works by storm, and the victors were guilty of numerous acts of plunder. The soldiers and many peaceful citizens were sold into slavery in Virginia, grain, sheep, horses and cattle were stolen, a brew-house and a saw-mill were also seized. Stuyvesant gives a painful account of these outrages, and Carr, with some embarrassment, attempts to soften down the ugly record. New Amstel became New Castle, and D'Hinoyossa, after going to Maryland and vainly seeking to recover his property, went back to Holland, and fought against Louis XIV.

Nicholls was succeeded as Governor of the Dutch settlements by Sir Francis Lovelace. Carr had charge of Delaware. In 1672, New Castle became a corporation with Captain Edmund Cantwell as High Sheriff and Peter Alrichs as Bailiff or "Chief Magistrate for town and river." A Swede who claimed to be the son of Count Konigsmark sought to overturn the government only to his own downfall, for he was publicly whipped, branded on the face and breast, and sold in

Barbadoes. During the war between Holland and England, the Dutch under Binckes and Evertsen retook the New Netherlands, but their triumph was short. The victory of 1673 was followed by the peace of 1674, and the province returned to the hands of the English. Dutch Delaware, like Swedish Delaware, had passed from the world of commerce and politics into the world of students and antiquaries.

Persons who look on Prohibition as a modern issue might study with advantage the History of colonial Delaware. Strong drink was raging, the drunken white man insulted the drunken Indian, the drunken Indian drew his tomahawk, and there was always some actual or impending difficulty over the cup that cheers and inebriates. Under Swedish, Dutch and English rulers there were protests against selling liquor to the Indians, and efforts, spasmodic it is true, to prohibit the traffic. Thrifty Dutchmen bought casks of liquor, not so much for gain as from a desire to provide for the next winter. In a severe season, the white man needed supplies, and the Indians refused to aid those who had denied them their coveted dram. Directly counter to this argument ran the assertion that white men consumed grain in distilling and were brought to short rations in consequence. The Whisky Rebellion of George Washington's time was due to the widespread conviction of the farmers who claimed that unless they sold their grain to the distilleries they could not sell it at all. From their point of view the high internal revenue tax was meant as a blow at the agricultural interests. Within late years the old argument has been revived in some grain-growing districts, but the general drift of sentiment among farmers is hostile to the liquor business. Colonial Delaware considered the matter from every standpoint, moral, financial, social, and racial. The land owner who wished to have a good supply of liquor for himself and his friends but who seriously objected to having a drunken Indian set fire to his barn was free to admit that there were two sides to the question. For a time, a tax on each can of liquor was laid with the direct

provision that said taxes be used for the new blockhouse, fort or some other public building.

When New Netherlands passed from English to Dutch control and then returned to English rule, a legal question arose. Did the patent granted to the Duke of York survive the changes wrought by war? The decision was that it did not, that by reason of the treaty the land receded vested in the King. Yet this question, however important to English lawyers, was scarcely heeded by those who fished or farmed along the Delaware. Charles the Second granted his brother a new patent, and Governor Nicholls and his council selected from the statutes of other colonies a set of laws to be enforced on the Delaware by courts setting respectively at New Castle, on the Whorekill, at Upland (later known as Chester), and at St. Jones. Delays checked the enforcement of the new code, and in 1668 it was vaguely stated that the laws were to be enforced in convenient time. Governor Lovelace in 1672 decreed that they be established, and in 1676 Governor Andros issued an order to put them in force. "The Duke's laws," as they were called, granted the Dutch religious freedom, trial by jury, equal taxation, with some regulations concerning slavery and sundry enactments about conscription.

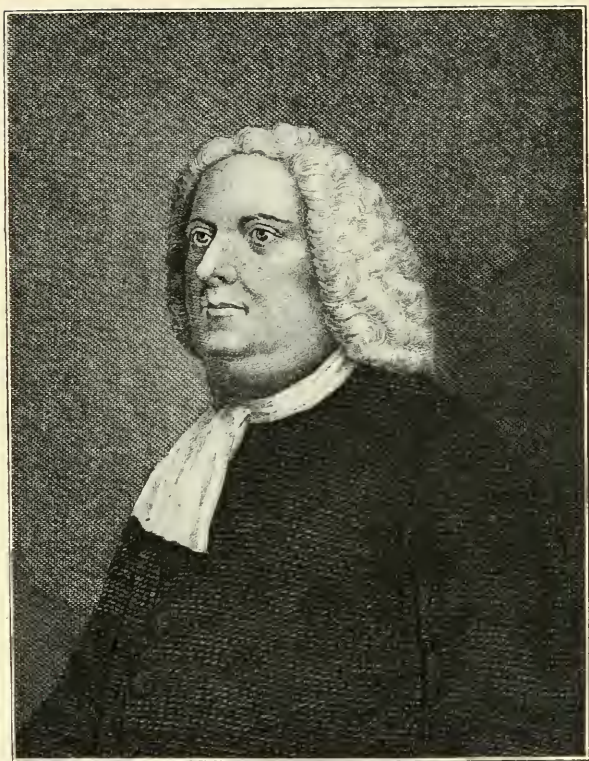
Dutchmen fared better under the English than the Swedes had fared under the Dutch. Swedes and Dutch alike were called into council with English officials. After the pendulum swung back to England, Governor Andros reinstated all the magistrates who had been in office at the time of the Dutch conquest except Peter Alrichs. Alrichs had been an offensive partisan. Governor Nicholls had allowed him to trade with whom he pleased, to ride to Maryland on his coach drawn by six horses, and to add to his possessions two islands in the Delaware. Alrichs repaid these courtesies by espousing the Dutch side in the war, and he could not reasonably expect to be rewarded by an English administration. In general the English held out the olive branch, partly on grounds of business and partly because of the underlying necessity. White

men were scarce and Indians treacherous. The incessant bickering between Swede and Dutch had weakened the colony, and it was the part of statesmen to ignore as far as possible all grievances and feuds which divided the settlers among themselves. It was the duty of the Governor to look to the boundaries and see that Maryland did not trample on her smaller neighbor, to guard the revenues against unlicensed traders, to hear the constant arguments for and against the sale of liquor, to watch lest pirates swooped down on the coast, to raise enough revenue to please the Duke of York, to tax so moderately that settlers would not leave the colony, to foster trade, to be prepared for Indian uprisings, and to win the actual as well as the merely formal allegiance of Dutch and Swedes to their new rulers. If he did not satisfy every one, he at least made a praiseworthy effort to unite the three Caucasian races as Dane, Saxon and Norman had been united of old.

Documents yet in evidence show that the courts on the Delaware settled cases of misdemeanors, suits for debt, indentures of apprentices and servants, conferred with the Indians, laid taxes, imposed fines, and made appropriations for various public purposes. They were empowered, under certain conditions, to grant lands; it was their duty to pass upon titles; there were roads to be made and lunatics to be protected. When in 1676 it was necessary for Governor Andros to appoint justices for the Upland (Chester) Court, he selected Peter Cock, Peter Rambo, Israel Helm, Lace Andries, Oele Swen, and Otto Ernest Cock. Isaac Helm was chief interpreter to the Indians. History says that all these were old settlers, and the ear recognizes that these names did not come over with Brown, Jones and Robinson.

Records do not show that Delawareans, like some of the early Virginians, bought their wives for so much tobacco, but there is no lack of proof that tobacco was a circulating medium, although Indian corn, pork, bacon, wampum and skins were also received for poll-taxes. There were citizens lacking in public spirit who would not aid in constructing a mill, no





WILLIAM PENN,  
Founder of Pennsylvania.



matter how sore the need; who shirked their proportion of taxes or labor in constructing roads, and who grudged the timber which broad-minded citizens gladly subscribed to the cause of bridge building.

Passing from the litigants to the honorable court, which cannot now inflict any penalties for contempt, it can be said that the Swedish judges ruled wisely and humanely. Several generations ago the last vestige of local passion subsided, but there was hot blood rising when a certain plaintiff accused a certain defendant of shooting his boar, nor did he at once admit the plea that the defendant's life was endangered. Yet from the folds of the ermine came the sage advice to go home and make peace. This mildness did not proceed from languor, for the court could assert itself. When Oele Oelsen assaulted Judge Helm and tore his honor's shirt to tatters, the court justly regarded this act as a deed so reprehensible that the offender must suffer the weight of the law. Oelsen was sentenced to pay a fine and to publicly ask pardon of Judge Helm and of the court. After his apology, in consideration of his poverty and the size of his family, the fine was remitted. Hans Petersen having stated that Claes Cram was a thief, and having failed to prove said charge, was obliged to confess himself a liar, to declare the plaintiff an innocent man, and to pay a fine and costs. Apparently the court deemed it more heinous to assail an innocent man's reputation than to lay hands on a judge.

The Andros regime covered about seven years, and the governor was unpopular in New Jersey, where he was looked on as aggressive, unscrupulous, mindful only of the interests of himself and the Duke of York. However, he strove to forward the growth of Delaware, but the days of the ducal rule were fast closing, and the days of William Penn were at hand. Jenkins, in speaking of Delaware in 1680, says: "The hardships of the earliest beginnings were over. They had been, on the whole, small when compared with what the first settlers elsewhere in the eastern colonies of America had endured. No

destructive war, no deadly conflicts with the natives, no pestilence, no famine had visited the Delaware settlements. There had been the usual diseases of a new country, there had been scanty food, coarse apparel and rude shelter, there had been loneliness and home-sickness, but on the whole the experience of over seventy years since Hudson looked inside the cape's door had served to show that here without great cost in life or treasure the homes of a new commonwealth might be prosperously planted."

An old claim, "like a wounded snake, drags its slow length along," and the Baltimore grant, which had tormented Swedes, Dutchmen and Englishmen before him, tried the soul of William Penn. The grant was obscure because there was in Charles the First's days nothing even approximating to a good map of America. Fifty years after the original grant, that is, in 1682, Penn was seriously annoyed by the legal ghost; in 1685 the case was urgent, and in 1709 it was still clamorous. Add to the geographical uncertainties, the possible errors of surveyors, the doubtful construction of certain phrases, the misapprehensions of Dutch and Swedish officials, and, it may be, the false testimony rendered by interested parties, and the gentle reader will perceive that the Baltimore case was no trifling matter.

Penn, whose patent dates from 1681, was not the first distinguished Friend in the annals of Delaware. In 1672 a party headed by George Fox "came to Christiana 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." Prior to this the travelers had "passed over a desperate river, which had in it many rocks and broad stones very hazardous"—evidently the Brandywine. According to Fox the land from Amboy to New Castle was almost untouched by civilization, the creeks, forests and swamps were a source of danger to travelers, and the ferry service was the irregular service of Indian canoes. Burlington had not been settled, ten years were to pass before

Penn's landing at Philadelphia, and it was a weary, round-about path which led Fox from Middletown harbor to New Castle. Some information can be gathered from Vander Donck's map of 1654-55, on which we look in vain for Marcus Hook, but find a tract reaching from the Hook to Chester, and marked as Finland, the grantee being a Finn. Sweden issued comparatively few patents of land in Delaware, but this may have been granted with special formality because the grantee was not a Swede. More than two hundred and fifty years ago, Charles Springer, a native of Sweden, translated the patent, which is curious enough to bear reproduction.

"We, Christina, by the grace of God, Queen of Sweedland, Gothen and Wenden, Great Princess of Finland, Dutchess of Estland, etc.,

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 we have 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 judgement maybe claimed unto it, and he and his heirs to have and to hold it unmolested forever 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 we have 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  
CHARLES SPRINGER.

CHRISTINA, (L. S.)  
NIELS TUNGELL, Secretary."

In Penn's official letters he mentions the adjacent counties of New Castle, St. Jones and Whorehill, alias Deal. New Castle retains its name, but St. Jones is now Kent, and Deal has become Sussex. One of Penn's early writs called upon



each of the adjacent counties to elect seven persons noted for their wisdom, sobriety and integrity as deputies to an assembly to be held at Upland. If he called for the same number from each of the Pennsylvania counties he desired the presence of forty-two deputies, but only twenty names are preserved in the existing records. John Vines, the Sheriff of "Whorehill, alias Deal County," gives the deputies as Edward Southrin, William Clark, Alexander Draper, John Roades, Luke Watson, Nathaniel Walker and Cornelius Verhoof. St. Jones or Kent elected Francis Whitwell and John Briggs. In New Castle county, no one challenged the credentials of William Sample, but some legal question arose as to the rights of Abraham Mann, whose seat was vacated and given to John Moll. Illegal voting, repeating, or some unlawful practices may have been known even in those idyllic days.

Well known as the Upland code of 1682 is, it must be spoken of once more. It forbade religious persecution, and prohibited citizens from taunting others on account of their religious faith; yet Government employments were only to be given to those who believed in Jesus Christ to be the Son of God and Savior of the world. Sunday observance was prescribed, and blasphemy was a penal offence. Statutory enactments dealt with sexual immorality. With a humanity in advance of the age, the death penalty was only to be inflicted in case of premeditated murder. All persons were forbidden to sell liquor to Indians. There were to be no duels, prize-fights, stage plays, bull fights, cock fights, games of cards, dice, lotteries, clamors or railings with the tongue. Regulations were made for the distribution of property. Civil marriages were made lawful, but no marriage was to be performed without witnesses. A widower or widow could not marry or even contract marriage within one year of the death of the former wife or husband. A tavern could not be kept without permission from the governor, and the prices of ale and meals were fixed. The old ideas of a yearly assize to settle labor contracts, wages, prices of food and drink, the clothing of

upper and lower classes, and other matters we now hold to be outside of judicial action, were still powerful.

Sweden had looked on Delaware partly as a colony and partly as a missionary enterprise. Holland had regarded her as a trading port. She had become the property of a Duke who was soon to rise to the throne and shortly after to fall from it. Now we behold her as the property of the kindly yet shrewd Friend, William Penn. Early Delaware is half hidden behind the stately figure of Gustavus Adolphus and the teeming warehouses of the Dutch West India Company. The Delaware of Penn and his heirs is overshadowed by the great province to the northward which bears his name.

No one can enter into the life of Delaware under Penn without observing the radical difference between the Friends in England and the Friends in America. The English Friend was a Dissenter, shut out from colleges and courts of law, denied all share in the prizes of politics, barred from all hopes of military or naval honors, practically obliged to direct his energies to farming, commerce or some mechanical occupation. On the banks of the Delaware the Friends were in a position not unlike that of the established church. They had to frame and administer laws, to look after estates, to guard against public disorders. Our English Friend might allow a riotous neighbor to tramp on his flower-beds or rob his poultry-yard, for, if he chose to endure the annoyance, it was no one else's business. But the officers of a great province had to take precautions against highwaymen on shore and pirates on the sea. However strict their peace principles, they had to recognize those inexorable facts, armies and fleets. Soldiers, even in quiet Pennsylvania, must have food, and frigates, even in the Delaware, must take in water and repair damages. While the Friends who followed Penn's lead escaped many of the trials of their English brethren, they had to solve problems and bear burdens to which their English brethren were strangers. It was impossible for them to ignore politics, for they were custodians of a great public trust, scrutinized by

every merchant who sent a cargo to the Delaware and by every captain who sailed by the Capes. While the proprietary was a member of their Society and would understand their peculiar feelings, the Duke of York outranked William Penn, and, even if the Duke were satisfied, appeals might be carried to the King of England.

On March 10, 1683, Governor Penn and his Council met; the Assembly opening two days later. From the lower counties on the Delaware, or, in the quaint old phrase, "the territories," came John Cann, John Darby, Valentine Hollingsworth, Casparus Herman, John Dehraef, James Williams, William Guest, Peter Alrichs and Hendrich Williams, of New Castle; John Briggs, Simon Irons, Thomas Hassold, Jehu Curtis, Robert Bedwell, William Windsmore, John Brinkloe, Daniel Brown, Benoni Bishop, of Kent; Luke Watson, Alexander Draper, William Fletcher, Henry Bowman, Alexander Moleston, John Hill, Robert Bracy, John Kipshaven and Alexander Verhoof, of Sussex. Edmund Cantwell was sheriff of New Castle County, Peter Baucomb, of Kent, and John Vines, of Sussex.

Rules of order must have been few, but the Governor ordered those who wished to speak to do so standing, one at a time, facing the chair. Most questions could be settled by viva-voce vote, although a ballot was to be taken in the case of personal affairs. The session did not pass without some asperities, and Dr. Nicholas More, president of the Society of Free Traders, had to appear before the honorable legislators. More had, in a public house, denounced the Governor, the Council and the Assembly, and declared that their names would be held accursed by many. For this he was called on to apologize. In England he might have been fined, set in the pillory, or sent to prison. More was not easily crushed. Suggestions for amendments to the charter were many, and Dr. More asked for an interpretation of the law of fornication as applied to servants which would be more satisfactory to the master and mistress interest. This means that he and those

whom he represented did not want the penal code to deal severely with any servant who might be needed on the farm or in the workshop.

Councilmen and assemblymen were not tempted to sell franchises for nothing, because such franchises as were not retained by the Crown were in the gift of Penn, or of the Duke, and "the Duke's laws" were in some respects binding on Pennsylvania and the lower territories. The danger to the early colonists was not that their legislators would chaffer with lobbyists but that they would neglect law-making for their ploughing and reaping. Even in times of great public necessity, it was not easy to gather a working majority of men whose hearts were in the fields as surely and deeply as any Scotch rover's heart was ever in the Highlands.

Penn's first assembly considered bills for planting flax and hemp, for building a twenty-four by sixteen feet house of correction in each county, to hinder the sale of servants into other provinces and to prevent runaways, about burning woods and marshes, to regulate county courts, acts of oblivion, measures for dealing with "scoulds," to have cattle marked and erect bounds, seizure of goods, marriages by magistrates, limiting credit at public houses to twenty shillings, and about fencing. The agricultural interest was the leading interest, and at the outset of the colony it was evident that there would be a cleavage. Men who had been landless in England were now thriving farmers, and they wished their children to be more prosperous than themselves. To such men proprietary government was odious, and the reins, even in Penn's hands, chafed. Many speakers showed their desire for a new charter.

Even in a community ruled by Friends official insignia were necessary. The seal of Sussex was a sheaf of wheat, that of Kent three ears of Indian corn; and a castle represented New Castle, in spite of Washington Irving's assertion that the real name is No Castle, because there is no castle there, and never was one. Already it was decided that legislators should be paid, and the rates were fixed at three shillings per day for

members of the Council and two shillings six pence for the Assembly. Under the new charter granted by Penn, there were to be three Councilmen and six Assemblymen from each county; the former to serve one, two and three years. Representation was to increase in proportion to population. In the concession that some of the prerogatives of the Governor were to cease with his life, the student can see the workings of the anti-proprietary spirit. Among the members of the Council this year were John Moll from New Castle, Francis Whitwell from Kent, and William Clarke of Sussex; while James Williams of New Castle, Benoni Bishop of Kent, and Luke Watson of Sussex were on a committee of the Assembly.

Early in 1684 some residents of Kent County refused to pay taxes to Penn, and the names of John Richardson, Thomas Heather, Thomas Wilson, Francis Whitwell and John Hilliard appear among these delinquents. The Assembly met this year at New Castle; and among the events of the time was a serious quarrel between Jans Jansen and Hans Petersen. After giving due attention to the crimination and recrimination, the Governor and Council advised plaintiff and defendant to shake hands and to forgive each other, ordered them to give bonds for their appearance, and directed that the records should be burned. This was easily done, while it took a long fight to get the famous Expunging Resolution through the United States Senate. Foolish speeches have been dropped from the records of Congress simply because honorable gentlemen did not want to see their utterances in print, but the colonial decree that the records in Jansen versus Petersen be burned was simply an act of good will. On August 12, 1684, Penn left Philadelphia in the *Endeavor*. During his stay in England, which he presumed would be lengthy, he wished matters to be in the hands of the Provincial Council, the president of which, Thomas Lloyd, was the custodian of the great seal. Nicholas More, despite his former humiliation, had risen to be chief justice; but after Penn's departure he was impeached for various political misdemeanors. Ship-



ments of wine and beer, of seed and trees, showed that Penn was constantly thinking of his colony ; but the general course of events was not to his satisfaction. Some of his closest friends were unpopular, and their acts were resented by persons who withheld rents and did all in their power to embarrass the government. Penn wrote to Lloyd that these feuds had cost Pennsylvania fifteen thousand inhabitants, and there can be no doubt that they had cost Penn large sums of money.

Continuous quarreling tries the souls even of those who relish a little fracas now and then. The mild proprietary must often have felt sick of his bargain, and, in 1687, he took the Executive power from the Council and gave it to a commission of five persons, Thomas Lloyd, Nicholas More, James Claypoole, Robert Turner and John Echley, any three of whom might have power to act. He wrote that the Council should be dissolved or else compelled to pay more attention to its duties, and the sorely-tried Friend speaks out like Thomas B. Reed, "I will no more endure their most slothful and dishonorable attendance." By the time Penn's letters directing the transfer of authority to a Commission were received, Nicholas More and James Claypoole were dead, but their places were filled by Arthur Cook and John Sincock. Incessant bickerings between the Council and the Assembly led Penn to send over a Governor, John Blackwell, son-in-law to General Lambert of Cromwell's time.

Lloyd refused to give up the great seal, and based his refusal on the plea that Blackwell was merely a deputy, not an actual governor. Blackwell knew that this argument had been advanced by John Richardson, a member of Council, and in Governor Blackwell's judgment, such a rebelling person ought to be expelled. As it was not possible to coax or frighten the Council into the expulsion of Richardson, the Governor dissolved the Council. Richardson was re-elected. Blackwell would not allow him to take his seat. We had a small case of John Wilkes on our side of the Atlantic. Lloyd would not recognize Blackwell's jurisdiction, Blackwell denied

that of Lloyd, public officials refused to show their accounts to courts of doubtful authority, while settlers who naturally disliked to pay taxes found a convenient excuse in the general uncertainty of all matters of a public character.

Bradford now published "The Form of Government and the Great Law," the expenses of publication being defrayed, it is said, by Joseph Gooding, a member of the Council. Rumors declared that Penn had privately favored the publication, while counter-rumors insisted that he had not. Bradford was summoned before the Council, every member whereof knew that he had printed the book, and that nobody else in the colony had the facilities for printing it, but he refused to admit that he had printed it. Cromwell would have threatened Bradford with the gallows, and Printz would have beaten him, but under the mild rule of Pennsylvania, he was in no danger of any worse penalty than a brief confinement, and he bluntly refused to confess the truth of the charge brought against him. From the stubborn printer Governor Blackwell's thoughts roamed to the northern frontier, and he predicted an invasion with all the horrors of Indian warfare. He asked for generous supplies for the defence of the colony and the Council laughed at him until it adjourned.

After months of strife as to who was Governor, the more serious question arose—who was King? James had fled, William was in his place, a French fleet might bring back James and hang all William's Dutch favorites, William might triumph, and every Tory nobleman who had survived the Cromwellian days might lose his estate, if not his head. Through all the previous troubles there had been at least one settled point: William Penn was proprietary; but now William Penn was an object of suspicion to the Dutch monarch. There was no doubt that Penn was friendly to James; he had received his patent from James's brother, he might be obliged to choose between exile and death, and the very officers who in 1683 were proud to call themselves the followers of William Penn might in 1689 be sent to prison because they

were suspected of corresponding with their chief. Any one who recalls the uncertainties of the Presidential contest of 1876 can, in some slight degree, understand the doubts and dreads of those who feared they knew not what, who knew they did not know anything, but who were within fifty years of the execution of Charles the First, the rise of Cromwell, the succession of governments, and the restoration of the exiled line. It was not a good time for extensive land sales or whole-sale manufacturing, or anything that requires confidence.

On January 2, 1690, Blackwell was relieved and the Council elected Thomas Lloyd president and deputy governor. The counties or "territories" on the Lower Delaware were manifestly jealous of Philadelphia, Bucks and Chester, and disposed to separate from them, which they actually did. With a separate Council, with judges of their own selection, with the reluctant Penn forced in 1691 to appoint Markham as deputy governor of the territories, they accomplished the secession which, one hundred and seventy years later, when tried on a larger scale, proved a costly and mournful failure. Everything in politics and business was unsettled, and religious discord complicated the situation, for George Keith headed a dissenting movement among the Friends, and the feelings of the Keithite and anti-Keithite were so bitter as to cause a stir throughout the colony.

Several generations have lived and died in the belief that William the Third was cruel, and even merciless, because he took away Penn's proprietary government, but the facts, if they do not justify the King, go far to excuse him. Penn was undoubtedly attached to King James, and he was naturally enough looked on with suspicion by King William. His province was still ruled by at least some of the laws imposed by the Duke of York. Despite the laughter of the Council, there was serious risk that the French and Indians would swoop down on the northern frontier and a born warrior, like William, did not wish to see outlying settlements guarded by non-resistants. Governor Benjamin Fletcher of New York was on

October 24, 1692, made Captain-General by Royal patent. Fletcher was a man who, unless historians have terribly wronged him, was ready to shield the pirates of the Delaware from vigilant cruisers. He is said to have been on terms of friendship with Captain Kidd. Fletcher came to Philadelphia in April, 1693, had his letters read in the market-place, and offered test oaths to the members of Council. Lloyd refused to take them, and there might have been a prolonged strife but for the necessary return of Fletcher to New York. Markham acted as his deputy during his absence, and the Executive and Legislative branches of government failed to agree on war taxes and on the election of representatives to the Assembly. Fletcher managed to raise some money, but could not secure the militia he desired.

Public opinion veered round in Penn's favor; he was no longer regarded as a spy of the Stuarts, and King William in 1693 granted him a new patent. His wife's illness, however, detained him in England, private affairs claimed his attention, his wife died, and his return to America seemed remote, if not improbable. William Markham as deputy and John Goodson and Samuel Carpenter as assistants cared for the province. By the time the Commissions reached this country, in March, 1695, Fletcher and Markham were disgusted with the Assembly for its persistent refusal to raise militia. They were used to the great military establishments of Europe, and rightly argued that French and Indians might be deadly enemies to our northern settlers. Councilmen retorted that there had not been any serious trouble with the Indians, nothing worse than the larceny of a pig or a calf. Fletcher pleaded with the Friends to levy a tax to feed the hungry and clothe the naked, but they resented the idea of the subterfuge, although in later years some of them helped Franklin to buy a fire engine, said fire engine being a cannon. After a dispute of some tartness, Fletcher again dissolved the Assembly, for which the farmers probably forgave him. If he had tried to keep them in their seats when they wanted to get to their

crops, he would have found it no easy matter to compel them to obedience.

In the fall of 1695 the Assembly passed a revenue bill coupled with a new act of settlement hostile to Penn's interest. Markham refused to sign, there was another quarrel and another dissolution, after which Markham for some time governed without Council or Assembly. The next year brought a new Council. William was on the Continent, and Queen Mary wrote a letter complaining of trade irregularities, probably in dealing with the West Indies. Supplies were wanted, and the Council granted some, provided the government would convene a new Assembly. This body declared for a new constitution, which Markham wanted. Under this instrument the Council was to consist of two representatives from each county, and the Assembly of four representatives from each county. No one can mistake the trend of the clause that the representatives of freemen should have power to propose such bills as they see fit, or the provision that the General Assembly should be indissoluble for the term for which it should be elected, and giving it power to sit on its adjournment.

In December, 1699, Penn returned to Philadelphia, to find that the Delaware was notorious for the number of pirates who sailed up the stream. He was soon to hear the complaint that the sheriff of New Castle had been culpable in not giving every voter due notice of the impending election. Birck, Collector of Customs at New Castle, sent Governor Penn a letter complaining that vessels sailed up and down the Delaware without reporting at New Castle. The fact should have been reported, but Birck managed to be impertinent, and brought down on himself a merited rebuke. After years of life among the Friends, Penn could still be sharp and emphatic; he was the son of an Admiral, and he knew how to keep his subordinates in order.

At the session of the Assembly and Council at New Castle in 1700, 104 acts were passed, many being of trifling importance, and many others being modifications of existing laws.



Better provision was made for the poor; three months in captivity menaced the offender who fought a duel or sent a challenge; land was not to be bought from Indians without the consent of the proprietary; bond servants were not to be sold without their own consent and that of two magistrates. At the expiration of their term they were to have clothes and materials given to them; cornfield fences were to be made pig-tight and five feet high, or the delinquent who failed to properly fence his lands should be liable to all damages; counties should put railed bridges over streams, and appoint overseers of highways and viewers of fences; provision was made for quarantine of vessels. Naturally, yea, inevitably, the old question of selling liquor to Indians revived. Clandestine marriages were also a source of trouble, and annoyance was caused by those who permitted swine to run at large.

The session of 1701 showed Penn only too plainly that the lower territories did not mean to unite with the upper portions of the province. In November he sailed for England never to return; and the old jealousies continued. Governor against Assembly, peasant against proprietary, Presbyterian against Friend, tax-payer against office-holder—the party cries were not stilled, the factional murmurs never ceased, and yet the quarrels were dreary rather than sensational. They do not fire the imagination or stir the blood, they merely leave the reader with the impression that everybody was disposed to find fault. However, the soil was fertile, the land was cheap, the laws were not oppressive, the slaves were generally well treated, and many of those who grumbled loudest would have been the first to regret their departure from the provinces and to wish themselves back again. Nowhere in the world probably was bondage so mild. The Friends were, as a rule, mild in their manners, and the slave who was badly treated could easily find a hiding place in the woods. Slavery in Pennsylvania and Delaware was a light yoke compared to the slavery in a Carolina rice swamp or on a Louisiana sugar plantation.

When we speak of a “river Pirate,” we mean a thief who

has stolen a slushbucket or a bit of rope ; but when our great grandparents heard their great grandparents tell about the pirates in the Delaware, they heard stories which might keep a sleepy boy from bed or throw a timid girl into nightmare. The sea in the sixteenth and even throughout the eighteenth century was beset by lawless cruisers, and in many cases persons in authority shared in the spoil. With no wire to flash the news of the crime, no telephone to summon the authorities, and no newspaper to demand the removal of sluggish admirals, pirates could make a great deal of money in brisk seasons. It must, however, be remembered that chapters of piratical history must always be vague. Men in criminal pursuits do not keep the records that abound in armies and fleets. A fragment here, an old custom there, a descent on the coast, a fight at a harbor's mouth are the materials to which we turn, and these relics of the past are numerous enough to prove that the pirates of the Delaware were dreaded far and wide.

So far back as 1653 an Englishman named Baxter began to plunder the Dutch in New Netherlands. Only three years before a very different Baxter had published "The Saint's Everlasting Rest." The pirate Baxter was the first corsair known to have robbed the colonists of this region, but his imitators were numerous, for the Dutch, instead of capturing Baxter and handing him over to Cromwell, retaliated by attacks on English commerce. It would be impossible to state how many Englishmen and how many Dutchmen were engaged in these cruises under the black flag, for men whose business renders them liable to the halter do not leave their names with government officials. Nor can it be stated how often a public official left town just long enough for a pirate to run in, land her cargo, and take on needed supplies.

Every merchant in London and Amsterdam knew that pirates entered the South River, and a generation after Baxter's first appearance, James II solemnly proclaimed that any pirate captured within twelve months who should give security

to keep the peace should receive a free pardon. There is no doubt that James meant to advance the cause of morals on the high seas, but the effect of the proclamation was to leave the unlucky pirate in danger of the vengeance of the law, while the prosperous pirate, who was growing tired of a sea life, could easily buy a pardon and settle in a quiet home. The English navy, urged on by a King who had commanded great fleets, captured or sunk many pirate vessels; and yet the freebooters continued to carry on business and to find direct or indirect support. In 1697 a letter written by Penn mentions the rumor that some of the colonists had protected and harbored the sea rovers, and in the following year Lewistown was attacked and pillaged.

Men in authority resented the charge that they were lax in the enforcement of the laws. When it was proven that two men, known to be pirates, were allowed to walk about the streets of Philadelphia, the jailer stated that they did not walk out without his leave, and that they were under the care of an officer. The mild jailer argued that pirates should be allowed to take a walk in hot weather, but the general tone of his superiors was adverse to lenity. Sternness was the order of the day, and it was ordered that pirates were not to be allowed out of doors even in the season of the raging dog-star. In 1699 New Castle deplored the ravages of pirates and asked for protection, only to learn that the Council objected to the expense; while the next year the great and only Captain Kidd, he whom the ballad-mongers have saved from oblivion, and for whose treasure the dreamers still dig, visited the Delaware. Kidd was a particularly gross offender, for he, like Avery, was specially exempted from pardon. All good citizens were forbidden to give shelter to pirates, to supply them with food or water, or to traffic with them, but residents of Lewistown boarded Kidd's vessel and bought a portion of his cargo.

Then, as in later years, there were respectable citizens who, without taking an active part in criminal transactions, covered

the evil deeds and shared in the profit. More than a century and a half nearer to our own times, the Welsh Mountain gang of robbers hid their booty in the quiet Pennsylvania farm-houses, and the James boys found sympathizers among Mis-sourians who would never have been allies. Kidd had friends in high places. Penn might call on the Assembly to legis-late against piracy, but there is little doubt that Governor Fletcher favored Kidd, and there are always men in office who will take considerable trouble to save a Governor's friend from a tight-fitting hempen cravat.

Legislation sought to break up lawless conspiracies by order-ing that all travelers must show passes, that unknown per-sons must not be carried over the ferries, that innkeepers must notify the authorities of the arrival of strangers. Messengers were to be in readiness should it be necessary to send word to Philadelphia. Either the precautions were effective or other regions were more tempting, for piracy declined and seemed to fall into innocuous desuetude. Years passed without any hostile descents, but in 1708 villages along the shore were in extreme peril and commerce was practically suspended. French, Dutch and Spanish pirates or privateers—the distinc-tion sometimes verbal rather than real—were on the lookout for prizes, and grim danger was at hand. The Governor wished to raise more taxes, the Assembly hinted that former supplies had been injudiciously spent, and the relations be-tween the province of Pennsylvania and the lower territories, never cordial, were still more strained.

James Logan declared that in four days three vessels had been burned and sunk. Men of war, he declared, with some acidity, could always see the pirates but never fight them. Advice was sent to England not to send any vessels directly to the Delaware, but to Maryland, and there to learn if it be safe to enter the bay. Lord Baltimore's agents, eager to press their claims, and on the alert to win adherents among the Delawareans, would certainly urge as a reason for joining their ranks that Maryland would be a protector against the

robbers and murderers who infested the high seas. When in 1709 Lewistown was again plundered by a hostile cruiser, many bitter attacks were made on the Friends. Their scruples were derided, they were accused of hypocrisy and parsimony, the agitators who disliked Penn vowed that matters would never go well until the colony was properly protected. Out of all the complaints and protests arose some good, for the navy again came to the rescue, the waters were scoured, and the pirates, like other people, followed the line of least resistance.

After a period of tranquillity, trouble once more arose, and 1717 was a year of excitement. Rewards were offered for the capture of freebooters. The Governor promised that he would do his utmost to secure pardon for those surrendering themselves. Five men yielded themselves prisoners, but were set at liberty, the evidence not warranting their detention. Others complained that they had shipped on board a vessel, not knowing its character. It occasionally happened that a stranded pirate, hungry, penniless and lonely, would make a confession to the authorities, obtain pardon, and then hoist the black flag anew. At other times magistrates were inexorable and evidence was clear, and then the wretches who had made others walk the plank were themselves obliged to ascend the gallows. Frigates and corvettes did their share, and a number of rovers swung from the yard arm.

By 1739 privateering had become a thriving industry, and the authorities were put to their mettle. All male persons from fifteen to sixty-three years of age, except Friends, were obliged to arm themselves. Everywhere the traveler might see men drilling. Pilots were forbidden to board inbound vessels without a permit from the Governor. The Friends, by steadily protesting against every measure that might save houses from the torch and children from slaughter, laid themselves open to adverse criticism ; just as further in the interior they gave offence by their leniency toward the Indians. If any vigorous officer sought to organize the militia there was



an outcry from the Friends, and it was claimed that it was no fault of theirs that the privateers did not lay waste the entire coasts.

Frenchmen and Spaniards complained that England set the example of privateering, but they followed the example, and it was dangerous to enter the Delaware Bay. Had a fifteen-year-old boy named George Washington wished to sail up to Philadelphia he would have found that many restrictions were imposed on vessels entering these waters. In former days the enemies had been foreigners; now there was constant dread that the best trained pilots were in the pay of foreigners and a percentage of them undoubtedly were. Confidence was destroyed. As the houses of James Hart and Edmund Liston were plundered so might others be, and the merchant who had employed a pilot for twenty-five years shuddered as he thought of the man's experience being at the service of the French or Spaniards.

Meanwhile the Assembly refused to buy cannon for the defence of the river, and considered it undesirable to station a cruiser near the capes. Once more the waters were practically cleared, but so late as 1788, James McAlpine was convicted of piracy on the Delaware. McAlpine's conviction took place the year before Washington took his oath as President; the Barbary pirates troubled our first four Presidents; there were occasional troubles in the West Indies and Mediterranean within the memory of hundreds who still live; and within half a century we have subdued the cutthroats at Formosa. Such conditions as young Farragut found in the West Indies existed on the Delaware sixty years before Farragut was born. The Delaware pirates worried Penn perhaps as sorely as the Tripolitan pirates worried Jefferson.

Colonial Delaware had many a political fight in which even the most thorough-going antiquarian can take but little interest. Old controversies over tax rates and boundary lines, disputes between the proprietary and discontented landowners, the inevitable clashing between the great province on the

upper Delaware and the small territories below are as obsolete as the antique garments and wigs of our remote progenitors. Yet then, as now, there were loud complaints that prosperous and respectable citizens shirked the labors of voting, while unprosperous and disreputable citizens voted more than once. Sheriffs were accused of passing liquor around until the polling places were besieged by howling mobs. Bribery was as common as it is to-day. The record of a colonial election, barring the quaintness in spelling and a few English terms which sound odd to later generations, is only too much like the record of a Tammany Hall district or a stronghold of the Philadelphia organization.

Discontent is more or less prevalent in all societies. In the early days of Penn's regime sundry laws passed at New Castle were confirmed at Philadelphia. This aroused the pride and resentment of the territories, and a protest against such action was signed by John Brinkloe, William Rodeney, John Walker, William Morton, Luke Watson, Jr., Jasper Yeates, Richard Halliwell, Adam Peterson and John Donaldson. By the protestants it was urged that if laws were passed at New Castle there was no need of re-enacting them; that the re-enactment cast an uncertainty over the whole statute book; and the question was asked—if laws were passed at Philadelphia, would it be necessary to re-enact them the next time the Assembly met at New Castle? The Governor replied that the laws were passed a second time merely as a matter of form and to avoid misunderstanding. He was grieved at the action of the lower counties, and probably not less grieved at the hostile stand taken by Jasper Yeates, who assured him that Delaware had the utmost respect for Governor Penn, but that she was mindful of her own rights. Murmurs continued, and it was not unusual to hear Delawareans say that the union had, from the first, been a tax upon them rather than a benefit to them. Penn's new charter recognized that a separation would probably take place, and gave the colonists three years in which to decide. In Penn's absence many important mat-

ters were placed in the hands of Andrew Hamilton and James Logan. Pennsylvania was growing more rapidly than Delaware, and the smaller partner in the firm grew suspicious. There seemed to be no hope of cordiality, and, in spite of Governor Hamilton's opposition, the representatives from the upper counties favored separate Assemblies. Difficulties arose about the time and conduct of elections; representatives from the lower territories refused to sit with members from the province. Beneath all that was said there lay two lurking apprehensions. The Pennsylvanians believed that Delaware was leavened with Maryland influence, the Delawareans believed that trade and immigration would pass from them to the northward, that they had not a fair share of officers, and that the Friends would never take the vigorous action necessary to check Indians on the land or drive pirates from the sea.

When people are in a quarreling mood new pretexts can easily be found. The lower counties raised difficulties about the charter, the Council declared that the censors had been elected under that instrument, and that fault should have been found at an earlier date. On November 19, 1701, the Council submitted to the Assembly three questions: Are representatives of the province willing to meet representatives of the territories for the purpose of forming an Assembly? Are representatives of the territories willing to meet representatives of the province for the purpose of forming an Assembly? If either refuse, what methods do they propose for the formation of an Assembly to prevent the province from suffering when such grave questions remain unconsidered? A reply indicating that union was not desired was signed by Robert French, Richard Halliwell, Jasper Yeates, Evan Jones, Thomas Sharp, John Foster, John Hill and Joseph Booth. Council advised that the governor dismiss the Assembly until further directions came from England, and this recommendation was cheerfully followed by a weary Executive. Much time had been consumed in these discussions, important business had been neglected, and the Governor was faulted by many for

not pouring oil on the troubled waters. The members from the province again asked that Delaware might have a separate Assembly, and also requested that two more members be given to Philadelphia. Governor Hamilton's death threw the burden of decision on Edward Shippen, president of the Council, who found the Pennsylvania members willing to organize an Assembly, howbeit its regularity might be questioned. In 1703 came Lieutenant Governor John Evans, who waved an olive branch, studied the matter from the beginning—not to an end, for it had no end, but through several of its phases—chose Jasper Yeates, William Rodeney and other men from the lower counties as members of his Council, and induced Council to say that union was desirable. Alas, it was only too evident that this resolution was merely a civility to the Governor. The counties of Newcastle, Kent and Sussex upon Delaware in 1704 organized their own Assembly, although they were still to acknowledge the provincial government, and this adjustment lasted until all colonial adjustments were shattered by a certain document issued on the fourth of July, 1776.

We can never say that ten per cent. of a historical incident was due to this cause, and twenty-five per cent. to that; but we can be sure that Lord Baltimore's agents had aggravated the differences between the province and the territories. There is no doubt that they had encouraged the complaints of 1684, and a strong probability that they had a hand in the protests of 1690. In that year, indeed, the members of the Council from the territories held a secret meeting without notifying their colleagues or the governor, and this clandestine action was denounced, and the ill feeling caused by it may have led the Council to refuse the demand of the lower counties that all their judges and other officers should be chosen by the representatives from the lower counties.

In 1691 Penn asked the Council to pass on three modes of government, viz.: through a deputy governor, through a commission of five, or through the Council itself. A majority

avored the first plan, which was emphatically in the interests of Pennsylvania. Delaware preferred the rule of five commissioners, but was prepared to accept the rule of the Council itself. Strenuous objections were made to the Governor as likely to be tyrannical and certain to be expensive, and the promised submission to the Council was coupled with the provision that the officers should be sent to the lower counties without the consent of the members from those counties. Lloyd's efforts at conciliation were unsuccessful; and the sky appeared stormy. Under Fletcher there was something like an armed neutrality, despite a quarrel over expenses in 1700; but the next year there was another financial controversy, and the Delaware members left the Assembly. It is difficult to read over some of these early feuds without fancying that envoys from Maryland were at hand, sailing on the river with a discontented taxpayer or drinking in a tavern with a would-be officeholder. There was always some spark of suspicion in Delaware, and there was always some one from Maryland to blow the flame.

After twenty and more years of dissatisfaction there seemed to be a change of sentiment. The Pennsylvania members who had upheld the union looked with good-humored eyes on the proposed separation, while the Delawareans at the last spoke as if they were casting a longing, lingering look behind. It may be, however, that they were heartsick of the old conditions, and yet wished to throw the blame of disunion on others. In November, 1704, James Coutts filled the Speaker's chair in the Delaware Assembly. New acts were multiplying. It was decided that seven years' possession of land should give an unquestionable title thereto, except in the case of infants, married women, lunatics, persons beyond the seas, those who possess estates for a term of years, for life or entail. Various judicial abuses were, if not extirpated, forbidden; an oath for attorneys and solicitors was prescribed, weights and measures were regulated; the Assembly increased from four to six members from each county. Whispers of total separation from the



province were uttered, only to die away, for Governor Evans was more popular in the lower territories than in Pennsylvania. Delaware supported him in his efforts at raising militia, while the Friends in the provinces would not, and his efforts at overcoming the anti-military feeling were ridiculous rather than sublime.

Annual fairs were great events to the quiet Friends of Penn's "green country town;" and in May, 1706, Philadelphia was as gay as her traditions permitted. By pre-arrangement a herald from New Castle rode up to Governor Evans, telling him that the province was in danger, that the foemen were coming up the bay, and that grim war trod at hand. Governor Evans pretended to be in great agony for the safety of his trust; he rode through the town like a warder of the Scotch marches, called on the people to arm themselves, and so frightened a handful of timid folks that they left the city and sought a convenient hiding-place in the woods. It did not, however, take long for the worthy Friends to find out that the Governor had been crying "Wolf, wolf," and, like the boy in the fable, the Governor had cause to regret his folly. Many times when there was actual peril the memory of this absurd demonstration gave a spice of the farcical to appeals and manifestoes.

Better fortune attended the rational movement in favor of a fort at New Castle. It was ordered that vessels going up the river were to pay a tax in powder; and that vessels going in either direction were to anchor until the captain should go on shore and obtain leave to pass. A strong mercantile interest fought this bill, but it passed with the concession that vessels owned by persons residing on the river were not taxable. No other relief could be obtained, and a vessel, no matter how urgent her errand, was liable to inconvenient detention, or, in case of disobedience, to a heavy penalty, viz., fine, a forfeiture for the attempt, and fines of increasing value for every gun that might be fired at the delinquent vessel. The officers of the fort would see that plenty of guns were fired, enough to seri-

ously mulct the offender who ignored the command of the dignitaries. In the winter of 1707, Her Majesty's engineer, Captain Rednap, came from New York at the Governor's instance to build the fort. A few disobedient skippers were brought to account, and then came a test case.

Richard Hill of Philadelphia prepared his sloop, the *Philadelphia*, for her first cruise, a run to the Barbadoes. He and the other owners of the *Philadelphia* bade the master sail by the fort. Hill called on the Governor and requested permission to pass, and, on meeting with a refusal, stated that he would pass in any event. Open defiance a Governor's soul cannot brook, and the Governor mounted his horse to ride to New Castle and warn the men behind the guns to do their full duty. A special guard was ordered to see that the *Philadelphia* did not get by in the darkness. The wrath of the Governor did not daunt the soul of Richard Hill, but Hill feared that it might daunt the soul of his captain, hence Samuel Preston, Isaac Norris and Richard Hill, owners of the aforesaid sloop *Philadelphia* went on board the sloop to see that nobody flinched. At New Castle Preston and Norris requested leave to pass, and were refused. Hill then took charge of the sloop and ran by with no damage except a shot through the mainsail—better luck, by the way, than fell to the lot of another *Philadelphia*, off Tripoli harbor. John French, commander of the fort, pursued the vessel in a boat. Hill threw him a rope, drew him on board, and then bade him consider himself a prisoner. On meeting Lord Cornbury of the English navy, Hill surrendered his 'captive, and the Admiral liberated French, after he had severely reprimanded him for endeavoring to interfere with free Englishmen in the exercise of their right to sail up and down Her Majesty's waters. Hill's direct challenge to the authorities was followed the next year by a written protest against the fort as an infringement on their liberty, and citizens who recognized the possible utility of a fort objected to the regulations which were more likely to hamper commerce than to destroy piracy. The

Governor promised to suspend the objectionable features, but the people were not easily soothed, and many colonists signed petitions asking for the removal of John Evans as Governor. About the middle of 1708 he was superseded by Charles Gookin.

Evans did not retire with graceful calmness. He had invested in a farm at Swanhook and had made a number of improvements. Offended dignity joined with loss of money and the Governor was wroth. The partisans of Evans hinted that in the event of a total separation he might be Governor of Delaware; while his enemies questioned if he had ever been Governor at all, and revived the ancient and fish-like story that Penn's title to the lower counties was not clear. Several devoted Evans men withdrew from the Assembly, to return, however, on the arrival of Governor Gookin, who found that Indians and pirates were quite worthy of his attention. William Penn hoped for a reunion of the province and the territories, and persevered in his hope after everybody on this side of the ocean looked on the division as permanent. The colonists, at least the tranquil spirits among them, were pleased to observe that, after the separation, the upper and lower counties grew more friendly. Each section, it is true, desired to outstrip the other, but Pennsylvania did not want to injure Delaware or Delaware to injure Pennsylvania. As soon as they were apart, they recognized this, and as the years passed the old asperities faded away.

It is natural to man to wrangle, and the lower counties, no longer united with the province, had a dispute with the proprietary. Business, politics and contracts entered into the dispute. In 1709 an address laying formal complaints against Penn was sent to the Lords of Trade and Plantations, among the signers being James Coutts, Jasper Yeates, Richard Halliwell and Robert French. This document alleged that owing to the resistance of the Friends it was not possible to provide for the public defence, and complained that for the last seven years the lower counties had been deprived of provincial

courts. Yeates, according to tradition, had started in business at New Castle and had failed to reap the golden harvests he expected. From his standpoint a total separation from Pennsylvania meant a larger trade, but the motives of his fellow signers are less clear. It is probable that the complaint about the Friends was sincere, nor is there any doubt that it was justified. Some curiosity is still felt about James Coutts, originally a friend of the proprietary, and now prepared to cross the Atlantic and prefer charges against him. The petition was unavailing, for Penn knew of it beforehand, and his statements outweighed the appeals of a few discontented people from three faraway counties. It is more than likely that the London dignitaries looked on the petition with disdain and annoyance, for the Delawareans, take them altogether, were a feeble flock, each of the three counties averaging from one hundred to one hundred and twenty families. Confused bits of gossip indicate that Coutts sought to win the Governorship by bribery, that his followers deserted him and flocked to Evans, that Evans refused the offer and that the malcontents were hopelessly rent in pieces.

Governor Gookin in 1717 gave way to Governor Keith, and in 1719 a flood of legislation began. Despite the influence of Penn and the Friends there must have been a strong hostile sentiment, for not until 1719 did Delaware permit those who had conscientious scruples against oaths to submit their testimony on affirmation. What is more remarkable, the province of Pennsylvania did not grant such liberty of conscience until 1725. The Assembly enacted that robbery, sodomy, buggery, and rape were capital offences; death without benefit of clergy was denounced against any one who mutilated a fellow creature; the same penalty hung over the head of the woman who slew her child, born out of wedlock, and the person who aided or abetted the murder of said child. Women convicted of certain felonies were sentenced to imprisonment and branding on the hand. If witnesses were suborned, a fine was imposed, half to go to the government and half to the injured

person. Should the offender be unable to pay the fine he was to be imprisoned six months, to stand in the pillory one hour, and to suffer other disabilities inflicted by the law of England. Various felonies might send their author to the gallows, yet left the alternative of the jail and the branding iron. The Assembly sought to promote the construction of mills, it granted permission to survey the town of Dover and lay it off in lots; in 1722 it established an Orphans' court; the legal rate of interest was reduced from eight to six per cent.; orders were issued to remove the obstructions in the Brandywine. The legislators seem to have been anxious to develop the resources of the colony, and they were no harsher than their age.

In 1726, Patrick Gordon became Governor, and in his days quarantine regulations were passed; the law compelled all witnesses legally summoned to testify against the destruction of land-marks; it forbade the construction of dams across rivers and creeks except for the use of mills; it frowned on counterfeiting seals and charters, on inciting riots and holding unlawful assemblies. In each county two justices and six freeholders were to form a board which was to have jurisdiction over negroes and mulattoes. Should a black bondman be found guilty of a capital offence, this board was to appraise his value, and two-thirds of the appraised sum was to be paid to his owner. Negroes who carried arms or who met in assemblies of more than six persons were to receive twenty-one lashes on the bare back. A slave guilty of theft was to receive so many lashes as the board should direct, and his master was to make good the loss. A negro who attempted to assault a white woman was to stand in the pillory for four hours with his ears nailed to the floor, after which his ears were to be cut off close to his head. Land might be sold for debt, but if it appeared that the rent would pay the claim in seven years, creditors were obliged to wait until the expiration of that period. Law and equity courts, with fixed times and places of meeting were established. Relations not wholly unlike



those of Doctors' Commons existed in the lower counties, for justices who sat in the Court of Common Pleas also sat in the Court of Equity and the prothonotary of the Court of Common Pleas was the register of the Court of Chancery.

All free countries must have a political issue which agitates the public mind, drops out of notice, revives, slumbers again, and is reproduced when there is no other subject on the carpet. The worthy Assemblymen and taxpayers of Delaware in 1727 were again roused by the news that Penn's title was questionable, and two years later a libelous article gave them a miniature Junius excitement. Investigation proved that the article had been written by a clergyman who lived in an odor the reverse of sanctity, and also showed that he had placed a safe distance between himself and the courts of Delaware. Even at that early day peddlers interfered with licensed traders, and laws were passed in the interest of the regular merchants. Boundary lines, as in all new colonies, were a source of unending litigation.

In 1734, the Assembly decreed that elections were to take place on the first day of October at the court houses in New Castle, Dover and Lewistown. Each county at that time had six representatives, but the Assembly might increase the number. The Governor was authorized to change the meeting place in case of a contagious disease or invasion from abroad. Within fifty years the Continental Congress was to meet, adjourn, seek a place of safety, and move so frequently that few can name all the towns at which it sat. A voter must be a subject of Great Britain, twenty-one years old, a resident for two years; be a freeholder within the lower counties with not less than fifty acres of land, twelve acres whereof must be cleared and improved. If he had less than this area he must have forty pounds in money. Bribery, illegal voting and non-voting were all punished by fines. The clerk was permitted to write the name of the candidate for whom the illiterate voter wished to cast his ballot. A religious test, involving loyalty to the Crown, detestation of Popery, and belief in the

Scriptures was required, nor could he who refused this oath exercise the franchise. In 1740 a pound was built at New Castle. Law further assured all good people that a regular market would be opened on Wednesdays and Saturdays, and that on those days no provisions except fish, milk and bread could be lawfully sold outside of the market. Bad beef and false weights were condemned, nor could meat be sold on Tuesday or Friday except in June, July and August.

Immigration then as now was a problem. The Swedes had been so anxious to people their colonies that they drove vagrant Finns and mutinous soldiers across the ocean. Now it was declared unlawful to import a convict or pauper without paying a duty of five pounds and giving security of fifty pounds for the good behavior of such person for one year. The citizens of the lower counties who imported infants and lunatics were to indemnify the government or to return these unwelcome visitors. Drunkenness and ordinary profanity were punishable by fine and the stocks, while the blasphemer was to stand for two hours in the pillory, to be branded with B on the forehead, and to publicly receive thirty-nine lashes on the bare back. Game had to be protected, and inns were to be scrutinized, nor did the legislators of the day forget the ever interesting subject of fences.

Robert Jenkins was almost as well known in Delaware as the Jenkins of the mutilated ear in Great Britain. In 1739 he left Salem, New Jersey, and went to England, where he induced Abraham Ilive, a Southwark printer, to supply him with a large amount of counterfeit money. Whether Ilive's conscience troubled him, whether he feared the gallows, whether he did not receive enough pay for his work, this generation knows not, but something led him to confess his crime to the authorities, who sent word across the ocean to look out for what might have been a flood of worthless currency. Jenkins had found a berth as cook on board a vessel bound for New York, but when, in 1740, he landed, the government was on the lookout for him. As one would expect

he pleaded that the counterfeit money had been smuggled into his chest by parties unknown, and it was not possible to disprove his statement, hence he escaped the gallows from which a petty thief might have swung. In 1742 laws were aimed at horse stealing, and new statutes<sup>w</sup><sub>a</sub> sought to extirpate dueling and bribery. Wood corders were appointed for every town and village, their office being to measure every cord offered for sale, for which they were to receive sixpence from the purchaser. Each county was to furnish twenty-eight grand jurors and forty-eight petit jurors. In the next year the methods of raising taxes were revised.

Thus early Delaware had wrestled with the race problem, smuggling, drunkenness, bribery, repeating at elections, weights and measures, clandestine marriages, colonial defence, judicial oaths, profane swearing, public improvements, corporations, religious establishments, judicial administration, counterfeit money, boundaries, land titles, the claims of warring legislative bodies, Indians, pirates and all forms of vice and immorality. She had felt the influence of Sweden, Holland and England, and had learned that when great European powers fall to war outlying colonies feel the strife.

"Delaware" appeared on the first seal used in "the lower Counties," while in 1751 appeared a new seal having "the counties on Delaware." All papers stamped with the old seal were declared by the Assembly to be lawful. Bridges and roads again demanded attention, and legislation of increasing strictness required each citizen to do his share of work on the roads or pay a substitute.

Some idea of the resources of the colony is given by a list of supplies sent in 1755 to Braddock's army. Delaware's patriotism forwarded fifty oxen, one hundred sheep, twelve hams, eight cheeses, two dozen flasks of oil, ten loaves of sugar, one cask of raisins, one box of soap and candles, one box of pickles and mustard, eight casks of biscuits, four kegs of sturgeons, one keg of herring, two chests of lemons, two kegs of spirits, one cask of vinegar, one barrel of potatoes and three tubs of

butter. Financial aid was also extended to the British government. A map of Delaware Bay and River was about to be published, but the government postponed the issue on the ground that it might give information to the enemy. Brief embargoes forbidding the exportation of provisions or arms led to opposition among the merchants. New calls for militia led to new trouble with the Friends, and property was seized to pay taxes. Delaware was ready to deal generously with the home government, but, like her larger sisters, objected to the Stamp Act.

A fresh mass of legislation was placed on the statute books in 1769. In 1772 the Assembly had to discuss the controversies arising out of the uncertain boundaries and generally straggling streets of Wilmington. Further complaints of repeating arose, and lotteries became troublesome. In 1775 special efforts were made to provide employment for the poor. The bills of credit raising thirty thousand pounds warrant the belief that the Blue Hen was getting ready for the coming storm.

#### THE WAR OF THE REVOLUTION.

The Revolution was brought about slowly. The overthrow of the British power in America was not a sudden madness, but the culmination of an oppression, through taxes, coercion, and even insults. There were several Acts of Parliament which may be reviewed in order to show this.

In 1660 Parliament enacted that all sugar, tobacco, cotton and wool raised in the colonies should be sent only to England, Ireland, Wales and the British plantations. In this way the selling markets of the colonists were restricted. In 1663 it was ordered that every article of foreign production needed, except salt and wine from Madeira and the Azores, and provisions from Scotland, must be purchased in England. In this way the buying markets were also restricted. In 1672 a further step was taken by imposing duties on certain productions of the colonies, exported from one to the other, no longer

leaving the trade between them free. In 1750 the erection of iron mills was prohibited, and they were declared to be nuisances, and to be at once abated. These acts were not enforced very vigorously, for it would have been unbearable if they had been, and Parliament did not restrict the colonies in everything, but encouraged them to produce new articles, such as tar, pitch, turpentine, hemp, raw silk, flax, indigo, staves, masts and yards.

But in 1763 further plans for taxing the colonies were devised, and the next year Parliament asserted its right to tax the colonies at will, and recommended laying a stamp tax on all writs, legal process and mercantile documents, which led to a solemn protest by the colonies addressed to the crown, that "taxes could not be laid on the people but by their consent in person or by deputation." Nevertheless, on April 5, 1764, a duty was laid on all sugar, molasses, and a few other articles imported into America for the purpose of raising a revenue; and a year later, March 22, 1765, the stamp act was passed.

An extract from a letter from George Read to Richard Neave in London, written in July, 1765, from New Castle, may be inserted here, to show the sentiment then existing in the colonies:

"Before you will receive this, I doubt not but you will see in our public papers, the opposition generally made to the distribution of the state papers . . . if this law should stand unrepealed, or indeed any other enactment in lieu thereof, imposing an internal tax for the purpose of revenue, the colonists will entertain an opinion that they are to become the slaves of Great Britain by the Parliament making laws to deprive them of their property without their consent by any kind of representation. This will lead them into measures to live as independent of Great Britain as possible, and they will gradually go into the making of woolens and iron mongery, your two great branches of manufactory . . . From this consideration alone every friend to the mother country and the



colonies ought to wish and to afford a helping hand to obtain an alteration in the late system of politics in England."

By the invitation of Massachusetts a general congress was held at New York and nine colonies were represented when it met on October 7, 1765. The Delaware Assembly was not in session when the call for deputies was issued, but the members from each county met and appointed the Speaker, Jacob Kollock, Cæsar Rodney and Thomas McKean, deputies to the Congress.

The congress took into consideration this method of appointment of delegates, and resolved that "the same are sufficient to qualify the gentlemen therein named, to sit in this Congress."

Their instructions were to join with the committees sent by the other provinces in one united and loyal petition to his majesty, and a remonstrance to the honorable house of Commons of Great Britain against the Acts of Parliament, and therein dutifully yet most firmly to assert the colonies' right of exclusion from taxation by Parliament and pray that they might not in any instance be stripped of the ancient and most valuable privilege of a trial by their peers and most humbly to implore relief. For some reason Kollock failed to attend, and Rodney and McKean alone represented Delaware—ample representation.

Their share in this Congress was conspicuous and influential, especially as the latter was one of the committee of three who drew up the address to the British House of Commons. The congress, with less fortitude than that later one of September, 1774, for many of the members seemed timid, in a series of resolutions addressed to both Houses of Parliament and to the King, asserted the right to trial by a jury of their peers, against an extended admiralty jurisdiction, freedom from taxation except by colonial assemblies, since no representatives of the colonies existed in Parliament, complained of the trade acts, but admitted due submission to the King and Parliament, and also the right of Parliament to legislate generally and to regulate trade.

The following extract from a letter written by Caesar Rodney to his brother Thomas, indicates the perplexing situation of the colonies at that time :

“NEW YORK, *Oct. 20, 1765.*

“You and many others are surprised perhaps to think that we should sit so long when the business of our meeting seemed to be only the petitioning of the king and remonstrating to both houses of Parliament, but when you consider that we are petitioning and addressing that august body, the great legislature of the empire, for redress of grievances, it was likewise necessary to point out the liberty we have and ought to enjoy (as freeborn Englishmen) according to the British Court. . . . This was one of the most difficult tasks I ever saw undertaken, as we had carefully to avoid any infringement of the prerogative of the crown and the power of Parliament, and yet in duty bound fully to assert the rights and privileges of the colonies.”

During the existence of the Stamp Act, Thomas McKean, as Judge of the Court of Common Pleas in this State, in November, 1765, ordered the issue and service of the court's process upon unstamped paper. This was the first court in the colonies by which such an order was made and executed.

The Stamp Act Congress is usually spoken of as the First Colonial Congress, but actually it was the second, for previously in 1754 a Congress was called at Albany to prepare for the French and Indian War. This Albany Congress is noteworthy because here Benjamin Franklin presented a plan of union providing for a President-General to be appointed and supported by the crown, and for a grand council of delegates to be elected triennially by the colonies according to population, and empowered within limits to levy taxes and make laws for the common interest of England and America. This plan was adopted by the Congress but rejected by the people of the colonies because it gave so much power to the king.

The general tendency towards concerted action and union between the colonies was noticeably growing stronger every year. At the beginning of the movement the people were not nearly so close to each other as we are now. To be sure they all had a sympathy for free institutions and a common hatred

of oppression, but travel and communication were so slow and expensive that colonies side by side were separated as if by many miles. But the very need of combined resistance to English acts brought about the union which was fatal to England.

As Thomas F. Bayard has so admirably expressed it, "This union was formed not by any single act or declaration, but by the silent and natural growth of the unwritten laws of human sympathy and congenial association, for noble and worthy ends."

Because of the great opposition to it, the Stamp Act was repealed in March, 1766. There was great rejoicing throughout the colonies, and Caesar Rodney, Thomas McKean and George Read were appointed by the Delaware Assembly to prepare an address to the King expressive of grateful sentiments. Even at this time, ten years before the Declaration of Independence, this paper, representing the Delaware people, was marked with a sincere devotion to the crown which befitted most loyal subjects. But the principle on which the Stamp Act was founded was not given up by Parliament. Before 1763 all taxes laid on the colonies had been only for local expenses and in regulation of trade, but now they were for revenue for the home government. Next was laid the so-called "Commercial" tax on glass, paper, pasteboard, painters' colors and tea. The colonies immediately agreed not to import any of these articles. "The three lower counties on the Delaware" simply adopted the Philadelphia agreement, namely, not to import any goods, wares and merchandise from Great Britain, to countermand all orders for English goods, not to have any dealings with anyone so importing, and anyone breaking this to be declared infamous and a betrayer of his country. Rodney, McKean and Read formulated a second address to the King renewing the expression of loyalty but at the same time expressing regret at the new course. There was some violation of this, mostly by shopkeepers, but considering what a short time before the colony had been loyal

to England, this resistance, involving as it did inconvenience and loss, was remarkably unanimous. To arrest this violation many of the towns adopted a simple but effective plan. Two committeemen in each town were appointed to watch the trade of shopkeepers, and if they discovered any sale of forbidden articles they reported it to a general committee, of which George Read was chairman, who determined what was to be done thereupon. This was carried out diligently.

In May, 1769, the duties on glass, paper and colors were remitted. The tax on tea, although apparently remitted, was really retained. The price was lowered threepence a pound and a tax of threepence laid on, so that the final cost was only what the cost of the tea itself had been before. But the colonists were fighting for the principle and not for the money. The opposition of the colonies exasperated the king and Parliament and caused them to try coercion. The Boston Port Bill of March, 1774, prohibited landing or shipping any goods at that port after June 18th. Massachusetts appealed to the other colonies not to import or export until this act should be repealed. The colonies were unanimous in denouncing the injustice and unconstitutionality of the act and in upholding Massachusetts. No colony moved more promptly than Delaware. On June 29, 1774, at a meeting of the freeholders and inhabitants of New Castle County, of which meeting Thomas McKean was chairman, resolutions were adopted declaring the Boston Port Bill unconstitutional, oppressive and dangerous to our liberties. The meeting advocated a Congress of deputies for procuring relief and redress and securing rights and liberties; the appointment of a committee for New Castle County to correspond with the sister colonies, and recommending that the legislature meet to appoint deputies to Congress. The meeting further appointed a committee of thirteen provided for the raising of subscriptions for the relief of Boston, and promising that the inhabitants of New Castle County would adopt and carry into execution every peaceable and constitutional measure agreed upon by the colonies. The words

“peaceable” and “constitutional” are noticeable as they show that a revolution was not desired, indeed even repudiated at this time in Delaware.

On July 20 a like meeting was held at Dover (of which Caesar Rodney was chairman), in Kent County, adopting resolutions similar to those of New Castle County, and appointing a committee of thirteen. New Castle County had asked that when the Assembly met to elect delegates, it should meet in New Castle County not later than August 1st. Sussex County, regarding this as rather arrogant and dictatorial, threatened to choose their deputy to the Congress by popular vote instead of electing representatives and having them choose deputies. But Rodney and others overcame this opposition and the Sussex County inhabitants met at Lewes on July 23, 1774 and adopted resolutions of the same tenor as those of New Castle and Kent, and chose a committee of thirteen.

To stir up the feeling a mass meeting was held in Lewes on July 28, 1774. It was the largest popular meeting ever held up to that time in the State. Thomas McKean made the principal address, enumerating the principles of the state rights and the British usurpations and oppressions, and concluded by showing the expediency of a general Congress to restore friendship with Great Britain, which Congress, he said, ought to continue in future times.

These committees from the three counties met at New Castle August 1, 1774, with Rodney as chairman, and elected Rodney, McKean and Read deputies to the general Congress at Philadelphia to meet on September 5th.

The resolutions adopted by the three joint Committees on Correspondence, recite the list of America's grievances with a vigor and dignity that characterize the public utterances of that period.

The Congress met in Carpenter's Hall, Philadelphia, September 5, 1774, with eleven provinces represented. There was at first some contention as to whether the votes of the smaller colonies should count the same as those of the larger



ones, but it was finally decided that each should have one vote. On the 6th of September Rodney was appointed a member of the grand committee which was instructed to state the rights of the colonies in general, the several instances in which their rights were violated or infringed and the means most proper to be pursued for obtaining a restoration of them ; an honor surely requiring clear thinking and a knowledge of the law. Massachusetts was sustained in her resistance. After much discussion the power of Parliament to regulate trade was admitted from the necessity of the case, but all right of taxation, internal or external, was denied. A petition to the King drawn by John Dickinson and addressed to the people of Great Britain and of Quebec, and to the colonies represented in Congress, was adopted, and after recommending another Congress to meet May 10, 1775, adjournment was made on October 26th. All the members for themselves and their constituents signed the non-import and non-export agreements, to take effect in September, 1775, unless the obnoxious acts were repealed in the meantime.

The Delaware Assembly met at New Castle on March 13, 1775, and to them the three deputies made their report. It was immediately approved with thanks. In re-electing the deputies the Assembly instructed them :

FIRST. Avoid anything disrespectful or offensive to the King or invasive of his just rights and prerogatives.

SECOND. Adhere to claims and resolutions of the last Congress, but do not claim anything apparently not belonging to colonists or not essentially necessary to well being of same.

THIRD. Treat with any one appointed by the crown to treat with the colonies concerning disputes.

FOURTH. Insist on equal voice in Congress.

AFTER this the House adjourned until June 5th.

The credentials of the Delaware deputies in the Journal of Congress give "full power to them, or any two of them, together with the delegates from the other American Colonies to concert and agree upon such further measures as shall appear to them best calculated for the culmination of the unhappy differences between Great Britain and the Colonies on a constitutional foundation.

During this time the subscription for the relief of Boston

was raised successfully; nine hundred dollars was sent in February, 1775, one thousand dollars in May, and a little later about two hundred and seventy-five dollars, which indicates great generosity considering the size and population of the colonies.

A petition from the inhabitants, freemen of New Castle and Kent, may be mentioned here. It was addressed to the Assembly, and shows that the gravity of the situation was realized. Although satisfied with the moderate instructions to the deputies, yet "we conceive a well regulated militia composed of gentlemen freeholders and other freemen to be not only a constitutional right but the natural strength and most stable security of a free government, from the exercise of which a wise people will not excuse themselves in time of peace." This seems to be significant of what was then passing in the minds of men.

There was a great reluctance to admit what now seemed the inevitable result. Through all the period of growing alienation, expressions of attachment to the crown were frequent, and they were not merely hypocritical. Wise men are restrained, and form their judgment under a sense of responsibility. Surely no greater question ever rested on a body of representative men. Is it any wonder that they hesitated long before deciding finally? In October, 1774, Washington wrote a letter, and it may be inserted here to illustrate how great a problem confronted these deputies in Congress assembled.

"It is not the wish or interest of that government (Massachusetts) or any other, separately or collectively, to set up for independence. But none of them will ever submit to the loss of those valuable rights and privileges which are essential to the happiness of any free state, and without which life, liberty and property are rendered insecure. . . . I am well satisfied that no such thing is desired by any thinking man in all North America. On the contrary it is the ardent wish of the warmest advocates of liberty that peace and tranquility upon Constitutional grounds may be restored and civil discord prevented."

And the following extract from a letter written by Thomas

Rodney after the war was over, about his brother Caesar Rodney, describes his state of mind :

“In 1776, when independence began to be agitated in Congress almost all his old friends were against it, particularly Andrew Allen, John Dickinson, Robert Morris and his colleague George Read ; in every point of view the question was important and it was difficult to say what might be best ; on one side stood a doubtful experience and a bloody war and on the other unconditional submission to the power of Great Britain ; those that were against deciding now argued that there was yet a possibility of reconciliation on constitutional principles, but if we declared ourselves independent, all hope of reconciliation was cut off ; on the other side while we continued in our present situation no foreign nation could enter into alliance with us or afford us any public friendship ; all our dependence being on foreign fire arms, ammunition, and other supplies we had no way to obtain them but in a clandestine manner, which could not possibly enable us to oppose the power of Great Britain, she was exerting herself in every part of Europe to prevent our getting supplies ; she had declared us out of her protection and was making every kind of exertion in her power to reduce us to unconditional submission ; all her conduct so fully induced this intention that no hope of reconciliation on constitutional principles could possibly remain.”

The King refused to see the petition of the Congress of September, 1774, on the ground that it was an unlawful and seditious assembly. Parliament refused to consider the addresses for the same reason. Massachusetts was declared to be in rebellion, the land and naval forces were increased, the trade of the northern colonies restricted to Great Britain and Ireland, and fishing on the Newfoundland Banks prohibited. News of all this reached here in April, together with an exhortation of Massachusetts to the colonies to greater preparation by military training to encounter the invaders.

It was on April 26, 1775, one week later, that the news of the bloodshed at Lexington and Concord reached Delaware by express riders, and all the middle colonies, while they believed that the conflict between England and America might be avoided, and hoped for reconciliation, declared themselves in favor of war rather than submission.

Such was the state of affairs when the second General Congress met in Philadelphia on May 10, 1775.

This Congress, to which Cæsar Rodney and George Read

were our delegates, opened its sessions on May 11 with prayer. It recommended the training of militia and the raising of Continental troops, adopting the necessary measures and rules for its government and providing for the organization of the higher department. Thomas Jefferson, John Dickinson, and some others were a committee to prepare a declaration of the causes of taking up arms. Jefferson drew this, the first declaration, but it not being approved, Dickinson drew up one which was approved and accepted July 6, 1775. Dickinson also drew up a second petition to the King, and addresses to the people of Great Britain and Ireland were made.

The first regiment, Haslet's, was not raised, however, until a few months later. During this interim, besides being members of Congress, Rodney was speaker, and Read and McKean members of the Assembly of Delaware. Thus their time was divided, and yet they were successful in filling offices that seem to us incompatible. The following letter speaks for itself.

“NEW CASTLE, *March 6, 1776.*

“Gentlemen, I am ordered by the house to require your immediate attendance unless business of the first importance should make your stay in Congress necessary; if so, you are to immediately let the house know it.

“I am, gentlemen, your very humble servant,

“CÆSAR RODNEY, Speaker.

“GEORGE READ and THOMAS McKEAN, Esquires.”

These three were re-elected deputies to the Congress in March, 1776, and their instructions, given on the 22d of the month, were to embrace every opportunity to effect a reconciliation with Great Britain on such principles as to secure a full enjoyment of all just rights and privileges, and to cultivate the union which prevailed throughout the United Colonies; notwithstanding the desire for peace with Great Britain to join with the other colonies in all such military operations as might be judged proper and necessary for the common defence, and to insist on an equal voice in Congress with any other province, “as the inhabitants thereof have their all at stake as well as others.”

Here may be mentioned the engagement which took place off the mouth of the Christiana Creek during the first week in May, 1776. The "Roebuck" and "Liverpool," two small British warships appeared in the Delaware, and sailed up until several "rowgalleys" or "gondolas" met them sailing out from the creek. Warm cannonading ensued until the British ships were driven back and anchored in the cove below New Castle. The engagement really amounted to little, but it served to encourage the inhabitants of the colony very much.

Congress on May 15, 1776, passed a resolution recommending to the various assemblies of the colonies where no government sufficient for the exigencies of affairs existed that they adopt such government as should most conduce to happiness and safety.

Much opposition to independence existed at this time in the lower part of Delaware, and this decided step brought matters to a head. The popular party, that is, those desiring independence, instructed their five representatives in the Assembly, Caesar Rodney, William Killen, John Haslet, Thomas Rodney and Vincent Lockerman, to demand of the Assembly compliance with the resolution of Congress, and in case of refusal they were to withdraw and thus dissolve the House. The opposition, the anti-revolution party, remonstrated to the Assembly as a whole against this course and against changing the constitution at this crisis. But the popular party won a partial victory; for the Assembly, at the instance of McKean, who presented the resolution of May 15th to it, adopted the following preamble and resolution on June 15, 1776:

"WHEREAS, It has become absolutely necessary for the safety of the good people of this colony forthwith to establish some authority adequate to the exigencies of their affairs until a new government can be formed; and whereas as the Representatives of the people, in this Assembly met, alone can and ought at this time to establish such temporary authority; therefore,

*Resolved*, unanimously, That all persons holding any office, civil or military, in this colony, on the thirteenth of June instant, may and shall continue to execute the same in the name of the government of the Counties of New Castle, Kent and Sussex upon Delaware, as they used to exercise them in the name of the King,



until a new government shall be formed agreeably to the resolution of Congress of the fifteenth of May last."

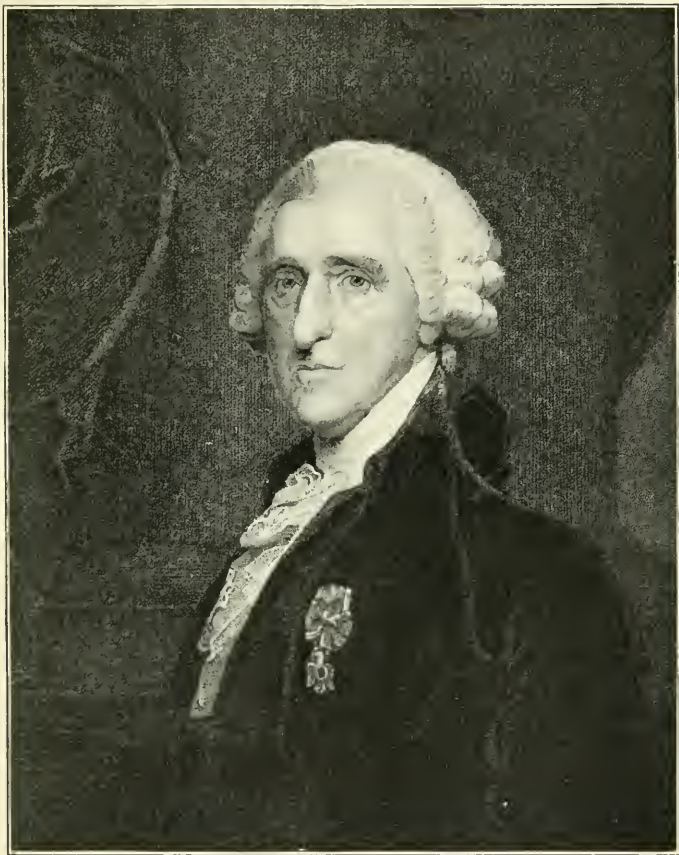
This resolution of Congress and the resulting resolution of the Delaware Assembly were decisive steps toward independence. On the seventh day of June, 1776, Lee of Virginia moved "That the United Colonies are and of right ought to be free and independent states, and that the political connection between them and Great Britain is and ought to be totally dissolved."

This resolution was debated on the 8th and 10th of June, and finally passed by the very close vote of seven to six. But unanimity was so important in a question of such gravity that, it appearing "that New York, Pennsylvania, Delaware and Maryland were not yet matured for falling from the parent stem, but were rapidly maturing to that state, it was thought prudent to wait awhile for them and to postpone the final decision until July the first."

Time has now made certain what was then doubtful. Is it to be wondered at that there was opposition to passing this resolution then? It was not rejection but delay that those opposed asked for. And far too much unfavorable criticism has been cast upon Mr. Read for his voting against independence. His motives are not understood. He wanted delay. Why? Because there was some disaffection towards the Continental Congress in his colony, and hostility between the Whigs and Tories. He was not sure that his colony was ready for this step, for statesman that he was, he knew that for success in this there must be unanimity, not only among the colonies collectively but in each colony separately. The instructions given him in March enjoined upon him to embrace every opportunity to effect a reconciliation with Great Britain, and he felt at liberty to vote either for or against independence as he might deem best. He acted as his best judgment at the time dictated.

On the 14th of June the General Assembly of the colony gave these new instructions to their deputies in Congress:





THOMAS MCKEAN,  
Signer of the Declaration of Independence.

"That you concur with the other delegates in Congress in forming such further compacts between the United Colonies and concluding such treaties with foreign kingdoms and states and in adopting such other measures as shall be judged necessary for promoting the liberty, safety and interests of America, reserving to the people of this colony the sole and exclusive right of regulating the internal government and policy of the same."

When this question came up Rodney was at home, among the inhabitants of Delaware, endeavoring to organize troops and reconcile the people to the change of government. He was unacquainted with the exact day for the final decision, and therefore failed to appear on July first. On this day among those who spoke upon the measure was McKean. A vote was taken in Congress. Nine colonies voted for independence, two, Pennsylvania and South Carolina, against it. New York, excused from voting by reason of the doubtful nature of their instructions, and Delaware's vote was not cast, for McKean and Read were on opposite sides. Rutledge of South Carolina then said that were the vote taken on the following day he believed his colleagues, though they disapproved of the resolution, would then give in for the sake of unanimity. The final question was therefore postponed until the next day.

McKean, finding that Rodney did not come, sent an express rider post-haste to Dover to get him. The next day, Rodney, having ridden from Dover, walked into the Congress hall, thus securing the vote of Delaware for the passing of this measure. When the vote for Delaware was called, Rodney arose and said, "As I believe the voice of my constituents and of all sensible and honest men is in favor of independence, my judgment concurs with them ; I vote for independence."

South Carolina voted in the affirmative. Dickinson and Morris, of Pennsylvania, absented themselves, thus allowing the vote of that colony to go for the affirmative, three to two. And New York on July ninth, in convention, resolved to

support the resolution. Thus it became the unanimous act of the thirteen colonies.

The journals of Congress say that on August second, "The Declaration of Independence being engrossed and compared at the table, was signed by the members." That statement is misleading, but it was signed by all the members then present. McKean, at that time, was colonel of a "Battalion of Associators," which marched away during July, '76, to Perth Amboy, to support Washington, and therefore was not present at this signing, but he added his name later. George Read signed also. He was not opposed to the Declaration; he only regarded it as premature. Regardless of the risks to life and property, should the British triumph, he added his signature, knowing if he did not it would hinder its sanction by the people; and when taunted by a Tory that he had "signed with a rope about his neck," he replied, "I know the risk and am prepared for the consequences."

The House of Assembly of Delaware immediately met and recommended their constituents to choose ten deputies for each of the counties to meet in convention to ordain and declare the future form of government for the State of Delaware. This was done with remarkable promptitude. The Committee of Safety publicly read the Declaration in Dover, and the resolutions of the Assembly concerning a committee, each of which was received with the highest approbation. The committee then sent for a picture of the king and made the drummer of the infantry bear it before them as they marched two by two around the public square in Dover, followed by the infantry in slow time with music. Then with the committee forming a circle about a fire prepared in the middle of the square for that purpose, the president cast the picture in the flames, saying as he did so, "Compelled by strong necessity, thus we destroy even the shadow of that King who refused to reign over a free people." Loud cheers and great enthusiasm greeted this, and new courage came to all the friends of liberty.

In the September following, the convention met which



adopted the first constitution of the State, treated of fully in subsequent pages.

The first legislature under the new Constitution met at New Castle, October 28, 1776. A committee from both houses was appointed to devise a great seal for the State. One device was recommended, consisting of a seal of three inches in diameter, Britannia on the right side and Liberty on the left, and a label, "Go to America," between; on top a book with the words, "The Bill of Rights," and on the bottom another, with the words, "The System of Government," and around the edge in capital letters, "The Great Seal of the Delaware State, 1776." Later this was rejected as more suitable for a medal than a seal, and another adopted of silver three inches in diameter, embracing a sheaf of wheat, an ear of corn, and an ox in a shield, with a river dividing the wheat and the corn from the ox, the supporters to be an American soldier under full arms on the right, and a husbandman with a hoe in his hand on the left, with a ship as the crest and the inscription, "The Great Seal of the Delaware State, 1776," placed around the edge. This was ordered made, and the seal of New Castle County was used as the great seal of the State until the other was completed.

On November 10, 1776, the Legislature elected George Read, already Speaker of the Council, John Dickinson and John Evans delegates to Congress. The two latter declined the honor, both on the plea of very poor health, and Nicholas Van Dyke and James Sykes were appointed in their place, but for a while Sykes alone attended. The instructions to the delegates were as follows: "They or any one or more of them are hereby authorized and empowered for and on behalf of this State to concert, agree to, and execute any measure which they or he, together with a majority of the Continental Congress, shall judge necessary for the defence, security, interest and welfare of this State in particular, and America in general; with power to adjourn to such times and places as shall appear most conducive to the public safety and advantage." The Legislature adjourned until January 6, 1777.

In November, 1777, Dr. Rush moved in Congress that some Continental troops be sent down to Lewes, Delaware, to overawe the persons then disaffected with Congress. George Read, not hearing that the motion was rejected, immediately remonstrated strongly, but Mr. Robert Morris wrote back to him that Rush's motion was rejected, and that a Virginia regiment ordered up from the eastern shore of Maryland was to stop at Dover for further orders, if the Delaware Governor should want them. This was considered unnecessary.

When the Legislature reassembled, no business was done until January 15th, when February 27th was appointed as a day of fasting and humiliation on account of the war. A committee was appointed to arrange for better militia establishment, and quantities of provisions, arms, powder and lead were ordered bought. The election of the president of the State approached, and no method being provided by the Constitution, it was decided that the two houses in joint session should elect.

On February 22, 1777, an act was passed to issue 15,000 pounds in bills of credit of the state and a sinking fund was provided. The Continental currency issued by the authority of Congress was also made legal tender in this state. The fort on the Christiana creek, near Wilmington, was put under the command of Captain Ralph Walker who was to enlist two sergeants and twelve privates for the fort, to be paid and supported by the State. He was to keep the fort properly fitted out, and also take charge of all fire rafts built or brought into the State. The Legislature adjourned on June 7, 1777, until October.

Fiscal legislation, it will be noticed, was always prominent from now on. Indeed, more acts for raising money were passed than for any other purpose, as this was the most important and probably the most difficult question that had to be faced. Evidently all the state officers were not above reproach, for resolutions to straighten out and settle up the accounts of loan offices, sheriffs, recruiting officers, state treasurers, regi-

mental officers, and paymasters, and the clothier-general of the state, are frequent.

During John McKinly's administration as President of the State, a further issue of bills of credit to the sum of 3,000 pounds was made. Caesar Rodney was made Major-General of the militia, and John Dagworthy and Philemon Dickinson, Brigadier-Generals.

Frequent insurrections in the lower part of the State caused by Tories and disaffected persons, aided by the British men-of-war in the Bay, who deceived and corrupted the ignorant people, and paid in hard money for grain, cattle and vegetables, made the ruling of the State a hard matter.

Rumors were prevalent that a fleet of thirty-six ships had left Staten Island to join Howe, and were expected to sail up the Delaware bay and river. The condition of affairs was alarming. The State had lately been traversed by a hostile army, her chief town was occupied by the enemy, and her whole water-front threatened by the British vessels. No further mention of these vessels is made, however.

The Legislature met at Dover, October 20, 1777, but there was not a full attendance, due to the proximity of the British. On October 29th an Act was passed to raise six hundred militia for defence of the State, to be paid by a draft of 5,000 pounds on the loan office of Kent County. On December 17th Caesar Rodney, Nicholas VanDyke and Thomas McKean were elected delegates to Congress for the ensuing year, with the same instructions that had been given for the previous year. Seven hundred and fifty pounds were borrowed from Vincent Lockerman to buy clothing for the Delaware regiment.

General Smallwood during the winter of 1777-78 occupied Wilmington with the Second Maryland Regiment and the Delaware Regiment, and 3,100 of the Delaware militia was ordered to reinforce him, but only a part responded to the call.

The State Legislature reassembled in February, 1778. George Read requested to be relieved from his duties as President, and on March 31st Caesar Rodney succeeded him. He

was immediately authorized to raise a company of troops in each county to guard the Delaware shore and to arrest Tories engaged in trade with the enemy. A measure of importance of this session, "for the further security of the State," was adopted, requiring all citizens to take the oath of fidelity to the Federal and State governments, and imposed the duty of bearing arms upon all except Quakers, who were compelled to pay an equivalent.

In June, 1778, an Act was passed to prevent the exportation of provisions from the State beyond the seas for a limited time. The flour mills on the Brandywine, at that time eight in number, were an important factor to the American army, especially during the trying winter of 1777-78 when the army was encamped at Valley Forge. Many of the public records and papers of the State had been captured and removed by the British when they raided the State in September, 1777. A year later General Samuel Patterson, who had been appointed to recover the lost papers, reported to the Legislature that he had succeeded in procuring and bringing back to the State most of the records that had been taken, and his expenses, amounting to about \$500, were paid by the State. On December 5th, 1778, an order was drawn in favor of Thomas Rodney for \$10,000 to pay for clothing purchased for the Delaware Regiment.

On February 1, 1779, the Legislature gave legal permission for the quartering of "Pulaski's Legion of Cavalry" within this State, and while here the Legion was largely recruited.

Back in 1776, June 11th, a committee of one delegate from each of the colonies was appointed to prepare to digest the form of a confederation to be entered into between the colonies. Thomas McKean was the member of the committee from Delaware. A plan was drawn by John Dickinson and submitted on the 12th of July. This plan was not approved, and sixteen months elapsed before the plan of a confederation was reached. In November, 1777, the Articles of Confederation were transmitted to the several Legislatures of the colonies,

with the recommendation that the respective delegates be authorized to ratify the same in Congress, and a circular letter accompanied the article, commending the plan as securing the freedom, sovereignty and independence of the United States, as the best adapted to the circumstances of all, as the only one which afforded the prospect of a general ratification, as essential to the very existence of a free people, and without which they might soon bid adieu to independence, liberty and safety. As a result of this, by July, 1778, ten States conferred authority on their delegates to sign the articles. Of the remaining three, New Jersey ratified in November, 1778, Delaware in February, 1779, and Maryland in March, 1781. The Delaware delegate objected to the method of voting in Congress, the rules for apportioning taxes, and the disposition of vacant western lands.

The State's quota of the Continental tax for the year 1778 was \$60,000, and this was ordered paid on February 2, 1779, and also \$150,000 for the year 1779. These amounts were used for national expenses. On February 3rd, \$198,000 was ordered raised for the service of the State for the year 1779 by a general tax; \$66,000 to be raised in each county. The Clothier-General of the State was ordered to draw on the State Treasurer for 2500 pounds to provide linen for the Delaware regiment, and 850 pounds was ordered drawn and paid to the fulling mills for the cloth from which the Delaware regiment was clothed. In May, \$12,000 was voted to the Clothier-General from the sale of forfeited estates in New Castle County for clothing for the officers of the Delaware regiment. In May, 1779, President Rodney suspended the prohibition of exportation of provisions from the state in relation to Massachusetts, as the latter was suffering for want of supplies, and a little later this suspension was also extended to Bermuda.

An Act for raising the further sum of \$495,000 for the year 1779 by general taxation was passed in June.

On June 1st, Captain Allen McLane's partisan company of foot, reduced to nine commissioned and non-commissioned



officers and 20 rank and file, was ordered to be annexed to the Delaware regiment. Congress had ordered this previously, and Washington had issued an order to the same effect. More will be said of this company later.

To encourage the officers of the Delaware regiment, an act was passed June 5, 1779, giving them extra rum, tea, coffee, chocolate and sugar, and pensioning them on half pay for life, instead of for seven years, from the end of the war, and if the officers should die in service, pensioning the widows of such officers on half pay for their lifetime also.

Much of the time of the Legislature during this summer, was spent in recruiting the Delaware regiment. General Washington was asked for more recruiting officers, and the bounty was raised to \$80 besides the \$200 allowed by Congress. Every officer was allowed \$100 for each soldier he enlisted who passed muster. The embargo was continued on the exportation of wheat, rye, flour, corn, bread, beef, bacon and other provisions from the state, except for the use of the army; but an amendment was added permitting exportation of grain and flour, provided vessels carrying them away should return with imports to be sold within this state. Thursday, December 9, 1779, was appointed a day of Thanksgiving.

The next session, for some unknown reason, began in Wilmington, November 29, 1779, and on December 14th a complaint from the officers of the Delaware regiment was received, because the resolutions of the previous session regarding clothes and provisions for them had not been carried out. This appeal brought about an appropriation of 15,000 pounds to furnish the officers properly. On December 22, 1779 the two houses met in joint session and elected John Dickinson, Nicholas Van Dyke and George Read delegates to Congress for the ensuing year. Mr. Read declined further service in Congress, and Thomas McKean was elected in his place.

The winter of 1779-80 witnessed great financial troubles. Massachusetts had proposed a commission to meet in Philadelphia, to fix the prices of produce, merchandise and labor

in each of the states, for prices had become very high, owing to the depreciated paper currency.

George Latimer and the three representatives in Congress were made the commissioners from Delaware, and while Delaware was ready to join in a general endeavor to restrict the cost of the necessaries of life, she resented any interference in private home affairs. Congress had enacted that any state failing to limit the price of articles to twenty-fold the prices in 1774, should be charged in the public accounts with the aggregate amount of the difference in prices paid after February 1, 1780. Delaware had not so restricted her merchants and dealers, and there were many articles that cost forty or fifty times as much in 1780 as they did six years before. The Delaware delegates in Congress were instructed to procure the repeal of this "infringement on the rights and liberties of the people inconsistent with the freedom and independence thereof." This was not done, but Delaware passed an act establishing the profit which a man might make on an article which he bought to sell again, and providing fine and imprisonment for demanding a higher price.

On December 23, 1779, the guardhouse, magazine and works on Christiana Creek, near Wilmington, were ordered sold, as they were useless and going to ruin. An act for raising \$1,360,000 in the Delaware State between February 1st and October 1, 1780, for general service, was passed December 27, 1779. On December 29, each commissioned officer in the Delaware regiment, in addition to the clothing before allowed, was granted a *hat*, and the legislature then adjourned to meet at its next session in Lewes, Sussex county.

Congress had called each of the United States for their respective quotas of \$15,000,000 monthly from February 1st to October 1st. Delaware's share, computed monthly, was \$170,000, amounting in the whole eight months to \$1,360,000, "for the purpose of carrying on the just and necessary war in which we are now engaged."

The Legislature of the State which met on March 28, 1780,

conferred certain privileges and immunities on the subjects of his most Christian Majesty, the King of France, within this State; it also passed an act for furnishing supplies for the army of the United States for the ensuing campaign, and appointed Wednesday, the 26th of April, a day of fasting, humiliation and prayer. The legal tender function of the Continental currency was ordered enforced. This extra session ended on April 16, 1780.

The Legislature convened again in June, at Dover, and passed an act for furnishing the Continental Treasury with \$132,800, by loan, on the credit of the State. Also, since by this time the Delaware regiment had joined the Southern Department, it was ordered that money be sent in place of stores and provisions to the regiment, because of the impracticability of sending the latter so far. For further recruiting the regiment the President was empowered to appoint one or more persons in each county to aid in filling up the regiment. One hundred and ninety dollars were allowed the recruiting officers for each man enlisted, who passed muster; and a bounty of \$200 above the \$200 allowed by Congress was given to every enlisted soldier. And an act for procuring an immediate supply of provisions within the States for the army of the United States was passed, June 21, 1780, and then the legislature adjourned.

At its session in November, 1780, two months' pay in specie was granted to the officers of the regiment made prisoners at the battle of Camden, and to Captain James Moore and Lieutenant John Hyatt prisoners on Long Island, and one month's pay, in specie, to the other officers of the command in the Southern Department. \$85,000 was appropriated to buy the needful specie and the necessary supplies and stores for the men. The filling up of the regiment was aided by ordering all officers not assigned to particular duty to engage in recruiting. On November 4, 1780, an Act was passed directing President Rodney to arm and fit out a vessel of not less than sixty tons to cruise against the British and Tories, who were

interrupting and impeding trade on the bay, and to ask Pennsylvania and New Jersey to aid in this.

Thursday, the 7th day of December, was appointed a day of Thanksgiving and prayer, according to an Act of Congress, and the next session of the Legislature was ordered to meet in New Castle on January 13, 1781. The first thing of importance at this session was electing Thomas Rodney, Thomas McKean and Nicholas Van Dyke delegates to Congress for the year 1781, and during this session of Congress Thomas McKean was elected President of that body. A further Act for recruiting the Delaware regiment was passed. Bills of credit previously issued were called in and cancelled and new bills were emitted and funded, and for this purpose \$2,266,666 was ordered to be raised in seven months. The Legislature adjourned to meet in Lewes in June, 1781. It met again on June 5th. The enlisting and recruiting of men for the Delaware battalion in the South was pushed and three hundred men were recruited, but, as will be seen later, they did not join Kirkwood in the Carolinas immediately, but took part in the siege of Yorktown first. 7,875 pounds in specie was ordered raised by general taxation for the service of the year 1781. The Assembly convened again at Dover on October 25th, and as General Washington with a part of his army was expected to pass through this State on his way to the South, by way of Christiana Bridge, a committee was appointed to buy provisions and forage to the value of 1,000 pounds specie for the supply of the army while there. Provisions were made for protecting the trade of the Delaware Bay and River by ordering fitted out and put in proper condition "The State Schooner 'Vigilant,' now lying at Wilmington, her tackle, apparel and furniture, and such arms, ammunition and other articles as belong to her (this boat had been ordered fitted out just a year previously), and also the State Barge, or long boat, at the Cross Roads in Kent County, and 300 pounds in specie was paid out for this. The 13th day of December, 1781, was appointed a day of public thanksgiving and prayer, according

to an order of Congress, and power was vested in Congress to levy a duty of 57 cents ad valorem on certain goods and merchandise imported into this State, and on prizes condemned in the Court of Admiralty. This was repealed in June, 1783. 23,625 pounds in specie was ordered raised for the service of the year 1782. 475 pounds was voted for clothing for the troops under Captain McKennan. 825 pounds for the same purpose for the regiment in the South under General Greene, and the Legislature adjourned on November 14th to meet again at Dover on January 9th, 1782. Four persons were to be elected as delegates to Congress for the year 1782, and Philemon Dickinson, Thomas McKean, Caesar Rodney and Samuel Wharton were chosen on February 2nd. They were instructed to make such agreements among themselves that the State would always be represented in Congress, and to "strenuously promote, with the greatest diligence, measures efficacious for maintaining and securing the freedom, independence and happiness of the United States in general and this State in particular." They were to endeavor to amend the Articles of Confederation so as to have a final settlement of the boundaries of the States "whose claims are immoderate," and to bring up and have settled the subject of the property of the islands in the Delaware River. On February 5th the State Schooner Vigilant was ordered sold, and the first census of the State was ordered taken.

Meeting again in June, 1782, it was unanimously resolved, on the 19th of the month, that Congress alone had power to determine on peace and war and to enter into treaties and alliances, and that any man or body of men endeavoring to enter into a treaty of peace with Great Britain without the authority of Congress should be considered and treated as enemies of the States. An inviolable adherence between France and the United States was advocated, and the whole power of the States pledged to carry on the war until a peace consistent with the Union and National faith was obtained.

The minutes of the October session of the General Assembly



are lost, but from the few papers extant it is found that Thursday, the 28th day of November, was appointed a day of Thanksgiving, and the State determined not to advance money, clothing or the necessaries as pay to any of the officers or men in the army of the United States, in accordance with an Act of Congress determining that "no money paid by any of the States, as pay for the year 1782, be considered as advanced in behalf of the United States."

The first session of the year 1783 met at Dover in January, and on January 14th John Dickinson announced his election as President of the Supreme Executive Council of Pennsylvania, and resigned his office as President of the Delaware State. John Cook, of Kent County, the Speaker of the Council, became President and the executive head of the state, having really held the position since November 4th of the previous year. Announcement was also made of the arrival of the Delaware regiment from the South at Christiana Bridge on the 8th of January. A bill of 481 pounds was paid to the Clothier-General of the State for the regiment. On February 1, 1783, Nicholas Van Dyke was elected President of the State by a vote of eighteen out of thirty cast, and Caesar Rodney, James Tilton, Eleazar Macomb and Gunning Bedford, Jr., were chosen delegates to Congress for the year. That the interest and patriotism of the state did not abate, when the regiment was no longer in service, is evidenced by an act for enlisting fifty-four men to fill up the regiment again, and providing half pay for the widows of the officers killed in the service. On the reassembling of the Assembly in the last of May, 1783, nothing of importance occurred until June 5th, when President Van Dyke officially announced the treaties of peace between Great Britain and the United States. 12,000 pounds were ordered paid the national Superintendent of Finance, in compliance with a requisition of Congress, and during this session the much-agitated question of the lands northwest of the Ohio was brought up again; the Legislature of Virginia having ceded this land to the United States. The

Delaware Assembly instructed their delegates to Congress to demand a part of this land for Delaware. A tombstone was ordered to be erected over the grave of Colonel John Haslet, the commander of Delaware's first regiment, and 20 pounds was voted to defray the expense. Even at this time the boundary line between Delaware and New Jersey was debated, for the delegates to Congress were appointed commissioners June 21, 1783, to join with like commissioners from Pennsylvania and New Jersey, for the purpose of settling and establishing the line of jurisdiction between Delaware, Pennsylvania and New Jersey, and for ascertaining and establishing the right of this State to the islands in the Bay and River of Delaware. No mention is made of their meeting or acting in any way. An Act was passed for raising 22,500 pounds for the service of the year 1783.

The Council of Safety was a body about which very little information can be obtained—indeed only an occasional mention of it is found here and there—but this body was of much importance in the State. It was composed of seven members from each county, and was charged with the safety of the colony by the General Assembly. Its duties, of course largely military, are uncertain and perhaps were indefinite; but it seems to have spent most of its energy in raising and embodying the militia, in examining men suspected of treason and in compelling retraction by those uttering treasonable sentiments. Notice of several recantations and apologies are found in the old newspapers.

However, the militia was the greatest care of the Council of Safety. The militia had existed before the Revolution called it into active service. Watson's "Annals of Philadelphia" state that in 1704 three companies were raised in New Castle County, two in Kent and two in Sussex, but nothing more is heard of it until 1755 when an Act was passed reviving a previous Act for establishing a militia within this government. In 1756, the Lieutenant-Governor was ordered, in pursuance of an Act of the General Assembly for "ordering and regulat-

ing such as are willing and desirous to be united for military purposes," to unite the militia companies of each county into one regiment to be called by the name of the county, provided there were eight companies in the county. In 1757, after the Lieutenant-Governor had urged on the Assembly the need of re-establishing the militia, another Act was passed for that purpose.

Military preparations for the Revolution began in the state before the battle of Lexington, and arrangements for enrollment and equipment were carried out. On December 21, 1774, the New Castle County Committee of the Council of Safety met and resolved that the militia was in excellent condition, and recommended the inhabitants of the County between sixteen and fifty years of age to assemble on the second Tuesday in January, 1775, to enroll themselves into companies, to choose officers and to endeavor to master military exercises; and further recommended that each man be provided with firelock, bayonet, powder and horn, and lead and bullet pouch. Evidently this was done, not only in New Castle County but in the other counties also, for the captains and subaltern officers of New Castle County met at Christiana Bridge March 20, 1775, and, having divided the county into two divisions, elected John McKinly Colonel, James Latimer Lieutenant-Colonel and Thomas Duff Major for the upper division, and Thomas Cooch Colonel, Samuel Patterson Lieutenant-Colonel and Gunning Bedford Major for the lower division; on March 25th, the officers of twenty companies of Kent County militia met at Dover, divided the county into two divisions and chose Caesar Rodney Colonel, Thomas Collins Lieutenant-Colonel and French Battell Major for the upper division, and John Haslet Colonel, William Rhodes Lieutenant-Colonel and Robert Hodgson Major for the lower; and Sussex County organized in convention at Broad Creek on June 20, 1775, with Colonel John Dagworthy as chairman. As this was simply for organization, no election of field officers was held (this was done afterwards, as will be seen later), but

the minutes report that "military preparations for self-defence against the bloody attacks of an infatuated British ministry are being carried out with great spirit, and it is expected to have fifteen hundred or more well-trained militia, and the committee are endeavoring to obtain the necessary supplies of military stores." Dr. James Tilton wrote to Dr. Jonathan Elmer, of New Jersey, about this time, "Our militia is now completely formed throughout the government and it completely disgraces a man not to enrol." The Assembly previously had assented to keeping up an armed force, and unanimously assumed its share of the expense.

The Council of Safety held a meeting at Dover on September 11, 1775 and at that time John McKinly was President of it. The time of this session was spent perfecting the military organization which embraced at this time nine battalions. Three of New Castle County, commanded by John McKinly, Thomas Cooch and Richard Cantwell were formed into one brigade with McKinly as brigadier. This would indicate that since March another battalion had been raised in this County. Two in Kent County under Caesar Rodney and John Haslet, with the Western Battalion of Sussex County, were made one brigade under Rodney. And in Sussex, three under John Dagworthy, David Hall and Jacob Moore were organized into a brigade under Dagworthy. Subsequently Rodney was made Major-General, and, as such, was in entire command of the State militia, and Thomas Collins was chosen to the Brigadier-Generalship thus vacated. As commander, Rodney twice led some of the troops into active service; once during the Princeton campaign of January, 1777, when he was in command of the post at Trenton, holding this for two months, and again during the invasion of this State just before the battle of Brandywine.

McKinly, in a letter to George Read from Wilmington, December 4, 1776, says, "Many of the militia in this place and around here have discovered a noble ardor to go and assist, as far as is in their power, their brethren of Philadelphia,

but will not enter for the time proposed by the Committee (of Safety). Some proposed that I should issue orders calling forth the militia to march, but this I could not in the present case apprehend that I could properly do—so I thought it better to wait until the General Council have met.” The militia was called on at this “darkest hour of American liberty” and Thomas Rodney (Caesar’s brother) with a Dover company, and Major Duff with three New Castle County companies left to join Washington’s army on the west bank of the Delaware River opposite Trenton. That was all that could be embodied immediately, but more companies under Thomas Collins followed, and Caesar Rodney, as has been said, was in charge there with the Delaware militia after the battle.

McKinly’s attitude, as expressed in his previous letter, seems to have been misunderstood, for Duff thought he was discouraging the men from marching. Probably something was wrong with the mode of enlistment, for another Act for establishing a militia and a supplement to the Act were passed in this year, 1777. As has been said, Major Duff with his companies did not reach the army until after the battle of Trenton, but joined it shortly afterwards, for there is a letter extant from George Evans, a captain of the militia, to George Read, from Morristown, the headquarters, dated January 16, 1777. He mentions the desertion of some and the sickness of others, remarking that the number of the militia was thus depleted.

This detachment returned home about February 1, 1777, bearing this letter from General Mifflin to George Read :

*31st Jan., '77.*

“*Dear Sir :* I have the pleasure to inform you that the detachment of Delaware militia, commanded by Major Duff, from your State, have served the term of their enlistment with credit to themselves and satisfaction to me under whose command in New Jersey they happened to serve.

“The officers in particular deserve the thanks and esteem of their country for the readiness shown by them to turn out on all occasions. Major Duff, by a mistake in orders, was prevented from joining me on the march to Trenton ; but I have every reason to believe that he exerted himself on all occasions when his duty and my orders were clearly made known to him, and I do not recollect one



single instance in which his spirit and zeal were not equal to those of any other officer of my brigade.

“ I have the honor to be very respectfully your humble servant,

THOMAS MIFFLIN,

Brigadier General.”

The next service in which the militia is mentioned was when Howe landed at the head of Elk to march to Philadelphia in September, 1777. Rodney hastened to collect all the militia that he could in Kent and New Castle Counties, and stationed himself south of Washington's headquarters in Wilmington, at Noxontown, near Middletown. From Rodney's letters at this time there seems to have been considerable reluctance in the militia, particularly in New Castle County, to come to the front. Now that the enemy was so near, the “noble ardor” had died out from a white heat to a very dull glow. However, Rodney had about four hundred men with him. The account of the movements at this time and at the battle of Cooch's Bridge is given elsewhere.

No further mention of the militia is found, but acts were passed in 1780, '81 and '82 for establishing and embodying the militia, each one apparently caused by some defect in the previous acts.

Before the Declaration of Independence a regiment was raised by Dr. John Haslet, of Dover, composed of eight companies and numbering eight hundred men.

Captain Enoch Anderson, in his “Personal Recollections,” says: “I was appointed a second lieutenant in the first company in the Delaware regiment in August or September, 1775. We had no arms, but were busy throughout the winter of 1775 and '76 training our men as well as we could without arms.” The Council of Safety of the three lower counties on the Delaware recommended to Congress the names of several persons for officers, from whom Congress chose the following: Under date of January 19, 1776, the Journals of Congress say: “The ballots being taken, John Haslet was elected Colonel, Gunning Bedford, Lieutenant Colonel, and John MacPherson,

Major." However, the latter had been killed, as an aid to General Montgomery, in the storming of Quebec on December 31, 1775, but the news of his death had not reached Congress at the time of the election. On March 22 the Journal records the election of Thomas MacDonough as Major.

An old British Captain, Thomas Holland, left the British army "from principle," it is said, and joined the regiment. He was appointed adjutant, and being well up on on military tactics and a good disciplinarian, he made rapid progress in organizing and drilling the regiment.

The roll of the regiment in January, 1776, follows :

	Date of Commission.
Colonel, John Haslet,	January 19, 1776.
Lieutenant-Colonel, Gunning Bedford,	January 19, 1776.
Major, Thomas MacDonough,	March 22, 1776.
Surgeon, James Tilton, M. D.	
Chaplain, Joseph Montgomery.	
Adjutant, Thomas Holland.	
Quartermaster, Robert Bail.	

#### FIRST COMPANY.

Captain, Joseph Stidham,	January 13, 1776.
First Lieutenant, Lewis Howell,	January 13, 1776.
Second Lieutenant, Enoch Anderson,	January 13, 1776.
Ensign, Thomas Holland,	January 13, 1776.

#### SECOND COMPANY.

Captain, Jonathan Caldwell,	January 15, 1776.
First Lieutenant, John Patten,	January 15, 1776.
Second Lieutenant, George McCall,	January 15, 1776.
Ensign, James Stevens,	January 15, 1776.

#### THIRD COMPANY.

Captain, David Hall,	January 16, 1776.
First Lieutenant, Jonathan Harney,	January 16, 1776.
Second Lieutenant, John Learmouth,	January 16, 1776.
Ensign, Cord Hazzard,	January 16, 1776.

#### FOURTH COMPANY.

Captain, Henry Darby,	January 17, 1776.
First Lieutenant, Robert Kirkwood, Jr.,	January 17, 1776.
Second Lieutenant, William Popham,	January 17, 1776.
Ensign, Peter Jaquett, Jr.,	January 17, 1776.

## FIFTH COMPANY.

Captain, Charles Pope,	January 18, 1776.
First Lieutenant, James Wells,	January 18, 1776.
Second Lieutenant, Alexander Stewart, Jr.,	January 18, 1776.
Ensign, John Willson,	January 18, 1776.

## SIXTH COMPANY.

Captain, Nathan Adams,	January 19, 1776.
First Lieutenant, James Moore,	January 19, 1776.
Second Lieutenant, James Gordon,	January 19, 1776.
Ensign, Thomas Nixon, Jr.,	January 19, 1776.

## SEVENTH COMPANY.

Captain Samuel Smith,	January 20, 1776.
First Lieutenant, John Dickson,	January 20, 1776.
Second Lieutenant, James MacDonough, Jr.,	January 20, 1776.
Ensign, Abram Carty,	January 20, 1776.

## EIGHTH COMPANY.

Captain, Joseph Vaughan,	January 21, 1776.
First Lieutenant, Joseph Truitt,	January 21, 1776.
Second Lieutenant, John Perkins,	January 21, 1776.
Ensign, William Vaughan,	January 21, 1776.

Captain Caldwell's second company in this regiment was the one from which the name "Blue Hen's Chickens" is derived. Tradition says that Captain Caldwell took with his company game roosters from the brood of a blue hen, justly famed for their fighting qualities, and that the officers and men when not fighting the enemy, amused themselves fighting chickens.

Considering the scarcity of food at times, it is doubtful whether the chickens, if they existed, could have lived long. There is another tradition that their flag bore the inscription "Blue Hen's Chickens," and this is more likely, though it would seem to be the effect and not the cause of the name. The best explanation is that their grit and dash earned for them the name of "Caldwell's Gamecocks," which by reason of their blue uniforms changed to "Blue Hen's Chickens," and this was soon extended to the regiment, and the State that sent out so many brave men was called the "Blue Hen." It is said of Caldwell's company that they would dance around

their campfires to the music of a fiddle when every one else was tired out and asleep.

In May, 1776, the regiment was completed at Dover, and shortly afterwards guns and accoutrements were procured for about two hundred men. Their first work was in their own state. The Tories on the eastern shore of Sussex began to make hostile movements, and Major MacDonough was sent to Lewes with armed men to menace the Tories, and if need be protect the Whigs. No violence was offered, but they were in rather a perilous situation with British men-of-war lying in the bay, and the malcontents on the land side. Indeed a Pennsylvania regiment of riflemen was sent to reinforce them, but they arrived after an agreement for peace had been reached. The detachment, having been there about a month, rejoined the regiment at Wilmington by way of boats up the Delaware, being nearly shipwrecked by a storm on the way. This was in June, 1776.

After the battalion left Lewes, Henry Fisher, a prominent man and a noted pilot from that town, with the permission of Congress, raised a company of one hundred men for the defence of the cape and the near country, and armed them at his own expense. He was given the entire command of Lewes and of all pilots on the river, and the sole control of the arrangements for receiving and exchanging prisoners.

A small naval battle was fought off our shores at this time, for on May 8, 1776, Congress sent to General Washington an account of a conflict between two British ships, the Roebuck of forty-four guns and the Liverpool of twenty-four guns, and a fleet of thirteen gondolas or row-gallies, large open boats, the largest of which required twenty oarsmen and carried a "ten-pounder" in the bow. The row-gallies, it appears, forced the British ships to fall back to Reedy Island, from the mouth of the Christiana Creek, and then the fight was stopped by darkness.

Haslet's regiment spent the 4th of July, 1776, in New Castle. "We took out of the Court House all the insignia of monarchy

—all the baubles of royalty, and made a pile of them before the Court House, set fire to them and burnt them to ashes. A merry day we made of it," says Enoch Anderson in his Journal.

A few days later they marched for headquarters at New York. The first day they came to Philadelphia and were completely armed and fully equipped for war. They arrived at New York in a short time, probably the last of July, 1776, the exact date it is impossible to ascertain. Here tents were given out, and they encamped about a mile north of that city. The enemy with a large fleet of men-of-war and transports lay in the harbor, and had occupied Staten Island, but had not yet landed on Long Island. The Delaware regiment was brigaded with four Pennsylvania regiments and Smallwood's Maryland regiment under Lord Stirling in Major-General Sullivan's Division.

A short time before the battle of Long Island the troops were ordered on the island, and on August 27, 1776, certainly not more than five weeks, and probably less, after leaving home, the Delaware regiment fought its first battle.

The enemy landed during the night, and a little before day the American army marched to meet them. The Delaware regiment and Smallwood's Maryland regiment were ordered to a high commanding hill shortly after daylight, and Captain Stidham with his company of Delawareans was ordered ahead to skirmish. They soon met the British, and after a short exchange of shots fell back to the main body. The British pressed hard in superior numbers, but our soldiers held their ground until three o'clock in the afternoon when a retreat was ordered. During this the Delaware regiment was surrounded and separated from Smallwood's men. "The Delawares being well trained kept and fought in a compact body the whole time, and when obliged to retreat kept their rank and entered the lines in order, and were obliged frequently while retreating to cut their way through bodies of the enemy," says Whitely.



Extracts from two letters from Caesar Rodney, who at that time was in command at Philadelphia forwarding troops and supplies as fast as they were enlisted and procured, to his brother Thomas, at home near Dover, speaks of the regiment's behavior. The first is dated October 2, 1776 :

“ One paragraph of the old man's (?) letter is very full of the great honor obtained by the Delaware battalion in the affair at Long Island, from the unparalleled bravery they showed in view of all the generals and troops within the lines who alternately praised and pitied them.”

A little later he writes :

“ The Delaware and Maryland regiments stood firm to the last ; they stood for four hours drawn up on a hill, in close array, their colors flying, the enemy's artillery playing upon them ; nor did they think of quitting their station until an express order from the General commanded them to retreat. The standard was torn with shot in Ensign Stevens' hands.”

They lost thirty-one in this battle, including Lieutenant Harney of the 3rd Company and Lieutenant Stewart of the 5th Company, and a number were wounded. Neither Colonel Haslet nor Lieutenant-Colonel Bedford were present at this battle, both sitting in a courtmartial of a New York officer in New York, but evidently Major MacDonough was fully competent to handle the regiment, for he afterwards received Gen. Washington's thanks for the admirable behavior of the troops under his command.

A few days later the American army withdrew in the night, and our regiment was the last to leave the lines, thus holding the post of honor. Under a thick fog they moved off the island to the New York shore, and Haslet's regiment marched to King's Bridge, north of the city, near the North River, where entrenchments were thrown up. General Washington evacuated the city of New York. A few skirmishes occurred between our out-parties and the British, and a British man-of-war passed up the river and fired on our camp, injuring the tents. One bomb fell among them, but a Delaware soldier ran and pulled out the fuse.

They remained here until General Howe sailed up the river with a fleet of transports and landed at Throgg's Neck, a few miles above the Americans. Our army marched at once to White Plains and threw up entrenchments. This was on October 28, 1776. Some militia was ordered on a hill on the right, but the entire left wing of the British force bore against them, and after a hot cannonading the fire with the small arms began. "The commanding position of Chatterton's Hill attracted the attention of General Howe, who supposed its defenders might be dislodged with ease. Washington ordered the Delaware regiment to join the militia posted there to defend the hill. The militia was soon scattered by the British dragoons. The hill-top being meanwhile gained, the Delaware regiment was attacked; a part were driven across the Bronx, the residue placed by Haslet behind a fence were firm. Twice the foremost chasseurs and light infantry were repulsed when the dragoons returning from the chase of the flying militia mounted the hill and were again about to charge. Few in number and despairing of the hill, the few remaining militia first, then Haslet's men retired, joining the troops of New York and Maryland."

Anderson describes briefly, but graphically, the action of one of our soldiers. "A soldier of our regiment was mortally wounded in this battle. He fell to the ground; in falling, his gun fell from him. He picked it up, turned on his face, took aim at the British, who were advancing, fired, his gun fell from him, he turned over on his back and expired. I forget his name."

A retreat was ordered. This was done in good order, but on arriving at camp they found that the baggage had gone, and they slept for some nights in the open, although one night it snowed.

The army now moved to North Castle, above White Plains, and soon after moved up the river again, and crossed into Jersey. A distressing retreat across New Jersey followed, and in the beginning of December, 1776, they arrived in Bruns-

wick, some without shoes, and some even without shirts. Here part of our regiment was encamped in barracks and the rest in tents in front. The British appeared on the banks of the Raritan in the afternoon of the 5th of December. Lord Stirling's brigade was ordered in front of the barracks, and a heavy cannonading followed, with several killed and wounded on our side. Near sundown a retreat was ordered, our regiment again bringing up the rear. The tents of the regiment were burned to prevent the enemy from seizing them, for our men had no wagons to carry them. "We were encamped in the woods with no victuals, no tents, no blankets. The night was cold and we all suffered much, especially those who had no shoes." (Anderson.)

The next day, December 6th, the American army arrived at Princeton and our regiment was comfortably quartered in the college. But the British being close behind, these comforts did not last, and the retreat was continued to Trenton, our regiment still in the rear, and Washington with pioneers behind it cutting down trees and tearing up bridges to impede the enemy. The night of December 7th was spent in Trenton, and the next afternoon they crossed the Delaware River into Pennsylvania. A few hours later, the British appeared on the opposite banks but could not cross, for Washington had taken all the boats. But their intention was to cross as soon as the river froze over. This was the crisis of American danger. "This night we lay among the leaves without tents or blankets, laying down with our feet to the fire. It was very cold. We had meat but no bread. We had nothing to cook with but our ramrods which we ran through a piece of meat and roasted it over the fire, and to hungry soldiers it tasted sweet." (Anderson.)

On Christmas night, 1776, at three o'clock in the morning, Washington recrossed the Delaware River and before day-break of December 26th, had surrounded Trenton and surprised and captured the garrison of Hessians. Colonel Haslet in a letter written shortly before his death, to Caesar Rodney,

says: "I'm sorry to inform the General (Rodney) that Captain Holland, Ensign Wilson, Dr. Gilder and myself are all (of the Delaware regiment) who have followed the American cause to Trenton, two privates excepted."

What had become of them all? They had gone through the battles of Long Island, White Plains and the numerous skirmishes in the retreat across New Jersey. Many were sick from lack of proper food and shelter. And the remainder, as their term of enlistment was nearly up, January 1, 1777, had left to obtain positions in a new regiment which was being raised at home. The Delaware Assembly on November 8, 1776 passed a resolution that a battalion of eight hundred men be enlisted from this State, agreeable to an Act of Congress of September 16th, and had appointed a commission to ascertain how many officers in Haslet's regiment were willing to continue in service in this new one. Naturally, the rank and file left too, and this accounts for the terrible depletion of the original regiment.

Haslet, later in his letter to Rodney, which was written a day or so before the New Year, says: "I have General Washington's leave to return and superintend the recruiting service at home, but cannot go for a few days longer." The address on this letter is gone but it is endorsed "1st Jan, 1777, Trenton, Colonel Haslet to Caesar Rodney, a few days before he fell at Trenton." On January 3rd, in the battle of Princeton, Haslet was in command of a Continental brigade which unfortunately was obliged to retreat; and, while endeavoring to rally his men, he was shot and instantly killed. In his death, Delaware lost a brave soldier and leader, and a true patriot. After this battle, Captain Holland alone remained, and he was sent home on recruiting service.

However, Delaware was represented by another company at Princeton. Congress had appealed to the state for aid, and three companies of New Castle County Militia under Major Thomas Duff, and a Dover company under Thomas Rodney, Caesar's brother, marched from their respective homes about

the same date, December 14, 1776. Through a mistake in orders, Major Duff's command did not reach the main army until after the battle, but Rodney's did. Through another mistake in orders, Rodney's company did not march on Trenton, although they crossed the river; but with a Philadelphia Light Infantry Company, led the van against Princeton, took a conspicuous part in the battle, and after the withdrawal to Morristown, was appointed General Washington's guard, because it had so distinguished itself in the battle preceding.

In the meantime the celebrated Flying Camp had been formed, to which Delaware contributed a regiment. On June 1, 1776, Congress resolved to establish a Flying Camp of ten thousand men, which could be sent wherever needed. This was deemed necessary, as the army under Washington was occupied in the north of New Jersey defending New York. The shores of New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware and Maryland were practically open to the British to disembark anywhere and attack Washington's army in the rear, and get into the very heart of the colonies. Therefore this Flying Camp was ordered to be raised from the middle colonies to serve as a protection for them. These troops were to serve until at least the first of December following. Pennsylvania was to furnish six thousand, Delaware six hundred and Maryland three thousand four hundred. Delaware furnished more than her proportion. The battalions were to be militia or state troops, but were to serve under the orders of Congress and in its pay. The following officers were in command of the Delaware regiment of the Flying Camp:

Colonel, Samuel Patterson.

Lieutenant-Colonel, George Latimer.

Major, Henry Neill.

Adjutant, James Lukes.

Surgeon, James Tate.

Surgeon's Mate, Edward Duff.

Quartermaster, John Watson.

Paymaster, William Millan.

Chaplain, Samuel Eakin.



## Captains:

Thomas Kean,  
William Moody,  
Joseph Caldwell,  
Nathaniel Mitchell,

James Dunn,  
Matthew Manlove,  
John Woodgate,  
Thomas Skillington.

From his letters we judge that Colonel Patterson had at first trouble with his men. The mode of enlistment and the term of enlistment were fatal to discipline. But later he apparently succeeded better, and towards the last he speaks well of his men. They spent most of their time in New Jersey under the command of General Mercer, and so far as can be found their only conflict was with the British and Hessians on Staten Island. During part of the time Patterson was in command of the entire brigade, and it behaved creditably, driving back the British from their position. Later, the Americans withdrew from the Island as nothing could be gained by holding it. Through all this our regiment behaved in such a manner as to elicit their commander's approval.

When the term of enlistment was up, December 1, 1776, the entire battalion went home in spite of Washington's great need of men. However, winter had set in, and that served equally well for the purpose of the Flying Camp to protect the Middle Colonies and Washington's rear.

Congress before this time realized that the army must be reorganized, and on September 16, 1776, it resolved "that eighty-eight battalions be enlisted as soon as possible to serve during the present war, and that each state furnish their respective quota." The officers were to be commissioned by Congress, but their appointment, except general officers, was left to the several states, and each state was to provide arms, clothing and ammunition. There was much opposition to this plan, but nevertheless Delaware filled her quota of six hundred men.

This regiment is the one usually spoken of as the "Delaware Regiment." The roll of field, staff and company officers was as follows :

Colonel, David Hall.	Paymaster, Edward Roche.
Lieutenant-Colonel, Charles Pope.	Quartermaster, James Trusam. <sup>2</sup>
Major, Joseph Vaughan.	Surgeon, Reuben Gilden.
Adjutant, John Lucas. <sup>1</sup>	Surgeon's Mate, John Platt.

## FIRST COMPANY.

Captain, John Patten.	Second Lieutenant, George Purvis.
First Lieutenant, Genethan Harney. <sup>3</sup>	Ensign, Benjamin McLane.

## SECOND COMPANY.

Captain, Robert Kirkwood.	Second Lieutenant, Paul Queenault.
First Lieutenant, Alexander Stewart. <sup>3</sup>	Ensign, John Betson.

## THIRD COMPANY.

Captain, James Moore.	Second Lieutenant, James Bratton.
First Lieutenant, John Willson.	Ensign, Thomas Berry.

## FOURTH COMPANY.

Captain, Enoch Anderson.	Second Lieutenant, Henry Duff.
First Lieutenant, John Corse.	Ensign, James Campbell.

## FIFTH COMPANY.

Captain, Thomas Holland.	Second Lieutenant, Caleb Brown.
First Lieutenant, John Rhodes.	Ensign, Caleb P. Bennett.

## SIXTH COMPANY.

Captain, John Learmouth.	Second Lieutenant, Griffith Jordan.
First Lieutenant, Wm. McKennan.	Ensign, Joseph Hosman.

## SEVENTH COMPANY.

Captain, Cord Hazzard.	Second Lieutenant, Joseph Wilds.
First Lieutenant, Daniel P. Cox.	Ensign, Elijah Skillington.

## EIGHTH COMPANY.

Captain, Peter Jacquett.	Second Lieutenant, John V. Hyatt.
First Lieutenant, Richard Wilds.	Ensign, Charles Kidd. <sup>4</sup>

Patten's company was mustered in November 30, 1776, and Kirkwood's on the next day, December 1st. Anderson's was

<sup>1</sup> Lucas resigned about a year later.

<sup>2</sup> Or Tresham.

<sup>3</sup> These were reported killed at Long Island, but their names are on the original roll, by Caleb P. Bennett.

<sup>4</sup> From the original roll, by Caleb P. Bennett, in the Archives of the Delaware State Society of the Cincinnati.

complete early in the spring of 1777, and he and Kirkwood were ordered to join Washington's army or General Putnam's division at Princeton, stopping at Philadelphia to be fully fitted out. In May the remaining companies marched and the complete regiment joined Washington at Middlebrook, New Jersey, sixteen miles from Brunswick. General Howe came out of Brunswick, and this brought on the battle of Short Hills. No mention of the Delaware regiment can be found in this, but they must have taken part, and, judging from their records in other battles, creditably. After Short Hills nothing further was done for six weeks, when on July 23, 1777, Howe, embarking in transports, set sail from New York.

Just previous to this, the Delaware regiment was in a descent on Staten Island with some Maryland and New Jersey troops. One company, Anderson's, secured some plunder, the remainder got nothing, and some of the Marylanders were captured. Most of them, however, retreated in safety.

Howe, on July 30th, appeared in the Delaware Bay, but finding the river so obstructed, he did not sail up far, much to the relief of the inhabitants thereabout. Washington moved his whole army to Neshaminy, in Bucks County, Pennsylvania, about twenty miles north of Philadelphia, and for some time lay there in uncertainty. On August 22d news was brought that Howe had appeared in the Chesapeake and anchored off the Patapsco. Washington immediately proceeded to Wilmington and established his headquarters on West Street, between Third and Fourth Streets, and his army encamped on the high ground lying north of the present Delaware Avenue, between Harrison and Clayton Streets. Later the army took post on the north side of White Clay Creek, and the east side of Red Clay Creek near Stanton and Kiamensi, with pickets out as far as Christiana Bridge. Washington kept his headquarters in Wilmington until September 9th.

Following are several letters written by Washington, which, while not mentioning our soldiers particularly, tell of the movements of the armies on Delaware soil.





VIEWS AT COOCH'S BRIDGE.



## Washington to General Armstrong of the state militia.

*August 25, 1777.*

“I have just received information that the enemy began to land this morning about six miles below the Head of Elk, opposite Cecil Court House. I desire you to send off every man of the militia under your command, that is properly armed, as quick as possible.”

## Washington to President of Congress.

*September 3, 1777.*

“This morning the enemy came out with considerable force and three pieces of artillery against our light corps, and after some pretty smart skirmishing, obliged them to retreat, being far superior in numbers. They advanced about two miles this side of Iron Hill, and then withdrew to that place. Our parties now lay at White Clay Creek, except the advanced pickets which are at Christina Bridge.”

## Washington to President of Congress.

*September 9, 1777.*

“The enemy advanced yesterday with a seeming intention of attacking us at our post near Newport. Upon reconnoitering, it appeared their real intention was to march by our right and by suddenly passing the Brandywine, get between us and Philadelphia. The army accordingly marched at two o'clock this morning, and will take post this evening upon high ground near Chadd's Ford.”

The battle of Cooch's Bridge was fought on September 3rd. This, although in actual fighting little more than a skirmish, was noteworthy for two things. It was the first time our American flag was in battle. And it checked Howe's advance on Philadelphia. Howe's seventeen thousand men stretched from Glasgow on the south, to a little above the Welsh Tract Meeting House on the north. Washington extended his eleven thousand men from White Clay Creek, just west of Stanton, to near Newport. Gen. William Maxwell was ordered to select men from the different brigades and advance to the lines of the British army, with express directions “to be constantly near the enemy, and to give them every possible annoyance.” And he carried out his directions fully. Captain John Montresor, Chief of Engineers of Howe's Army, says in his journal, “Here the rebels began to attack us about nine o'clock with a

continued irregular fire for nearly two miles." Maxwell had but seven hundred and twenty regulars, a thousand militia, and the Philadelphia Light Horse, and with this force he was opposing the main part of Howe's army, and it was only when the enemy's cannon began firing that he fell back across the White Clay Creek with a loss of forty killed and wounded. The forward march of the British, however, was stopped and for five days they lay in camp.

Plainly it was Howe's intention to proceed to Philadelphia through Stanton, Newport and Wilmington, but thus constantly harrassed and finding the American army ready to receive him, on September 8th he turned to the left toward Hockessin by way of Newark, and encamped within four miles of Washington's right. Washington had entrenched himself behind Red Clay Creek, but finding out this last movement and foreseeing Howe's plan, he marched the army through Brandywine Springs to the road from Wilmington to Lancaster, thence through Kennett Township, Chester County, and encamped in Birmingham Township, Pennsylvania. The main road to Philadelphia, still Howe's objective point, was over Chadd's Ford. The main part of Washington's army was drawn up here and on the hills back of it. This was on September 11th. The Delaware regiment was sent to "Painter's Ford," Anderson says, and this from his description must be Brinton's Ford. They were under Sullivan, and his brigade was to check any attempt of the British to turn Washington's right flank. Washington started to cross the Brandywine at Chadd's Ford in order to attack the British on the south bank, but word was wrongly brought to him that the enemy were not crossing above to turn his flank, and he, supposing that the entire force was opposing him at Chadd's Ford, drew back. In reality, a large force of the British under Cornwallis did cross and attack the brigade at Brinton's Ford. In opposing these, our regiment stood fighting gamely for several hours, several times changing their position while fighting. A retreat was ordered at last, and the brigade fall-

ing back joined the main army near Chester, encamping for the night near that place.

The next morning they collected the stragglers at Darby and then marched toward Philadelphia. Reaching the Schuylkill they turned to the left and some miles from the river encamped for the night. The loss in our regiment had been comparatively small considering the heavy firing they had been through.

Shortly after the battle of Brandywine Caesar Rodney strongly urged the importance of occupying Wilmington by driving out the small British force in possession of the town, by an attack of a detachment of regular forces and militia, to induce a diversion of the enemy and perhaps to restore confidence among the local inhabitants after the defeat at Chadd's Ford. This, however, was not carried out, and, before winter really set in, Wilmington was evacuated by the British.

On the night of September 12, 1777, part of our regiment was detailed on scout duty with some Maryland men. They were to keep near the British and report their movements, and they performed this faithfully. It was dangerous work in the land of the Tories, the enemy close by, exposed to the rain, with no tents, and seldom able to build a fire, foraging for food as best they could. But they stuck at it until, nine days later, they rejoined the army on its reaching the east bank of the Schuylkill.

Howe, now unopposed, entered Philadelphia on September 26th, and advanced his army a little north of the city, on a line from the Delaware river to the Schuylkill through Germantown. Our army moved to the Perkiomem, about twenty miles from Germantown.

On October 3, 1777, in the early morning, an attack was made on the British. A detachment from the Delaware and Maryland line was sent on an advance attack at five a. m. to drive in the British guards at Mt. Airy, at the entrance of Germantown. Anderson's description is as follows: "The guard at Mt. Airy gave one fire and gave way. Our division

displayed to the right. We pushed down all fences in our way and marched to the battle. It was a very foggy morning. Bullets began to fly on both sides—some were killed—some wounded, but the order was to advance. We advanced in line of the division—the firing on both sides increased—and what with the thickness of the air, and the firing of guns, we could see but a little way before us. My position in the line brought me and my party opposite the British infantry, behind a small breastwork, and here began the hardest battle I was ever in—at thirty feet distance.

“Firing from both sides was kept up for some time, all in darkness. My men were falling very fast. I now took off my hat and shouted as loud as I could, ‘Charge bayonets and advance.’ They did so to a man. The British heard me and ran for it. I lost four men killed on this spot, and about twenty wounded.

“We proceeded into the heart of Germantown, and soon were in possession of a part of their artillery—about thirty pieces—and among their tents. But the tables were soon turned. Both our wings had given way—the British brought their force to the centre, and of course, we had to retreat, but our regiment came off in good order. Let it be observed here—the Delaware regiment was never broken, no, not in the hottest fire.

“The soldiers had marched forty miles, on reaching camp again in the evening, had fought a battle all day, had eaten nothing and drunk nothing but water.”

Shortly after this reinforcements came in to the American army, but nothing important took place during the fall of the year, except a little occasional firing on both sides. In December, Washington withdrew to Valley Forge, but fortunately for our men, he sent General Smallwood with the Maryland and Delaware troops, and Hazen’s regiment to Wilmington, Delaware, to winter. This comprised about fifteen hundred men.

The winter was spent quietly, except for a few attacks on

British foraging parties along the banks of the Delaware river. Some of the Delaware men went out on a raft with one piece of artillery and drove off a packet and a sloop from the mouth of the Christiana Creek. Anderson, after fighting all day on this raft and working it back up the creek to Wilmington, again at dusk walked six miles to a ball at New Castle that evening! General Smallwood describes him as "a jolly—a merry fellow—a little wild and fond of dancing, but punctual and faithful to his duties."

In May, 1778, this detachment at Wilmington was ordered to return to headquarters at Valley Forge. On June 18th, Howe evacuated Philadelphia, crossed the Delaware and proceeded through New Jersey. Washington immediately started in pursuit. The American army crossed the Delaware at Coryell's Ferry, the present Lambertville, and marched to intercept the British in their advance to New York. On the 28th of June, it struck the rear of the British in the neighborhood of Monmouth, and there was much hard firing, but through conflicting reports, and a misunderstanding, the American army drew back when it should have gone forward, so that no decisive result was reached, and the British drew off and embarked at Sandy Hook for New York City.

Our army proceeded to Brunswick and there celebrated the 4th of July, 1778; thence they went to King's Ferry on the Hudson River, crossed and proceeded to White Plains where they encamped and remained until September. Then the Delaware regiment was sent to West Point to strengthen that position under Putnam. They remained there until ordered to winter-quarters at Bound Brook, New Jersey, where the entire winter of 1778-79 was passed. The regiment spent the next summer in western New Jersey, inactive, marching and counter-marching from place to place until ordered to take up winter-quarters at Morristown, New Jersey, where they spent the winter of 1779-80 in huts. This season was very severe, and the men suffered from want of provisions, due to the excessive falls of snow. The only incident of the winter was the



descent of a detachment on Staten Island, crossing the Sound on the ice. This attack failed, owing to the severity of the weather.

In the spring, by act of Congress, Delaware and Maryland were assigned to the southern department; two Maryland regiments and Delaware's one regiment were added to the southern army. Baron De Kalb was assigned as commander of these three and General Gates was ordered to the south. The companies of the Delaware regiment had been reduced to about thirty privates each, but they were recruited up to sixty men apiece, so that the regiment was about five hundred strong when it started south.

The roll of officers in February, 1780, was as follows:

Colonel, David Hall.	Paymaster, Edward Roche.
Lieutenant-Colonel, Charles Pope.	Quartermaster, Thomas Anderson.
Major, Joseph Vaughan.	Surgeon, Reuben Gilder.
Adjutant, George Purvis.	Surgeon's Mate, John Platt.

#### FIRST COMPANY.

Captain, John Patten.	First Lieutenant, William McKennan.
Second Lieutenant, Elijah Skillington.	

#### SECOND COMPANY.

Captain, Robert Kirkwood.	First Lieutenant, Daniel P. Cox.
Second Lieutenant, Charles Kidd.	

#### THIRD COMPANY.

Captain, John Learmouth.	First Lieutenant, Henry Duff.
Second Lieutenant, Thomas Anderson.	

#### FOURTH COMPANY.

Captain, Peter Jacquet.	First Lieutenant, James Campbell.
Second Lieutenant, Stephen McWilliam.	

#### FIFTH COMPANY.

Captain, John Willson.	First Lieutenant, Paul Queenault.
Second Lieutenant, Edward Roche.	

#### SIXTH COMPANY.

Captain, John Corse.	First Lieutenant, Caleb Brown.
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#### SEVENTH COMPANY.

Captain, John Rhodes.	First Lieutenant, Caleb P. Bennett.
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#### EIGHTH COMPANY.

Captain, George Purvis.	First Lieutenant, Joseph Hosman.
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There are fuller accounts of the Delaware regiment in the South than in any other part of the war, and it was then that the regiment most distinguished itself.

The Journal of Sergeant-Major William Seymour gives a very full and complete account of the doings of the Delaware Regiment in the South. This Journal was published some years ago by the Historical Society of Delaware.

On April 13, 1780, a general order was issued for the Delaware and Maryland troops to march to join the Southern army in South Carolina. This was not so easy as it seems, for the manufacturers employed in providing for the army would neither go on with their business nor deliver the articles they had completed, declaring that they had suffered enough from the depreciation of the money, and that they would not part with their property without immediate payment. But by great exertion, the troops were finally enabled to move. On April 16 they started from their quarters near Morristown, New Jersey, and marched through Philadelphia and Wilmington to Head of Elk, now Elkton, Cecil County, Maryland, 108 miles. A description of them may be inserted here, for they were men of whom the State is truly proud. It is from the letters of a lady who saw them pass through Philadelphia: "What an army, said both Whig and Tory, as they saw them pass. The shorter men of each company in the front rank, the taller men behind them, some in hunting shirts, some in uniforms, some in common clothes, some with their hats cocked and some without, and those who did cock them, not all wearing them the same way, but each man with a green sprig, emblem of hope, in his hat, and each bearing his firelock with what, even to uninstructed eyes, had the air of skillful training."

From Elkton they went by water to Petersburg, Virginia, except the "pack of artillery which went by land with a detachment from all the line which went to escort them." They met at Petersburg, remained there four days, and then left for Hillsborough, North Carolina, which they reached June 22d,

469 miles from Head of Elk. Eight days later they marched to Buffalo Ford on Deep River, and here General Gates took command of all the Southern army.

"At this time," says Seymour, "we were much distressed for want of provisions, insomuch that we were obliged to send out parties through the country to thresh out grain for our sustenance, and this availed not much, for what was procured in this manner could scarce keep the troops from starving."

A little later on Seymour says: "At this time we were so much distressed for want of provisions that we were fourteen days and drew but one-half pound of flour. Sometimes we drew half a pound of beef per man, but that so miserably poor that scarce any mortal could make use of it—living chiefly on green apples and peaches."

The American army marched toward the enemy, who retreated into Camden. On August 13, 1780, our men encamping at Rugeley's Mill were joined by three thousand militia from Virginia, North and South Carolina, which encouraged them greatly, but this same militia proved their ruin later in the battle of Camden.

On the evening of August 15th General Gates ordered an advance to attack the enemy at Camden, thirteen miles off. Seymour's descriptions may be inserted freely here, as they best give an idea of this battle of Camden.

"You must observe that instead of rum we had a gill of molasses served out to us, which instead of enlivening our spirits jalap would have been no worse. The enemy having notice of our approach made a movement to meet us, and our advance guard and that of the enemy meeting together, there ensued a very hot fire in which the infantry and advance pickets suffered very much. Gates had put Armand's Corps of Horse in front. At the flash of the enemy's guns the whole corps turned and ran, with consequent confusion in our ranks. Seymour puts it 'Armand's Horse thought of nothing but plundering our wagons as they retreated off.'"

A pause ensued till daybreak during which the American

army was drawn up. The Second Maryland Brigade and the Delaware regiment on the right under Gist, the Virginia militia on the left, and the North Carolina militia in the center comprised the line. On either flank of the army was a morass, narrowing the ground so that Gates formed a second line of the First Maryland Brigade. DeKalb was on the right.

At daybreak the battle was reopened on the part of the Americans, and as Seymour says, "with great alacrity and uncommon bravery." Colonel Webster's British Legion charged impetuously on the left of our line, and the militia immediately threw down their muskets and retreated, some not even firing once. The militia in the centre with the exception of one regiment followed, and Gates, thinking all was lost, fled, leaving the brave continentals on the right without orders. Smallwood was leading up the second line to support the first when Webster, having routed the militia, wheeled upon his flank. Disordered at first by the sudden dashing charge, they broke, but formed again to cover and support the first line. This under General Gist had firmly met the charge of the British left. Again and again the British charged with bayonets, but no ground was gained. And so they held until Cornwallis fell on them with his dragoons. The utmost gallantry could no longer maintain the unequal fight, and the survivors fell back to the woods, leaving the brave DeKalb dying on the field. He spent his last moments dictating a letter to his aids, full of praise and admiration for the courage and good conduct of his division.

The Delaware regiment, though almost destroyed, had made its name immortal. Judge Whitely in his paper on the Revolutionary Soldiers of Delaware, pays the following handsome tribute to the regiment :

"Never did men acquit themselves better. With three thousand militia flying, tearing through their ranks, bursting away like an unarmed torrent, with all this demoralization, with Britain's best soldiers pressing them, the flower, it is said,

of the army, commanded by the best of British officers, they held their ground, charging and repelling charges, broken more than once, and borne down by superior numbers, but forming again and rallying and fighting bravely to the end."

The Delaware regiment went into the fight five hundred strong, but came out nearly annihilated. After a battle of but little more than an hour, there were but one hundred and eighty-eight left, with forty-seven prisoners, and two hundred and sixty-five dead and wounded on the field. All the field officers and seven company officers were prisoners, and Robert Kirkwood, now senior officer, took command of the few scattered survivors. At Charlotte and Salisbury he collected as many of the men as possible, and the whole division under General Smallwood withdrew to Hillsborough, North Carolina, two hundred miles from Camden. Three companies of light infantry were formed, and Kirkwood was put in command of one of these, composed of the remnants of the Delaware and Second Maryland regiments. This was made the first company of the second battalion of Colonel Williams' regiment of infantry. In a truly deplorable condition, without baggage, and lacking sufficient arms and ammunition, they laid at Hillsborough for a month waiting for supplies. On October 7, 1780, they set out again for Salisbury, reaching there on the 15th. After marching, reconnoitering and foraging, they joined the main army under Gates on November 11th, and remained with him until December 6th, when General Greene arrived and took command of the Southern army in place of Gates.

The troops under Morgan, among which was Kirkwood's company, after marching to Pacolet river, remained there until January 14, 1781, and then marched further up the river to frustrate the plans of the enemy, who were endeavoring to surround them, Colonel Tarleton on one side and Lord Cornwallis on the other. Seymour says: "We encamped on the Cowpen Plains on the evening of the sixteenth of January, and the next day received intelligence that Colonel Tarleton



was advancing in our rear to give us battle, upon which we were drawn up in order of battle, the men seeming to be all in good spirits and very willing to fight. The militia dismounted and were drawn up in front of the standing troops on the right and left flanks, being advanced about two hundred yards. By this time the enemy advanced and attacked the militia in front, which they stood very well for a time, till, being overpowered by the number of the enemy, they retreated, but in very good order, not seeming to be in the least confused. By this time the enemy advanced and attacked our light infantry with both cannon and small arms, when meeting with a very warm reception they then thought to surround our right flank, to prevent which Captain Kirkwood with his company wheeled to the right and attacked their left flank so vigorously that they were soon repulsed ; our men advancing on them so very rapidly that they soon gave way. Our left flank advanced at the same time, and repulsed their right flank upon which they retreated, leaving us entire masters of the field."

A little later Seymour says: "The victory on our side can be attributed to nothing else but Divine Providence, they having thirteen hundred in the field of their best troops and we not eight hundred of standing troops and militia—all the officers and men behaved with uncommon and undaunted bravery, but more especially the brave Captain Kirkwood and his company who that day did wonders, rushing on the enemy without either dread or fear, and being instrumental that day in taking a great number of prisoners."

At this time the supernumerary officers, without commands, were ordered home on recruiting service. For some reason this did not go into effect, and Captains McKennan and Queenault, and Lieutenants Hyatt and Bennett went to Christiana Bridge to receive and drill such substitutes as might be brought forward. They remained there until August, 1781, when orders were received to follow General Washington with his army and the French to Virginia. They went by land to

Annapolis, Maryland, and thence by water to Williamsburg, Virginia. As soon as the troops were concentrated, General Washington led them toward Yorktown, where the British under Cornwallis had fortified themselves. The whole American army driving in the outposts, took possession of the ground, and encircled the British works. The American batteries were soon placed and opened fire, continuing for several days, when by a quick charge two redoubts were taken. These were on elevated ground, and gave the Americans a mastery over the town as well of the outworks. The enemy attempted to withdraw but failed with considerable loss, and the American lines were drawn closer and closer until finally the British were forced to surrender.

After this victory, the Pennsylvania, Delaware and Maryland troops under the command of General St. Clair proceeded south to join the army under Greene in the Carolinas where they arrived January 1, 1782. The Delaware detachment, under the command of Captain McKennan, took station with Colonel William Washington's Legion which was composed of the remains of his regiment of horse and the remnant of Hall's Delaware regiment under Kirkwood. The other officers, except Kirkwood, were relieved by those under McKennan, and they with the invalids and several non-commissioned officers and privates were sent home to Delaware.

Meanwhile Kirkwood and his company had, on January 18, 1781, the day after the encounter with Tarleton, marched off toward Salisbury with the prisoners, and lay on the Catawba River until February 1st. Much marching and skirmishing followed in which, according to Seymour, the Delaware troops took an active part until March 6th. On that night, Kirkwood with his company and about forty riflemen were detached to surprise Colonel Tarleton, which they seem to have accomplished most successfully. Seymour says: "Having approached at about one o'clock in the morning, Kirkwood going himself with a guide to reconnoitre their lines, when finding the way their pickets were posted, he ordered the whole

to move on, having formed the line of battle. When we came near the sentinels they challenged very briskly, and no answer being made, they immediately discharged their pieces and ran in to their guard. We took one of their sentinels off his post at the same time and obliged him to show us where the guard lay; upon which we fired very briskly upon them. By this time the camp was all alarmed, Colonel Tarleton retreating in great confusion toward the main army; when, meeting a party of Tories and mistaking them for our militia, he charged on them very furiously, putting great numbers to the sword. On the other hand, they taking Tarleton for our horse and infantry, there commenced a smart skirmish, in which great numbers of the Tories were sent to the lower regions. We marched for camp."

Tiresome marching followed, for on the 14th day of March they came to Guilford Courthouse after marching one hundred and ninety miles in seven days' time, and never having been more than ten or twelve miles from the Courthouse. On the 15th the British army advanced, upon which Greene drew up his army. After a vanguard skirmish and a sharp cannonading, the small arms began. "Colonel Washington's light infantry (the Delaware troops were in this) on the right flank was attacked by three British regiments in which they behaved with almost incredible bravery, obliging the enemy to retreat in three different attacks, the last of which they pursued them up a very steep hill, almost inaccessible, till observing the enemy who lay concealed in ambush rise up and pouring in a heavy fire on them, in which they were obliged to retreat, having suffered very much by the last fire of the enemy."

General Nathaniel Greene, in his report of the battle, speaking of the attack of Colonel Webster on our line says: "Here was posted the first regiment of Maryland;—the enemy rushed in to close fire but so firmly was he received by this body of veterans, supported by Hawes' regiment of Virginia and Kirkwood's company of Delaware, that with equal rapidity he was compelled to retire."

Henry Lee in his Memoirs, describing this battle, says: "Though the British general fought against two to one, he had greatly the advantage in the quality of his soldiers—General Greene's veteran soldiers being only the first regiment of Maryland, the company of Delaware under Kirkwood—to whom none could be superior—and the legion of infantry, altogether making only five hundred rank and file." On April 3, 1781, Seymour says that the Delaware troops had marched two thousand four hundred and fifty-six miles since leaving their quarters at Morristown, New Jersey, April 16, 1780. No wonder they stood in need of new clothing and equipment.

The British had withdrawn to Wilmington, North Carolina, and Greene, finding it impractical to follow, turned toward Camden and encamped near there on April 19, 1781. On the 25th the enemy made a sally out and were on our pickets before being discovered. "The first to discover the enemy was a small picket belonging to the light infantry under Captain Kirkwood. As soon as the sentinels discovered them they fired on them and gave the alarm; upon which the light infantry immediately turned out and engaged them very vigorously for some time, but being overpowered by the superiority of their numbers, they retreated about two hundred yards across the main road where the main picket of our army was formed, and falling in with them renewed the fire with so much alacrity and undaunted bravery that they put the enemy to a stand for some time, till, being overpowered by the superior number of the enemy, they were obliged to retreat, not being able any longer to withstand them, having all this time engaged the main army of the enemy. By this time our main army was drawn up and engaged them with both cannon and small arms." (Seymour.)

The enemy later succeeded in taking them in the flank, and this confusing the Americans they were obliged to retreat off the field. But during this fight Kirkwood's infantry greatly distinguished itself, as is vouched for by Henry Lee in his Memoirs.

Seymour narrates that "Kirkwood with his light infantry was placed in front to support the pickets and retard the enemy's approach. As soon as the pickets began firing, Kirkwood hastened with his light infantry to their support, and the quick sharp volleys from the woods told how bravely he was bearing up against the weight of the British army. Still he was slowly forced back, disputing the ground foot by foot to the hill on which the Americans were waiting the signal to begin. And soon Kirkwood with his light infantry and Smith with the camp guards and pickets were seen slowly falling back, and pressing close upon them was the British van."

Greene in his orders of the day, after the battle, says: "Though the action of yesterday terminated unfavorably to the American arms, the General is happy to assure the troops that it is by no means decisive. The extraordinary exertions of the cavalry, the gallant behavior of the light infantry under Captain Kirkwood, and the firmness of the pickets rendering the advantage expensive to the enemy, highly merit the approbation of the General and the imitation of the rest of the troops."

And Seymour says: "In this action, the light infantry under Captain Robert Kirkwood were returned many thanks by General Greene for their gallant behavior."

Marching, reconnoitering, foraging, occupied their time. Discipline was severe. On May 1st five deserters were shot; on the 17th five more, and on the 19th three more. On the 22d of May they encamped before Ninety-six, and spent the night and the next day making breastworks before the town, and opened fire on the 24th. The siege lasted until June 18th, when a general attack was made. Lee's legion of infantry and Kirkwood's company attacked on the right, and on that day they fully earned the name of "chosen men and true" which Greene gave them. One fort and a redoubt were taken, but British reinforcements coming up, the assault failed and the siege was raised. Greene, in his orders, says: "The



General takes great pleasure in acknowledging the high opinion he has of the gallantry of the troops engaged in the attack of the enemy's redoubts. The judicious and alert behavior of the light infantry of the legion, and of Captain Kirkwood met with deserved success."

Then followed continued hard marching and dogging the enemy, culminating in the battle of Eutaw Springs. Seymour says: "September 8, 1781. This day our army was in motion before daybreak, resolved to fight the enemy before daybreak." Before they were discovered, they were within a mile of the British, who "took shelter in a large brick house and a hollow way in the rear of the house. At this time our men were far spent for lack of water, and our Continental officers suffering much in the action, rendered it advisable for General Greene to draw off his troops—finding our army had withdrawn from the field, made it necessary for us likewise to withdraw. We brought off one of their three pounders, which was with much difficulty performed through a thick woods without the aid of but one horse."

George W. Greene, in his life of General Greene, says: "Kirkwood and Hampton were now at hand, and the men of Delaware pressed forward with the bayonet, while Hampton, collecting the shattered remains of Washington's cavalry, made another trial with them, but the position was too strong to be forced, and though Kirkwood held his ground, Hampton was compelled to retire." General Greene himself in his letter to the President of Congress, in giving a report of this battle, says: "I think myself principally indebted for the victory obtained to the free use of the bayonet made by the Virginians and Marylanders, the infantry of the legion and Captain Kirkwood's light infantry, and though few armies ever exhibited equal bravery with ours in general, yet the conduct and intrepidity of their corps were particularly conspicuous."

After General Greene's report was submitted to Congress, that body passed a resolution of thanks to him and his army.

In it is the following: "That the thanks of the United States in Congress assembled be presented to the officers and men of the Maryland and Virginia brigade, and Delaware battalion of Continental troops, for the unparalleled bravery and heroism by them displayed in advancing to the enemy through an incessant fire, and charging them with an impetuosity and order that could not be resisted." October 29, 1781.

In November many of our men were taken sick with fever and ague so that they had scarcely enough men left to mount two guards. Nothing of consequence happened until reinforcements arrived in January, 1782. They continued to keep a close watch on the enemy. Seymour, on the 24th of February, 1782, figures that they had marched five thousand five hundred and three (5503) miles since leaving their quarters at Morristown on April 16, 1780. On the 3rd of March they marched to aid General Marion who was reported surrounded by the enemy, but before reaching him, the enemy had withdrawn to Charleston.

Seymour's diary, through the spring months, is full of marching with little fighting, except an occasional skirmish. On the 11th of May an attempt was made to draw the enemy out from Charleston, even sending challenges and daring them to come out. But finding it in vain they returned to camp. June 15, 1782, General Gist of the Maryland line took command of all the horse and infantry, Colonel Laurens having the command and acting under General Gist.

"The 4th of July being the day for celebrating Independence throughout the United States, our army was drawn up and fired a *fudijoy* [sic] which was performed with great dexterity from both cannon and small arms, to the great satisfaction of a vast number of spectators."

On the 27th of August, Colonel Laurens, with a detachment of the Delaware regiment, engaged the enemy who were lying in the Cumbee River in schooners and row galleys, but being but forty in number the Americans were compelled to retreat when the British landed three hundred men. Colonel Laurens

was killed and several men wounded. But the British loss was thirty-five, so they seem to have done their part well.

"The British deserters come in every week and may be averaged at thirty per week, and numbers would come off but are prevented by the Negro Horse as they are constantly patrolling for that purpose."

On November 7, 1782, the Delaware regiment received orders to hold themselves in readiness to march home from the South on the 16th of November. They left headquarters on the Ashley River on the 16th, but were detained until December 5th at Camden, and then marched by way of Salisbury and Paytonsville to Carter's Ferry on the James River. Leaving there on January 1, 1783 they arrived at Georgetown, Maryland, on January 8, 1783. They marched from there on the 12th, and arrived at Christiana Bridge the 17th day of January, as says Seymour, "after a march of seven hundred and twenty (720) miles since we left our encampment on Ashley River, South Carolina, which was performed with very much difficulty, our men being so very weak after a tedious sickness which prevailed among them all last summer and fall."

"They were indeed," says Seymour, "the Spartan band of the army. There was scarcely a victory of the Revolution to the glory of which they did not contribute, nor a defeat that they did not retrieve from gloom and disaster by their stern and measured retreat."

They rendezvoused at Christiana Bridge until October of the same year, 1783, when they were disbanded. Captain William McKennan was appointed to settle and adjust the accounts of the regiment with William Winder, of Maryland, auditor or agent of the United States.

Delaware had another regiment which served only three months. On June 21, 1780, the General Assembly of the State of Delaware passed an act to raise a regiment to serve until November 1st of the same year. It was mustered into the service of the United States at Philadelphia on July 10,

1780, being known as Continental Regiment No. 38, and sometimes as the Second Delaware Regiment. It was stationed in Kent County, Maryland, and was discharged on October 28th of the same year. Apparently it was in no battle. The following is the roll of officers :

Lieutenant-Colonel, Henry Neill.	Quartermaster, John West.
Major, James Mitchell.	Surgeon, Robert Wilcox.
Adjutant, James Tresham.	

## CAPTAINS.

Simon Wilmer Wilson.	Hugh McCracken.	William Clement.
Charles Nixon.	George Smith.	William Moore.

Captain Allen McLane, early in 1777, raised a partisan company of foot, and it served faithfully through the war. Whitely says, without giving authorities: "It was in most if not all the battles in the Northern Department, and in the battle of Yorktown." The only mention we find of it is in Scribner's History of the United States, Vol. III, page 539, where Captain McLane's company of Delaware led the advance guard in the attack on Germantown, October 4, 1777. This advance guard was successful in driving in the outposts to the main army. Anderson's account of this has been given before. On June 1, 1779, in accordance with an act of Congress, an order of Washington and a petition of Captain McLane, the company was annexed to the Delaware regiment, then in Middlebrook, N. J., because its numbers had been reduced through hard service. The original roll of the company is not found, but its roll at the time of annexation to the regiment was as follows :

Captain, Allen McLane,	Date of Commission.
First Lieutenant, A. M. Dunn,	January 13, 1777.
Second Lieutenant, William Jones,	January 13, 1777.

The population of Delaware in 1775 was 37,219. Two thousand of these were slaves, leaving 35,219 whites. Assuming a numerical equality of sexes, there were 17,610 male whites.

The percentage of the male population between eighteen and forty-four, by a recent census, was a fraction over one-fifth. By this Delaware should have contributed 3527 men, but as a matter of fact, Judge Whitely computes that it furnished 4728 men, exclusive of the militia and companies raised for home protection.

#### DELAWARE STATE.

On the 15th of May, 1776, the Continental Congress adopted the following resolution: "That it be recommended to the respective Assemblies and Conventions of the United Colonies, where no government sufficient to the exigencies of their affairs have been hitherto established, to adopt such government as shall in the opinion of the representatives of the people best conduce to the happiness and safety of their constituents in particular and America in general." Acting upon this resolution the Assembly of the counties of New Castle, Kent and Sussex upon Delaware in July, 1776, requested the people to choose Deputies to meet in convention to ordain and declare the future form of government for this state. The Deputies so chosen met on August 27, 1776 at New Castle, and on the 20th of September following, promulgated the first Constitution of the State, styling it

**"The Constitution or System of Government, agreed to and Resolved upon by the Representatives in full Convention of the Delaware State, formerly Styled the Government of the Counties of New Castle, Kent and Sussex, upon Delaware, the said Representatives being Chosen by the Freemen of the said State for that Express Purpose."**

George Read presided over this Convention and James Booth acted as Secretary. The members from the three counties were the following:



NEW CASTLE.	KENT.	SUSSEX.
Nicholas Van Dyke,	Thomas Collins,	Jacob Moore,
Richard Cantwell,	Charles Ridgely,	James Rench,
Alexander Porter,	James Sykes,	Isaac Bradley,
John Thompson,	Richard Bassett,	John Wiltbank,
Abraham Robertson,	Jacob Stout,	Isaac Horsey,
Thomas McKean,	John Cook,	Wm. Polk,
George Read,	Samuel West,	Joshua Hill,
John Evans,	John Clarke,	Peter Hubbert,
John Lea,	Thomas White,	Phillips Kollock,
John Jones.	Richard Lockwood.	Alexander Laws.

The authorship of this first constitution has been claimed by both George Read and Thomas McKean. It has been quite conclusively proven that Thomas McKean was the author, notwithstanding the claim made by George Read's biographer that Read formulated it. After McKean's retirement from public life, in writing of this convention, he claimed that he drafted this constitution in a single night without the aid of any book, sitting alone in a room in a tavern in the town of New Castle. Somebody has facetiously suggested that Thomas McKean had a bottle of ink, a bottle of something else, a quill and a sand-box, and that those articles were all that were needed to draft the first constitution of Delaware. While this convention was not controlled by the most radical of the patriotic leaders of that day, enough of that element was represented in its membership to influence the convention in upholding the independence of the Colonies. While the constitution itself was subjected to rather severe criticism, it was generally acquiesced in and continued as the fundamental law until 1792.

This Constitution provided that the Legislature should be composed of two distinct branches, one to be called the "House of Assembly" and the other "The Council." It provided for the election of a Chief Magistrate who was called President, to be chosen by joint ballot of both Houses for a term of three years. The delegates to Congress were also chosen annually by joint ballot of both Houses of the General Assembly. The President and General Assembly were auth-

orized by joint ballot to appoint three Justices of the Supreme Court, one of whom should be Chief Justice, a Judge of Admiralty, and four Justices of the Court of Common Pleas and Orphans' Court for each county, one of whom in each court should be styled Chief Justice. The Judges were all appointed during good behavior.

The first Legislature elected under this constitution met at New Castle, October 28, 1776. It provided for a Great Seal for the State, and on November 6th George Read, John Dickinson and John Evans were elected delegates to Congress, and at the same time a Council of Safety was chosen composed of five members from each of the three counties. On February 12, 1777, John McKinly was chosen first President of the Delaware State by nineteen votes out of the twenty-three cast, and a few days later Nicholas Van Dyke and James Sykes were elected as delegates to Congress in place of John Dickinson and John Evans who had declined to serve.

On the evening following the battle of Brandywine, September 11, 1777, a detachment of British troops from General Howe's army fell upon Wilmington and captured President McKinly. He was taken from his bed at dead of night and put on board a sloop that lay in the Christiana Creek, and was held as a prisoner for more than a year. At that time George Read was Speaker of the Council, and by virtue of that office became President of the State. When he heard of the capture of President McKinly he was in Philadelphia, and the shores of the Delaware River were largely in control of the British forces. In order that he might assume control as Chief Magistrate he came down through New Jersey to Salem and across the river from Salem in a boat.

Landing safely on the Delaware side with his family, he went to Dover and assumed control as Chief Magistrate. He continued to act as President but a short while, when he relinquished the office, having been elected a delegate to Congress, and Thomas McKean, as Speaker of the Assembly, became President, and continued as such until March, 1778,

when Caesar Rodney was by the Legislature elected President for a term of three years, receiving twenty votes out of the twenty-four votes cast in the joint convention. On November 6, 1781, the term of Caesar Rodney as President of the State having expired, the Legislature met in joint convention, and by a vote of twenty-five out of twenty-six members present elected as his successor John Dickinson for the legal term of three years. A week later Mr. Dickinson appeared before the Legislature and accepted the position of President in a brief address. He served as President until November 4, 1782, when he turned the administration of the State over to John Cook, Speaker of the Council, Dickinson having been elected President of the Supreme Executive Council of Pennsylvania. Dickinson formally resigned his office as President of Delaware at the legislative session held in January, 1783.

On February 1, 1783, Nicholas Van Dyke was elected President by eighteen votes out of thirty in the joint convention. President Van Dyke served until October 27, 1786, when he was succeeded by Thomas Collins, who occupied the office until his death on March 29, 1789. A convention to take into consideration the state of trade and the expediency of a reform system of commercial regulations for the common interest and permanent harmony of the States was called by the State of Virginia, and met at Annapolis on September 11, 1786. The representatives from Delaware at this convention were George Read, Richard Bassett and John Dickinson; the latter served as President of the Convention. But little was accomplished by the Convention owing to the fact that only five of the States were represented, and after continuing in session for three days the Convention framed a report suggesting to the respective States the calling of a general convention of Deputies from all the States to meet in Philadelphia in May, 1787, for the purpose of revising the Articles of Confederation.

Acting upon this call the General Assembly of Delaware passed an Act favoring the calling of such a Convention and appointing as delegates thereto George Read, Gunning Bed-

ford, John Dickinson, Richard Bassett and Jacob Broom. The Convention assembled in Independence Hall, Philadelphia, on the 25th of May, 1787, and organized by the selection of George Washington as President. It remained in session until the 17th of September, and by it was formulated the Constitution of the United States. The delegates from Delaware took an active part in the proceedings of the Convention, and it was largely through their efforts that the interests of the smaller States were guarded.

The whole number of delegates in attendance was fifty-five, of whom thirty-nine signed the Constitution. The draft of the Constitution adopted was immediately transmitted to Congress with a recommendation to that body to submit it to state conventions for ratification. This was accordingly done. The Legislature of Delaware took prompt measures for the calling of a Convention to act upon the Constitution, and on the 7th of December, 1787, the State Convention called for that purpose gave its approval, and by formal action ratified the Constitution, thus making Delaware the first State in the Federal Union. The following paper shows the action taken by the Delaware State Convention and also the names of the Deputies composing that Convention :

“WE, THE DEPUTIES OF THE PEOPLE OF THE DELAWARE STATE, in Convention met, having taken into our serious consideration the FEDERAL CONSTITUTION proposed and agreed upon by the Deputies of the United States in a General Convention held at the City of Philadelphia on the Seventeenth day of September in the Year of our Lord One thousand seven hundred and eighty-seven, HAVE approved, assented to, ratified, and confirmed, and by these Presents, DO, in virtue of the Power and Authority to us given for that purpose, for and in behalf of ourselves and our Constituents, fully, freely and entirely approve of, assent to, ratify, and confirm the said Constitution.

Done in Convention at Dover this seventh day of December in the Year aforesaid, and in the Year of the Independence of the United States of America the twelfth. IN TESTIMONY whereof We have hereunto Subscribed our Names:

SUSSEX COUNTY.	KENT COUNTY.	NEW CASTLE COUNTY.
John Ingram	Nicholas Ridgely	Jas. Latimer, President
John Jones	Rich <sup>d</sup> Smith	James Black
Will Moore	George <u>Truitt</u>	Jno. James

We the Spectators of the Spectator have in consequence not having taken into a  
 correct consideration the various Contributions proposed and agreed upon by the Spectator of the United States in a former  
 Conference held at the City of Philadelphia on the nineteenth day of September in the Year of our Lord One thousand seven hundred and  
 eighty seven. We are opposed, opposed to, and by those who are, to the sense of the Spectator and Authority to us  
 on that purpose for and on behalf of ourselves and our Constituents fully, and entirely agree to, and by us and our Constituents.

Done in Convention at Geneva this seventh day of December in the Year of our Lord, and in the Year of the Republic of the United States of America the fourth of the said month of December 1792.

Deputy County

Thos Hardy.

San Francisco, California

John W. Johnson

Nicholas (Baron)

...

Chrysolomus

With Love

James C. Ward

1874

Dr. George Smith

1870

William D. Smith

Feb. 22, 1871.

1877

Whomsoever

James Oglethorpe

and 3rd June

Dear Mother

Williams

1744

Wadman Nicky

The Commission

1844

John Ward

100. *Chardax*

William Howard

Thomas & Mary

23/11/1911

1870

Israel. History.

estor - Hunkie

4





William Hall	Richard Bassett	Gunning Bedford, Senr.
Thomas Laws	James Sykes	Kensey Johns
Isaac Cooper	A. M. Zane	Thos. Wattson
Woodman Stockley	Danl. Cummins, Senr.	Solomon Maxwell
John Laws	Jos. Barker	Nicholas Way
Thomas Evans	Edw. White	Thomas Duff
Isreal Holland	George Manlove	Gunn'g Bedford, Junr.

On the death of President Thomas Collins, on March 29, 1789, the duties of the Presidency of the State devolved upon Jehu Davis, Speaker of the Assembly, who served until May 30, 1789, when he was succeeded by Joshua Clayton who was duly elected by the Legislature. President Clayton was the last President under the Constitution of 1776, and filled that office until the adoption of the Constitution of 1792.

On September 8, 1791, the General Assembly by resolution called a new Constitutional Convention for the State and provided for the election of its members by the people. The delegates chosen to the Convention from the three counties were as follows :

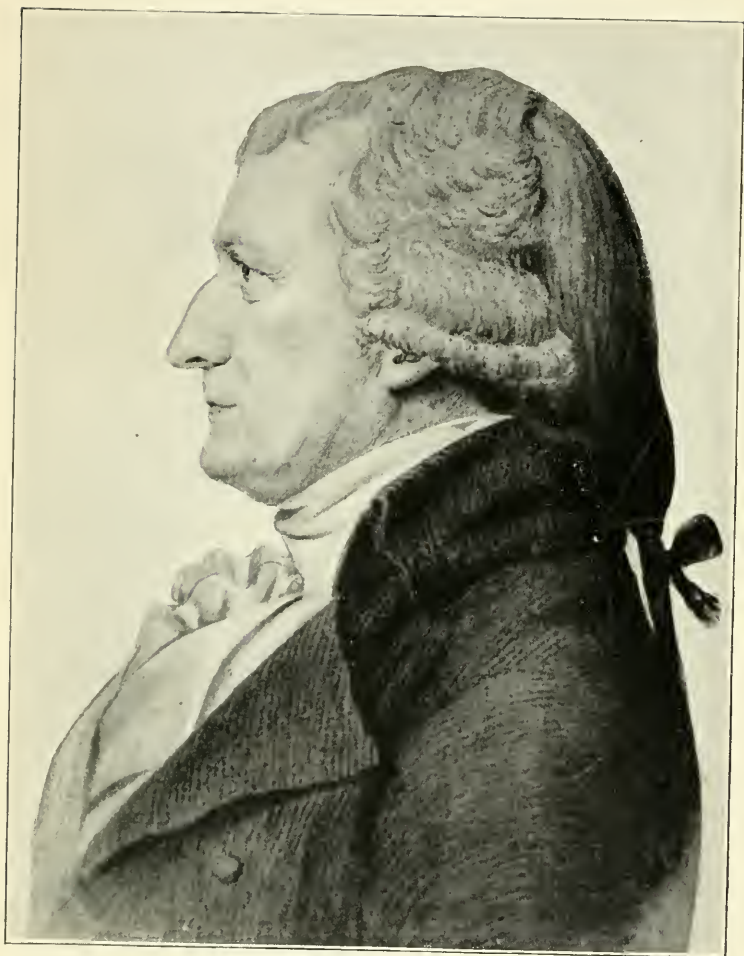
NEW CASTLE.	KENT.	SUSSEX.
Thomas Montgomery,	Nicholas Ridgely,	Isaac Cooper,
Robert Haughey,	James Morris,	Charles Polk,
John Dickinson,	John Clayton,	George Mitchell,
George Monroe,	James Sykes,	Isaac Beachamp,
Robert Armstrong,	Robert Holliday,	John Wise Batson,
Joseph Tatnall,	Richard Bassett,	John Collins,
Edward Roche,	Thomas White,	Peter Robinson,
Robert Coram,	Benjamin Dill,	William Moore,
William Johnston,	Manlove Emmerson,	Rhoads Shankland,
Kensey Johns,	Henry Molleston,	Daniel Polk.

The convention assembled at Dover on November 29, 1791. John Dickinson was made President and James Booth, Secretary. After a session covering a month the draft of a Constitution was submitted and ordered printed, and the Convention adjourned until May 29, 1792. During the recess of the Convention James Sykes, a member from Kent county, died, and Andrew Barratt was elected to fill the vacancy. On

reconvening John Dickinson resigned as President, owing to ill-health, and Thomas Montgomery was elected to succeed him. The Constitution was not put before the people for ratification, but was adopted by the Convention, and became the second Constitution of the State. The office of Chief Magistrate was changed from President to Governor, who was to be elected by the people for a term of three years. The General Assembly was to be composed of a Senate (instead of The Council) and a House of Representatives (instead of the Assembly), the number of members in each branch continuing as under the constitution of 1776.

Under this constitution Dr. Joshua Clayton, who had served as President of Delaware from May 30, 1789, was by an election of the people, chosen the first Governor of Delaware. He took his seat in January, 1793, and served the full constitutional term of three years. He was succeeded by Gunning Bedford, who served as Governor from January, 1796, to his death on September 28, 1797. On the death of Governor Bedford, Daniel Rogers, the Speaker of the Senate, succeeded him, continuing in office until January of 1799, when he in turn gave way to Richard Bassett, who had been elected by the people, and who held the office until March of 1801, when he resigned to become Judge of the Court of Admiralty. The Speaker of the Senate, Dr. James Sykes, succeeded to the Governorship until January following, 1802. David Hall became Governor in January, 1802, and served the full term of three years; Nathaniel Mitchell succeeded him, serving from 1805 to 1808. George Truitt was the next incumbent, occupying the office from 1808 to 1811. Joseph Haslet succeeded him in 1811 and served a full term. After the adoption of the Federal Constitution in 1787, George Read and Richard Bassett were the first United States Senators chosen from Delaware. The terms of the first Senators were determined by lot, and only a two-year term fell to George Read. At the expiration of that term in 1791 he was re-elected, and served until September, 1793, when at the urgent





HENRY LATIMER.  
1752-1819.



solicitation of Governor Clayton he was appointed the first Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Delaware under the Constitution of 1792. Richard Bassett continued as United States Senator for the term of four years, when he was appointed the first Chief Justice of the Court of Common Pleas under the Constitution of 1792; his successor in the Senate was John Vining. On the resignation of George Read from the Senate, the Governor appointed Kensey Johns as his successor, but he was refused admission to the Senate on the ground that the Governor had no constitutional right to appoint after the meeting of the General Assembly, which had failed to fill the vacancy. The office remained vacant until 1795, when Doctor Henry Latimer was elected by the Legislature for the unexpired term of George Read.

The first election held after the adoption of the Federal Constitution in 1788 resulted in the election of John Vining as the first representative to Congress from Delaware, he continuing in office for four years, and was succeeded by James A. Bayard the elder. At the same election Gunning Bedford, George Mitchell and John Baning were chosen presidential electors, and in the Electoral College the three votes of Delaware were cast for George Washington for President and John Jay for Vice-President. At the Presidential election in 1792 James Sykes, Gunning Bedford and William H. Wells were chosen Presidential Electors, and their votes were cast for George Washington for President and for John Adams for Vice-President.

Four years later the electors from Delaware cast their votes for John Adams for President and Thomas Pinckney of South Carolina for Vice-President; it will be recalled that Thomas Jefferson was the Vice-President chosen at that time. After a most bitter and exciting campaign the State election in 1800 resulted in favor of the Federalists, and the electoral vote of Delaware was given to John Adams for President and Charles C. Pinckney for Vice-President. The Democratic candidates were Thomas Jefferson and Aaron Burr, and in the electoral

college both Jefferson and Burr had 73 votes. By the laws existing at that time each elector voted for two men without designating who he wished to fill the office of President. These votes when counted determined the officers; the candidate having the greater number of votes being declared the Chief Magistrate. The tie vote between Jefferson and Burr threw the election into the House of Representatives. After the balloting, which continued about a week, the friends of Mr. Jefferson succeeded in electing him, and on the fourth of March, 1801, he was inaugurated President of the United States. In this contest in the House of Representatives, Delaware, through its representative James A. Bayard, cast its vote for Aaron Burr. The vote then as to-day in such a case had to be by States; there were sixteen States, nine being necessary to a choice. During six days balloting Jefferson carried eight States and Burr six, while Maryland and Vermont were equally divided and therefore powerless. Great fear arose lest the Union would go to pieces, and the Federalists be to blame, and finally enough Federalists from the States of South Carolina, Maryland, Vermont and Delaware by preconcert of action did not vote, enabling the Republican members from Vermont and Maryland to cast the votes of those States for Jefferson. In that way Jefferson received the votes of ten States and became President, Aaron Burr being elected Vice-President.

Party feeling at the time ran very high, and in the midst of it James A. Bayard, the representative from Delaware, was charged with other Federalists of standing out in order to prevent an election, and with the ultimate view of vesting the executive authority in some person other than either Jefferson or Burr. Mr. Bayard stoutly denied the charge, and his explanation at the time seemed to set the matter at rest. Again in 1830, in a debate in the Senate, the matter was referred to, and reflections made upon the conduct of Mr. Bayard at this juncture. John M. Clayton, who in 1830 represented Delaware in the United States Senate, sought to rescue Mr. Bay-

ard's character from reproach, and the authorities quoted by him in defense of Mr. Bayard were convincing, and really ended the controversy.

Very soon after the adoption of the Federal Constitution two political parties rose, and under various names have continued ever since. During the agitation incident to the adoption of the Constitution, those favoring it were styled "Federalists" and those opposed "Anti-Federalists." After the adoption of the Constitution a Federalist meant one who favored strong national government and the Anti-Federalists advocated strong state government. The Federalists afterwards became Whigs and later on Republicans. The Anti-Federalists were first called Republicans, then Democratic-Republicans and after that simply Democrats. Delaware was a strong Federalist state for thirty years after the adoption of the Federal Constitution, and in several presidential elections stood almost alone in choosing Federalist electors. The decadence of the Federalist party began in 1801 on the election of Jefferson as President.

At the Presidential election in 1805 the electors from Delaware cast their votes for Charles C. Pinckney for President and Rufus King for Vice-President, they being the candidates of the Federalist Party. The election, however, resulted in the re-election of Thomas Jefferson as President and George Clinton as Vice-President. Again in 1809, the electoral vote of Delaware was cast for Pinckney and King, the nominees of the Federalist Party, but Pinckney and King received only a small minority of the electoral votes, the successful candidates being James Madison for President and George Clinton for Vice-President.

During the latter part of Jefferson's administration the relations of this country with England became considerably strained. England and France were engaged in a desperate struggle. England was jealous of the trade that France had acquired and sought to prevent trade with France, and in turn Napoleon forbade all commerce with England. The United

States under the Washington administration had assumed a neutrality with all nations, and as a result this country bid fair to do most of the carrying trade of Europe. Our vessels thus became a prey of both the hostile nations. England claimed the right to stop American vessels on the high seas on the pretext that they were searching for seamen of English birth and with the object in view of pressing them into the British Navy. This action upon the part of England aroused the people of the United States, and feeling, already deep, was greatly intensified when the American frigate "Chesapeake" was fired upon by the British Frigate "Leopard" off the mouth of the Chesapeake in 1807. This act roused such indignation that President Jefferson immediately ordered all British vessels of war to quit the waters of the United States. While the country was in this excited condition Jefferson's second term expired and James Madison, who was in sympathy with Jefferson's views, was elected as his successor and became President in 1809.

The Federalists constituted a strong minority in the nation and throughout the Madison administration bitterly opposed his war policy. War was inevitable and it began with the Indian outbreak in the Northwest, led by Tecumseh, the famous Chief. This uprising was only put down after General William Henry Harrison with a strong force repulsed the Indians, who were routed with great slaughter. This Indian war aroused the people of the West against England and on June 19, 1812 war was formally declared against Great Britain. During the preliminaries that led up to the War of 1812 Delaware was represented in the United States Senate by James A. Bayard and Outerbridge Horsey, and Delaware's member of the House of Representatives was Henry M. Ridgely.

All three of these gentlemen were Federalists, and as such, politically opposed to President Madison; and they, with the Federalist party generally, arrayed themselves in opposition to the war with Great Britain. Mr. Bayard was the leader of the Federalist forces in the Senate in opposition to the war,

and when the Bill declaring war came up in the House of Representatives Delaware's representative, Henry M. Ridgely, voted in the negative. While the bill passed by a vote of 79 to 49, yet the representatives from twelve of the seventeen states voted against it. While there was much sentiment in this state against the war, when war was actually declared, there seemed to be no difference of opinion as to the necessity of the American people joining with substantial unanimity to prosecute the war. The people of Delaware, true to their patriotic impulses, made quick response to the President's proclamation.

The following extract from the message submitted by Governor Haslet at that time to the General Assembly expresses in forceful and patriotic terms the general feeling of the populace at the time :

“ War has been declared. In whatever light the measures which led to it may be viewed, the feeling of every American must require that it be prosecuted with vigor. Averse to war, we know that an efficient prosecution of that in which we are engaged will be the best security against war hereafter. The crisis has come when we must convince the world that we know how to value our rights, and have means to enforce them; that our long suffering of injuries has proceeded from our love of peace, not from any apprehensions of the event of war; that our friendship is to be desired and our enmity to be deprecated.

“ We have been informed by the President of the United States, and have seen in the public documents, that immediately after the war was declared the President proposed to the British Government the terms on which its progress might be arrested. These terms required that the orders in council should be repealed as they affected the United States, without a revival of blockade, violating acknowledged rules; and that there should be an immediate discharge of American seamen from British ships, and a stop put to impressment from American ships, with an understanding that an exclusion of the seamen of each country from the ships of the other should be improved into a definitive and comprehensive adjustment of depending controversies. From these terms the welfare of our country requires that our government should never recede. We can never consent to peace, leaving the commerce a prey to lawless violence, our countrymen in bondage and our enemy in possession of a claim to enslave them whenever she finds them on the ocean. The reasonableness of these terms, the conciliatory manner in which they were proposed and the manner in which they were received and rejected by the British Government, if there had not already existed abundant evidence on the subject before, are sufficient to convince us that we can hope and expect nothing from the justice or friendship of Great Britain. It only remains



for us to compel her to grant to our power what we have so often solicited her to yield to our rights.

"A war thus waged for the protection of our property and countrymen, for redress of accumulated wrongs and for future security against such wrongs, must have the undivided support of this nation. England openly calculates upon our division. During the Revolutionary War her minister publicly professed the ungenerous maxim—'Divide and Govern.' She was mistaken then; she is mistaken now. The fundamental principle of our constitution is, the will of the majority shall rule. To suppose a case in which this will, constitutionally expressed, shall not carry the obligation to obey, is to suppose a case which cannot happen. If ever such supposition shall be seriously acted upon, the Union will be dissolved. Nor can I understand the reasoning, which admits to the general government and its several branches certain constitutional powers, but denies to them the right to determine the time and manner of exercising these powers. To deny them such right of determination is to divest them of their authority. It is the most effectual step towards a separation of the States.

"Urged by considerations which this subject presents to me, I must again and earnestly solicit your attention to our militia laws. The propriety of revising those laws and so framing them as to form an efficient militia, has been so often dwelt upon, that I can present it to you in no new light. I can only add, that our nation is now engaged in war; that our enemy abounds in wealth and is powerful in arms. War has long been her trade; from her we must expect no common struggle. Our situation is exposed to danger. Our safety requires that we should prepare to defend ourselves. Our militia must be our principal defence. If we will organize our militia it will be sufficient for us and I deem it of the first importance that the militia shall be efficiently organized. To this purpose an energetic militia law is indispensably necessary; such a law as shall command the personal services of all liable to military duties. The militia law cannot be intended as a means of taxation. It must be so framed as to exclude the probabilities that the duties which it enjoins will be commuted by the fines that it imposes, or little good will result from it."

The State of Delaware, lying as it does upon the Delaware Bay and River, was open to invasion by the British, and the populace appreciating this fact, proceeded at once to defend any invasion. Among those who first offered their services were men who in the revolutionary struggle had figured conspicuously in the army. As one mode of defence a fleet of privateers was fitted out, and very soon the Delaware River was alive with small craft hailing from Philadelphia and Wilmington, the object being to give battle to any British ships that might appear in the river and if possible disable and capture them. Immediately after the declaration of war

the following memorial was prepared and signed, and other steps were taken to defend the State :

“We, whose names are hereunto subscribed, citizens of the borough of Wilmington, and its vicinity, above the age of forty-five years, and by law exempted from requisition to perform military duty, anxious for the welfare of our beloved country, and apprehensive that the crisis may arrive, when the young and active may be called into distant service, do hereby agree to form ourselves into a military corps, to be devoted solely to the defence of the Borough aforesaid, against invasion ; and in obedience to the constituted authorities, to endeavor to preserve order, promote harmony, and maintain the authority and efficacy of the Laws.

“Of the old Continental Line,

Allen M<sup>r</sup> Lane,

Peter Jaquett, ✓

Edw. Roche,

David Kirkpatrick,

Of the old Continental Staff,

Dr. James Tilton,

Dr. G. Monro,

Dr. E. A. Smith,

&c., &c., &c.”

During the continuance of the war the Revolutionary veterans did not relax their efforts, but rendered throughout the struggle most heroic and valuable service. Colonel Allen McLane, whose patriotism and bravery as a soldier had been commended by George Washington in a private letter addressed to McLane at the close of the Revolutionary War, was placed in command of the defences of the city of Wilmington, and continued in that service during the whole of the war. Doctor James Tilton who had been a Surgeon in the Revolution, was appointed Surgeon-General of the United States armies during this war. Caleb P. Bennett, who had come out of the Revolution as a Major, was placed in command of the troops at New Castle, and by reason of his experience as a soldier in the former war rendered valuable service to his country here.

Delaware furnished promptly its full quota of men and resources for the prosecution of the war, and no State contributed a larger number of soldiers in proportion to its population. A Committee of Safety was organized, the members representing the leading citizens of Wilmington ; among its members being James A. Bayard, Outerbridge Horsey, Dr. James Tilton, Caesar A. Rodney, and William P. Brobson.

A fort was built at "the Rocks" occupying about the site of old Fort Christina, and near the spot where the monument has been recently erected to mark the first landing place of the Swedes. It was called Fort Union, and in its construction the populace took much interest. It is claimed that James A. Bayard with his own hands assisted in building it. The fort commanded the entrance to Christiana Creek, and in the event of an invasion by the British was expected to serve to great advantage.

At that time the United States government had an arsenal situated on Washington Street between Eighth and Ninth, and this was the headquarters for the military companies. Thomas Robinson, who had served in the Revolution, and whose home is still standing near Claymont, was the Major-General of the State militia. Jesse Green, of Sussex County, was Adjutant-General of the State. William Nivin, of Christiana Bridge, was the Brigadier-General of the State militia for New Castle County, Isaac Davis Brigadier-General for Kent County, and Thomas Fisher, Brigadier-General for Sussex County.

Within a month after the declaration of war many volunteers began to offer themselves to the government in response to the call by Congress for volunteers from the different States. It became evident very soon that Delaware's quota could easily be raised. Beginning in July of 1812 the official register at Dover shows that the government issued many commissions to those joining the State militia, and these commissions continued for a period of several months; altogether about 8,000 men enlisted from Delaware for service in the War of 1812.

The fact that Delaware Bay had been specially selected by the British for military and naval operations caused great excitement and anxiety along the coast, and the people were frequently excited by small raiding parties from the British boats, who were intent upon stealing and pillaging. The appearance of the British fleet in front of Lewes caused the most intense fear and anxiety. Fearing that the State might fall





Engd. Author's Prop.

Saml. B. Daves  
Lt Col 44 Infy  
Comd'g



into the hands of the British, the money deposited in the banks at Wilmington and New Castle was sent to Philadelphia as a matter of precaution.

Steps were immediately taken to defend the town of Lewes. Colonel Samuel B. Davis, at the head of a detachment from the regular army of the United States, was placed in command of the United States forces at Lewes, and several hundred of the State militia was also sent there. A demand from Commodore Beresford, commanding the British squadron in the mouth of the Delaware, addressed to the Governor, that twenty live bullocks be furnished, and also a quantity of hay for the use of his Britannic majesty's squadron, was indignantly declined by the Governor, even though the Commodore's demand was coupled with a threat that a failure to comply meant that the town would be destroyed. The Commodore was politely requested to do his worst. The threatened attack upon Lewes seemed to spread throughout the State with unusual rapidity, and in the course of a few days the whole state was preparing for still further defence. At Dover a public meeting was quickly assembled, and a similar demonstration was held at Smyrna. When the news reached Wilmington suggesting a scarcity of ammunition for defence, a plentiful supply of powder was forwarded from the DuPont mills at Wilmington, and Captain John Warner was sent with his Wilmington troop of horse to assist in the defence of the town.

Commodore Beresford being convinced after several interchanges of dispatches with Colonel Davis that his demands for supplies would not be complied with began a bombardment of the town. It lasted for two days. It turned out to be less disastrous than was feared. Most of the shot fired by the British fell short of their mark or passed entirely over the town, and it is claimed that many of the balls fired by the British were dug out of the sand by the boys and returned to the enemy from the shore batteries. A few houses in the town were damaged, but no one in the town was killed or wounded. Someone has facetiously suggested that the outcome of the bombardment was that :

“The Commander and all his men,  
Shot a dog and killed a hen.”

This was the only engagement that really occurred on Delaware soil during the war. There was continual excitement and for many months the whole populace was in a state of anxiety and uncertainty, fearing an invasion both by land and sea. When the British ships in the Chesapeake landed parties which burned and plundered Frenchtown and Havre-de-Grace it was feared that Wilmington would meet the same fate; and later when Georgetown and Fredericktown on the Sassafras River were burned the state militia was marshaled for more complete defence. A camp was established at Stanton on the Baltimore road six miles from Wilmington, another encampment was on Shellpot Hill and a third encampment, composed of regular troops and state militia combined, was at Oak Hill about four miles west of Wilmington on the Lancaster turnpike.

The attack of General Ross on Baltimore caused still further alarm, and when the news reached Wilmington of his defeat the utmost relief was felt and the greatest rejoicing ensued as is evidenced by the following extract from the American Watchman of September 15, 1814, a semi-weekly newspaper published in Wilmington at that time:

“GOOD NEWS! GLORIOUS NEWS!!”

“It is with expressible joy that we present to our readers the following cheering intelligence. The hired, blood thirsty myrmidons, the off-scourings of the earth, and the refuse of creation, sent by Great Britian to burn, pillage, lay waste and destroy, by the favor of Heaven and the valor of American soldiers, have been defeated at Baltimore and have been forced to make a disgraceful retreat to their floating dungeons.”

A constant fear prevailed lest the British should invade the Delaware Bay and River, and to guard against this the merchants of Philadelphia combined with the substantial people of Delaware in raising considerable money to provide for still further defence. There was the most cheerful coöperation between the two states, and Delaware throughout the war con-

tributed her fair proportion both of means and men for upholding the American cause and the prosecution of the war.

It was during this war that Pea Patch Island was selected by the Government as an advantageous point for the building of a fort for the defence of the Delaware River, and at the request of the General Government action was promptly taken by the State of Delaware to cede that island to the Government. Delaware also had her part in the military operations on the Canadian frontier. Colonel James Gibson rendered distinguished service in this war; he was a native of South Milford, Sussex County, and during the engagement at Fort Erie on September 14, 1814 received injuries of which he died on the following day. He had been a captain in the regular service for four years and on February 21st, preceding his death, was promoted to the rank of Colonel and attached to the Fourth Rifles. He had participated in nearly all of the land engagements preceding his death.

In the engagement at Fort George in the early part of June, 1813, which was one of the hottest fights of the war, Captain Thomas Stockton, of Delaware, rendered conspicuous service; six of his company were killed and seven wounded but he escaped unharmed. He was afterwards promoted to the rank of Major. Captain Stockton was a son of General John Stockton, who for many years resided on what is now known as the Colonel Andrews farm in New Castle Hundred on the Hares Corner Road about two miles from Wilmington. General Stockton was for many years a prominent citizen of New Castle County. Captain Thomas Stockton after the war resided in New Castle, and in 1844 became Governor of the State. In 1846, during his term as Governor, he died at his home in New Castle.

Delaware contributed three distinguished officers to the naval service in the war of 1812: Commodore Thomas McDonough, the hero of Lake Champlain, was born in St. Georges Hundred, New Castle County, this State, on December 31, 1783, on the farm on which his father and grandfather lived

before him. He received an appointment from John Adams, President, in 1800, as midshipman in the navy through the intercession of Henry Latimer, then a United States Senator from Delaware. For his gallant services in the bombardment of Tripoli, August 3, 1804, he was promoted to the rank of Lieutenant. His services in the Mediterranean showed his superiors the spirit that was in him.

At the beginning of the war of 1812 he was ordered to join the frigate "Constellation" as First Lieutenant, and a few months later was ordered by President Madison to take command of the vessels on Lake Champlain. It was on September 11, 1814, that the engagement on Lake Champlain in which the great victory achieved by Macdonough took place. This was the turning-point in the war. This victory had an important effect upon the negotiations for peace which were being carried on at this time between the American Commission and the English Government. Macdonough modestly sent to his superior officer the simple message :

"The Almighty has been pleased to grant us a signal victory on Lake Champlain."

To which the Secretary of the Navy replied :

"Tis not alone the brilliancy of your victory in a Naval view, but its importance and beneficial results that will fix the attention and command the gratitude of your admiring country.

"Accept, sir, the assurance of the high respect and warm approbation of the President of the United States which I am commanded to present, and my sincere congratulations."

Commodore Macdonough won by this victory a place in the hearts and esteem of his countrymen second to none. The whole country did him homage. The State of Delaware, the State of his birth, by resolutions of its General Assembly had his portrait painted, which still graces the walls of the State Capitol, and presented to him a silver service, still in possession of his family, in recognition of the distinguished services which he rendered to his country in this war.







COMMODORE THOMAS MACDONOUGH.  
1783-1825.

Some of those historians whose function it is to explain everything, may eventually be able to tell us why Delaware has said so little in praise of Macdonough. To this day his name is less known to the general public than Perry's, although in the navy his memory as an officer and a man stands higher than that of Perry. Rhode Island's laudations of her son who triumphed on Lake Erie have exceeded Delaware's eulogies of the gallant seaman who won the greater triumph of Lake Champlain in a ratio of several times sixteen to one. It is a safe assertion that of all the men in the United States who take the slightest interest in their country's history, there is not one who does not know that Perry was born in Rhode Island, while there are many intelligent readers who do not know that Macdonough was born in Delaware. However, James Macdonough, the grandsire, settled in Delaware before George Washington was born, and Thomas Macdonough, the sire, after practicing medicine in his native colony, fought for independence under George Washington. After the Revolution, Colonel Macdonough sat on the bench in Common Pleas and Orphan's Court, and died in 1795, at which time Thomas the younger, born in 1783, had not yet begun his teens.

Scarcely anything is known of the Commodore's boyhood, but research has discovered that he was for a time clerk in a store at Middletown. His professional career begins with his appointment as a midshipman on February 5, 1800. A cruise in the West Indies showed him the smooth and the rough side of sea life, for he earned some prize money and caught the yellow fever. In 1803 he was one of the midshipmen of the "Philadelphia," the ill-fated vessel which ran on the Tripolitan reefs, and gave Decatur a chance for his immortal bonfire. The "Philadelphia" recaptured an American brig which a Moorish corsair had siezed, and young Macdonough was ordered to take the prize into Morocco. A midshipman naturally regarded such an appointment with pleasure, as it showed that his captain regarded him as trustworthy; but in Macdonough's case, this cruise was a rare specimen of "midship-

man's luck." It meant that Macdonough was the only officer on the "Philadelphia" who escaped capture; it transferred him to the "Enterprise," Decatur's famous schooner; it gained him Decatur's favor; it gave him a chance to cruise, to fight, and to climb the ladder of fame, while Bainbridge, Porter, Jones, Biddle and the others were behind the walls of the Basha's prison. Macdonough was one of the party that burned the "Philadelphia," and in the subsequent attacks on Tripoli, he did his share of the fighting. The Mediterranean, with pirates on the water and bandits on the shore, was full of dangers, and on an evening walk Captain Decatur and Midshipman Macdonough were attacked by these men. It was a bad night's work for the ruffians, for the Americans drove them off, and Macdonough chased one of the three until the man jumped from a roof and died in consequence. An incident of this kind would not be forgotten by Decatur, and we may be sure that he was ready to say a good word for Tom Macdonough whenever the midshipman wanted a friend.

After the Tripolitan war, Macdonough served along our coast in the enforcement of the Embargo, Mr. Jefferson's pet measure for suspending our commerce with foreign nations. The law was one of the most unpopular measures ever passed, and nowhere was its unpopularity better understood than in the navy. On the other hand, the Embargo led some excellent seamen to ship on board our cruisers, and the constant vigilance necessary in the enforcement of a law which all New England hated and feared, developed the qualities of an officer. The navy of that day was small, the pay was scanty, and officers frequently sought furloughs in order to cruise in the merchant service. Macdonough, while in command of the merchant brig "Gallion," stopped at Liverpool, and was impressed by an English press gang, despite his protest that he was a lieutenant in the American navy. He was carried on board a British frigate, but made his escape, knocking down a corporal who sought to intercept him. So far as known, Macdonough is the only renowned officer of the American navy



who was ever impressed by the British. Porter was impressed, but it was before he had entered the navy. Bainbridge, Stewart, Lawrence, the unfortunate Barron, and most of our commanders had trouble with the British over the impressment of their men, but Macdonough knew by personal experience the brutality of the press gangs. His captivity, brief as it was, exposed him to the danger of the gag and the cat-of-nine-tails, and it is a highly probable tradition which represents him as saying that he would pay off the score. On a former occasion, Macdonough, at great risk to himself, had rescued an impressed American from a British boat. Now he had, like Caesar, private as well as public wrongs to remember.

History need scarcely glance at Macdonough's passing quarrels with the Navy Department or his unfriendly relations with General Dearborn, for such things must be. Jealousies, wranglings, questions of rank and dignity, will continue so long as there are wars and rumors of war. Macdonough, in 1812, took command of Lake Champlain. Like Perry on Lake Erie, like Chauncey on Lake Ontario, he had virtually to build a fleet in a forest. Yet he eclipsed Chauncey by fighting a decisive battle, and he surpassed Perry by conquering a superior force. After Cooper and Roosevelt told the story of Lake Champlain and its victory, there was little left to tell. The British were superior in number of men, in the tonnage of their vessels, and in their battery ; but Macdonough had additional resources in his cool pre-arrangements and his quickness of adaptation. He so adjusted his anchors that he could turn his vessels and bring fresh guns to bear on the enemy. Quietly and with prayer he awaited the conflict, and a bloody fight of two hours and a half ended in his triumph. The details of the combat cannot here be given, but it is rarely an easy task to conquer British seamen, and Macdonough is one of the few who ever did beat them when the odds were on their side. His success on the water practically meant that a commander, though with inferior forces, can take a long step towards victory if he secures the best position and forces the

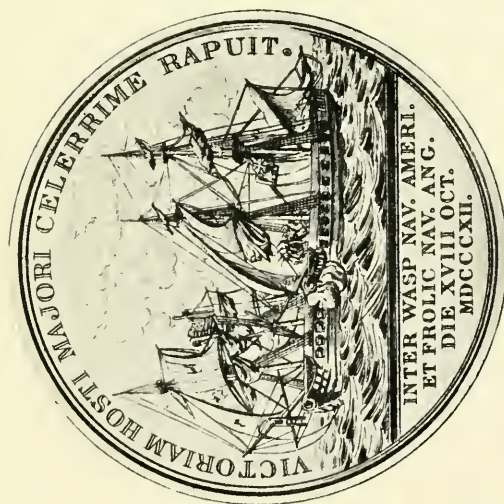
enemy to expose himself to the broadsides of the defensive fleet. It also meant and effected a land victory, for the British soldiers retreated from an inferior American force. They were not beaten, and probably could not have been beaten by troops so few in comparison to their own, but naval ascendancy was essential to the proposed invasion, and with Macdonough in command of the lake, the British army had nothing to do but fall back to a place of safety.

Perry's victory antedated Macdonough's, and to this day outranks it in the popular judgment, yet the essential difference is that Perry won because he used his superiority and Macdonough because he overcame the enemy's superiority. The celebrity of the former contest is also in no slight degree due to the long and bitter quarrel between Perry and Elliott. In his report Perry praised Elliott's services, then Elliott offended Perry and Perry declared that Elliott ought to be court-martialed. Protests, appeals to the government, and duels among partisans of the rival heroes followed. The controversy lasted after Perry and Elliott were both dead, and was in full blast thirty-nine years after the fight. It was several degrees worse than the Sampson-Schley dispute, and almost as bad as the Warren and Fitz-John Porter cases combined. All this oratory and printer's ink kept the battle of Lake Erie before the public mind, nor, indeed, could the public forget what was as inevitable as the head of King Charles the First in Mr. Dick's manuscripts. Many are history's ironies, and one is that Macdonough's fame has been partly obscured by facts creditable to him. He won his victory, he did not get into an endless broil with his second in command, he did not exchange Billingsgate with a wrathful brother officer, and so his victory, standing entirely on its own merits, lacks the borrowed lustre of Lake Erie. It is a safe prediction that when 1912 brings forth a new brood of centennial speeches and essays, the well-nigh unanimous verdict will place Macdonough ahead of Perry.

Macdonough's after-life was that of a judicious officer, and







THE COMMODORE JONES' MEDAL STRUCK BY VOTE OF THE CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES, A. D. 1812.

his private character was that of a courteous gentleman and a devout Christian. His courage was disease-proof as well as bullet-proof, for in 1825 he retained command of the "Constitution" after he had worn away to a skeleton. It is noteworthy that Perry died of fever in a foreign port, and that Macdonough died of consumption while on a homebound cruise.

Delaware may well be proud of the man Roosevelt counts as our greatest naval officer down to Farragut. Roosevelt's phrase is so strong that a student thinks of two other great names, Paul Jones and Edward Preble.

Captain Jacob Jones was in command of the United States sloop of war "Wasp" when on October 18, 1812 it gained a signal victory over the British sloop of war "Frolic." Captain Jones was a native of Smyrna, in this State, being born there in March, 1768. After graduating in medicine he abandoned his profession, entered the navy as midshipman, was afterwards promoted to a lieutenancy, and was an officer on the frigate "Philadelphia" at Tripoli in 1803. He afterwards was made Commodore. He died in Philadelphia in 1850. The services rendered by Commodore Jones in the war of 1812 were of much importance and merited the regard of the American people.

Another Delawarean who served in the United States Navy during this war was James Biddle, who was a Lieutenant under Jacob Jones when the "Wasp" captured the "Frolic." Lieutenant Biddle by reason of meritorious conduct was promoted to a higher rank and rendered distinguished services later in the war.

Two years after the war had been declared Russia offered her mediation between England and the United States in the interest of peace. James A. Bayard and Albert Gallatin were appointed Commissioners to conclude a peace upon the terms set forth in the declaration of war; they proceeded directly to St. Petersburg, but nothing was accomplished there owing to the unsettled condition of affairs throughout Europe. Afterwards John Quincy Adams, Henry Clay and Jonathan Rus-

sell were sent as additional Commissioners from the United States, and they joined Mr. Bayard and Mr. Gallatin at Gottenburg, the place first selected for the negotiations.

The negotiations were transferred from Gottenburg to Ghent. After prolonged discussions which continued for several months, in which more than once it seemed as if the war must proceed, the Treaty of Ghent was executed December 24, 1814, two weeks before the battle of New Orleans. The Treaty was ratified February 17, 1815, and put an end to the war, which began two years and eight months before. The Treaty of Ghent is remarkable for omitting to provide for some important interests involved in the war. Upon the question of "impressment of seamen," the main cause of the war, the treaty was silent, but altogether the peace declared was an honorable one. If the United States gained no territory it yielded none, and there is no question but that the spirit of the country as demonstrated in the war of 1812, entirely changed the temper of England toward this country, and led to a lasting peace between the two nations.

The part taken by James A. Bayard in the negotiations for peace was most important. At the conclusion of the treaty the President offered Mr. Bayard the appointment of Envoy at St. Petersburg, but he declined, holding that he did not desire to serve the administration of his political opponents. Late in the spring of 1815 he proceeded homeward, but during his official visit abroad he had contracted a disease which resulted in his death a few days after his arrival at his home in Wilmington.

The census taken in 1810 showed a total population of 72,674 with the three Counties almost equally divided as regards population. The population of New Castle County was 24,429, Kent 20,495, and Sussex 27,750. Under the apportionment at that time this population entitled Delaware to two Representatives in the lower House of Congress. At the election held in October, 1813, Daniel Rodney, Federalist, of Lewes, was elected Governor and served the full constitutional term.

In the autumn of 1816 John Clark of New Castle County was elected Governor over Maneen Bull of Sussex County. Mr. Clark was the candidate of the Federalist party and Mr. Bull his opponent was the Democrat nominee. The nominees of the Federalists for Representatives in Congress were Louis McLane and Caleb Rodney, and their opponents on the Democratic ticket were Willard Hall and Caesar A. Rodney. McLane the Federalist and Hall the Democrat were elected, Mr. Hall's majority over Caesar A. Rodney was one vote. There was a serious split in the Federalist party in this campaign, Thomas Clayton of Kent County and Thomas Cooper of Sussex running as independent candidates for Congress. This defection in the Federalist ranks resulted in the defeat of Caleb Rodney, the regular Federalist nominee for Congress. John Clark occupied the office as Governor for three years.

When the admission of Missouri as a State was proposed about 1820, a violent discussion arose as to whether it should be free or slave, and the question excited much interest all over the country. In the General Assembly of Delaware the question of the power of Congress to prohibit slavery in the Territories was referred to a Committee, whose report favored the idea of Congress regulating the Territories in whatever way was thought best at the time of their admission as States. This report was followed by a resolution setting forth that in the opinion of the General Assembly the future introduction of slaves into the Territories of the United States and into such new states as may hereafter be admitted into the Union ought to be prohibited by Congress.

At a large public meeting held in Wilmington, presided over by James Booth, Caesar A. Rodney, a leading Democratic statesman of that time, announced himself in favor of Congress prohibiting the further extension of slavery, and the meeting adopted resolutions to that effect. This expression of opinion did not meet with the favor of Nicholas Van Dyke and Outerbridge Horsey who were then the United States Senators from Delaware. They, in conjunction with Louis McLane, a



Federalist and one of the Representatives in the lower House of Congress from Delaware, joined in an open letter expressing regret that they could not consistently with a conscientious discharge of their duty favor the sentiment expressed in the resolutions of the General Assembly, and affirmed that in their opinion Congress did not possess the power to prohibit the introduction of slavery into the Territories of the United States.

Through the efforts of Henry Clay, Missouri was admitted as a slave State in 1821, but under what was known as the Missouri Compromise. Under that compromise slavery was prohibited in all other Territories west of the Mississippi and north of latitude 36° 30' constituting the southern boundary of the State of Missouri.

Henry Molleston was elected Governor in November, 1819, but died before his term of office began. The duties of the place then devolved upon Jacob Stout, Speaker of the Senate, who served from January, 1820, to January, 1821.

At the election in October, 1820, John Collins, Democrat, was elected Governor, and Caesar A. Rodney, Democrat, and Louis McLane, Federalist, were elected to Congress. John Collins died during his term as Governor, April 15, 1822. At his death Caleb Rodney, Speaker of the Senate, succeeded and acted as Governor until January, 1823. At the election in October, 1822, the contest between the Federalist and Democratic parties was carried on with great activity and bitterness. Joseph Haslet, the Democratic candidate, was elected by a majority of only 22 votes over James Booth who headed the Federalist ticket. Two Federalists, Daniel Rodney and Louis McLane were elected to Congress. The legislature in 1823 for the first time had a decided Democratic majority. Caesar A. Rodney who had represented Delaware in the United States Senate from the 4th of March, 1822, resigned early the next year in order to accept the position of Minister to Buenos Ayres.

The term of Nicholas Van Dyke, the other United States

Senator from Delaware, expired on the 4th of March, 1823, so that the duty devolved upon the Legislature of 1823 to elect two senators. The contest between rival candidates became very warm, the outcome of which was that no one was elected at that session. Nine candidates were put in nomination and ten ballots taken without effecting a choice. Governor Haslet died after serving five months of his second term as Governor, and Charles Thomas, Speaker of the Senate, acted as Governor until January following. At the fall election in 1823 Samuel Paynter, of Sussex County, the Federalist candidate, was elected Governor by a majority of 199 over David Hazzard, and both branches of the Legislature had a decided Federalist majority. At the session of the Legislature in January following Nicholas Van Dyke was re-elected United States Senator to succeed himself, and John M. Clayton was elected to fill the vacancy caused by the resignation of Caesar A. Rodney. This was the beginning of John M. Clayton's national career.

The census in 1820 showed a total population in Delaware of 72,749. This showed an increase in the state for ten years of only 75. The population of Sussex County, which by the census of 1810, was 27,750, had decreased to 24,057, a difference of 3,693, while the population of New Castle County had increased from 24,429 in 1810 to 27,899 in 1820, a difference of 3,470, and Kent County showed an increase from 20,495 in 1810 to 20,793 in 1820, a difference of 298.

General Lafayette, who served so nobly in the cause of liberty at the battle of Brandywine, visited this country again for the first time in 1824. His tour through the twenty-four states, which then comprised the Union, was a triumphal one. He reached Wilmington on Wednesday, October 6, 1824. A committee of prominent citizens of New Castle County, composed as follows, met him at the Pennsylvania State line, and constituted his escort during the time he remained in Delaware: Louis McLane, William P. Brobson, Col. Samuel B. Davis, Victor du Pont, James R. Black, James Rogers, John

Sellers, John Gordon, David C. Wilson, John Merritt, Henry Whitely, Dr. Arnold Naudain and Peter Caverly.

The committee was accompanied by a troop of horsemen and by a procession of about two hundred civilians. Louis McLane acted as spokesman for the Delaware delegation. A wooden arch containing the words "Delaware Welcomes Lafayette" was erected across the Philadelphia turnpike at the point where Pennsylvania and Delaware meet; it was handsomely ornamented with flowers and was festooned with a revolutionary flag and supported a portrait of Washington. The painted inscription has been preserved, and is now among the collections of the Historical Society of Delaware. The procession that accompanied the General from the State line to Wilmington grew in numbers as it approached the city.

In passing through Brandywine village, Lafayette inquired for Joseph Tatnall, in whose house he had been hospitably entertained about the time of the battle of Brandywine, and he requested the procession to halt for a few minutes that he might pay his respects to the occupants of the house. The master of the house, at that time, was Edward Tatnall, Sr., who appeared at the front door with his son William in his arms, and the latter presented the General with a basket of Washington pears.

He inquired particularly for Anne Tatnall, daughter of Joseph Tatnall, whom he had remembered as a charming little girl in Revolutionary times. The little girl was represented on this occasion by her oldest daughter, Mrs. Merritt Canby, the grandmother of William M. Canby and Anna Tatnall Canby, who assisted in decorating the bridge over the Brandywine, and scattered flowers in the roadway as a mark of respect to the distinguished visitor.

Another daughter was Hetty A. Bellah who at that time was a pupil at the Hilles School, and her uncle, Edward Tatnall requested that his niece be excused from school, in order that she might meet her mother's friend, but the fear that it might interfere with the discipline of the school led Friend

Hilles to refuse the request, to the life-long regret of his youthful pupil, who by the refusal missed both the procession and the opportunity of seeing the great Lafayette.

The General expressed himself as much pleased to visit Wilmington after an interval of forty-two years. The streets contained many arches and there were evidences on every hand of the effort that had been made to render homage to the distinguished French soldier and patriot. After an address of welcome by the Chief Burgess, James Brobson, and other speech-making, followed by a banquet, the General paid a friendly visit to Mrs. Rebecca R. S. Connell who resided at that time at "Tusculum," now the residence of Dr. Read J. McKay. In the afternoon, the General and his suite proceeded to New Castle, where he attended the wedding of Charles I. duPont and Miss Dorcas Montgomery Van Dyke, daughter of Hon. Nicholas Van Dyke. The wedding festivities being over, he was escorted to the Maryland State line, where he was met by the Maryland officials, going by way of Frenchtown to Baltimore.

Early in the following year, General Lafayette on completing his tour through the United States spent a few days as the guest of the duPonts and at that time visited the battlefield of Brandywine. While being entertained by the duPonts he wrote the following sentiment in an album belonging to Miss E. duPont: "After having seen, nearly half a century ago, the banks of the Brandywine a scene of bloody fighting, I am happy now to find upon them the seat of industry, beauty and mutual friendship." Ten years later, in 1834, on the death of General Lafayette at his home in France, the citizens of Wilmington showed honor to his memory by a solemn funeral procession which passed through the principal streets headed by the Governor of the State and the Mayor of the City. The exercises closed with an impressive funeral discourse delivered by Rev. Isaac Pardee in the Hanover Presbyterian Church.

At first electors for President and Vice-President were chosen by the Legislatures of the various States. This mode

of choosing electors did not prove to be popular, and met with much disfavor in Delaware. In 1824 a feeling exhibited itself in the Legislature of Delaware against a continuance of the law but a resolution in favor of its change was laid on the table. Of the three electors chosen by the Legislature in that year only one received a majority of all the votes cast, but a certificate of appointment was duly made out in favor of the three, notwithstanding the protest that came from their political opponents in the Legislature.

The Federalist and Democratic parties kept up their State political organizations until 1825, and Delaware was the only State in the Union where this had been done. In that year the Democratic party carried New Castle and Kent Counties and was thereby enabled to control the Legislature. The political contest in 1826 proved unusually exciting. By the death of Nicholas Van Dyke and the expiration of Thomas Clayton's term the Legislature was confronted with two senatorial vacancies. Charles Polk, Federalist, was elected Governor by less than 100 majority. Louis McLane, Federalist, was elected to Congress by a majority of 330 over Dr. Arnold Naudain. The Federalists also captured the Legislature. Daniel Rodney, who had been appointed Senator by the Governor to fill the unexpired term of Nicholas Van Dyke, was unable to secure an election by the Legislature and Henry M. Ridgely was elected to the place. Louis McLane was elected Senator to succeed Thomas Clayton. Mr. McLane had been elected, the October previous, a member of Congress and his promotion to the Senate made it necessary to call a special election to fill the vacancy. At this election, which took place in September, 1827, Kensey Johns was elected in his place, his opponent being James A. Bayard the younger.

At the session of the Legislature in 1828 the House of Representatives was unable to elect a Speaker, and after balloting for five days the House dissolved informally and did not meet again. In October, 1828 Kensey Johns was again elected to Congress over his old opponent. The electoral vote of the



State was cast that year in favor of John Quincy Adams for President, the electoral vote of the country standing 19 for Adams and 11 for Jackson. Mr. Ridgely's term expiring in the Senate, John M. Clayton was, by the Legislature that year, elected United States Senator for a full term.

The new law providing for the election of presidential electors by the people went into effect about this time. The passage of the Tariff Act in 1824 affected, to a considerable extent, the manufactories which had been established on the Brandywine. Senator McLane in conjunction with other friends of President Jackson asserted themselves in favor of a protective tariff, and proved to be strong friends of the woollen manufacturers. Louis McLane's attitude on public questions endeared him to the President, and about a year after he took his seat in the United States Senate, he was appointed by President Jackson minister to England. He served in that capacity for two years when he was recalled to become Secretary of the Treasury, from which office he was transferred in 1833 to be Secretary of State. The latter office he held for about a year when he resigned.

In 1829, immediately following Mr. McLane's appointment as Minister to England, the citizens of Wilmington complimented him by a public dinner in which his political friends paid him handsome tribute. This occasion called together the leading political elements of the State and the speeches made in response to the toasts on the occasion very fully discussed the political problems of that day.

The election in October, 1829 was carried by what was known as the American Republican party. David Hazzard, of Sussex County, was elected Governor by a small majority. The death of Nicholas Ridgely, Chancellor of the State, left a vacancy in that office and John J. Milligan was appointed to the place. Mr. Milligan declined the appointment, and it was then offered to Kensey Johns, Senior, who accepted it and served as Chancellor until 1832. He then resigned owing to advanced age and infirmities, and his son Kensey Johns,

Junior, succeeded him. In 1830 John J. Milligan, who was the candidate on the anti-Jackson ticket, was elected to Congress over Henry M. Ridgely. He succeeded Kensey Johns, Jr., who had declined a re-election. The dominant party in the State at that time pronounced itself in favor of the nomination of Henry Clay for President. At the session of the Legislature in the winter succeeding, a resolution was offered approving the course of General Jackson as President. This resolution was summarily disposed of, and a counter resolution offered and adopted emphatically endorsing and eulogizing Henry Clay.

The Constitution of the State adopted in 1792 had given general satisfaction; but as the years advanced, sentiment grew in favor of a change in the judiciary system of the State. To make such a change a new constitution was necessary. As early as 1820 the subject of calling another Constitutional Convention occupied the public mind, and the General Assembly of 1830 passed an Act providing that at the fall election of that year a vote should be taken for and against the calling of a Convention, and at the election held in October, 1831 delegates to a State Constitutional Convention were chosen as follows:

*New Castle County*—John Elliot, James Rogers, Charles H. Haughey, Willard Hall, John Harlan, Thomas Deakyne, William Seal, Thomas W. Handy, George Read, Jr., and John Caulk.

*Kent County*—Charles Polk, Andrew Green, Hughett Layton, Benajah Tharp, John M. Clayton, Elias Naudain, Peter L. Cooper, James B. Macomb, Presley Spruance, Jr., and John Raymond.

*Sussex County*—Samuel Ratcliffe, Thomas Adams, William Dunning, James Fisher, James C. Lynch, Edward Dingle, William Nicholas, Joseph Maull, William D. Waples, Henry F. Rodney.

The Convention met in the House of Representatives at Dover on Tuesday, November 8, 1831. Owing to lack of accommodations in the State House, the Presbyterian Church at Dover was secured and the sessions of the Convention were afterwards held in it. Charles Polk was elected President of

the Convention and William P. Brobson Secretary. The Constitution formulated by this Convention was ordained on the 2d day of December, 1831, and became the third Constitution of Delaware.

By this instrument the judicial power was vested in a Court of Error and Appeals, a Superior Court, a Court of Chancery and Orphan's Court, a Court of Oyer and Terminer, a Court of General Sessions of the Peace and Jail Delivery, a Register's Court, Justices of the Peace and such other courts as the General Assembly with the concurrence of two-thirds of all the members of both Houses should from time to time establish. It provided for five judges, one to be known as the Chancellor, one as Chief Justice and three as Associate Judges. The Supreme Court and Court of Common Pleas which existed under the Constitution of 1792 were abolished and the Superior Court substituted therefor, with the jurisdiction formerly vested in those courts. To constitute this court four judges were provided, of whom one was called Chief Justice who could reside in any part of the State and sit in all the counties; the other three were called Associate Judges, one of whom should reside in each county and no Associate could sit in the county in which he resided.

By this constitution the term of Governor was changed from three to four years. The other changes made in the constitution were unimportant.

The leading man in this Convention was John M. Clayton. He was then the acknowledged leader of his party and a large majority of the members of the Convention were in thorough accord with him. Mr. Clayton has always been credited with being the author of the provision of the constitution adopted by this convention which made it almost impossible for a new convention to be called whereby the fundamental law of the State could be revised or altered. It has been oftentimes said that he made use of the expression "that the door had been locked and the key thrown down the well," and such in reality turned out to be the case, for the constitution adopted in 1831

continued to be the fundamental law of the State from that time until the year 1897, a period of sixty-six years. The convention of 1831 adjourned on December 2d of that year on which day the constitution formulated by it, with the schedule attached thereto, were read by Mr. Clayton and passed by the convention unanimously. The Constitution of 1831 was not submitted to the people for ratification or rejection, neither were the constitutions adopted in 1792 or 1776.

The Constitution of 1831 provided for biennial sessions of the Legislature to be held in January and for the appointment of Presidential Electors by the people instead of by the Legislature. The first election under the new constitution of 1831 was held in the autumn of 1832. Dr. Arnold Naudain was the candidate of the National Republicans for Governor and James J. Milligan the candidate of the same party for Congress. Major Caleb P. Bennett was Dr. Naudain's competitor, being the Jackson candidate for Governor, and Mr. Bennett was elected Governor after an animated contest by a majority of only 57. Mr. Milligan was elected to Congress and the presidential electors chosen were in favor of Henry Clay for President. The National Republicans, or Clay men, controlled the Legislature and re-elected Arnold Naudain to the United States Senate. He was a very enthusiastic friend of Henry Clay.

The latter was always popular in Delaware and on at least three occasions visited the State. His first visit was made in 1813, the second in 1836 and the third in 1847. On all of these occasions he was treated with the greatest hospitality and expressed himself as most appreciative of the favor that had been shown him by his political friends in Delaware. Always a warm personal friend of John M. Clayton, it was but natural that on his last visit to the State in 1847 he should become a guest of Mr. Clayton at Buena Vista at which place a reception was held in his honor which drew a large concourse of the leading men of that time.

During the administration of President Andrew Jackson

political feeling ran very high and Delaware did not escape the excitement. The political parties in the State were closely matched and frequently the elections showed that candidates of both parties had been chosen. In 1834 John J. Milligan was renominated as the Whig candidate for Congress and was elected by 155 majority over James A. Bayard the Jackson candidate. The Legislature chosen at that election had a decided Whig majority. John M. Clayton by a public letter announced his unwillingness to be a candidate for re-election to the United States Senate, but notwithstanding his attempt to decline, the Legislature re-elected him for the term beginning March 4, 1835. After serving for nine months he resigned the Senatorship in January, 1836, and Thomas Clayton, who was then Chief Justice of the State, was appointed to fill the vacancy.

The latter at first declined the office but was subsequently induced to accept and he continued in the Senate for ten years. Arnold Naudain who had been in the United States Senate since 1830 resigned because of his differences with the administration, and Richard H. Bayard was elected June 17, 1836 to fill the vacancy. In 1838 the Democrats succeeded in capturing the election. John J. Milligan, who had been for eight years the member of Congress from Delaware, was again the candidate of his party but was beaten by Thomas Robinson, Jr., the Democratic candidate by a majority of only 23. Both branches of the Legislature were controlled by the administration party.

Caleb P. Bennett, who became Governor in January, 1833, died during his incumbency of office on April 9, 1836, and was succeeded by Charles Polk, Speaker of the Senate, who served until January, 1837. At the election in 1836 Cornelius P. Comegys, the Whig candidate, was elected Governor and served for the full term from January, 1837. John M. Clayton, after serving for two years, resigned the office of Chief Justice, and Richard H. Bayard was appointed in his stead. In 1840 the Democratic party nominated Warren



Jefferson for Governor and Thomas Robinson, Jr., was renominated for Representative to Congress, their opponents on the Whig ticket were William B. Cooper for Governor and George B. Rodney for Congress. The election resulted in favor of the Whigs by a large majority and the Legislature which met in the January following elected Thomas Clayton and Richard H. Bayard to represent the State in the United States Senate. At this time the State was entirely free from debt and had a surplus in the State treasury of nearly \$20,000.00. The population of the State by the census of 1840 was 78,167.

At the election in 1842 George B. Rodney was renominated by the Whigs for Congress and re-elected over William Hemphill Jones by a majority of only nine. The Legislature chosen that year contained a majority of Whigs. Governor Cooper's message submitted to the Legislature of 1843 congratulated the State upon its handsome financial condition, and he pointed with pride to the fact that all demands upon the treasury had been promptly met and that notwithstanding the depression and embarrassment of the times the State had a half million dollars of surplus assets.

In 1844 the Whig candidate for Governor was Thomas Stockton, his Democratic opponent was William Tharp. Stockton was elected by a majority of 46. John W. Houston, the Whig candidate, was elected to Congress. The legislature was also carried by the Whigs, and in January following, John M. Clayton was re-elected to the United States Senate in place of Richard H. Bayard. The Legislature of 1845 passed resolutions against the annexation of Texas. These resolutions were presented to the United States Senate by Senator Clayton. In 1846 William Tharp was again the Democratic candidate for Governor, and this time succeeded in being elected over Peter F. Causey, his Whig opponent. John W. Houston the Whig candidate was re-elected to Congress, and the Whigs had a majority in the Legislature, whereby they were able to elect Presley Spruance United States Senator in place of Thomas Clayton.

On January 25, 1845, just previous to James K. Polk's accession to the presidency, Texas was annexed to the Union. This was done after much discussion had been had in Congress. For fifteen years preceding large numbers of Americans had been emigrating to Texas, and in 1836 Texas under the leadership of Sam Houston had declared its independence of Mexico. A little later Houston gained a complete victory over Santa Anna the Mexican president. The Texans were almost a unit in their desire to be annexed to the United States. The election of James K. Polk as President furthered the annexation scheme, and under the leadership of Calhoun and John Tyler the dominant wing of the Democratic party advocated in a strong way the annexation of Texas. Henry Clay with almost the entire Whig party back of him opposed this programme, but in the end Calhoun and Tyler won.

The Mexican War, growing out of the dispute over the boundary line between Texas and Mexico began in the spring of 1846 and continued for about two years. It established the Rio Grande as the boundary between the two countries, and New Mexico and the territory including what is now Arizona and also California, was ceded to the United States for a consideration of fifteen million dollars. As a consequence of the Mexican War the United States gained nearly 600 square miles of territory.

Under date of May 10, 1846, the President called for volunteers to prosecute the war against Mexico. Three hundred and ninety was the number required from Delaware. The United States revenue cutter "Forward" commanded by Captain Henry B. Nones was at that time lying in the harbor of Wilmington. The commander and men had shipped principally in this State. Two months later the Forward proceeded to the Gulf of Mexico and at once began participation in the naval war on the Mexican coast. Captain Nones was commended for his gallantry and efficiency by Commodore Perry who was in command. A year later the Forward returned to Wilmington and her commander was warmly welcomed by his friends and old acquaintances.

A recruiting office was established in Wilmington, and after the enlistment of several men from this city, and a company being formed, they were ordered to join the Eleventh Regiment of the U. S. Infantry then in Philadelphia. Captain George W. Chaytor enlisted a military Company in Wilmington composed largely of Delaware men. This Company also joined the Eleventh Regiment of Infantry and participated in all of the engagements from Vera Cruz to the City of Mexico under the triumphal command of General Winfield Scott. Captain Chaytor early in the war was obliged to retire on sick leave. Lieutenant Joseph S. Hedges who succeeded him as Captain of the Company also became sick and returned home disabled toward the end of the war.

The Delaware soldiers returning from the war were accorded an enthusiastic welcome in the summer of 1848. The Mayor of the City, Alexander Porter, acted as chairman of the Reception Committee. A speech of welcome on behalf of the citizens was made by Hon. John Wales. The full ranks had been sadly depleted, and those who returned were few in numbers as compared with those who had marched away so gallantly nearly two years before. Columbus P. Evans, who served as second Lieutenant in Captain Chaytor's Company, was afterwards elected Mayor of the City of Wilmington.

On April 12, 1847, a public meeting was held in the City Hall at Wilmington at which congratulatory resolutions were adopted in recognition of the brilliant victories of General Taylor at Buena Vista and General Scott at Vera Cruz. A few days later the City celebrated these victories in a grand demonstration at which one hundred guns were fired at the corner of Fourth and Washington Streets with a parade of the local military organizations later in the day. At night the streets were brilliantly illuminated.

Delaware did her full part in the Mexican War. Many Delawareans rendered distinguished services both in the Army and Navy of the United States. In addition to Captain Henry B. Nones, who commanded the "Forward," his son

Jefferson H. Nones served as a lieutenant of artillery in the war. Lieutenant Robert C. Rogers, who represented the old Delaware family of Rogers, served throughout the war and received an appointment as Lieutenant for his bravery. The State Legislature afterwards voted him a sword costing one hundred dollars in recognition of his gallantry at the storming of Chapultepec, and the same mark of favor was shown to Captain Columbus P. Evans by the Legislature. David H. Porter, a native of New Castle County, served as lieutenant in the American Navy, and after the war was given a captaincy in the Mexican service. He was afterwards killed in an engagement between his vessel and two war vessels of Spain. The majority of the people in Delaware became reconciled to the war after it was declared, but John M. Clayton, as their spokesman in the United States Senate, voiced the general sentiment of the people of the state against a declaration of war.

Thomas Stockton, who became Governor in January, 1845, only lived a year and two months after taking the oath of office. On his death the duties of the Governorship were assumed by Joseph Maull, Speaker of the Senate, who served for a period of only six weeks, when he died, and William Temple, Speaker of the House of Representatives, succeeded him and served as Governor until January, 1847. At the session of the Legislature in 1847 a bill was introduced by Henry Swayne, a member of the House from New Castle County, providing for the abolition of slavery in this state, but it failed by one vote in passing the State Senate. The Legislature at the same session passed a resolution offered by Mr. Swayne, committing the state against the introduction of slavery into the territories.

In the summer of 1847 James K. Polk, President of the United States, made a brief visit to Wilmington accompanied by his Attorney-General, Nathan Clifford. He was handsomely received by his political friends, an address of welcome was made by Samuel B. Davis, and after being sumptuously

dined, he was accompanied by a committee consisting of a dozen of the leading citizens of Wilmington to Philadelphia, the party going by steamer "Washington." The newspapers of that day made note of the fact that the railroad car upon which the President rode from Baltimore to Wilmington had been made by Bush & Lobdell, a Wilmington firm, and it is spoken of as being an "elegant car," 48 feet long, with seating capacity for 46 persons.

The national campaign of 1848 opened early in that year. The record made by Zachary Taylor as Commander-in-Chief in the Mexican War had attracted the attention of the country, and with the general inclination towards hero-worship that has always marked the American people, there arose a decided sentiment throughout the country in favor of the nomination of General Taylor for the Presidency. John M. Clayton announced himself in favor of Taylor, which had a great influence in creating a sentiment in this state for Taylor. At the Whig National Convention held in Philadelphia Zachary Taylor was nominated for President and Millard Fillmore for Vice-President. At that convention John M. Clayton received one vote for President. The Democratic standard bearer in that year was Lewis Cass.

The campaign was unusually animated. Large and enthusiastic meetings were held by both political parties. During the campaign Lewis Cass, the Democratic candidate, visited Wilmington, accompanied by several leading Democratic Senators. This meeting stirred up much enthusiasm. James A. Bayard, the acknowledged leader of the Democratic party in Delaware at that time, made an elaborate speech in the City Hall, after which a brief address was made by General Cass. Cass was not an entire stranger to Delaware, he early in the century having taught school in Wilmington for a brief time. The occasion was also graced by the presence of George M. Dallas, of Philadelphia, who was then the Vice-President of the United States. During the same campaign Abraham Lincoln, who was then a member of Congress from



Illinois, addressed a meeting in Wilmington, but his coming did not attract much attention, as at that time he was an obscure man and there was no thought in the public mind that he would afterwards reach the high place which he attained in the nation. The Whigs were successful at the election, the electoral vote of Delaware going to Zachary Taylor, and a majority of the Legislature of this state being Whigs.

In 1850 the Whig party of this state became somewhat divided owing to a temperance issue that had arisen in state politics, the outcome of which was the nomination of Thomas Lockwood, of Kent County, for Governor. This defection among the Whigs led to the election of William H. Ross, the Democratic candidate for Governor, by a small majority. George Read Riddle, his associate on the Democratic ticket, was elected Representative to Congress, and the Democrats also, for the first time in many years, obtained full control of the state government.

John M. Clayton became Secretary of State under President Zachary Taylor in March of 1849, and Governor Tharp appointed as his successor in the United States Senate, Joseph P. Comegys, who served until March 4, 1850, when he, in turn, was succeeded by Martin W. Bates, a Democrat, who was regularly elected by the Legislature in the January preceding. On the death of President Taylor in the summer of 1850, John M. Clayton retired from the Cabinet, and again assumed the leadership of the Whig party in this state. The succeeding election showed the effect of his management. The Whigs carried a majority of the House of Representatives, but by reason of the holding over of six members of the Senate, who were Democrats, the latter party had a majority of one on joint ballot in the Legislature. At the session of the Legislature in 1852, the Whigs nominated Mr. Clayton again for the Senate. The Democratic members of the Legislature refused for some time to go into joint session.

While the election was pending an attack was made in the United States Senate by several of the Democratic Senators

upon John M. Clayton, reflecting upon him and charging him with duplicity in the matter of the negotiation of the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty. A strong effort was made to send Mr. Clayton back to the Senate in order that he might vindicate himself. John Sorden, a Democratic member of the State Senate, but a personal friend of Mr. Clayton, announced to his colleagues that he proposed not only going into joint convention but that he intended to vote for John M. Clayton for Senator in order that he might go back to Washington and on the floor of the Senate defend himself. In this way the deadlock was broken, and Mr. Clayton was elected again to the United States Senate and by a Legislature that had a political majority against him.

In 1851 while Millard Fillmore was President of the United States, he and his entire cabinet made a brief visit to Wilmington while on their way to New York. He was received by the Mayor of the City, and the address of welcome was made by Hon. John Wales, who served as Chairman of the reception committee. The President responded in an appropriate and dignified way. The Wilmington committee accompanied him to Philadelphia on the steamboat "Roger Williams," an elaborate banquet being spread on the boat.

For a few years previous to 1852 the question of a new constitution had been much discussed by the Democratic party of the State, and the campaign of 1850 was carried by the Democratic party on the cry of "Ross-Riddle and Reform." The General Assembly in 1851 provided for the taking of the sense of the people on the calling of a Convention at a special election to be held in October of that year. At that election a majority of the votes were cast for a Convention but not a majority of all the legal votes as was provided by Article 9 of the Constitution. The General Assembly that met in the winter of 1852 decided, however, that a majority vote had been cast, and provided for the election of delegates to the proposed Convention at the general election in November following. The delegates elected to that Convention were the following :

*New Castle County*—James A. Bayard, Benjamin T. Biggs, Daniel Corbit, Benjamin Gibbs, John R. Latimer, William C. Lodge, George Maxwell, Rathmell Wilson, James Springer, Andrew C. Gray.

*Kent County*—Martin W. Bates, John S. Bell, William Collins, Charles H. Heverin, Henry Whitaker, James R. Lofland, Richard H. Merriken, James H. Smith, Caleb Smithers, William Wilkenson.

*Sussex County*—John H. Burton, John W. Calloway, William S. Hall, David Hazzard, Tyras S. Phillips, Nathaniel W. Hickman, Robert B. Houston, Thomas A. Jones, Truston P. McColley, Jesse L. Long.

This was the fourth Constitutional Convention that had been called in Delaware. It met at the State House in Dover on the first Tuesday in December, 1852, and after organizing temporarily adjourned until March 10, 1853. Truston P. McColley was elected President, and Charles Marim, Secretary. But twenty out of the thirty members were present. On the same day Andrew C. Gray presented resolutions setting forth that the Convention had not been called in the way provided by the Constitution of the State. The resolutions were discussed for several days, the leading members of the Convention participating in the discussion. Andrew C. Gray, John R. Latimer and Rathmell Wilson of New Castle County joined in a remonstrance against the Convention proceeding further, and then withdrew; David Hazzard from Sussex County tendered his resignation.

This action upon the part of these members had a demoralizing effect on the Convention, but its sessions were continued until April 30th, when various amendments, which had been proposed to the existing Constitution, were adopted, and the Convention adjourned after voting in favor of submitting the New Constitution to the people of the State for ratification or rejection. At the election in November the New Constitution was the leading issue before the people. James A. Bayard and other leading Democrats opposed the adoption of the New Constitution, and at the election it was rejected by the people by a vote of 4,777 against it and 2,716 for it, there being a majority against it in all three of the Counties.

After the election of 1852, the Whig party of the State went

to pieces, and a majority of that party drifted into what was called the "American" party. The latter party nominated Peter F. Causey for Governor in 1854, and he was elected by about 1000 majority. Elisha D. Cullen was elected to Congress. Two years later the American party suffered defeat in the State owing to the passage of a Prohibitory Liquor Law which proved to be very unpopular. In that year William G. Whitely, a Democrat, was elected to Congress and the Democrats controlled the Legislature; the electoral vote of the State went to James Buchanan. The Republican party, which for the first time presented a National ticket to the people, with John C. Fremont as its candidate for President, received 305 votes in the entire State. In 1858 the Democrats nominated William Burton for Governor and renominated William G. Whitely for Congress. Both of these gentlemen were elected by a majority of about 200 and the Democrats obtained a majority of the Legislature.

During the Presidential campaign of 1856 threats were made that if Fremont, the Republican candidate, should be elected, the Southern States would secede. This threatening attitude in 1856 was claimed by some to be merely an idle threat or an electioneering device, but during the next four years the gulf between the North and South widened rapidly, and the Southern leaders were loud in their expressed determination to secede, as the remedy best adapted to cure their wrongs. The coming storm was evident as soon as the campaign of 1860 opened. On the stump and in the halls of Congress the speakers from the South reiterated the threat "Elect Lincoln, and the South will secede."

In the excitement of this period leading up to the Civil War, Delaware occupied a peculiar position. Delaware, while a border State, had always been classed with the Southern or slave-holding States, in distinction to the Northern or free-labor States. The census report of 1860 showed a slave population of 1798. At the election in 1860 a total vote of 16,049 was cast in Delaware, divided as follows: John C. Breckin-

ridge the candidate of the Southern Democracy received 7,347 votes, Stephen A. Douglas who represented the other wing of the Democratic party received 1,023 votes, John Bell the candidate of the party whose platform was "The Constitution, the Union and the enforcement of the laws" received 3,864 votes, and Abraham Lincoln the Republican candidate received 3,815 votes.

The electoral vote of the State went to Breckinridge. The Breckinridge Democrats nominated Benjamin T. Biggs for Congress, and also ran a full legislative ticket; Elias S. Reed ran as an independent candidate for Congress, but received only a few hundred votes. The opposition to the Democratic ticket united in what was called "The People's Party," with George P. Fisher as its nominee for Congress, and full legislative tickets in the three counties. Fisher was elected to Congress by a majority of 247 over Biggs. The People's party elected its legislative ticket in New Castle County, and several members of the General Assembly from the other counties afterwards voted with the same party on questions that came before that body. It was a momentous time in the history of the State. The General Assembly that met in January, 1861 was composed of the following members:

#### STATE SENATE.

Charles T. Polk, David W. Gemmill and John R. Tatum, of New Castle County; Wilson L. Cannon, Alexander Johnson and John Green of Kent County; John Martin, Joseph A. McFerran and Hicks D. Hooper, of Sussex County.

#### HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

George W. Churchman, Edward Betts, Abram Chandler, John F. Williamson, Anthony M. Higgins, Robert A. Cochran and Henry H. Appleton, of New Castle County; John A. Moore, Thomas Davis, Thomas Clements, Jr., Ambrose Broadway, William Virden, Henderson Collins, Jr., and Charles Williamson, of Kent County; William H. Rickards, Jonathan Moore, William S. Phillips, Lemuel W. Waples, Peter Calhoon, James H. Boyce, Jr., and Peter Robinson, of Sussex County.

The Democrats controlled the State Senate, and by a vote of five to four elected John Martin, Speaker. The People's



Party, by a majority of one, organized the House of Representatives and John F. Williamson was elected Speaker on the tenth ballot. Party spirit ran very high. During the session many communications were received from the various States; the Southern States urging Delaware to join the Southern confederacy, which at the time was rapidly forming from the States that were seceding, and the Northern States importuning the State to remain firm in its adherence to the Union. A wide-spread sentiment prevailed throughout the State in favor of peace and in opposition to the declaration of war, it being hoped that pending difficulties would be adjusted without resort to arms.

At the meeting of the General Assembly in 1861, Governor Burton presented his biennial message which was devoted largely to the distracted state of the country. He bewailed existing conditions, but took no pronounced stand, although his declarations made at that time, and subsequently, indicated his sympathies with the South. Early in the session a resolution was offered in the House approving of the "Crittenden Compromise." It was adopted by a vote of 19 to 2, and having been sent to the Senate for concurrence was approved by that body by a vote of 8 to 1. Edward Betts, the member of the House from Wilmington, voted against it as did John R. Tatum, a State Senator from Christiana Hundred. This action on the part of these two men caused a great deal of comment at the time, and at Middletown the sentiment against them, represented by the rougher element in the community, expressed itself by hanging them in effigy on a scaffold near the railroad depot where it could be seen by the parties in interest as they passed on the train.

After some quibbling as to who should be sent, the General Assembly united in naming George B. Rodney and Daniel M. Bates, of New Castle County, Henry Ridgely and John W. Houston, of Kent County, and William Cannon, of Sussex County, as commissioners to represent the State of Delaware in a convention of delegates from the States of the Union to

be held at Washington on the fourth day of February, 1861 for the purpose of taking into consideration and perfecting some plan for adjusting the matters of controversy between the sections of the Union.

These Commissioners attended the Convention known as the "Peace Conference," and afterwards made their report to the Governor in which they state that they made every possible effort to have the convention adopt the plan of adjustment proposed by the "Crittenden Compromise," but finding they could not accomplish that, they gave their support to the measure which was finally adopted by the Convention. The Conference favored the adoption of an amendment to the Constitution of the United States and recommended its ratification by the several States; but this mode of adjusting the pending difficulties did not meet with popular favor, and no effort was made to carry out the recommendations of the Conference.

The General Assembly sat until March 8th, and was called in special session by proclamation of the Governor on the 25th day of November following. In the message of Governor Burton, submitted at that time, he says, "Our citizens have acted in a manner highly creditable to them, and well deserve the quiet they have enjoyed. Those, if there be any, and doubtless there are some everywhere, whose sympathies incline to the South, are quiescent, laying no impediments in the way of the Government, nor affording its enemies any sort of aid." He deeply regretted the fact that the country was now involved in a Civil War, "one of the most deplorable calamities that can befall any country."

Several attempts were made during the extra session to adopt resolutions expressive of the sentiment prevalent in Delaware as to pending questions. The two bodies had shifted politically. Wilson L. Cannon, a member of the Senate from Kent County, who had been elected as a Democrat two years before, became a pronounced Union man and his vote made the Senate anti-Democratic by a majority of one. Robert A. Cochran, who had been elected a member of the House on the

People's ticket from New Castle County, gradually grew more pronounced in his sympathies toward the South, being a slaveholder, and in course of time his vote shifted to the Democratic side of the House, and gave it a majority of one. The two bodies were never able to agree upon a set of resolutions. Mr. Gemmill offered the following resolution which was adopted by the Senate by a vote of four to two; the vote of the members being as follows:

*Yeas*—Messrs. Cannon, Gemmill, Hooper and Polk.

*Nays*—Messrs. Johnson and Mr. Speaker.

Excused from voting, Messrs. Tatum and Green.

JOINT RESOLUTION DECLARING THE ADHERENCE OF THE STATE OF DELAWARE  
TO THE GOVERNMENT OF THE UNITED STATES.

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the State of Delaware in General Assembly met,

1. That the people of the State of Delaware recognize the Constitution of the United States as the Magna Charta of their liberties, and the Union as the safeguard of their political existence, and regarding the Constitution as a form of government emanating from, and established by, the authority of the people of the United States, with their fathers, they hold the duty which they owe to the State to be subordinate to their allegiance to the Government of the United States.

2. That the lamentable civil strife that now afflicts the country, has been forced on the nation by the unjustifiable acts of those who have long conspired its destruction, and who, by open rebellion, are now striving to overthrow the Government by which we have been protected in the past, and to which alone we can look for safety in the future.

3. That now, as heretofore, the State of Delaware, will sustain the Government of the United States, and she believes that the only mode of bringing present peace and future security to the country, is, by the speedy and effectual suppression of the rebellion, thus manifesting the power of the Government in the preservation of the Union, the maintenance of the Constitution, and the firm, but impartial, enforcement of the Laws.

4. That in the execution of this highest trust devolved upon the Government, the people of the State of Delaware are not disposed captiously to criticise its measures or restrict its authority. They have faith in its expressed determination to suppress this unholy rebellion, and recognizing the embarrassments by which it is surrounded, they only ask, that, confining itself to this legitimate object, it shall, at whatever cost, preserve the integrity of the Union and the supremacy of the flag of the United States.

5. That copies of these resolutions be transmitted to the Governors of the several States and also to our Senators and Representative in the Congress of the United States, with the request that they be laid before their respective Houses."

The House refused to concur in the above resolution by a vote of eleven to ten, Mr. Cochran voting with the Democrats against the resolution. The General Assembly at this session appropriated \$74,681, the direct tax apportionment, assessed upon the state by the general government for the prosecution of the war.

The firing on Fort Sumter, which really marked the beginning of the Civil War, created the most intense excitement throughout the state, and particularly in the city of Wilmington. A strong Union feeling exhibited itself and a large and enthusiastic meeting of Union adherents was held in the City Hall on the evening of April 16th. Mayor Gilpin presided, and a large number of representative citizens acted as vice-presidents. Patriotic speeches were delivered by Dr. William H. White, Joshua S. Valentine, and John Sebo. The feeling of the meeting was expressed decidedly in favor of the Union by a series of resolutions that were offered and adopted amid much enthusiasm.

A few days later the City Council appropriated eight thousand dollars for the defence of the city, the general feeling being at fever heat, owing to the attack that had been made on the Sixth Massachusetts Regiment, while it was passing through Baltimore on its way to defend the Capital. Shortly afterwards, further excitement was created by the burning of the bridges on the line of the Philadelphia, Wilmington & Baltimore Railroad, between Havre-de-Grace and Baltimore. This led to grave apprehension as to the safety of Wilmington.

A United States revenue cutter was sent from Hampton Roads to guard the city, and steps were taken to strengthen the garrisons at Fort Delaware and Fort Mifflin. Arms were purchased in Philadelphia, and several companies of the Delaware Guards were mustered into the service of the city, and night sentinels were established who were stationed on the bridges leading into Wilmington. The services of medical doctors and druggists were tendered and a general prepara-

tion made to defend the city in case of an attack. Another large Union meeting was held on April 22d. Judge Hall presided, and leading representative citizens throughout the county were named as vice-presidents. Vigorous resolutions were adopted, one of which quoted below shows the deep feeling prevalent in the community :

*“ Resolved, That we deem it our highest privilege to live under a government of laws, and for the administration of the Federal Government and the enjoyment of its benefits. Those constitutionally invested with its functions must be unhesitatingly acknowledged and their authority firmly upheld by all good citizens, especially in times of revolution ; and we pledge ourselves to support the government in all constitutional measures.”*

A committee of safety composed of the following gentlemen was appointed : John Wales, Thomas F. Bayard, Jesse Sharpe, John R. Latimer, Joseph Shipley, Dr. Henry F. Askew, Henry duPont, David C. Wilson, Theodore Rogers, J. Morton Poole, Edward G. Bradford, Elijah Hollingsworth, and Victor duPont. Robert S. La Motte and Charles E. La Motte were instrumental in enlisting a company of “ Minute Men ; ” they soon succeeded in enrolling four hundred men. Union meetings were held throughout the state. At Georgetown, Seaford, Felton, New Castle and St. Georges, leading citizens interested themselves in assembling the people together, and at all of these places resolutions were adopted calling upon the loyal citizens to support the Union and uphold President Lincoln in maintaining the authority of the government.

Governor Burton, under date of April 25th, issued a proclamation calling for the enlistment of volunteers. A week later he supplemented his first proclamation by another, directing that all volunteers who had enlisted, and who desired to be mustered into the service of the United States, under the call of the President, should rendezvous in the City of Washington to be mustered into the United States service by Major Ruff, who had been detailed by the War Department for that purpose.

To encourage enlistments leading citizens contributed a fund



for the support of the families of volunteers who might need assistance during their absence in the field. The ladies of Wilmington took early steps to provide clothing and other necessities for the troops who were enlisting. A volunteer sewing society was formed, and the co-operation of ladies at other points in the State was had, through whom useful articles were sent to the encampments near Wilmington. In every section means were raised and food and clothing provided. A company, known as the "Wilmington Home Guards," was organized with Captain F. B. Sturgis in command. The preachers in Wilmington representing all denominations, and almost without exception, evinced a patriotic spirit and by word and act identified themselves with the Union cause.

Nearly eight hundred men had been enlisted prior to May 1st. Captain Thomas A. Smyth, who had organized Company C of the Delaware Blues, left Wilmington on the 30th of April with his company, and was mustered into service on the 7th of May, joining the 24th Regiment of Pennsylvania Volunteers. This was the first company to leave the State for the front, and after serving out the three months term of enlistment, it returned to Wilmington on July 30th. Outside of Wilmington much activity was manifested in enlistments. The "Union Home Guards" was organized at Newport. A Mounted Guard was formed in Red Lion Hundred. Captain C. Rodney Layton commanded a company enlisted at Georgetown. The "Dover Home Guards," under command of Captain Isaac Jump, was organized at Dover. At Bridgeville and Greenwood a company numbering one hundred men was organized and called the "Governor's Guard," with Captain W. O. Redden in command. An encampment was pitched on the old agricultural fair grounds west of Wilmington, and called "Camp Brandywine." Here the First Delaware boys began service with the following regimental officers: Colonel, Henry H. Lockwood; Lieutenant-Colonel, John W. Andrews; Major, Henry A. du Pont;

Doctor Robert P. Johnson surgeon, and Doctor James M. Knight assistant surgeon.

Henry du Pont of New Castle County, was on the 11th of May, 1861, appointed and commissioned Major-General of the forces raised and to be raised from the State of Delaware, and Jesse Sharpe was appointed Brigadier-General. A second proclamation issued by Governor Burton on May 23, recited that the requisition of the President for a regiment of three-months men had been fully met. He now asked the State to furnish another regiment for a period of three years. In pursuance of this call the Second Delaware Regiment was formed and it together with the Third and Fourth Delaware Regiments became a part of the Union forces and was assigned to the command of Major-General Robert Patterson, who was in charge of the Military Department of Washington, which included the State of Delaware. Many of the Delaware men were ordered along the line of the railroad between Wilmington and Washington. Nearly all of the officers and men of the First Delaware Volunteers re-enlisted in the new Regiments for the term of three years.

While Delaware responded in an enthusiastic way to the call of the President for troops, and the major part of the population strongly sided with the Union and was willing to sacrifice blood and treasure in the prosecution of the war, yet a considerable portion of the people of the State were opposed to the war and not disposed to sustain by active efforts the hostilities in which the Federal government had now become involved. They expressed themselves as opposed to forcing the Southern States back into the Union, and some went the length of openly favoring the cause of the Southern Confederacy. While many Delaware people opposed the war there were comparatively few who desired the success of the Confederate cause.

After the war had been in progress for two months there were many people in the State who were still of opinion that there could be a peaceful adjustment of all questions which

distracted the country and many representative citizens united in a call for a general meeting to be held at Dover on the 27th of June, 1861. This meeting was held and the newspapers of that day estimated the attendance to have been about 1500. Ex-Governor William Temple presided. The meeting was largely controlled by men who theretofore had been active Democrats in politics. The main speeches of the day were made by William G. Whitely and Thomas F. Bayard. Both of these gentlemen deplored the fact that eleven States had gone out of the Union but suggested that it would be better to allow these States to withdraw peaceably than run the risk of a civil war. The resolutions adopted by the meeting were in touch with this sentiment and express dominant feeling in the State at that time on the question of secession. The resolutions were as follows :

“ *Resolved*, 1. That whilst we deeply deplore the revolution which has severed eleven States from the Union, we prefer peace to civil war, and believe that if a reconciliation by peaceful means shall become impossible, the acknowledgment of the independence of the Confederate States is preferable to an attempt to conquer and hold them as subjugated provinces.

“ 2. That the reign of terror attempted to be inaugurated by the War Party, by denouncing all men as disunionists, secessionists and traitors, who are opposed to civil war, and to the palpable and gross violation of the Constitution, committed by the present administration, will not deter us from the expression of our opinion, both privately and publicly.

“ 3. That we believe the effect of the doctrines and measures of the War Party, if not their object and intent, under the name of preserving the Union, will be the subversion of the State governments, and the erection of a consolidated government on the ruins of the Federal Constitution.

“ *Resolved*, That we tender our grateful thanks to Senators Bayard and Saulsbury for the bold and patriotic stand they assumed, in the second session of the Thirty-sixth Congress, for the maintenance of the peace and prosperity of our now distracted country, and we earnestly request them to use all honorable means to bring the ‘ Civil War ’ which now hangs over us like an incubus, to a speedy close, and that if in their judgment no other mode presents itself whereby this end can be attained, to advocate the acknowledgment by the United States Government of the Independence of the Confederate States, so that peace and prosperity may be restored among us.”

This meeting had the affect of unifying the Anti-Union sentiment in the State, and most, if not all the men who were

prominent in this meeting, became active in Democratic politics afterward.

At the second session of the Thirty-seventh Congress which convened at Washington on the 2nd of December, 1861 Delaware was represented in the Senate by two Democrats, James A. Bayard and Willard Saulsbury, and in the House by George P. Fisher, originally a Bell and Everett man, but who had at this time linked his fortunes with the Republican party. Early in the session Mr. Saulsbury offered the following resolutions looking to a peaceable adjustment of existing national difficulties :

“ WHEREAS, The people of the States of Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, Texas, Arkansas and Tennessee are in revolt against the Constitutional Government and authority of the United States and have assumed to secede from the Federal Union, and to form an independent government under the name of the Confederate States of America ; and

*Whereas*, The Congress of the United States, approving the sentiment expressed by the President in his annual message, ‘ that the Union must be preserved, and hence all indispensable means must be employed,’ and believing that kind and fraternal feeling between the people of all the States is indispensable to the maintenance of a happy and prosperous Union, and being willing to manifest such feelings on their part, to the end that peace may be restored to a distracted country, and the Union and Constitution be preserved and maintained ; and inviting the co-operation of the people of the aforesaid States in the accomplishment of objects so beneficial to each and all, do resolve as follows :

“ *Resolved*, By the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That Millard Fillmore, Franklin Pierce, Roger B. Taney, Edward Everett, George M. Dallas, Thomas Ewing, Horace Binney, Reverdy Johnson, John J. Crittenden, George E. Pugh and Richard W. Thompson be, and they are hereby appointed commissioners on the part of Congress, to confer with a like number of commissioners to be appointed by the States aforesaid, for the preservation of the Union and the maintenance of the Constitution, and that they report the result of their said conference to Congress for approval or rejection.

“ *Resolved*, That upon the appointment of commissioners, as hereby invited, by said States, and upon the meeting of the joint commission for the purpose of conference as aforesaid, active hostilities shall cease and be suspended, and shall not be renewed unless the commission shall be unable to agree, or in case of an agreement by them, said agreement shall be rejected either by Congress or by the aforesaid States.”

The above resolutions were received but at once laid on the table and nothing further came of them.

President Lincoln devised a scheme for the emancipation of the slaves, whereby it was proposed to save the slave-owners from loss by paying them for each slave liberated. Soon after George P. Fisher went to Washington in 1861 as Congressman-elect, he and President Lincoln became staunch friends. This friendly feeling was evidenced by the President, when, after Fisher failed of re-election to Congress in 1862, he was appointed to a judgeship on the bench of the Supreme Court of the District of Columbia. As Delaware was the state having the smallest slave population, the President thought it the best state in which to inaugurate his scheme of gradual emancipation by paying for the slaves. The plan proposed was to emancipate the eighteen hundred slaves, from year to year, covering a period of ten years, and that the government of the United States was to pay to the State of Delaware therefor the sum of nine hundred thousand dollars—ninety thousand dollars a year—and out of this amount the slave-owners were to be paid what each slave was reasonably worth.

The President sent for and consulted with Mr. Fisher and entrusted to the latter the management of the Delaware end of the scheme. Both houses of the Delaware legislature were Democratic. Mr. Fisher felt the pulse of the people and of the members of the General Assembly. It had been determined not to introduce the measure into the General Assembly until enough votes were assured for its passage. Mr. Fisher, and those who were working with him, succeeded in getting enough votes in the Senate, but they failed in the House; and Mr. Fisher, in speaking of it years afterwards, said it failed because the one man in the House who had been elected as an avowed Lincoln Republican was strenuously opposed to it and no pressure that was brought to bear swerved him in the least; so the project was abandoned.

In the summer of 1862 the President ordered a draft for 300,000 men for service in the United States Army to serve



for a period of nine months. Under this call Delaware was required to furnish over 3,000 men. A large bounty fund was raised, and through voluntary enlistments Delaware's quota was supplied, and the draft from the State of Delaware was annulled by order of the President. Early in the fall of 1862 the Confederates made several raids into Maryland, and these raids had the effect of creating much anxiety in Wilmington, it being feared that an attempt might be made to destroy the DuPont powder works. Additional steps were taken for defending the city and the Mayor by public proclamation urged the forming of military companies for home protection.

A fund for the relief of the families of enlisted men was maintained during the continuance of the war, and from this fund, it is stated, relief was afforded to over five hundred families during the first two years of the war. The First, Second and Third Delaware Regiments were actively engaged in the campaign of 1862, and in the battle of Antietam the Second Delaware Regiment was mentioned for the bravery and daring displayed by its men; this regiment was in the thickest of that battle and suffered severe losses. Captains Watson and Rickards were killed in this battle and their bodies were afterwards brought to Wilmington and interred in the Wilmington and Brandywine Cemetery. On the day they were buried the whole city turned out to do honor to their memory; business was generally suspended, and people lined the streets through which the procession passed. The Fourth Delaware Regiment, under command of Colonel A. H. Grimshaw, left Wilmington for the seat of war on November 10, 1862, and a month later Nields' Independent Battery Light Artillery, commanded by Captain Benjamin Nields, entered the active service, going directly from Wilmington to Washington.

The campaign of 1862, leading up to the State election in November in that year, was an animated one. Old party lines were discarded and the voters of the State were arrayed with either the Republican or Democratic parties. William

Cannon was the candidate of the Republican party for Governor and George P. Fisher was the Republican candidate for Congress. The Democrats nominated Samuel J. Jefferson for Governor and William Temple for Congress. Large and enthusiastic meetings were held by both parties. The State was thoroughly canvassed and the greatest interest manifested. The contest resulted in the election of William Cannon, Republican, as Governor by a majority of 111, and William Temple, Democrat, was elected to Congress by a majority of 37. The Republicans carried New Castle County but the Democrats carried Kent and Sussex. In the State Senate the Democrats had a majority of one, and in the House of Representatives a majority of seven. This gave the Democrats a majority of eight on joint ballot in the General Assembly.

At the opening of the Legislature in January, 1863, Governor Burton sent to that body his last message before retiring from office. In it he complained that peaceful and loyal citizens of the State had been deprived of their liberty and been subjected to unwarranted and unconstitutional arrests because of their political opinions. He denounced this course and also criticised with much warmth the presence of the United States military forces in the State, which, if continued, he said, "will most inevitably result in the perversion of the principles and power of the government and its ultimate and final destruction." This part of the Governor's message was afterwards referred to a joint committee of the General Assembly who took testimony, and subsequently submitted a report condemning the use of troops and severely arraigning Governor William Cannon and Congressman Fisher.

On the inauguration of Governor Cannon, in January, 1863, in his inaugural address he sought to justify both the arrests of citizens and the presence of the military which had been complained of by Governor Burton. Governor Cannon urged in his address that in the excited condition of the populace owing to the prevalence of war there were apprehensions of violence; that the troops were placed under the control of citizens of good

repute and wise discretion ; and that their presence was salutary in securing good order and preventing probable collision among our own people ; if arrests had been made it was on the ground of disloyalty and no undue violence was used. During the session of the General Assembly a bill was passed by a strict party vote entitled an " Act to Prevent Illegal Arrests " the purport of which was that no white person in the State should be arrested except upon legal process issued by an officer authorized to issue process by the laws of the United States or this State, and it must be for the purpose of preventing a breach of the peace or the commission of a crime against the State of Delaware or the United States.

The Governor had no veto power under the constitution but after the passage of this act Governor Cannon took occasion to send a message to the General Assembly, setting forth at length his objections to it and closing with the following forcible suggestion as to what he considered his duty in the premises :

" My predecessor, in an official communication, expressed the opinion that ' a majority of our citizens, if not in all our counties, at least in the two lower ones, sympathize with the South.' Without admitting the correctness of his estimate of numbers, I do not doubt of the existence of wide-spread disaffection. That there has been no outbreak here is the result of want of opportunity. It is the duty of the executive, not only of the United States, but of this State, to take care that no opportunity shall be afforded. If, to secure the public peace and to prevent insurrection, it becomes necessary to arrest any individual in this State, whether he be a citizen or a non-resident, I will not only assent to the act, but will maintain it.

" Invested by the Constitution with no power of veto or review of the action of the Legislature, the Governor has a general control over the operation of criminal enactments, and such control I will exercise to its utmost extent to protect any person acting under the authority of the President of the

United States, or any citizen aiding such person in bringing to light any conspiracy, or in arresting any one guilty of disloyal practices or treasonable designs against the government.”

Senators Bayard and Saulsbury brought the subject of illegal arrests and of soldiers interfering with the people of the State of Delaware in the exercise of their right of suffrage by introducing a resolution in the Senate of the United States directing the Secretary of War to inform the Senate by what right or authority Dr. John Laws and Whitely Meredith, citizens of the State of Delaware, had been arrested and imprisoned in Fort Delaware. The resolution was discussed at some length and was finally laid on the table by a vote of 29 to 13.

The General Assembly of 1863 re-elected James A. Bayard to the United States Senate for a term of six years from March 4th, 1863. Mr. Bayard received 19 votes and Edward G. Bradford received the 10 votes of the Republican members of the Assembly. Abraham Lincoln's famous Emancipation Proclamation was issued on January 1st, 1863. Under its provisions freedom was declared to all the slaves in the States that had seceded, except Tennessee, a few counties in Virginia, and some parishes in Louisiana. All the slaves in the border States, including Delaware, were exempted and remained in bondage as before under the State laws.

In June, 1863, when the Confederate forces under command of General Robert E. Lee started out of Virginia on their raid northward it led to much anxiety in Wilmington, as it was feared that Lee intended coming by way of Baltimore, to Philadelphia. Mayor Gilpin, on June 30th, 1863, issued an appeal or proclamation to the citizens of Wilmington earnestly calling upon every one capable of bearing arms to enroll himself in some military company, and upon all those who had any experience or skill in the profession of arms to take the lead, organizing and drilling such volunteers as may be willing to serve in this emergency. The following proclamation was issued by Governor Cannon under date of July 1st,

1863: "A desperate enemy has invaded the neighboring States of Maryland and Pennsylvania. The Philadelphia, Wilmington and Baltimore Railroad, the main reliance of the Government for the transportation from the North of men and munitions of war, is menaced, not only by open, but by marauding Confederates, who, under cover of darkness, threaten to destroy us.

"The defence of your soil lies in keeping open the door of communication, through which re-inforcements can be forwarded. The true military line of this State is the bank of the Susquehanna. The most effective way to prevent the spoliation of your house is to keep the enemy outside of it.

"In this emergency an appeal was made to the loyal men of Delaware. They have responded with a readiness that challenges encomium, and a self-sacrificing spirit that extorts admiration. They have left their work-shops, their stores and their fields. The plough stands in the furrow, and the reaper in the grain already white for the harvest. They have abandoned their homes and committed their wives and children to your protection.

"I appeal to you, citizens of Delaware, not to permit their devotion to be unacknowledged or their sacrifices unrewarded. Save their crops, till the fields, succor their families.

"May God have them in his holy keeping and incline your hearts to acts of charity and duty."

For a week or more after the battle of Gettysburg it was feared that railroad communication to Baltimore would be cut off, and a call was made for men to serve for thirty days. Several hundred responded to the call, both from Wilmington and the lower part of the State. A committee of one hundred citizens was formed, and this committee pledged itself to stand responsible for the pay of five hundred men for the term of one month. Several companies of these emergency men were sent to Perryville and beyond, to protect the railroad. In the course of a week or so the excitement subsided, business was resumed, and the recruiting stations were closed. About the



same time a draft was ordered by the President, the quota demanded from Delaware being about 1000 men. This announcement caused much commotion, and at this time Delaware was in a greater state of excitement than during any other period of the war. The draft was ordered to take place at Smyrna on August 12, 1863. Men who might be drafted were allowed to commute at the rate of \$300 per man. Drafted men were warned not to leave the State under penalty of arrest and imprisonment in Fort Delaware as deserters.

William Temple who had been elected representative in Congress at the November election in 1862, died at his home in Smyrna on May 28th, 1863, before he had taken his seat. The Governor ordered a special election to be held in November following, to fill the vacancy. Nathaniel B. Smithers, who was serving as Secretary of State under Governor Cannon, was nominated by the Republicans for the place; his Democratic opponent was Charles Brown, of Dover. The election was held on November 19th. A few days prior to the election an order was sent by General Schenck, commanding the Middle Department of the United States forces, requiring an oath of allegiance to the United States as the test of citizenship of any one whose vote might be challenged on the ground that he was not loyal or did not admit his allegiance to the United States. It was provided in the order that this oath should be taken by any one whose vote was challenged at the Congressional election to be held in Delaware on the 19th.

The Democrats expressed great indignation at this proceeding and at a public meeting held at New Castle on November 17th, an address was issued to the Democrats of the County and State, recommending and requesting that the Democratic voters take no part in the approaching special election. The result was that the Democrats throughout the State declined to vote, and on the day of election Mr. Smithers received 7963 votes and Mr. Brown 15.

The contempt and indignation felt by the Democrats in having a military force under the charge of United States

officers at the polls throughout the State on election day, was not only shown by their refusal to vote at the special election, but they were loud in their denunciation of it, branding it an outrage and a blow at constitutional liberty. In December following, Mr. Saulsbury offered a resolution in the United States Senate calling upon the Secretary of War to inform the Senate whether a military force was sent into the State of Delaware to be present on election day (November 19th) and if so, by whose orders, for what purpose were they sent, how many were sent and to what places, etc., etc.

In support of his resolution Mr. Saulsbury temperately but firmly expressed the feeling of indignation held by himself and the Democratic party of the State at that time. Mr. Bayard, his colleague in the Senate also supported the resolution in a strong speech, in the course of which he said :

“ I hope the resolution will be adopted. I do not desire to debate it, but I desire the information. I think we are entitled to it. The Government of the United States having sent into the State of Delaware, under the command of a major-general of the army of the United States some three thousand troops, on the day before the election, and distributed them throughout the State—a State which has at no time whatever, either by her position, her course of conduct, or the action of her people, offered any resistance to the authority of the United States—we have a right to know the reasons for such action. It may be, and probably it will be shown, that some of our own citizens, in the heat of political excitement and partisan resentment, have made improper, erroneous and false statements to the Secretary of War. If that is so, we have a right to know it. We have a right to know who those recreant sons of Delaware are. The people of Delaware have a right to know who it was that thus attempted to cause civil strife and military rule to be established in the State. We do not want to inquire into the fact of whether the army was sent there and whether they were distributed at the polls—that is notorious; but we want the reasons which justify an act which certainly is an infraction of the rights of the people of Delaware, and an infraction which, carried out in other States—I am not speaking of what the design was, for I do not know what the grounds were; I want to know—would enable any existing Administration to keep itself in power and control the Government of this country just as long as it had the military force to do so. That would be the effect of submitting to such action. I want to know the grounds and the reasons, to see whether there were any justifications for this action. It is not, as the honorable Senator from Iowa supposes, with any desire for judicial inquiry against individuals there; nothing of the kind. It would not be evidence for the purpose of subjecting them to judicial inquiry.”

The resolution was referred to the Committee on Military Affairs, and nothing more came of it. Shortly afterwards, the United States Senate passed a resolution prescribing an "Oath of Loyalty," which was more generally called the "Iron Clad Oath," to be taken by its members. Mr. Bayard took the position that the resolution was particularly aimed at him and he opposed its adoption in a strong speech in which he claimed that it was unconstitutional. The resolution, however, passed the Senate, whereupon Mr. Bayard took the oath, but he immediately resigned his seat in the Senate. The Legislature of Delaware which met a month later, elected George Read Riddle as his successor for the unexpired term.

At the presidential election held in November, 1864, George B. McCellan, the Democratic candidate for President, received a majority of 612. John A. Nicholson, Democrat, was elected to Congress over Nathaniel B. Smithers by a majority of 509, and the Democrats controlled the State Legislature in both branches. Governor Cannon in his message to the Legislature in January, 1865, urged the adoption of measures for the emancipation of the slaves in the State; but as the General Assembly, was in control of the Democrats, nothing was accomplished in this direction.

Under the calls made from time to time by the President for soldiers, drafts were ordered to procure from this state its quota of the men required. These drafts were unpopular, particularly in Kent and Sussex Counties, and at times it was feared that great disorder and possibly bloodshed might ensue. Nothing serious of this nature occurred, however, and comparatively few men were drafted from Delaware owing to the fact that the State had responded most generously with volunteers. The official report furnished to Congress by the Secretary of War some months after the close of the war showed that the aggregate number of troops furnished by Delaware during the war was 13,651. Out of this number 10,303 were known as three years' men, either serving that length of time or entering the service pledged to a term of that length.

William Cannon, after a service, as Governor, of two years and three months, died at his residence in Bridgeville on March 1st, 1865, after a brief illness of typhoid fever. The Speaker of the Senate, Dr. Gove Saulsbury, became his successor. This gave to the Democrats control of the executive department as well as the legislative, and this control of all departments in the State remained with the Democrats for thirty years.

The thirteenth amendment to the Constitution of the United States providing for the abolition of slavery throughout the country was submitted to the General Assembly of Delaware and by it rejected on February 8th, 1865, by the following vote.

In the Senate—*Yeas*, Messrs. John P. Belville, John F. Williamson, Isaac S. Elliott—3. *Nays*, John H. Bewley, Thomas Cahill, Henry Hickman, William Hitch, James Ponder, Gove Saulsbury—6.

In the House—*Yeas*, John A. Alderdice, John A. Duncan, Andrew Eliason, James H. Hoffecker, John G. Jackson, Elias N. Moore, Merritt H. Paxson—7. *Nays*, Charles M. Adams, Wm. F. Carney, Henry C. Douglas, Wm. Dyer, Wm. D. Fowler, Abner Harrington, John Hickman, Benjamin Hitch, Shepard P. Houston, John Jones, Miles Messick, James Stuart, Henry Todd, John S. Wilson—12.

The War of the Rebellion formally came to a close on April 2d, 1866, the announcement being made by proclamation of the President of the United States. The loyal people of Delaware upheld the war in a generous way; they gave most liberally of their means and labored with a fidelity worthy of all praise. The Tilton Hospital, named after Dr. James Tilton, was erected on the plot or square of ground bounded by Ninth and Tenth, Tatnall and West Streets in the city of Wilmington and was ready for the reception of sick and disabled soldiers in the early days of the war. Relief associations were formed and maintained at various points throughout the State, and the women of Delaware rendered inestimable service in caring for the sick and wounded.

Delaware co-operated with enthusiasm in the holding of the Great Central Fair of the Sanitary Commission which was

opened in Philadelphia in 1864. This Fair attracted great attention and realized for the commission over a million dollars. Samuel M. Harrington, Jr., who, at that time, was Secretary of State under Governor Cannon, was untiring in his efforts in assisting the enterprise and rendered invaluable services to it. He was the leading spirit from Delaware, although he was seconded in a hearty way by the loyal citizens throughout the State.

During the war Fort Delaware was fully garrisoned, it being thought possible that the seat of war might shift to the Delaware River, the fort being one of the main defences for Philadelphia if a fleet should attempt to reach that city by the river. Early in the war the fort was selected as a place of confinement for Confederate prisoners, and many of the short term soldiers enlisted from Delaware served their periods of enlistment at the fort. It is estimated that over 15,000 prisoners were held at Fort Delaware during the war.

In the Civil War Delaware contributed its full quota to the army and navy, and from those who enlisted not a few won distinguished official position. Henry Hall Lockwood, who commanded the First Regiment of Delaware Volunteer Infantry, was born in Kent County, Delaware, August 17, 1814. He entered West Point Academy in 1832, and graduating in 1836, was attached to the Second Artillery as second lieutenant. He served in the Seminole War, and resigned his commission in 1837. In 1841 he was appointed Professor of Mathematics in the United States Naval Academy, and served until 1861 in that capacity. During this period, while attached to the frigate "United States," he was engaged at the capture of Monterey in 1847, serving as adjutant of a land detachment from his vessel. At the breaking out of the late Civil War he left his chair as instructor and attached himself to the First Delaware Volunteers as colonel on May 25, 1861. On August 8th of the same year he was commissioned brigadier-general of volunteers, and in November commanded the expedition to the eastern shore of Virginia, and from January



to June, 1863, was in command of the defenses of the lower Potomac. General Lockwood participated in the Battle of Gettysburg July 1-3, 1863, and subsequently was placed in command of Harper's Ferry, afterward succeeding General Schenck, at Baltimore, as commander of the Middle Department. In 1864 he participated in the campaign before Richmond, and was also in the engagement near Hanover Court-House. He commanded the provincial troops at Baltimore in 1864, when that city was threatened with a raid by General Early. On being mustered out of the volunteer service in August, 1865, General Lockwood returned to the Naval Academy, and continued there until 1871 as Professor of Natural and Experimental Philosophy. In 1871 he was transferred to the Naval Observatory at Washington, and remained until August 14, 1876, when he was placed on the retired list. After his retirement General Lockwood lived in Georgetown. His wife was a daughter of Chief Justice Booth, of Delaware.

Thomas A. Smyth was captain of Company C, Delaware Blues, at the beginning of the Civil War, which company, leaving Wilmington on April 30, 1861, was the first to be mustered into the service from Delaware. He was born December 25, 1832, in Ballyhooly, county of Cork, Ireland. His parents were Thomas and Margaret Smyth. His father being a farmer, young Thomas was raised on the farm and was afforded a limited opportunity only for the acquiring of an education. He came to America in 1854 and settled in Philadelphia, and four years later took up his residence in Wilmington where he was married to Amanda M. Ponder. He early showed a tendency toward military life and on the breaking out of the Civil War, having previously been an officer in a militia company in Wilmington, was among the first to raise a company for active service in the field. Becoming impatient of the delays encountered, he took his company to Philadelphia where it was accepted as Company H, in the Twenty-fourth Pennsylvania Volunteers, commanded by Colonel Joshua T. Owen.

His superior officer bore testimony to the fact that Smyth was a man of remarkable judgment, tact and penetration, and that his bravery and prudence frequently prompted him to send Captain Smyth on expeditions where dangers were likely to be encountered. At the end of the three months' service Smyth was chosen Major of the First Delaware Regiment in October, 1861. At the battle of Antietam he displayed great personal bravery and attracted much attention by his coolness and ability. Both in this fight and in the battle of Fredericksburg he was commended by his superior officers. In a short while he was promoted to be Lieutenant Colonel and a month or so afterward was commissioned Colonel of the regiment in place of Colonel John W. Andrews who had resigned.

His distinguished bravery at the battle of Chancellorsville led to his further promotion as Brigadier General. It was evident to his commanding officers, by the record he had made that Smyth had in him the kind of material out of which the best soldiers were made and that he was destined to become an officer of mark. Shortly afterwards Colonel Smyth was assigned to the command of a brigade which afforded him a better field for the display of his military tact and ability. Gettysburg was the first engagement in which Smyth commanded a Brigade; here he was conspicuous for bravery in exposing himself at all points where he thought his duty called him. In that engagement his brigade captured nine stands of colors and many prisoners. In the afternoon of the last day of the Gettysburg fight he was wounded in the head by fragments of a bursting shell but he remained on the field until General Hayes, in command of the Division, ordered him to the hospital for surgical attendance.

Both Generals Hancock and Hayes complimented him highly, and recommended him for promotion at once. Later in the summer, he was sent home on sick leave, having contracted the remittent fever, but was back in the field before his Brigade was in another engagement. For a short time he was in command of the famous Irish Brigade but afterwards

was re-assigned to his old command. On October 1, 1864 he was commissioned Brigadier General. At the time of this promotion his Division was in the trenches in front of Petersburg and the officers and soldiers in his command were enthusiastic over the event.

On the 7th of April, 1865, less than two weeks before the close of the war, while in command of his Brigade, at Farmville, Va., he was shot by a rebel sharpshooter, and two days later he died. His body was taken to Wilmington for interment. "He was the last General officer on the Union side killed in the war, was the last man wounded in the old Division which he so ably commanded. He had had three staff officers killed and three horses shot under him" says his biographer, Dr. D. W. Maull. He was buried in the Wilmington and Brandywine cemetery at Wilmington with military honors, and his death was mourned by the people at large. A handsome sword presented to General Smyth by some of his Wilmington friends and admirers in January, 1864, is now in the possession of the Historical Society of Delaware.

In the naval service, the Delawarean who attained the highest rank in the Civil War was Samuel Francis DuPont. He was a son of Victor Marie DuPont de Nemours. He was appointed a midshipman in the navy from the state of Delaware on December 19, 1815. With a continual service in the navy, and meritorious services during the war with Mexico he became captain in 1855 and at the breaking out of the Civil War was in command of the Philadelphia Navy Yard. He took prompt and energetic measures when communications were cut off at Washington, to send a naval force to the Chesapeake, to protect the landing of troops at Annapolis. He served as President of the Naval Board which convened at Washington in June, 1861, to elaborate a general plan of naval operations against the Confederate states. A month later he headed the expedition which sailed from Norfolk, the fleet under him being the largest that had ever been commanded by an American officer.



Yours Respectfully  
S. F. McPike





In the November following he successfully attacked the strong fortifications at Port Royal, South Carolina. His victory at this place is justly regarded as one of the most brilliant achievements of our navy, and it had a wonderful moral and political effect on the Union cause at the time.

DuPont followed up this victory by reducing other Confederate fortifications along the coast to the southward. In the year following, in recognition of his services, DuPont received the thanks of Congress and was appointed rear admiral. His service at sea was most distinguished, and in addition thereto he was almost constantly employed on duties of importance looking to the improvement and development of the navy. He was the author of several papers on professional subjects. In 1833 Admiral DuPont was married to his cousin Sophie Madeline DuPont. He died at Philadelphia, June 23, 1865.

Another Delawarean who reached high rank in the naval service was Commodore John Pritchett Gillis. He was born in Wilmington, September 6, 1803. His father having died in his boyhood, his mother removed to the state of Illinois from which state young Gillis was appointed a midshipman in 1825. He was commissioned as lieutenant in 1837. During the Mexican War he was with the "Decatur" at the capture of Tlaxcala, and afterwards acted as Governor of Alvarado and Tlaxcala. In 1851 he served as first lieutenant on the "Plymouth" while on a voyage to China, and two years later took part in the Japan expedition under Commodore Perry. He was made commander in 1855, and at the beginning of the Civil War in 1861 he commanded the steam sloop "Pocahontas" on which he brought away the garrison of Fort Sumter, having arrived at the fort an hour before the surrender. He afterwards commanded the "Monticello" and "Seminole" and for some time was employed in the blockading service. He was commissioned captain in 1862 and about that time commanded a division in the Gulf blockading squadron off Mobile. He was made a commodore on the retired list on

the 28th of September, 1866, and died at Wilmington, February 25, 1873.

Colonel James Hemphill Jones of the U. S. Marine Corps was another distinguished officer in the Civil War. He was a son of Morgan and Mary (Hemphill) Jones, and was born in Wilmington, May 6, 1821.

He was commissioned a second lieutenant in the United States Marine Corps on March 2, 1847, and served with the army in the Mexican War. He was promoted to a first lieutenancy in 1853 and accompanied Commodore Perry's expedition to Japan. He was made captain in 1861 and took part in the battle of Bull Run. He served in the Pacific Squadron from 1861 to 1867. In 1864 he was made major and in the same year rose to be lieutenant colonel.

For three years or more he was on duty on the Pacific coast. Later he was stationed at the Boston Navy Yard, and from there went to League Island, Pa., where he had command of the marine barracks. He died in 1879 and was buried in Wilmington. Those who knew him best bore testimony to the fact that he was a true soldier, an honorable man and a most devoted friend. His brother, William Hemphill Jones, was for many years a prominent citizen of Wilmington and afterwards was connected with the Treasury Department at Washington.

#### DELAWARE SINCE THE CIVIL WAR

1865-1907.

After the close of the civil war there existed for many years a feeling of great bitterness between the political parties in the state. The war had created fierce antagonisms, and the feeling thus engendered could only be allayed by the lapse of time. At the State election held in November, 1865 a bitter struggle ensued between the two parties for control of the State. The Democratic nominee was Gove Saulsbury, who had succeeded as Speaker of the Senate to the governorship

by reason of the death of Governor Cannon. The Republicans nominated James Riddle, a New Castle County man, and a manufacturer on the Brandywine near Wilmington. For Congress, John A. Nicholson was renominated by the Democrats, and John L. McKim of Sussex County was the Republican nominee.

The State was thoroughly canvassed and a most energetic campaign ensued. It resulted in the complete success of the Democratic party, the majority for Saulsbury for Governor being 1312, and for Nicholson for Congress, 1380. The Democrats had a majority of three in the Senate, and a majority of nine in the House of Representatives. No legislation of importance was passed by the General Assembly at its meeting the following January. The Democratic majority in the General Assembly, by a strict party vote, placed itself on record as being opposed to negro suffrage, the question coming before the body on a series of resolutions which were introduced touching the matter of the recent passage by Congress of a bill granting suffrage to negroes in the District of Columbia. The following extract from the resolutions will show how deep-seated was the objection on the part of the Democrats to such an innovation.

*“Resolved further, That the immutable laws of God have affixed upon the brow of the white races the ineffaceable stamp of superiority, and that all attempts to elevate the negro to a social and political equality of the white man is futile and subversive of the ends and aims for which the American Government was established, and contrary to the doctrines and teachings of the Fathers of the Republic.”*

While the State had been free from debt at the beginning of the war, at its close there was a State debt of over a million dollars arising through the bonds that had been issued to meet the calls of the federal government for soldiers.

Gove Saulsbury, in his message submitted to the session of the General Assembly, which convened on January 3, 1867, expressed himself in strong language against the adoption of the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution of the United

States. This amendment was a month later submitted to the General Assembly for approval or disapproval and was rejected by a vote of 15 to 6. George Read Riddle, while filling the office of United States Senator, died at Washington, March 29, 1867. The vacancy thus created was filled by Governor Saulsbury appointing James A. Bayard. Under this appointment James A. Bayard acted as Senator until the next session of the Legislature. On January 19, 1869, the Legislature elected Thomas F. Bayard to the United States Senate for the full term beginning March 4 following, and on the same day James A. Bayard, father of Thomas F. Bayard, was elected to serve from that date until the 4th of March following, being the unexpired term of George Read Riddle, deceased. This is the only instance in the history of the country where father and son were elected on the same day to the same office; and on March 4th following, the father, James A. Bayard, was United States Senator up to noon, and Thomas F. Bayard, the son, was sworn in at noon and was the United States Senator for the remainder of that day. This was the beginning of the public life of Thomas F. Bayard.

The adoption of the Fifteenth Amendment by Congress, and its submission to the respective States for ratification, caused much discussion in Delaware, and had the effect of alienating a large number of voters from the Republican party. The conservative class in the community, who had been loyal during the civil war, and who had inclined to give their allegiance to the Republican party, were not prepared to go the length of conferring the right of suffrage upon negroes.

This inclination was shown in the presidential election of 1868, when the Democratic electors received a majority in the State of over 3300, and the Democratic party elected its legislative ticket in all three of the counties of the State. The General Assembly which met in January, 1869, contained only two Republican members, Curtis B. Ellison and John G. Jackson, two holding over members of the State Senate from New Castle County. At this session, the Fifteenth Amend-

ment being submitted to the General Assembly, it was rejected by a vote of 19 to 2, the Democratic members voting solidly against the Amendment.

About this time much activity was shown in the extension of railroad facilities in the State. The main line of the Delaware Railroad which had been in operation for several years was supplemented by several branches connected therewith. One branch extended from Clayton to Easton, Md., and was known as the Maryland & Delaware Railroad; another from Seaford to Cambridge called the Dorchester & Delaware Railroad; a third from Townsend to Centreville and a fourth branch from Harrington by way of Milford and Georgetown, to Lewes, and called the Junction & Breakwater Railroad. A new line of railroad called the Wilmington & Reading was completed in 1869 connecting the City of Wilmington with Coatesville in Chester County, Pennsylvania.

The Fifteenth Amendment to the Constitution having been duly ratified by the required number of States, the colored people of Delaware joined in a celebration of the event in Wilmington, on April 14th, 1870, and gave expression to their feeling of gratification in the following resolutions, which were adopted at the meeting.

“WHEREAS, The nation has restored political rights to the colored citizens deprived of these rights heretofore simply on the ground of the color of the skin, and

“ *Whereas*, The nation has thus planted itself anew upon the imperishable doctrines of the Declaration of American Independence,

“ *Resolved*, That our grateful thanks are first due to that God who is Lord of lords and King of kings; who controls the destinies of nations, and who maketh even the wrath of man to praise Him.

“ *Resolved*, That the President, Cabinet, Congresses, Legislatures and loyal people, who proposed and sustained this restoration to us of political rights and privileges, have won our lasting gratitude.

“ *Resolved*, That we hereby pledge to them to prove the fitness of the trust by the worthiness of our conduct. That realizing the responsibilities resting on us, we mean to use the ballot for no merely narrow or selfish ends, but for the best good of the State and nation, thereby aiding to perpetuate a Union which our fathers and their fathers, their and our brothers, together helped to save.”



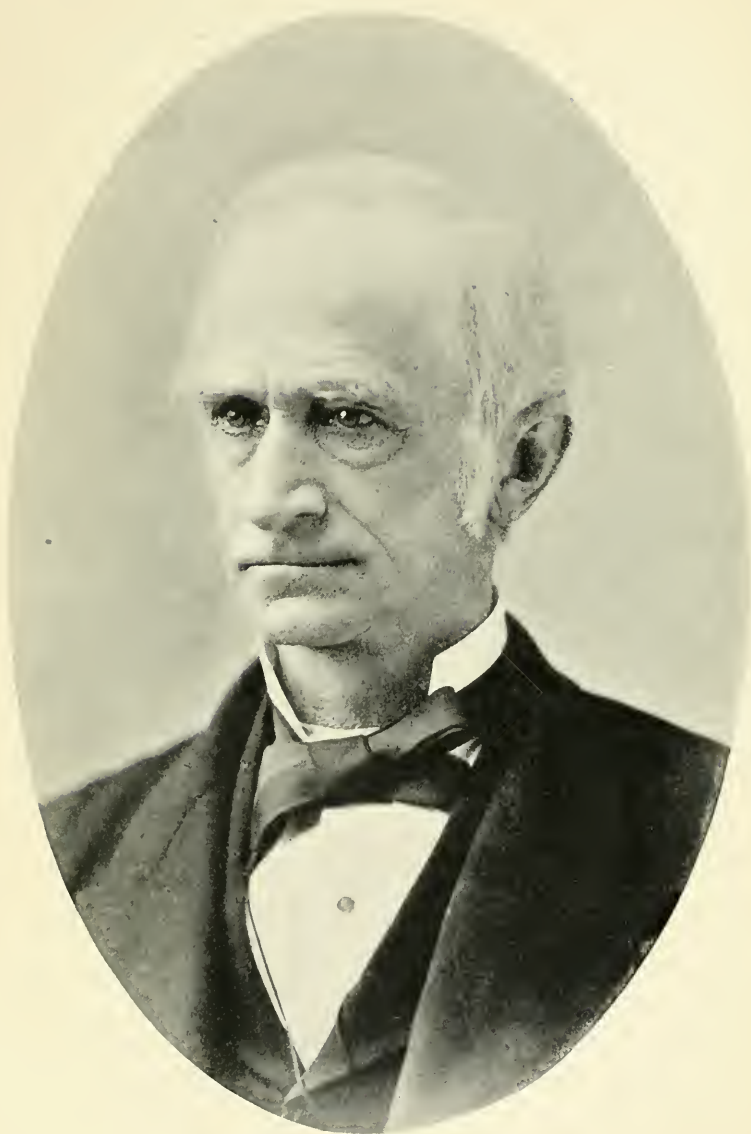
The meeting was an enthusiastic affair and participated in by the leading colored people of the State.

The political campaign of 1870 proved unusually interesting. The Republicans were sanguine that their strength would be so increased by the addition of the colored vote that they could overcome the Democratic majority in the State. It was estimated that at least 4500 negroes in the State could be qualified as voters, admitting on the other hand that some disaffection would result in their own ranks by reason of the colored men voting. The Democrats raised the cry of White Man's Party and a convention was held at Dover pledged to such a party, and a general invitation extended to all white men to unite with the Democratic Party as a white man's party.

The Republicans nominated Thomas B. Coursey, of Kent County, for Governor, and Joshua T. Heald, a Wilmington business man, for Congress. The Democrats nominated James Ponder, of Sussex County, for Governor, and Benjamin T. Biggs, of New Castle County, for Congress; their platform declared that the Federal and State governments were formed for the benefit of white men and denounced the Fifteenth Amendment. At the election the hopes of the Republicans were blighted as but few colored men voted, as compared with the number that were expected to do so; and, as had been predicted, negro suffrage proved very unpopular with many who for years had trained with the Republican party. While the majority was somewhat reduced, the election resulted in the triumph of the Democratic party, James Ponder having a majority for Governor of 2324 and Biggs for Congress a majority of 2296. The Legislature was unanimously Democratic in both branches.

The federal census of 1870 showed a total population in the state of 125,015, divided as follows among the counties: New Castle, 63,515; Kent, 29,804; Sussex, 31,696, a total increase over 1860 of 12,799. Governor Ponder in his first message submitted to the Legislature in January, 1871, denounced the extension of suffrage to uneducated negroes and expressed





ELI SAULSBURY.

1817-1893.

himself as considering such action "unwise in policy, unsound in principle and it would be found to be in practice greatly detrimental to the public interest."

The General Assembly at the session of 1871 was called upon to elect a United States Senator, the term of Willard Saulsbury expiring on the fourth of March following. The nominating caucus held the night preceding the election presented the unique and unusual spectacle of having named in it three brothers for the Senatorship. Willard Saulsbury had been in the Senate for twelve years and was a candidate for re-election. His brother, Gove Saulsbury, had occupied the position of Governor, and for many years had been influential in his party. Eli Saulsbury, a third brother, was a practicing attorney at Dover, and while a pronounced Democrat in politics, had not been in the public eye to the same extent as either of his brothers. The first two ballots showed fourteen votes for Gove, thirteen for Willard, and three for Eli; the third ballot showed fifteen for Gove, fourteen for Willard and but one for Eli, but on the fourth ballot the fourteen votes that had been given to Willard were swung over to Eli, and the two votes which he had at the beginning, joined with the fourteen, made a total of sixteen and gave him the nomination. On this ballot Gove Saulsbury received fourteen votes. The next day, January 17th, Eli Saulsbury was formally elected United States Senator for six years from the fourth of March following.

Eli Saulsbury was born in Mispillion Hundred, Kent County, December 29, 1817. He was two years younger than his brother Gove, and Chancellor Willard Saulsbury was three years his junior. After obtaining an education by attendance at the public schools of the neighborhood, he spent nearly two years at Dickinson College. He was always a great reader, and absorbed much knowledge in this way. He was correct in mathematics, and in his early days taught school, and also followed the occupation of a surveyor. He was in his fortieth year when he was admitted to the Bar at Georgetown. This

was in 1857, and the three years preceding had been spent in reading law in the office of his brother Willard. Immediately upon his admission to the Bar he opened an office at Dover, and ever afterwards resided there.

In 1852 he was elected a member of the State House of Representatives from Mispillion Hundred. In 1864 he was a delegate to the Democratic National Convention that nominated George B. McClellan for President. These were the only positions with which he had been honored by his party until he was elected a member of the United States Senate in January, 1871, in competition with his two brothers, Gove and Willard. He served in the Senate for three full terms, retiring therefrom March 4, 1889.

As a member of the Senate he commanded respect, was dignified and industrious, and a man of the strictest integrity. During the few years that the Democratic party controlled the Senate, he was chairman of the committee on privileges and elections. He was a member of the Methodist Episcopal Church for over fifty years, and took a lively interest for many years in the Wilmington Conference Academy, of which institution he was President of the Board of Trustees for many years. After his retirement from the Senate in 1889 he lived quietly at Dover. His death occurred at his residence in Dover, on March 22, 1893, in his seventy-sixth year. He was the last survivor of the five Saulsbury brothers.

In the campaign of 1872 James R. Lofland was the Republican candidate for Congress and Custis W. Wright, the Democratic candidate. The electoral vote of the state was given to General Grant for President and Mr. Lofland was elected as Representative in Congress by a majority of 362. This result was largely due to the apathy felt by the Democratic party towards the nomination of Horace Greeley. The Legislature elected that year consisted of 8 Democrats and 1 Republican in the Senate and 14 Democrats and 7 Republicans in the House.

At the session of the Legislature in 1873 an Act was passed



regulating the assessment and collection of taxes which proved particularly obnoxious to the Republican party. The Republicans had elected a member of Congress at the election in the fall preceding, and had also carried the state for the Republican electors. It was the first time that the addition of the colored voters had proven of advantage to the Republicans. It was possible for the assessors, under the new law, to arbitrarily refuse to put the names of poll-tax payers on the list, and the law made it difficult for any one who had been omitted, either designedly or inadvertently, by the assessor, to get on the list, as under its provisions he must appear in person before the Levy Court of the county and be vouched for by a free-holder. The Act was clearly designed to make it difficult to get colored men qualified as voters, and those who framed it builded even better than they knew, as by it the Democratic party was enabled to continue in almost uninterrupted control in the State for twenty-five years after its passage. The Republicans attacked it on the stump and in their platform from year to year but it continued as a law of the state until the adoption of the new constitution in 1897.

The success of the Republicans in electing Mr. Lofland encouraged them to believe that such an organization could be effected as would enable them to carry the State at the next election in 1874. The campaign of the latter year was very exciting. Dr. Isaac Jump of Dover was nominated for Governor by the Republicans, and James R. Lofland was re-nominated for Representative in Congress. The Democratic party nominated John P. Cochran for Governor and James Williams for Congress. The election held on November 3rd resulted in a Democratic victory, the Democratic nominees being successful in all three of the counties. Cochran for Governor received a majority of 1239 and Williams for Congress a majority of 1666.

Governor Cochran was inaugurated January 20, 1875. A week later Thomas F. Bayard was re-elected to the United States Senate for six years from the ensuing fourth of March.

The General Assembly at its session this year passed a bill providing for a State Board of Education, consisting of the President of Delaware College, the Secretary of State, and State Auditor. The Act also provided for a State Superintendent of Free Schools at a salary of \$1800 a year. The Board organized in April following, and was composed of William H. Purnell, President of Delaware College, Ignatius C. Grubb, Secretary of State, and Dr. Nathan Pratt, State Auditor. The Governor, about the same time, appointed as the first Superintendent of Free Schools, James H. Groves, of Smyrna.

Governor Cochran in his first message recommended increased representation in the General Assembly for New Castle County, and a bill looking to that end, also a bill proposing to divide New Castle County were introduced ; but both propositions were defeated. This legislature very largely removed the disability from married women by giving them control over their own property, whether in possession at time of marriage or acquired afterwards. It also gave permission to a married woman to make a last will and testament without the husband's consent.

The Presidential election of 1876 was a lively one in Delaware. The Republicans in this State were largely in favor of the nomination of James G. Blaine as the presidential nominee, and a delegation pledged to him was sent by Delaware to the national convention. The Republicans nominated Levi C. Bird as their candidate for Congress and his opponent was James Williams, who was re-nominated by the Democratic party. At the election in November the Democratic electors received a large majority, and Mr. Williams was re-elected to Congress. In this year a Prohibition ticket was run, Charles Moore of Wilmington being the nominee of that party for Congress. The Democrats also elected their legislative ticket in all three of the counties, making the General Assembly unanimously Democratic in both branches.

The campaign of 1878 was less vigorous. The Republicans, having been defeated two years before by over 2500 majority,

were disheartened, and failed to put a ticket in the field in 1878. The Democrats nominated John W. Hall for Governor and Edward L. Martin for Congress; these gentlemen were opposed by Kensey J. Stewart for Governor and John G. Jackson for member of Congress, they being the nominees of the Greenback-Labor Party, which, for the first time, placed candidates in the field in Delaware. The latter party only polled about 2800 votes and the election resulted in favor of the Democrats by a majority of over 7500.

Governor Hall was inaugurated in the January following and served the full term. On October 3, 1879, Governor Hall appointed George Gray Attorney General of the State. This was the first office held by George Gray and marked his entrance into public life. The Legislature was again unanimously Democratic. The most important act of the Legislature, which met in January, 1879, was the enactment of a law providing for the establishment of an Insurance Department for the State and the appointment of an Insurance Commissioner by the Governor. John R. McFee of Smyrna was the first Insurance Commissioner appointed, having received his commission from Governor Hall in 1879.

In 1880 the Democratic party renominated Edward L. Martin for Congress; his Republican opponent was John W. Houston who at the time was the associate judge for Kent County. The campaign was a spirited one, the Republicans having plucked up new courage; and while the Democratic electors for President received a majority of 1039 in the State, Martin for Congress was elected by a majority of only 692 over Houston. The Republicans succeeded in electing their full legislative ticket in New Castle County but the Democrats won in the two lower counties, thereby controlling the Legislature.

At the session of the Legislature in the winter of 1881 the School law was amended so as to provide for an assistant Superintendent of Free Schools, and the Superintendent of Free Schools was substituted as a member of the State Board

of Education in place of the State Auditor. This Legislature re-elected Thomas F. Bayard United States Senator by a vote of 22 to 8, the 8 Republican votes being cast for Anthony Higgins.

The Republicans entered into the campaign of 1882 with much zest and earnestness. Their Convention, which met in July, nominated Albert Currey of Sussex for Governor, and Washington Hastings of Wilmington for Congress. Their platform declared emphatically in favor of a Constitutional Convention and that was made the battle-cry of the campaign. The Republican campaign was managed by Richard Harrington, Chairman of the State Committee, who infused much enthusiasm into it. The State was thoroughly canvassed by the Republicans, meetings were held in every locality, and the Republicans looked forward confidently to victory until towards the close of the campaign when it became evident that there were disaffected elements in the party, which could not be reconciled, and the outcome of the election was the triumph, by nearly 2,000 majority, of the Democratic ticket headed by Charles C. Stockley for Governor and Charles B. Lore for Congress. The Democrats also elected every member of the Legislature, and in the January following, re-elected Eli Saulsbury United States Senator for a full term. This defeat took all of the life out of the Republican party for the time being, and two years afterward in 1884, Charles B. Lore having been renominated by the Democratic party was re-elected by a majority of 4076, over Anthony Higgins, his Republican opponent. The electoral vote this year also went to the Democratic candidate and the entire Democratic legislative ticket was elected.

On the accession of Grover Cleveland to the Presidency on March 4, 1885, Thomas F. Bayard who, at that time, was one of the United States Senators from this state, was chosen by President Cleveland, as Secretary of State. He resigned his office as United States Senator, and it fell to the Legislature of 1885 to fill the vacancy. The candidates before that body

were George Gray and Charles B. Lore. From the beginning the fight was a close one, with the probabilities in favor of the election of Mr. Lore, but the Gray forces were able by a majority of one to nominate their favorite in the caucus and on January 18, 1885, George Gray was elected for the unexpired term of Thomas F. Bayard in the United States Senate.

In the campaign of 1886 the Democrats nominated Benjamin T. Biggs for Governor and John B. Penington for Congress. Again the Republican party being disheartened by its repeated defeats, declined to put any candidates in the field, and the only opponent of the Democratic party was the Temperance Reform Ticket, composed of James R. Hoffecker for Governor and Richard M. Cooper for Congress. The latter ticket did not prove formidable and the Democratic nominees were elected by a majority of over 10,000. The Legislature following provided for taking a vote of the people for and against a Constitutional Convention; an election for that purpose was held on November 1st, 1887 and the vote in favor of a Convention was 1000 short of the number required by the existing constitution.

The contest in 1888 proved to be unusually interesting; the real fight was on the legislative ticket, the point at issue being the election of a United States Senator; the term of Eli Saulsbury who had served for eighteen years as United States Senator, expiring March 4, 1889. Senator Saulsbury desired to succeed himself. A strong opposition developed in the Democratic party against him. In Kent a serious wrangle occurred in the Democratic county convention and the bitterness resulting from that, extended to the other counties of the state, particularly to Sussex.

John B. Penington was renominated by the Democrats for Congress and his Republican opponent was Charles H. Treat of Georgetown. The latter proved to be a very shrewd political manager, and by his active campaigning he enthused the Republicans of the two lower counties in a way that resulted in the election of the Republican legislative tickets in



both Kent and Sussex, although he failed of election to Congress; his opponent, John B. Penington, having a majority of 3333.

New Castle County went Democratic, but on joint ballot the Republicans had a majority of one in the General Assembly, and this was the first time in the history of Delaware when the Republicans controlled the Legislature even on joint ballot. This rather unexpected result gave the Republicans the opportunity to elect a United States Senator to succeed Eli Saulsbury.

The three Republicans mentioned for the Senatorship were Nathaniel B. Smithers, George V. Massey and Anthony Higgins. The Republican caucus which met on the evening of the day preceding the day when the balloting was to begin, was an exciting affair. It was something new for the Republicans to elect a Senator. Representative Republicans from all parts of the state crowded the State House and waited anxiously the result of the caucus balloting. It looked for awhile as though Massey would be nominated, but in the end the Higgins and Smithers forces united, and the outcome was the nomination on the forty-third ballot of Anthony Higgins by a caucus vote of nine for Higgins, and six for Massey. The next day Anthony Higgins was elected United States Senator for the full term beginning March 4, 1889. No legislation of importance was enacted by the Legislature of 1889 owing to the fact that each of the political parties controlled but one House of the General Assembly. At this session a commission was appointed to re-establish the circular boundary between Pennsylvania and Delaware. This commission was composed of Thomas F. Bayard, Beniah L. Lewis and John H. Hofecker.

Flushed with the measure of success which had attended the campaign of 1888, the Republicans entered into the contest of 1890 with renewed vigor and activity. Harry A. Richardson of Dover was unanimously nominated for Governor, by the Republicans, and Henry P. Cannon, the oldest son of

Governor William Cannon, was nominated for Congress. The Democratic nominees were Robert J. Reynolds for Governor and John W. Causey for Congress. No more stirring campaign has ever taken place in Delaware than that of 1890, but the Republicans were doomed to disappointment, as the election resulted in a majority for the Democratic ticket of about six hundred. The Democrats also elected their legislative tickets in the three counties. In 1892 John W. Causey was re-elected to Congress over Jonathan S. Willis, his Republican opponent, by a majority of 583 and the Democrats carried all three of the counties for their legislative tickets, by average majorities of less than two hundred. At the session of the General Assembly in January, 1893, George Gray was re-elected, unanimously to succeed himself for a full term as United States Senator from March 4th, ensuing.

The Republicans entered into the campaign of 1894 with renewed effort; their nominee for Governor was Joshua H. Marvel of Laurel and Jonathan S. Willis of Milford was again nominated by the Republicans for Congress. The Democrats nominated a particularly strong ticket headed by Ebe W. Tunnell of Lewes for Governor and Samuel Bancroft, Jr., of New Castle county for Congress. The campaign was a spirited one, the state being thoroughly canvassed. The contest resulted in the election of the Republican state ticket by a majority of over 1200. The Republicans also elected their legislative candidates in New Castle and Sussex counties, and one representative in Kent so that the legislature of 1895 stood Republicans 19, Democrats 11.

A fierce contest ensued for United States Senator. Anthony Higgins who had been in the Senate for six years succeeded in getting a majority of the Republican members of the Assembly in his favor, but he failed in securing the number necessary to elect. No caucus of the Republicans was held, so that the contest was fought out on the floor of the joint meetings of the two houses. At the beginning of the balloting, the Republican vote was divided as follows:—Anthony Higgins

10 votes, John Edward Addicks 6 votes, George V. Massey 3 votes. The Democratic members voted for James L. Wolcott. The voting for several weeks continued without substantial change; ballots were taken every day from January 15 to May 9th, and as high as forty-eight ballots were taken on one day.

During the last three days of the session the old lines were broken and numerous candidates were voted for. The Higgins strength went to Henry A. DuPont, and on the day prior to adjournment (May 8th,) John Edward Addicks was not voted for on thirty-seven ballots taken on that day. With those exceptions Mr. Addicks received six votes on all ballots up to the day of adjournment. A determined effort was made on the day of adjournment to break the Addicks vote, but it only succeeded in getting two votes from his adherents, the remaining four votes continuing with him, the final ballot on the day of adjournment standing, Henry A. DuPont 15, Edward Ridgely 10, John Edward Addicks 4, Ebe W. Tunnell 1. Total vote 30—necessary to a choice, 16—and the Assembly adjourned.

On the last day of the session William T. Watson, who had become the acting Governor of the State by reason of the death of Governor Marvel on the eighth day of April previous, claimed that he had the right to vote as a State Senator, and accordingly took his seat in the joint meeting of the two houses on the closing day of the session, and cast his vote in the Senatorial contest; without him in the joint meeting, fifteen (15) votes would have been a majority of those present, and that number could have elected a Senator, but counting him as a member it was necessary that the candidate for Senator should receive sixteen (16) votes. Speaker McMullen of the House of Representatives declared that Henry A. DuPont having received fifteen votes, a constitutional majority of the membership of the General Assembly, had been duly elected United States Senator, and a certificate to this effect was afterwards issued. On the ground that Acting Governor

Watson had no right to sit as a member of the General Assembly, Mr. DuPont claimed his seat in the United States Senate, and proceeded to make a contest therefor before that body. A full hearing was accorded him extending over several months, but in the end, on May 15, 1896, the United States Senate by a vote of 31 to 30 refused to allow him the seat, and the contest ended with a Senatorial vacancy.

The failure to elect a Senator proved demoralizing to the Republican party of the State. Mr. Addicks was fiercely denounced as responsible for the result. The party divided into two camps, with extreme bitterness existing between them. The death of Governor Marvel made it necessary to hold an election for Governor in the autumn of 1896. At the Republican State Convention held on May 12th, 1896, for the purpose of choosing delegates to the National Republican Convention to be held in St. Louis to select candidates for President and Vice-President, the Addicks adherents showed a clear majority, and when they proceeded to name delegates, and dictate the policy of the body, a minority of the body, consisting of thirty-eight members, out of the total membership of one hundred and fifty-eight, voluntarily left the convention and held a meeting of their own. Delegations were sent by both of these bodies to the St. Louis Convention. The delegates chosen by the retiring body were seated in the St. Louis Convention.

The outcome of this rupture was the formation of two Republican parties in the State, both of whom gave loyal adherence to William McKinley as the Presidential nominee, who received the electoral vote of the State at the November election in 1896, the majority, for the Republican electors, being 3837. The followers of Mr. Addicks held a State Convention in August, 1896, and nominated John H. Hoffecker for Governor, and renominated Jonathan S. Willis for Congress. They adopted the name of the Union Republican Party. The other wing or faction, known as Regular Republicans, held a separate convention and nominated John C.

Higgins for Governor and Robert G. Houston for Congress. The Democrats named Ebe W. Tunnell as their candidate for Governor and Levin Irving Handy for Congress. The campaign was a fierce one, and resulted in the election of Tunnell and Handy, the Democratic nominees, by the following vote :

<i>For Governor.</i>		<i>For Congress.</i>	
Ebe W. Tunnell	16,604	L. Irving Handy	16,512
John H. Hoffecker	12,669	Jona. S. Willis	12,828
John C. Higgins	6,997	Robert G. Houston	7,189
Tunnell's plurality	3,935	Handy's plurality	3,684

The Democrats also elected their full legislative tickets in New Castle and Sussex counties, with the exception of one Representative, J. Frank Eliason, who, by reason of being a candidate on both Republican tickets in New Castle County, was elected, and he was the only Republican in the legislature at its next session. In Kent County the returns as made by the election officers showed the election of the full Republican legislative ticket by majorities ranging from 100 to 200, but when the County Election Board met at Dover, the Democratic majority of the board threw out the returns from both districts of East Dover Hundred, both districts of North Murderkill, and both districts of Milford, in all of which districts the Republicans had a substantial majority; and by counting the votes that remained, returned the Democratic legislative ticket in Kent County, as elected.

The Republicans took the matter into the courts, but through the dilatory tactics that were resorted to, the contest was not decided until after the lapse of two years. In the meantime the Democrats having control of the General Assembly seated the Democratic legislative delegation from Kent County and they constituted part of the Legislature at its session in 1897. The court finally decided that the Election Board of Kent county acted unlawfully in arbitrarily throwing out the election districts as they did, but this decision came too late to rectify the wrong that had been done. At the session of the Legislature



in 1897, Richard R. Kenney, Democrat, was elected United States Senator for the unexpired term ending March 4, 1901, the place having been vacant because the Legislature of 1895 had failed to elect.

At the general election held in November, 1896, delegates were voted for throughout the state as members of the Constitutional Convention to be held on the first day of December following. In New Castle County the following delegates were elected: Martin B. Burris, William C. Spruance, Elias N. Moore, Edward G. Bradford, Andrew L. Johnson, John P. Donohoe, John Biggs, Robert G. Harman, Charles B. Evans and J. Wilkins Cooch, the first four being Republicans in politics, and the latter six Democrats. In Sussex County the following were elected: Edward D. Hearne, Woodburn Martin, Joshua A. Ellegood, Andrew J. Horsey, Robert W. Dasey, Charles F. Richards, James B. Gilchrist, William P. Orr, William A. Cannon and Isaac K. Wright, the delegation being equally divided politically, the first five being Democrats and the latter five Republicans. In Kent county the Republican delegation consisting of John B. Cooper, Abner K. Cole, David S. Clark, James P. Aron, William T. Smithers, Beniah Watson, George H. Murray, Paris T. Carlisle, Jr., William H. Franklin and John W. Hering, was on the face of the returns, elected by an average majority of two hundred, but the members of the Committee on Credentials, appointed at the assembling of the convention, reported that they had before them two papers purporting to be certificates of the election of delegates from Kent county, one of which certified that the persons above mentioned had been duly chosen, the other certifying that ten other persons therein named had been chosen. The committee recommended that the following named persons be seated as delegates from Kent county, and the report of the committee was adopted by the convention: Wilson T. Cavender, William Saulsbury, Ezekiel W. Cooper, Louder L. Sapp, Nathan Pratt, David S. Clark, William T. Smithers, George H. Murray, Paris T. Carlisle, Jr., and John W. Hering,—the first five being Democrats and the five last named being Republicans.

While this action may have been the wisest that could be devised at the time, it was extremely unpopular, especially in Kent county, and threw somewhat of a cloud over the convention from its start. The convention as organized, was composed of fourteen Republicans and sixteen Democrats, but it can be said that the gathering was as nearly non-partisan as such a body could be, and in very few instances did it divide on party lines. The members seemingly rid themselves of strong partisan feeling and applied themselves diligently to the formulation of a constitution that should be fair and just, and free from political rancor or prejudice.

The convention met in the State House in Dover on Tuesday, December 1, 1896, in the room now occupied by the State Senate. John Biggs of New Castle county was elected President, and Charles R. Jones of Sussex was elected Secretary. A week later the standing committees were appointed and the real work of the convention began. William C. Spruance was made chairman of the committee on the Judiciary, and by reason of his marked intellectuality and commanding legal ability was early recognized as the leader of the convention. Edward G. Bradford, as chairman of the committee on securing the purity of the ballot and as a member of the committees on the Legislature and Judiciary rendered most valuable service, and many of the most important changes made in the organic law were suggested and championed by him.

Charles F. Richards of Sussex, Dr. Ezekiel W. Cooper and Wilson T. Cavender of Kent, and Charles B. Evans, J. Wilkins Cooch and Martin B. Burris of New Castle County were active in the convention and by their painstaking attention to the work in hand made an impress upon the body.

The entire proceedings of the convention were dignified, and a general feeling of conservatism pervaded the membership. The work of the convention was well done. The task before it was not an easy one for it must be remembered that

the constitution then in force had been substantially unchanged for over sixty years, and grave questions presented themselves in fitting a constitution to a people who not only had quadrupled in population, but who in the rapid growth and progress that marked the latter half of the nineteenth century, had been transformed from a strictly agricultural community to a diversified State, with interests many and various.

Radical changes were made in the legislative branch of the state government. The new constitution provided that the House of Representatives should be composed of thirty-five members, one to be chosen every two years by the qualified voters in each of thirty-five districts whose boundaries were duly prescribed. New Castle County was divided into fifteen districts, Kent into ten districts and Sussex into ten districts. Of the New Castle districts, five were laid out within the city of Wilmington. The State was also divided into seventeen Senatorial districts, from each of which a Senator was to be chosen, seven in New Castle County, five in Kent and five in Sussex, two of the Senators to be chosen from the City of Wilmington. One half of the Senate to be elected every two years. Both Senators and Representatives to receive a compensation of five dollars per diem for each day of the regular session, not exceeding sixty days, and the same sum for a special or extra session not exceeding thirty days.

The presiding officer of each body to receive a per-diem of six dollars. Lotteries, the sale of lottery tickets, pool-selling and all other forms of gambling are prohibited. The General Assembly was expressly debarred from granting divorces, a practice that had grown into a grave evil, and all laws as to fences, estrays, ditches, school boundaries, and roads to be general laws and not by special enactment of the General Assembly. A special section prohibiting bribery of officials was inserted.

The supreme executive powers of the state are vested in a Governor who is elected by the people for a term of four years

from the third Tuesday of January next ensuing his election, and is not eligible for a third term. He is empowered to fill vacancies in elective offices until the next general election, but where the salary, fees and emoluments of office exceed the sum of five hundred dollars annually, the appointee must be confirmed by a majority of all the members of the Senate. The general power of removal from office is lodged in the Governor, upon the address of two-thirds of all the members elected to each House of the General Assembly. Every bill passed by both Houses must be approved by the Governor before it becomes a law. If disapproved by him, the bill is sent back and both Houses can override the Governor's veto by a three-fifths vote.

A Lieutenant Governor is provided for, who is chosen at the same time, in the same manner, for the same term and subject to the same provisions as the Governor. He is made President of the Senate but has no vote except on a tie. He succeeds to the governorship in the event of the death, disability or resignation of the Governor. The following State officers are made elective: Attorney General, Insurance Commissioner, State Treasurer and Auditor of Accounts, the first two being elected by the people for a term of four years and the latter two for two years. The following county officers are made elective: Prothonotary, Clerk of the Peace, Register of Wills, Recorder of Deeds, Register in Chancery and Clerk of the Orphans' Court. Each of the above to be elected for a term of four years. The offices of Sheriff and Coroner are continued as elective, the term of office being two years. A Sheriff is not eligible for immediate re-election.

Two important changes were made in the judiciary: One additional judge was provided for and the highest court of the State was changed, in name, from the Court of Errors and Appeals to the Supreme Court, provision being made for a clean-cut court of appeals, composed of judges who had not sat in the trial of the case in the lower court. There are six State judges all of whom must be learned in the law. One is

called Chancellor, one Chief Justice and the other four Associate Judges. The Chancellor, Chief Justice and one of the Associate Judges may be appointed from and reside in any part of the State. The other three Associate Judges may be appointed from any part of the State, but they shall be resident judges and one of them shall reside in each county. No more than three of the five law judges, in office at the same time, shall have been appointed from the same political party. All the judges are appointed for a term of twelve years, by the Governor, by and with the consent of a majority of all the members of the Senate.

The Chancellor shall hold the Court of Chancery ; and the Orphans' Court in each county shall consist of the Chancellor and the resident Associate Judge of the county. The Chief Justice and the four Associate Judges shall compose the Superior Court, the Court of General Sessions and the Court of Oyer and Terminer. Two shall constitute a quorum in all of the said courts except the court of Oyer and Terminer where three shall constitute a quorum. Justices of the Peace are appointed by the Governor, with the consent of the Senate, for a term of four years.

Radical changes were made in the election laws of the State. The payment of the county tax had, under the old constitution, been a prerequisite for voting. This was abolished ; the new qualification being a residence in the State of one year, a residence in the county of three months and for thirty days a resident of the hundred or election district, coupled with the requirement that each voter shall be registered. An educational requirement was introduced in that no person who shall attain the age of twenty-one years after the first day of January, A. D., 1900, or after that date shall become a citizen of the United States shall have the right to vote unless he shall be able to read the Constitution of the State of Delaware and write his name. Provisions were made for a uniform biennial registration of the names of all voters ; and the returns of all general elections are submitted to a board of canvass in each county



composed of two of the Supreme Court Judges. Heroic measures are provided for the prosecution of persons charged with bribing of electors or of wrongfully influencing election officers. Persons so charged are tried by the court, on information, without the intervention of a grand or petit jury, and the penalty is both fine and imprisonment, with disfranchisement for a term of years.

This constitution provided for the first time in the history of the State, for a Board of Pardons. Heretofore the pardoning power had been vested solely in the Governor. The Board of Pardons consists of the Chancellor, Lieutenant Governor, Secretary of State, State Treasurer and Auditor of Accounts and upon the recommendation of the Board the Governor shall have power to remit fines and forfeitures, and to grant reprieves, commutations of sentence and pardons, except in cases of impeachment.

A general incorporation act was provided for and the General Assembly was prohibited from passing special acts of incorporation, except to banks and municipal incorporations or for charitable, penal, reformatory or educational purposes.

The convention spoke out boldly on the subject of education by empowering the General Assembly to provide for the establishment and maintenance of a general and efficient system of free public schools, making the attendance of children compulsory if deemed expedient. The General Assembly is required to make an annual appropriation of not less than \$100,000 out of the general funds of the State, in addition to the income from the investments of the Public School Fund, for the benefit of the schools, to be equitably apportioned among the school districts of the State and the money so apportioned is to be used exclusively for the payment of teachers' salaries and for furnishing free text-books. No distinction shall be made on account of race or color, but separate schools for white and colored children shall be maintained.

A progressive step was taken when provision was made, in the new constitution, for a State Board of Agriculture, to be

composed of three commissioners, one of whom shall reside in each county. The commissioners are appointed by the Governor for a term of three years. The Board has power to abate and prevent, by such means as the General Assembly may prescribe, all contagious and infectious diseases of fruit trees, plants, vegetables, cereals, horses, cattle and other farm animals, and may devise plans for securing immigration to the State of industrious and useful settlers as they may deem expedient.

Provision was made for the General Assembly to submit from time to time to the vote of the qualified electors of the several districts of the State the question whether the manufacture and sale of intoxicating liquors shall be licensed or prohibited within the limits of the respective districts. And such a submission of the question shall be made by the General Assembly when a majority of all the members elected to each House of the General Assembly in any of the respective districts shall request the same. For this purpose Sussex County constitutes one district, Kent County one district, the City of Wilmington one district and the remaining part of New Castle County one district.

The matter of amending the Constitution was greatly simplified. An amendment having been agreed to by two-thirds of all the members elected to each House of the General Assembly, the Secretary of State shall cause such proposed amendment to be published three months before the next general election in at least three newspapers in each county, and if, by the General Assembly next after the said election, such proposed amendment shall be agreed to by two-thirds of all the members elected to each House, the same shall thereupon become part of the Constitution of the State.

A Constitutional Convention may be called when by a two-thirds vote of all the members elected to each House, the General Assembly shall provide for the submission to the qualified electors of the State the question, Shall such a Convention be called, and if upon such submission, a majority voting on said question shall decide in favor of a convention, the General

Assembly, at its next session, shall provide for the election of delegates to such convention at the next general election. Such convention shall consist of forty-one delegates, one to be chosen from each of the thirty-five representative districts and two delegates to be elected at large from each of the three counties of the State.

The constitution of 1897 bears date the fourth day of June of that year. All the members of the convention signed the same except John P. Donohoe, a member from New Castle County, who refused to sign because of his emphatic and pronounced objection to the abolition of trial by jury of those charged with offences against the elective franchise. The constitution, by a provision contained in the schedule attached thereto, took effect on the tenth day of June, A. D., 1897. It was not submitted to the voters of the State for approval, it being considered doubtful whether it would have received the approval or ratification of the people if it had been so submitted.

A special session of the General Assembly convened in January, 1898, the main purpose of its meeting being to pass such laws as were necessary to carry into effect the provisions of the new constitution. The most important enactment of the session was a General Incorporation law which contained very liberal provisions for the formation of corporations and which was designed to bring a large revenue to the State. The defeat of the Republicans in the campaign of 1896 resulting from the division that existed in their ranks had a sobering effect upon the party, and two years later both factions of the party united in nominating John H. Hoffecker as the candidate for Congress; Levin Irving Handy was renominated by the Democrats. Hoffecker was elected by a majority of 2513. At this election, for the first time, State Senators and State Representatives were chosen by districts instead of by counties as provided by the new constitution. The Democrats elected 9 Senators and the Republicans 8. The House stood 23 Republicans and 12 Democrats.

On the breaking out of the Spanish-American war in April, 1898, and the issuing of the call by President McKinley for volunteers, the General Assembly of Delaware, then in session, by joint resolution appropriated \$30,000 for mobilizing, arming and equipping her national guard, and giving to the members of the guard the necessary field training that had been neglected for several years.

On the 26th of April, 1898, the First Delaware Regiment, Colonel I. Pusey Wickersham commanding, was ordered into the field at Camp Ebe W. Tunnell, near Middletown, Delaware, the camp being named in honor of the then governor of the State. An inspection made at the camp on April 27th by Lieutenant Colonel Evan G. Boyd, Assistant Inspector General, showed an attendance as follows :

	<i>Officers.</i>	<i>Men.</i>
Field Staff and non-commissioned Staff	11	6
Drum Corps, First Regiment Infantry		22
Company A, Wilmington, Capt. Harry B. Carter	3	64
Company B, Milford, Capt. Wm. E. Lank	3	45
Company C, Wilmington, Capt. Albert F. Matlack	3	59
Company E, Wyoming, Capt. Charles A. Garton	3	41
Company F, Wilmington, Capt. John F. Brennan	3	42
Company G, Harrington, Capt. Wm. H. Franklin	3	52
Company H, New Castle, Capt. Edmund E. Rogers	2	55
Company I, Laurel, Capt. J. T. Osborne	3	52
Company K, Wilmington, Capt. Edwin E. Rutan	3	57
Total	37	495

The field officers of the regiment were Garrett J. Hart, Brigadier General and Adjutant General ; I. Pusey Wickersham, Colonel ; Charles M. Stevenson, Lieutenant Colonel ; Theodore Townsend, Major ; John M. Dunn, First Lieutenant and Adjutant ; James L. France, Major and Surgeon ; R. T. J. Barber, First Lieutenant and Assistant Surgeon ; Robert Pennington, Captain and Judge Advocate ; Harry V. Bootes, First Lieutenant and Quartermaster ; Charles G. Otwell, First Lieutenant and Inspector of Rifle Practice ; Clarence D. Sypherd, First Lieutenant and Paymaster, and Francis M. Munson, Captain and Chaplain.

After remaining at Camp Tunnell until August, the entire force having in the meantime been mustered in and turned over to the President for such duty as it might be called upon to perform, the Delaware regiment was ordered to join General Wade's division in Porto Rico, but this order being revoked, a second order directed the regiment to join the Second Army Corps, General William M. Graham commanding, at Camp George G. Meade, Middletown, Pennsylvania. Reaching that place, the regiment was assigned to the Third Brigade, Second Division, Brigadier General Nelson A. Cole commanding. Here it remained until peace was declared, and while the regiment was not destined to see active service, the soldierly bearing, good marching and discipline of the men so impressed the commanding officer, General Graham, that they were designated to act as an escort of honor to the President of the United States upon the occasion of his visit to the camp. The regiment was mustered out of service in its entirety, at the close of the war, after a brief but honorable career.

Adjutant General Hart, upon whom fell much of the responsibility of enlisting, equipping and mobilizing the regiment, is deserving of much praise for the valuable and patriotic services rendered by him to the State.

The General Assembly of 1899 was composed of 31 Republicans and 21 Democrats. The term of George Gray as United States Senator expiring on March 4, 1899, it fell to the lot of this legislature to elect his successor. The old contest between J. Edward Addicks represented by the Union Republicans, and the Regular Republicans was renewed with all the bitterness of the session of 1895. J. Edward Addicks succeeded in controlling a majority of the Republican members; on the first ballot the Republican votes were distributed as follows: J. Edward Addicks 15 votes, Henry A. DuPont 11 votes, William S. Hilles 2 votes. The Democratic members voted as follows: George Gray 15 votes, L. Irving Handy 5 votes, John G. Gray 1 vote.

During the session Mr. Addicks at no time received less



than 15 votes, and after holding that number for a month, his vote increased to 18, and on the last ballot on the last day of session he received 21 votes, as against 8 for Henry A. DuPont, 3 for Anthony Higgins, 14 for John Biggs and 4 for George Gray. Much excitement was caused on the last day of the session, March 13th, by three of the Democratic members voting for Mr. Addicks. They were Elisha H. Farlow, a State Senator from Sussex and James B. Clark and William F. King, Representatives. The air was full of rumors that a combination had been made between the Union Republicans and enough Democrats to secure the election of Mr. Addicks. When the three Democratic members cast their votes for Mr. Addicks loud denunciations were made, threats of bodily harm were indulged in, and there arose grave apprehensions of serious trouble. In the midst of the confusion, the hour for adjournment *sine die* arrived and the session ended in a deadlock, no Senator having been chosen. The Legislature at this session enacted no law of importance.

John H. Hoffecker died June 16th, 1900, while a member of Congress, and the vacancy occasioned by his death was filled at the next general election. The two Republican factions continued their separate organizations and the outlook for Republican success in 1900 was discouraging although in that year a full State ticket was to be elected. The Union Republicans held their State convention first; they nominated a full State ticket headed by George W. Marshall for Governor. The Regular Republicans followed later with their convention nominating Martin B. Burris for Governor. After much discussion both factions agreed upon one State ticket composed as follows: For Governor, John Hunn; for Lieutenant Governor, Philip L. Cannon; for Congress, Lewis Heisler Ball for the full term; and Walter O. Hoffecker for the unexpired term of his father, John H. Hoffecker. The two factions of the party were represented on the ballots as separate organizations. The Democratic candidates were as follows: for Governor, Peter J. Ford; for Lieutenant Governor, William

F. Hoey ; for Congress, full term, Alexander M. Daly ; short term, Edward Fowler. A stirring campaign followed, the national contest for President increasing the interest.

The Republicans were a unit for William McKinley, who had been renominated for President, and the followers of William J. Bryan, the Democratic nominee, were active and enthusiastic in his support, although an element in the Democratic party was opposed to Bryan on account of his financial views. During the campaign Mr. Bryan made a brief tour through the State, making speeches at three or four different points and attracting large audiences. The election in November showed a majority for the McKinley electors of 3672, and the Republican state ticket was elected by a majority of about 3500. The Republicans obtained control of both Houses of the General Assembly, the membership standing as follows: Senate, Republicans 9, Democrats 8; House of Representatives, Republicans 20, Democrats 15.

The General Assembly of 1901 consisted of 29 Republicans and 23 Democrats. The old factional fight was on in the ranks of the Republican party; two United States Senators were to be chosen, one to fill the vacancy caused by the expiration of the term of George Gray on March 4, 1899, and the other the seat of Richard R. Kenney expiring March 4, 1901. Mr. Addicks, being still in the fight, led the balloting with 16 votes, the other Republican votes being divided among five candidates. The Addicks adherents voted for him for both the long and short terms, and his vote never fell below 16, and on the concluding ballot on the last day of the session, March 8th, the Republican vote stood Addicks 22, Charles F. Richards 7. The 23 Democrats in the joint assembly voted for Willard Saulsbury. Again through the division in the Republican ranks, no one was elected and the session adjourned leaving Delaware unrepresented in the United States Senate.

Again in 1902 the Republicans, continuing as two political parties, succeeded in renominating Martin B. Burris for State Treasurer and Purnal B. Norman for State Auditor; both of

these gentlemen had been elected by the united vote of the Republicans in 1900. The party was not so fortunate in agreeing upon a candidate for Congress. Lewis Heisler Ball, an avowed Regular, who had been elected to Congress in 1900, was renominated in 1902 by the Regular Republicans, but the Union Republicans took a determined stand against the renomination of Dr. Ball, claiming that he was particularly distasteful to them, and at the convention of the Union Republicans, William Michael Byrne was named as their candidate for Congress. The Democratic party named Henry A. Houston, of Sussex County, as their congressional nominee. The election resulted in the success of Houston by the following vote: Houston 16,396, Byrne 12,998, Ball 8,028, Houston's plurality 3,398. The membership of the General Assembly was divided as follows: Senate, Republicans 10, Democrats 7; House of Representatives, Republicans 21, Democrats 14.

A long and exciting contest over the United States Senatorships occupied the time and attention of the General Assembly of 1903 from the middle of January to the second day of March. The Republicans were divided on the old factional lines. The friends of Mr. Addicks made a strong and determined fight to elect their favorite. The Regular Republicans were equally determined in their efforts to prevent the election of Mr. Addicks. Numerous candidates were voted for and the Addicks vote continued unbroken day after day. The contest finally came to an end by an agreement between the two factions that each faction was to be allowed to name its own candidate provided Mr. Addicks should retire from the contest. A conference was held which resulted in the naming of James Frank Allee for the full term and Lewis Heisler Ball for the short term, and on March 2d, 1903, at a joint meeting of the two houses of the General Assembly, Allee and Ball were duly chosen United States Senators by the following vote: J. Frank Allee 30, Willard Saulsbury 17, L. Heisler Ball 31, Richard R. Kenney 19.

The election of J. Frank Allee and Lewis Heisler Ball to

the Senatorships was in the interest of harmony. Mr. Allee had been the chief lieutenant of Mr. Addicks since the advent of the latter into Delaware politics, serving as chairman of the Union Republican State Committee. As a political organizer he was unexcelled. As the leader of the Union Republican forces in Kent and Sussex from 1895, he built up an organization that completely revolutionized the politics of those two counties and turned almost every election district over to the Republican party. Each succeeding election showed marked Republican gains.

Mr. Allee comes from good Delaware stock. While not trained in statecraft, he was brought up to habits of industry. One of the earliest of that family in the State was Abraham Allee, who married a sister of Doctor James Tilton; and Jacob Allee Killen, son of Chancellor Killen, set up one of the earliest presses at Dover, and printed the proceedings of the General Assembly as early as 1800. The father of J. Frank Allee is remembered as a watchmaker and jeweler, at Dover, who in after years, lived on a farm near Wyoming, a man of the strictest integrity, and respected and honored in business circles. He was for years the Secretary and Treasurer of the Delaware Railroad Company.

J. Frank Allee was born in Kent County, in 1857, and after acquiring the usual education afforded by the public schools, learned the trade of watch-making with his father. He succeeded the latter in business in Dover, and built up a good trade, whereby he supported his father, who became a confirmed invalid several years before his death. On the election of Anthony Higgins to the Senate in 1889, Mr. Allee became actively identified with Republican politics in Kent County, and early showed a decided aptness in political affairs. He was active, alert, and a good fighter. He was adroit in management, and won supporters by his indomitable energy and perseverance. These qualities made him the leader of the Union Republican party, and when Mr. Addicks found that he could not elect himself, it was but natural that he should



J. FRANK ALLEE.





throw his influence in favor of the election of his trusted lieutenant, the man who for ten years had stood by him with unfaltering devotion. In that way he became United States Senator.

During the four years that he served in that exalted position, he was true to himself, to his friends, and to his party. He accomplished much for his State, won the respect and regard of his Congressional associates, and gained the close friendship of President Roosevelt, whose policies he championed with splendid loyalty. When he was convinced, after the session of the General Assembly of 1905, that Mr. Addicks could never reach the Senate, he came out in an open, manly way, and announced that he owed his first allegiance to his party, that the claim of the party was paramount to the claim of any individual in the party. This was the entering wedge which led to the triumphant election of Henry A. DuPont to the senatorial vacancy a year later. It led to a final break with Mr. Addicks, and the latter has since shown the same narrow, bitter, vindictive feeling towards Mr. Allee, that has been repeatedly charged against Mr. Addicks by those who have exploited his nature and character in recent magazine and newspaper literature.

Dr. Lewis Heisler Ball, who was elected to the short senatorial term as the choice of the Regular Republicans, owed his election to his activity as a political manager. He came of sturdy Mill Creek Hundred stock, his ancestors having been among the earliest settlers in that Hundred. His father, John Ball, was a farmer, as were his father and grandfather before him, and while plain folks, they were people of the strictest integrity, and held the high regard of the community in which they lived. Dr. Ball was born at Milltown, September 21, 1861, and after an education obtained at the public schools, graduated at Delaware College in 1882, and afterwards studied medicine at the University of Pennsylvania, where he graduated with the degree of M. D. in 1885. Settling later at Faulkland, in Mill Creek Hundred, he has since followed the practice of medicine.

He early showed an inclination towards politics, serving as a member of the Republican committee from the Hundred in which he lived, afterwards as chairman of the county committee, and later as chairman of the Regular Republican State Committee. The services rendered in these places brought him into close touch with the political forces, and led to his rapid, and almost unprecedented political preferment in public stations. In 1898, he was nominated for the office of State Treasurer, and having received the united support of both factions of the Republican party was triumphantly elected. He served a full term, and two years later was re-nominated for the same office by the Regular Republicans. In the adjustment that followed between the two factions, he was made the nominee of both factions for Representative in Congress, and with the remainder of the Republican ticket, was elected. He served as Representative until March 4, 1903, when he took his seat in the United States Senate. His term as Senator terminated March 4, 1905. He has always been a staunch Regular Republican, and has given unwavering allegiance to that organization, serving uninterruptedly as a member of its county and state committees.

The campaign of 1904 opened with much bitter feeling between the factions in the Republican party. The convention of the Regular Republicans for the purpose of nominating a State ticket was held first, on August 9th, and resulted in the nomination of Dr. Joseph H. Chandler of Christiana Hundred, New Castle county, for Governor, and Horace G. Knowles of Wilmington for Representative in Congress. The Union Republican convention met at Dover, on August 23rd, and nominated, by acclamation, Henry C. Conrad of Wilmington for Governor, and Dr. Hiram R. Burton of Lewes for Congress. The Democratic convention, held on August 30th after a long and animated session nominated Caleb S. Pennewill of Dover for Governor and Edward D. Hearne of Georgetown for Congress.

The Republicans, knowing that with divided ranks the

Democratic ticket would win, set about the work of uniting upon one State ticket, acceptable to both factions. After much parleying the two Republican State committees agreed upon Preston Lea of Wilmington as the candidate for Governor, and it was ordered that his name should be placed on the official ballot by both the Regular and Union Republican parties. Mr. Conrad resigned as the Union Republican nominee for Governor, but Dr. Chandler the Regular nominee, refused to resign, and his name appeared on the official ballot, but not as the nominee of the Regulars, and at the election he received 802 votes, all of which were polled in New Castle County. The contest in November resulted in the election of Preston Lea as Governor by the following vote, Lea 22,532; Pennewill 19,780; Chandler 802. Dr. Hiram R. Burton became the nominee of both Republican factions for Congress, by arrangement of the two State committees, after the voluntary retirement of Mr. Knowles, who had been nominated by the Regulars; and at the election Dr. Burton was elected over Mr. Hearne, the Democratic nominee, by a majority of 3,960.

The General Assembly of 1905 showed a political division as follows, Senate, Republicans 10, Democrats 7; House of Representatives, Republicans 21, Democrats 14. The Senate was not fully organized for three weeks, the Union Republicans nominated Alvan B. Conner for Speaker, and the Regulars nominated George W. Sparks. The Democrats held aloof, voting for a candidate of their own. Mr. Conner held a majority of the Republican votes from the beginning, and was, on January 26th, elected Speaker by the votes of all the Republican members. The House of Representatives organized without serious difficulty by the election of William D. Denney as Speaker.

The term of Lewis Heisler Ball as United States Senator expiring on March 4, 1905, it fell to the lot of this Assembly to choose his successor. The balloting began on January 27th, no caucus of the whole body of Republicans having been held

previously. Mr. Addicks, who had been making a fight for the senatorship since 1892, controlled, at the beginning of the balloting at this session, all of the Republican votes from Kent and Sussex counties, a total of 23. In all previous contests his vote had stood unitedly by him, without break or division, the slogan being for years, "Addicks or nobody." After three weeks of balloting, from day to day, with Mr. Addicks leading, some of the followers of the latter began to show signs of discontent, and announced their intention of voting for some one other than Mr. Addicks. On February 17th six of the Addicks followers broke away from him, and after that date Mr. Addicks was never able to get more than fifteen votes in any meeting of the joint assembly. His fifteen friends however stood by him until the end of the session, thereby preventing an election. During the session scattering votes were given to several Republicans. On two ballots on March 15th Harry A. Richardson, of Dover, received sixteen votes, and on several ballots Henry A. Du Pont received fifteen votes. On the last day of the session, March 23rd, the final ballot for Senator resulted as follows: John Edward Addicks, 15; Henry A. Du Pont, 14; Willard Saulsbury, 13; James H. Hughes, 8; T. Coleman Du Pont, 1; Simeon S. Pennewill, 1; and no one having received the required constitutional majority, the session of 1905 adjourned without electing a senator.

Owing to the failure to elect a senator to succeed L. Heisler Ball, whose term expired March 4, 1905, a vacancy ensued from the latter date, J. Frank Allee remaining the only representative in the United States Senate from Delaware. This continued until May, 1906, when Governor Lea received assurances from the Republican members of the General Assembly that they would go into caucus, and that whoever should receive the caucus nomination would be voted for by the Republican members of the General Assembly, thereby insuring the election of a United States Senator. Acting upon these assurances, a call was issued by Governor Lea, convening the General Assembly in special session on May 29, 1906.



The two houses met in pursuance of that call on the above day, and then adjourned until June 12th. A caucus of the Republican members was held on the evening of June 11th, which resulted in the selection of Col. Henry A. Du Pont as the caucus nominee by the following vote: Henry A. Du Pont 20 votes, John Edward Addicks 10 votes, and Herbert H. Ward 1 vote.

On the next day, June 12th, the General Assembly met in joint session, and the first ballot taken resulted in the election of Henry A. Du Pont, who received 28 votes, the Democratic members of the Assembly voting blank. Col. Du Pont's election was for the unexpired term of L. Heisler Ball, the latter having retired from the Senate on March 4, 1905.

The following table shows the gradual increase in population from the first census in 1790 to the twelfth census in 1900 :

## POPULATION FROM 1790 TO 1900 INCLUSIVE

Census.	New Castle.	Kent.	Sussex.	State.
1790	19,686	18,920	20,488	59,094
1800	23,361	19,554	19,358	64,273
1810	24,429	20,495	27,750	72,674
1820	27,899	20,793	24,057	72,749
1830	29,720	19,913	27,115	76,748
1840	33,120	19,872	25,093	78,085
1850	42,780	22,816	25,936	91,532
1860	54,797	27,804	29,615	112,216
1870	63,515	29,804	31,696	125,015
1880	77,716	32,874	36,008	146,608
1890	97,182	32,664	38,647	168,493
1900	109,697	32,762	42,276	184,735

## DELAWARE CIVIL LIST.

List of Governors of New Castle, Kent and Sussex prior to the formation of Delaware as a State in 1776.

*Dutch Rule.*

Cornelius Jacobsen May	1624-1625	David Peterson De Vries	1632-1633
William Van Hulst	1625-1626	Wouter Van Twiller	1633-1638
Peter Minuit	1626-1632	Sir William Kieft	1638-1638

*Swedish Rule.*

Peter Minuit	1638-1641	Peter Hollandaer	1641-1643
	John Printz	1643-1647	

*Dutch Rule.*

Peter Stuyvesant	1647-1653
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*Swedish Rule.*

John Pappegoya	1653-1654	John Claude Rysing	1654-1655
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*Dutch Rule.*

Peter Stuyvesant	1655-1655	Jacob Alrichs	1657-1657
Dirck Smidt	1655-1655	Gregorius Van Dyck	1657-1658
John Paul Jaquet	1655-1655	William Beekman	1658-1659
Andreas Hudde	1655-1657	Alexander D' Hinoyossa	1659-1664

*English Rule.*

Richard Nichols	1664-1664	Francis Lovelace	1667-1668
Robert Needham	1664-1667	John Carr	1668-1673

*Dutch Rule.*

Anthony Colve	1673-1673	Peter Alrichs	1673-1674
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*English Rule.*

Edmond Andros	1674-1674	John Collier	1676-1677
Edmund Cantwell	1674-1676	Christopher Billop	1677-1681
	Anthony Brockholst	1681-1681	

*Under the Penn Government.*

William Penn, Proprietor	1681-1718
William Markham, Deputy	1681-1684
Thomas Lloyd, President of Council	1684-1684
William Clayton, President of Council	1684-1685
Thomas Holme, President of Council	1685-1685
William Clarke, President of Council	1685-1686
Arthur Cooke, President of Council	1686-1686
John Simcock, President of Council	1686-1686
Francis Harrison, President of Council	1686-1686
Arthur Cooke, President of Council	1686-1686
John Simcock, President of Council	1686-1687
William Clarke, President of Council	1687-1688
Thomas Lloyd, Commissioner	1688-1688
Robert Turner, Commissioner	1688-1688
Arthur Cooke, Commissioner	1688-1688
John Simcock, Commissioner	1688-1688
John Eckley, Commissioner	1688-1688
John Blackwell, Lieutenant-Governor	1688-1690
Thomas Lloyd, President of Council	1690-1691
William Markham, Deputy-Governor	1691-1693

Benjamin Fletcher, Deputy-Governor	1693-1693	
William Markham, Deputy-Governor	1693-1694	
John Goodson, Deputy-Governor	1694-1694	
Samuel Carpenter, Deputy-Governor	1694-1698	
William Markham, Lieutenant-Governor	1698-1699	
Andrew Hamilton, Lieutenant-Governor	1699-1702	
Edward Shippen, President of Council	1702-1704	
John Evans, Lieutenant-Governor	1704-1709	
Charles Gooding, Lieutenant-Governor	1709-1717	
William Keith, Lieutenant-Governor	1717-1726	
Patrick Gordon, Lieutenant-Governor	1726-1727	
John Penn,	} Proprietaries	1727-1775
Thomas Penn,		
Richard Penn,		
James Logan, President of Council	1736-1738	
George Thomas, Lieutenant-Governor	1738-1747	
Anthony Palmer, President of Council	1747-1748	
James Hamilton, Lieutenant-Governor	1748-1754	
Robert Hunter Morris, Lieutenant-Governor	1754-1756	
William Denny, Lieutenant-Governor	1756-1759	
James Hamilton, Lieutenant-Governor	1759-1763	
John Penn, Lieutenant-Governor	1763-1771	
James Hamilton, President of Council	1771-1775	

*Delegates to Stamp Act Congress, 1765.*

Thomas McKean, Caesar Rodney.

*Signers of the Declaration of Independence.*

Caesar Rodney, George Read, Thomas McKean.

*Signers of the Constitution of the United States.*

George Read, Gunning Bedford, Jr., Jacob Broom,  
John Dickinson, Richard Bassett.

*Signers of the Articles of Confederation.*

Thomas McKean, John Dickinson, Nicholas Van Dyke.

*Delegates to the Continental Congress from 1774 to 1788.*

Thomas McKean	1774-76, and from 1778 to 1783
George Read	1774-77 ; re-elected in 1779, but declined to serve.
Caesar Rodney	1774-78, and from 1783 to 1784
John Dickinson	1776-77, and from 1779 to 1780
John Evans	1776-77
Nicholas Van Dyke	1777-82
James Sykes	1777-78
Thomas Rodney	1781-83, and from 1785 to 1788
Philemon Dickinson	1782-83

Samuel Wharton	1782-83
James Tilton	1783-85
Eleazer McComb	1782-84
Gunning Bedford, Jr.,	1783-86
John Vining	1784-86
John McKinly	1784-85
Henry Latimer	1784-85
Samuel Patterson	1784-85
John Patten	1785-86
William Peery	1785-86
Nathaniel Mitchell	1786-88
Gunning Bedford	1786-87
Dyre Kearney	1787-88

*President of Continental Congress.*

Thomas McKean, elected July 10, 1781.

*Members of the Council of Safety, 1776.*

New Castle County.	Kent County.	Sussex County.
James Latimer	Caesar Rodney	David Hall
John McKinly	James Sykes	Jacob Moore
Abram Robinson	Thomas Collins	John Wiltbank
John Lea	John Baning	John Rodney
Nicholas Van Dyke	Richard Bassett	James Rench

*Privy Counceilers.*

Thomas McDonough	1777	Major James Black	1785
George Latimer	1777	Col. Charles Pope	1786
George Evans	1777	Eleazer McComb	1787
Eleazer McComb	1779	Allen McLane	1788
James Raymond	1779	Gunning Bedford, Sr.	1790
Isaac Griffith	1781	George Wilson	1790
Samuel Patterson	1783	Manlove Emerson	1790
James Booth	1783	Nathaniel Mitchell	1792
John Lea	1783	George McCall	1792
James Sykes	1786		

*Attorney-Generals of Delaware.*

Gunning Bedford	1778-1790	Alfred R. Wooten	1860-1864
Nicholas Ridgely	1790-1801	Jacob Moore	1864-1869
Nicholas Vandyke	1801-1806	Chas. B. Lore	1869-1874
Outerbridge Horsey	1806-1810	John B. Penington	1874-1879
Thomas Clayton	1810-1815	George Gray	1879-1885
James Rogers	1815-1830	John H. Paynter	1885-1887
Robert Frame	1830-1835	John Biggs	1887-1892
James Rogers	1835-1840	John R. Nicholson	1892-1895
Edward W. Gilpin	1840-1850	Robert C. White	1895-1901
Willard Saulsbury	1850-1855	Herbert H. Ward	1901-1905
George P. Fisher	1855-1860	Robert H. Richards	1905-

*Adjutant Generals.*

Samuel White	1807-1808	Mark G. Lofland	1862-1863
Jesse Green	1808-1814	S. M. Harrington, Jr.	1863-1863
John Mitchell	1814-1814	Edward D. Porter	1863-1875
Robert Dill	1814-1814	William Reynolds	1875-1877
Cornelius P. Comegys	1814-1816	William S. McCaulley	1877-1879
William Hill Wells	1816-1820	James Parke Postles	1879-1887
James Rogers	1820-1827	Richard R. Kenney	1887-1891
William Green	1827-1833	Garrett J. Hart	1891-1895
Thomas Stockton	1833-1833	Samuel A. Macallister,	1895-1895
John McClung	1833-	Garrett J. Hart	1895-1901
George Davis	1862-1862	I. Pusey Wickersham	1901-

*State Treasurers.*

Samuel Patterson	1771-1778	William Cannon	1849-1851
Dr. James Tilton	1778-1781	John R. Sudler	1851-1855
Joshua Gordon	1781-1786	William J. Clarke	1855-1855
John Gordon	1786-1789	Samuel B. Hitch	1855-1861
Francis Maury	1789-1791	Loxley R. Jacobs	1861-1863
Robert Clarke	1791-1792	Lewellyn Tharp	1863-1865
Thomas Sipple	1792-1794 -	William J. Clarke	1865-1867
John Clark	1794-1799	Robert H. Davis	1867-1871
Dr. Henry Molleston	1799-1808	Thomas B. Giles	1871-1875
Samuel Paynter	1808-1813	Robert J. Reynolds	1875-1879
Cornelius P. Comegys	1813-1821	John M. Houston	1879-1883
William W. Green	1821-1824	William Herbert	1883-1891
Cornelius P. Comegys	1824-1830	Wilbur H. Burnite	1891-1895
Peter S. Parker	1830-1835	Charles H. Atkins	1895-1897
Elijah Cannon	1835-1839	Willie M. Ross	1897-1899
William D. Waples	1839-1841	Lewis Heisler Ball	1899-1901
Gardiner H. Wright	1841-1843	Martin B. Burris	1901-1905
James S. Buckmaster	1843-1845	Thomas N. Rawlins	1905-
Jacob Faris	1845-1849		

*Insurance Commissioners.*

John R. McFee	1879-1883	Peter K. Meredith	1893-1897
Henry C. Douglass	1883-1885	Edward Fowler	1897-1901
Nathan Pratt	1885-1889	George W. Marshall	1901-
Isaac N. Fooks	1889-1893		

*Secretaries of State.*

James Booth	1778-1799	William Warner	1808-1808
Abraham Ridgely	1799-1802	Thomas Clayton	1808-1810
William B. Shields	1802-1802	John Barratt	1810-1811
John Fisher	1802-1805	John Fisher	1811-1812
William Hazzard	1805-1805	Willard Hall	1812-1814
Peter Robinson	1805-1808	Peter Robinson	1814-1817



Henry M. Ridgely	1817-1820	James R. Lofland	1855-1859
Henry M. Ridgely	1820-1821	Edward Ridgely	1859-1863
Willard Hall	1821-1822	Nathaniel B. Smithers	1863-1863
Peter Robinson	1822-1823	Sam'l M. Harrington, Jr.	1863-1865
Henry H. Wells	1823-1824	Custis W. Wright	1865-1871
Henry M. Ridgely	1824-1826	John H. Paynter	1871-1875
John M. Clayton	1826-1828	Ignatius C. Grubb	1875-1879
Sam'l M. Harrington	1828-1830	James L. Wolcott	1879-1883
Caleb S. Layton	1830-1833	William F. Causey	1883-1887
James Rogers	1833-1835	John P. Saulsbury	1887-1889
W. Hemphill Jones	1835-1836	John F. Saulsbury	1889-1891
Caleb S. Layton	1836-1836	David T. Marvel	1891-1893
John Brinckloe	1836-1836	John D. Hawkins	1893-1895
Robert Frame	1836-1837	Nathaniel B. Smithers	1895-1895
Charles Marim	1837-1841	J. Harvey Whiteman	1895-1897
John W. Houston	1841-1845	William H. Boyce	1897-1897
John Wales	1845-1846	James H. Hughes	1897-1901
George P. Fisher	1846-1847	Caleb R. Layton	1901-1905
Daniel M. Bates	1847-1851	Joseph L. Cahall	1905-
Alfred R. Robinson	1851-1855		

*Auditors of Accounts.*

Eleazer Macomb	1787-1793	Aaron B. Marvel	1857-1861
Thomas Montgomery	1793-1807	William M. Hamilton	1861-1863
Peter Caverly	1807-1816	Andrew J. Calley	1863-1865
Joseph B. Harris	1816-1820	Robert G. Ellegood	1865-1867
John M. Clayton	1820-1824	Robert Lambdin	1867-1871
Ebenezer Blackiston	1824-1826	Robert G. Ellegood	1871-1875
Spencer Williams	1826-1832	Nathan Pratt	1875-1879
Jacob Biddle	1832-1835	John F. Staats	1879-1883
George S. Adkins	1835-1839	Jesse L. Long	1883-1887
Joseph L. Harper	1839-1841	James H. Boyce	1887-1891
Simon Spearman	1841-1845	John P. Dulaney	1891-1895
Abraham Staats	1845-1849	Beniah L. Lewis	1895-1899
Hiram W. McColley	1849-1851	John A. Lingo	1899-1900
Luther Swiggett	1851-1854	Isaac N. Fooks	1900-1901
George B. Dickson	1854-1855	Purnal B. Norman	1901-1905
William T. Alrichs	1855-1857	George H. Dick	1905-

*United States Senators.*

George Read	from March	4, 1789	to September 18, 1793
Richard Bassett	March	4, 1789	March 4, 1793
Henry Latimer	February	7, 1795	February 28, 1801
John Vining	March	4, 1793	January 19, 1798
Samuel White	February	28, 1801	November 4, 1809
Joshua Clayton	January	19, 1798	August 11, 1798
William Hill Wells	March	17, 1799	November 13, 1804

James A. Bayard	from November 13, 1804	to May 28, 1813
Outerbridge Horsey	January 12, 1810	March 4, 1821
William Hill Wells	May 28, 1813	March 4, 1817
Caesar A. Rodney	January 12, 1822	January 8, 1824
Nicholas Van Dyke	March 4, 1817	November 8, 1826
Thomas Clayton	January 8, 1824	March 4, 1827
Daniel Rodney	November 8, 1826	January 12, 1827
Henry M. Ridgely	January 12, 1827	March 4, 1829
Louis McLane	March 4, 1827	January 7, 1830
Arnold Naudain	January 7, 1830	June 17, 1836
Richard H. Bayard	June 17, 1836	March 4, 1845
John M. Clayton	March 4, 1829	January 9, 1837
Thomas Clayton	January 9, 1837	March 4, 1847
Presley Spruance	March 4, 1847	March 4, 1853
John M. Clayton	March 4, 1845	February 23, 1849
John Wales	February 23, 1849	March 4, 1851
John M. Clayton	March 4, 1853	November 19, 1856
Joseph P. Comegys	November 19, 1856	January 14, 1857
Martin W. Bates	January 14, 1857	March 4, 1859
James A. Bayard	March 4, 1851	January 29, 1864
Willard Saulsbury	March 4, 1859	March 4, 1871
George Read Riddle	January 29, 1864	April 5, 1867
Eli Saulsbury	March 4, 1881	March 4, 1889
James A. Bayard	April 5, 1867	March 4, 1869
Thomas F. Bayard	March 4, 1869	January 18, 1885
George Gray	January 18, 1885	March 4, 1899
Anthony Higgins	March 4, 1889	March 4, 1895
Richard R. Kenney	January 20, 1897	March 4, 1901
James Frank Allee	March 4, 1903	March 4, 1907
Lewis Heisler Ball	March 4, 1903	March 4, 1905
Henry A. DuPont	June 12, 1906	
Harry A. Richardson	March 4, 1907	

*Representatives in Congress.*

John Vining	1792-1796	Kensy Johns	1828-1830
James A. Bayard	1796-1803	James A. Bayard	1828-1830
Caesar A. Rodney	1803-1805	John J. Milligan	1830-1838
James A. Bayard	1805-1806	Thomas Robinson, Jr.	1838-1840
James Broom	1806-1808	George B. Rodney	1840-1844
Nicholas Van Dyke	1808-1810	John W. Houston	1844-1850
Henry M. Ridgely	1810-1812	George Read Riddle	1850-1854
Thomas Clayton	1812-1815	Elisha D. Cullen	1854-1856
Thomas Cooper	1815-1817	William G. Whitely	1856-1860
Louis McLane	1817-1820	George P. Fisher	1860-1862
Caesar A. Rodney	1820-1822	Nathaniel B. Smithers	1863-1864
Daniel Rodney	1823-1827	John A. Nicholson	1864-1868
Louis McLane	1827-1828	Benjamin T. Biggs	1868-1872

James R. Lofland	1872-1874	L. Irving Handy	1896-1898
James Williams	1874-1878	John H. Hoffecker	1898-1900
Edward L. Martin	1878-1882	Walter O. Hoffecker	1900-1900
Charles B. Lore	1882-1886	L. Heisler Ball	1900-1902
John B. Penington	1886-1890	Henry A. Houston	1902-1904
John W. Causey	1890-1894	Hiram R. Burton	1904-
Jonathan S. Willis	1894-1896		

*Representatives to Foreign Countries Appointed from the State of Delaware.*

James A. Bayard, Minister Plenipotentiary, France, February 19, 1801.

James A. Bayard, Minister Plenipotentiary and Envoy Extraordinary, Treaty of St. Petersburg, April 17, 1813.

James A. Bayard, Minister Plenipotentiary and Envoy Extraordinary, Treaty of Ghent, January 18, 1814.

Caesar A. Rodney, appointed to visit Buenos Ayres and Montevideo for obtaining accurate information respecting the conflict between Spain and her colonies, July 18, 1817.

Caesar A. Rodney, Minister Plenipotentiary, Buenos Ayres, January 27, 1823.

Louis McLane, Minister Plenipotentiary and Envoy Extraordinary, Great Britain, April 18, 1829.

Thomas M. Rodney, Consul Matanzas, May 24, 1842.

William Penn Chandler, Consul Puerto Cabello, Venezuela, February 20, 1845.

Louis McLane, Minister Plenipotentiary and Envoy Extraordinary, Great Britain, 1845.

Richard H. Bayard, Charge d'Affairs, Belgium, December 10, 1850.

Dr. Thomas Worrell, Consul, Matanzas.

Evan Young, Consul, Matanzas.

Hugh Martin, Consul, Matanzas, 1858.

George W. S. Nicholson, Charge d'Affairs, Tunis, 1859.

Enoch J. Smithers, Consul, Scio; Consul, Smyrna, 1867; Consul, Smyrna, 1868; Consul, Chinkiang, China, 1869; Consul, Shanghai, Tiensin, 1887.

John J. Henry, Consul-General, March 11, 1863.

William W. Holden, Minister Resident, San Salvador, 1866.

General Alfred T. A. Torbert, Minister Resident, San Salvador, 1869; Consul-General, Havana, 1871; Consul-General, Paris, 1873.

William J. Black, Consul, Nuremburg, 1885.

William B. Herbert, United States Marshal, Pekin, 1885.

Henry C. Carpenter, Commercial Agent to Furth, Bavaria, 1893.

Horace G. Knowles, Consul, Bordeaux, France, 1889.

Thomas F. Bayard, Ambassador to Court of St. James, 1903.

Charles W. Whiley, Jr., Consul, St. Etienne, France, 1893.

John C. Higgins, Consul, Dundee, Scotland, 1897.

Samuel A. Macallister, Consul, Barbadoes, 1897.

Horace G. Knowles, Minister Roumania and Servia, 1907.

*Members of Council Under Penn, New Castle County.*

- 1683 William Markham, Edmund Cantwell, John Moll.
- 1684 William Welch, Edmund Cantwell, John Cann.
- 1685 Edward Green.
- 1686 John Cann, Peter Alrich.
- 1687 John Cann, Peter Alrich.
- 1688 John Cann, Peter Alrich, Johannes de Haes.
- 1689 Peter Alrich, Johannes de Haes.
- 1690 Johannes de Haes, John Cann.
- 1692 John Cann, Richard Halliwell.
- 1693 John Cann.
- 1695 Richard Halliwell, John Donaldson, John Williams.
- 1696 John Donaldson.
- 1697 Peter Alrich, Richard Halliwell.
- 1698 Richard Halliwell, John Donaldson.
- 1699 Richard Halliwell.
- 1700 Richard Halliwell, Robert French, John Donaldson, Joseph Yeates.

*Members of Council Under Penn, Kent County.*

- 1683 Francis Whitwell, John Hilliard, John Richardson.
- 1684 Francis Whitwell, William Southerbe, John Hilliard.
- 1685 William Southerbe, William Fframpton.
- 1686 William Fframpton.
- 1687 John Curtis, Griffith Jones.
- 1688 Griffith Jones.
- 1689 John Curtis, Griffith Jones.
- 1690 John Curtis, Griffith Jones.
- 1691 John Curtis.
- 1692 Richard Wilson.
- 1695 John Brinkloe, Richard Wilson, Griffith Jones.
- 1696 John Brinkloe, John Donaldson.
- 1697 Griffith Jones, John Curtis.
- 1698 John Curtis, William Rodney.
- 1699 William Rodney, Richard Wilson.
- 1700 John Walker, Henry Molleston, Thomas Bedwell.

*Members of Council Under Penn, Sussex County.*

- 1683 William Clark, John Roads, Edward Southrin.
- 1684 Luke Watson, Edward Southrin, William Clark.
- 1685 John Roads, William Darvall, Luke Watson.
- 1686 Luke Watson, John Roads, William Clark, William Darvall.
- 1687 William Darvall.
- 1688 William Darvall, Luke Watson.
- 1689 Luke Watson, John Hill.
- 1690 William Clarke, Luke Watson.
- 1693 William Clark.
- 1695 William Clark, Thomas Pemberton, Robert Clifton.

- 1696 William Clark, John Hill.  
1697 William Clark, John Hill.  
1698 William Clark, John Hill.  
1699 William Clark, John Hill.  
1700 Samuel Preston, John Hill, Thomas Ffenwick.

*State Senators from New Castle County.*

- 1777 George Read, Nicholas Van Dyke, Richard Cantwell, Peter Hyatt.  
1778 Samuel Patterson.  
1779 Richard Cantwell.  
1780 Thomas Macdonough.  
1781 John Dickinson, Peter Hyatt.  
1782 Isaac Grantham.  
1783 George Read, Thomas Macdonough.  
1784 George Craighead.  
1786 Nicholas Van Dyke.  
1787 Thomas Macdonough.  
1788 Gunning Bedford, Thomas Kean.  
1790 Alexander Porter.  
1791 Nehemiah Tilton, Archibald Alexander.  
1793 Robert Haughey, Archibald Alexander.  
1794 Isaac Grantham, Thomas Kean.  
1795 John Stockton.  
1796 John James, Alexander Porter, Archibald Alexander.  
1798 Archibald Alexander, John James, Edward Roche.  
1799 Isaac Grantham.  
1800 Archibald Alexander, Peter Brynberg, Thomas Fitzgerald, John Bird.  
1801 Robert Maxwell.  
1802 John Bird.  
1803 John Way.  
1804 Thomas Fitzgerald, William Cooch.  
1806 John Way, George Clark.  
1807 Thomas Perkins.  
1808 John Merritt, John Way, John Lockwood.  
1810 Andrew Reynolds.  
1811 Francis Haughey.  
1812 John Way, Samuel H. Black.  
1814 Abraham Staats.  
1815 Caesar A. Rodney.  
1816 Nicholas Van Dyke, George Clark.  
1818 Andrew Gray, Samuel H. Black.  
1819 Samuel H. Black, Victor Du Pont.  
1820 Jacob Vandegrift.  
1821 Charles Thomas.  
1822 William Weldon.  
1823 John Erwin.  
1824 Henry Whitely.



- 1825 Christopher Vandegrift.
- 1826 Joseph England.
- 1828 Thomas Deakyne, John Harlan.
- 1829 William Seal.
- 1830 William T. Read, Jacob Alrichs.
- 1831 John Sutton.
- 1832 James Booth, Richard H. Bayard, Thomas W. Handy.
- 1834 Thomas W. Handy, John D. Dilworth, Archibald Hamilton.
- 1836 William Herdman.
- 1837 Christopher Brooks.
- 1838 Thomas Deakyne.
- 1840 Charles I. Du Pont.
- 1842 David McAllister.
- 1844 Mahlon Betts.
- 1846 John D. Turner, Samuel Burnham.
- 1848 James H. Hoffecker.
- 1850 Bassett Ferguson, William Smith.
- 1852 Charles I. Du Pont.
- 1854 Archibald Armstrong, Sewell C. Biggs.
- 1856 Abraham Boyce.
- 1858 Charles T. Polk, David W. Gemmell.
- 1860 John R. Tatum.
- 1862 John P. Bellville, John F. Williamson.
- 1864 Isaac S. Elliot.
- 1866 Curtis B. Ellison, John G. Jackson.
- 1868 Charles Gooding.
- 1870 Allen V. Lesley, Leonard G. Vandegrift.
- 1872 Leander F. Riddle.
- 1874 James H. Ray, Henry Davis.
- 1876 Harry Sharpley.
- 1878 J. Wilkins Cooch, Charles H. McWhorter.
- 1880 Edward Betts.
- 1882 Alexander B. Cooper, Swithin Chandler.
- 1884 Charles H. McWhorter.
- 1886 Calvin W. Crossen, Colin Ferguson.
- 1888 John P. Donohue.
- 1890 John Pilling, James McMullin.
- 1892 John Pyle.
- 1894 Samuel Alrichs, Robert J. Hanby.
- 1896 John Pyle.
- 1898 Charles H. Salmon, George M. D. Hart, Samuel M. Knox, Webster Blakely, James M. Shakespeare, Robert McFarlin.
- 1900 Francis J. McNulty, Benjamin A. Groves, Henry C. Ellison.
- 1902 George W. Sparks, Thomas J. Sterling, Artemas Smith, John A. Latta.
- 1904 Thomas M. Monaghan, John M. Mendinhall, David C. Rose.
- 1906 George W. Sparks, John H. Miller, John W. Morrison, Edward Hart.

*State Senators from Kent County.*

- 1776 Thomas Collins, James Sykes, Richard Bassett.  
1777 John Baning, Richard Bassett.  
1779 Thomas Collins.  
1780 John Cook.  
1781 John Baning, Thomas Collins.  
1782 Richard Bassett.  
1783 Caesar Rodney.  
1784 Vincent Lockerman, Silas Snow.  
1785 James Tilton.  
1786 John Baning.  
1787 John Cook.  
1788 Nicholas Ridgely.  
1790 John Gordon.  
1791 Fenwick Fisher, James Raymond.  
1793 John Vining, Edward White, James Morris.  
1794 James Sykes, Isaac Davis, George Wilson.  
1795 Joseph Miller.  
1796 Isaac Davis, George Cummins.  
1798 George Cummins, James Sykes, Isaac Davis.  
1799 Isaac Davis.  
1800 James Raymond, John Vining, James Sykes.  
1802 George Cummins.  
1803 George Hewitt.  
1804 James Sykes, George Cummins.  
1806 George Truitt.  
1807 James Sykes.  
1808 Thomas Clayton, George Cummins.  
1810 James Sykes.  
1811 George Cummins.  
1812 John Lockwood, Andrew Barrett, James Morris.  
1814 George Cummins.  
1815 Henry Molleston.  
1816 Jacob Stout, George Cummins.  
1818 Henry Molleston.  
1819 Jacob Stout, Enoch Joyce.  
1820 George Cummins, John Mitchell.  
1821 Thomas Clayton, Manlove Hayes.  
1822 Willard Hall.  
1823 William W. Morris.  
1824 Charles Polk.  
1825 Presley Spruance, Jr.  
1826 John Brinckloe.  
1828 Presley Spruance, Joseph G. Oliver.  
1829 William Johnson.  
1830 Dr. James P. Lofland.

- 1831 Thomas Wainwright.
- 1832 Joseph Smithers, Charles Polk.
- 1834 Charles Polk, Presley Spruance, Jr.
- 1836 Elias Naudain.
- 1838 William Tharp, Charles Polk.
- 1840 Presley Spruance.
- 1842 William Roe, Joseph Smithers.
- 1844 George Fisher.
- 1846 Presley Spruance, William W. Morris.
- 1848 Levin H. Adams, William Temple.
- 1850 William Temple.
- 1852 Daniel Curry.
- 1854 William Collins, Moses Harrington.
- 1855 Dr. Isaac Jump.
- 1856 Thomas J. Morse.
- 1858 Wilson L. Cannon, Alexander Johnson.
- 1860 John Green.
- 1862 Gove Saulsbury, Thomas Cahall.
- 1864 John H. Bewley.
- 1866 James W. Minors, John W. Hall.
- 1868 Thomas H. Denney.
- 1870 John Mustard, Curtis S. Watson.
- 1872 William M. Shakespeare, J. Frank Denney.
- 1874 Henry B. Fiddeman, William Sapp.
- 1876 Charles J. Harrington.
- 1878 Caleb S. Pennewill.
- 1880 Samuel B. Cooper.
- 1882 Samuel D. Roe.
- 1884 William H. Cooper.
- 1886 Wilson T. Cavender, John E. Collins, Dr. Beniah L. Lewis.
- 1888 Alden B. Richardson.
- 1890 James Williams, John W. Hall.
- 1892 Thomas T. Lacey, William T. Watson.
- 1894 John W. Fennimore, Hezekiah Harrington.
- 1896 Samuel K. Meredith.
- 1898 J. Frank Allee, Stephen Slaughter, Robert H. Lewis, S. John Abbott.
- 1900 James R. Clements, George D. Harrington.
- 1902 Thomas C. Moore, J. Frank Allee, Alvin B. Conner.
- 1904 James C. Reed, Remsen C. Barnard, John M. Houston.
- 1906 Alvin B. Conner, Thomas C. Moore, Remsen C. Barnard, William T. Jester.

*State Senators from Sussex County.*

- 1776 John Wiltbank, William Polk, Daniel Dingee.
- 1777 Samuel S. Sloss, John Jones.
- 1778 J. Clowes, William Conwell, William Polk.
- 1779 William Polk, J. Clowes.

- 1781 William Conwell, Joshua Polk.
- 1782 Joshua Polk, John Collins.
- 1783 Joshua Polk.
- 1784 Henry Neill, Joshua Polk.
- 1785 Daniel Polk.
- 1786 Alexander Laws.
- 1787 S. Kollock.
- 1788 Isaac Horsey, George Mitchell, Daniel Polk.
- 1790 Rhoads Shankland, Isaac Cooper.
- ✓ 1793 Daniel Polk, Daniel Rogers, Rhoads Shankland. -
- 1794 George Mitchell.
- 1795 Thomas Laws.
- 1796 Daniel Rogers, George Mitchell, Nicholas Hays.
- 1798 Nicholas Hays, Woodman Stockley.
- 1799 David Owens.
- 1800 Charles Draper, Nathaniel Hays.
- 1802 Daniel Rogers.
- 1803 Charles Draper.
- 1804 Peter Robinson, Daniel Rogers.
- 1806 Caleb Rodney, Charles Draper.
- 1807 Samuel Paynter, Caleb Rodney.
- 1808 Samuel Paynter, Thomas Cooper.
- 1810 Nathaniel Mitchell.
- 1811 Samuel Paynter.
- 1812 Jesse Green, William H. Wells.
- 1814 Benjamin Burton, Thomas Fisher.
- 1815 Jesse Green.
- 1816 Caleb Rodney, Benjamin Burton, Joseph Maull.
- 1818 Caleb Rodney.
- 1819 Edward Dingle, Caleb Rodney.
- 1820 Joseph Maull.
- 1821 Jesse Green.
- 1822 Samuel Paynter.
- 1823 Charles Cullen.
- 1824 Jesse Green, William N. Polk.
- 1825 William N. Polk.
- 1826 Peter Robinson.
- 1828 Purnal Tindal.
- 1829 George Truitt.
- 1830 Caleb S. Layton, John Tennent.
- 1831 Dr. John Carey, Joshua Burton, Kendall M. Lewis.
- 1832 Henry F. Rodney, Kendall M. Lewis, William D. Waples.
- 1834 Joshua Burton, David Hazzard.
- 1836 Henry F. Rodney.
- 1838 Joseph Maull, Thomas Jacobs.
- 1840 Stansbury Jacobs.

- 1842 Joseph Maull, George R. Fisher.
- 1844 Warren Jefferson.
- 1846 Thomas Jacobs, Samuel H. Paynter.
- 1848 Henry B. Fiddeman.
- 1850 John Sorden, John M. Phillips.
- 1852 John Ponder.
- 1854 John A. Hazzard, Elihu J. Pusey.
- 1856 Manlove R. Carlisle.
- 1858 John Morton, Joseph A. McFerran.
- 1860 Hicks M. Hooper.
- 1862 Henry Hickman, William Hitch.
- 1864 James Ponder.
- 1866 John H. Paynter, Jacob Bounds.
- 1868 George Russell.
- 1870 Thomas E. Records, Martin M. Ellis.
- 1872 Charles C. Stockley.
- 1874 John W. Causey, John T. Moore.
- 1876 James A. Hopkins.
- 1878 Catesby F. Rust, Isaac Conaway.
- 1880 Andrew J. Horsey.
- 1882 Edward W. Houston, David L. Mustard.
- 1884 Hugh Martin.
- 1886 John B. Dorman, Thomas Bacon.
- 1888 David O. Moore.
- 1890 William M. Ross, Charles B. Houston.
- 1892 William T. Records.
- 1894 John M. C. Moore, George F. Pierce.
- 1896 William T. Moore.
- 1898 Elisha H. F. Farlow, Franklin C. Maull, Simeon S. Pennewill, Isaiah J. Brasure.
- 1900 Charles Wright, Isaiah J. Brasure.
- 1902 David O. Moore, Thomas W. Jefferson, Simeon S. Pennewill.
- 1904 James H. Boyce, Archie B. Lingo.
- 1906 J. Edward Reed, Joseph Iliffe, James C. Rowland.

*Speakers of the Three Lower Counties, New Castle, Kent and Sussex, from  
1704 to 1776.*

- Joseph England, under John Evans, 1703-09.
- John French, under Sir William Keith, 1717-26.
- Hen. Brooke, under Sir William Keith, 1717-26.
- Andrew Hamilton, under Patrick Gordon, 1726-36.
- David French, under George Thomas, 1738-47.
- Thomas Noxon, under George Thomas, 1738-47.
- Jehu Curtis, under George Thomas, 1738-47.
- Ryves Holt, under George Thomas, 1738-47.



*Speakers of the State Senate.*

1776 George Read	1845 Joseph Maull
1778 Thomas Collins	1849 William W. Morris
1779 John Clowes	1851 Henry B. Fiddeman
1780 Thomas Collins	1853 John M. Philips
1783 Caesar Rodney	1855 Daniel Currey
1784 Thomas Macdonough	1861 Dr. John Martin
1786 George Craghead	1863 John Green
1787 Thomas Macdonough	1865 Dr. Gove Saulsbury
1788 George Mitchell	William Hitch
1790 Daniel Rogers	1867 James Ponder
1798 Isaac Davis	1869 James Williams
1800 James Sykes	1871 Charles Gooding
1802 Daniel Rogers	1873 Allen V. Lesley
1803 James Sykes	1875 Charles C. Stockley
1812 Andrew Barratt	1877 John T. Moore
1815 Jesse Green	1879 Charles J. Harrington
1817 Henry Molleston	1881 Catesby F. Rust
1820 Jacob Stout	1883 Samuel B. Cooper
Caleb Rodney	1885 Alexander B. Cooper
1823 Charles Thomas	1887 John E. Collins
1824 Jesse Green	1889 Beniah L. Lewis
1826 Charles Polk	1891 John P. Donohoe
1827 Henry Whitely	1893 Charles B. Houston
1828 Presley Spruance, Jr.	1895 William T. Watson
1832 Dr. James P. Lofland	1897 Hezekiah Harrington
1833 Joshua Burton	1899 Charles H. Salmon
1835 Charles Polk	1901 Henry C. Ellison
1837 Presley Spruance	1903 Henry C. Ellison
1841 Charles Polk	1905 Alvan B. Conner
1843 Presley Spruance	1907 George W. Sparks

*Clerks of the State Senate.*

1776 Slator Clay	1820 Presley Allee
1777 Benjamin Vining	1823 William Huffington
1784 James Sykes	1824 Edward Fisher
1788 John Edmunds Clayton	1824 Samuel M. Harrington
1792 James Battell	1825 Edward Fisher
1799 John Fisher	1827 Henry Stout
1803 James Battell	1828 Charles Marim
1808 George W. Sykes	1830 John B. Stont
1810 John Barratt	1832 James A. Sparks
1812 Presley Allee	1833 William R. Morris
1815 Alexander L. Hayes	1835 James H. M. Clayton
1816 John M. Clayton	1837 Joseph P. Comegys
1818 Presley Allee	1843 George P. Fisher
1820 John M. Clayton	1845 Manlove Hayes, Jr.

1847 John C. Patterson	1881 Hiram T. Downing
1849 James R. Lofland	1883 Charles W. Whiley
1851 William G. Whitely	1885 Charles W. McFee
1853 William Hufington	1887 Benjamin J. Moore
1855 Saxe Gotha Laws	1889 Abram Vandegrift
1861 John L. Pratt	1891 Edward D. Hearne
1863 Edward L. Martin	1893 William A. C. Hardcastle
1865 Charles P. Wetherby	1895 Charles A. Hastings
1867 James L. Wolcott	1897 Simon P. Doherty
1869 John C. Pennewell	1899 Charles W. Kenney
1871 J. R. Mitchell	1901 Henry E. Cain
1873 E. O. Shakespeare	1903 George H. Baynum
1875 A. P. Robinson	1905 J. Edward Goslee
1877 Merris Taylor	1907 Levi G. Sterner
1879 Albert G. Osborne	

*Members of Assembly Under Penn from New Castle County.*

- 1682 William Semple.
- 1683 John Cann, John Darby, Valentine Hollingsworth, Casparus Herman, Johannes De Haes, James Williams, William Guest, Peter Alrich, Heinrich William.
- 1684 James Williams, John Darby, William Grant, Casparus Herman, Abram Mann, John White.
- 1686 John White, John Darby, Cornelius Empson, James Williams, Abram Mann, William Grant.
- 1687 Johannes De Haes, Edward Blake, Valentine Hollingsworth, John White, John Darby, Richard Noble.
- 1688 John White, Edward Blake, Peter Baynton, Valentine Hollingsworth, John Darby, Joseph Holding.
- 1689 John Darby, John White, Valentine Hollingsworth, Edward Blake, Isaac Weldon, Richard Mankin.
- 1690 Edward Blake, Henry Williams, Richard Halliwell, John Darby, William Grant, John Donaldson.
- 1692 John Darby, John Donaldson, Joseph England, John Grubb, Robert Ashton, Edward Blake.
- 1693 Edward Blake, Cornelius Empson, Henry Williams, Richard Halliwell.
- 1694 John Donaldson, Edward Blake, Richard Halliwell, Henry Williams.
- 1695 Joseph England, Valentine Hollingsworth, George Harland, Edward Gibbs, Henry Hollingsworth, Cornelius Empson.
- 1696 John Hussey, Cornelius Empson, George Hogg, Adam Peterson.
- 1697 Cornelius Empson, Benjamin Gormley, John Richardson, John Buckley.
- 1698 Adam Peterson, Edward Gibbs, John Grubb, Joseph England.
- 1699 John Healy, Adam Peterson, William Guest, William Houston.
- 1700 John Healy, Adam Peterson, William Guest, William Houston, Joseph England, Richard Cantwell, Robert French, Valentine Hollingsworth, William Houston, John Grubb, Thomas Pierson.
- 1701 Jasper Yeates, John Donaldson, Richard Halliwell, Adam Peterson.
- 1704 James Coutts, John Healey, Roelof De Haes, Isaac Gooding.

*Members of the State House of Representatives, New Castle County.*

1782 Nicholas Van Dyke, Thomas Duff, Robert Bryan, John James, Peter Hyatt, Samuel Smith, Thomas McKean.

1783 Joshua Clayton.

1784 Thomas Duff, Gunning Bedford, John James, Peter Hyatt, Samuel Smith, William Clark, Jacob Broom.

1785 Gunning Bedford, Jacob Broom, Thomas Duff, John Garrett, Peter Hyatt, Joshua Clayton, William Clark.

1786 Alexander Porter, Gunning Bedford, Isaac Grantham, Thomas Evans, Thomas Duff, Jacob Broom, Peter Hyatt.

1787 Alexander Porter, Thomas Evans, Isaac Grantham, Henry Latimer, Thomas May, Thomas Robinson, Joshua Clayton.

1788 Alexander Porter, Peter Hyatt, Jacob Broom, Henry Latimer, Thomas Montgomery, John James, Thomas May.

1790 Kensey Johns, John James, Thomas Duff, Henry Latimer, Peter Hyatt, Thomas Montgomery, Isaac Grantham.

1791 Solomon Maxwell, Thomas Evans, William Robeson, Alexander Reynolds, William McKennan, John Collins, Samuel Hollingsworth.

1792 Nehemiah Tilton, Edward Roche, George Monro, William Johnson.

1793 John James, Robert Armstrong, Robert Haughey, James Black, Nehemiah Tilton, William Johnson, William McKennan.

1794 James Black, John James, Samuel Hollingsworth, William Cooch, Alexander Porter, William Johnson, William Frazier.

1795 Archibald Alexander, James Stroud, Nehemiah Tilton, Joel Lewis, William Cooch, William McKennan, Robert Maxwell, Elias Naudain.

1796 James Stroud, Robert Armstrong, Joel Lewis, Caesar A. Rodney, Nehemiah Tilton, Robert Maxwell, Elias Naudain.

1797 James Stroud, Robert Armstrong, Caesar A. Rodney, Richard C. Dale, Nehemiah Tilton, Joel Lewis, William Johnson.

1798 John Crow, George Gillespie, John Clark, Caesar A. Rodney, Thomas Kean, Nicholas Van Dyke, Richard C. Dale, Joseph Tatnall.

1799 Caesar A. Rodney, Joseph England, George Gillespie, Robert Middleton, George Clark, Jr., Thomas Fitzgerald, William Johnson.

1800 Caesar A. Rodney, John Way, Joseph England, William C. Simonton, George Clark, John C. Brush, Levy Adams.

1801 Philip Lewis, George Clark, Adam Williamson, Caesar A. Rodney, William Cooch, Joseph England, George Clark, Abraham Staats.

1802 Adam Williamson, William Poole, James Stroud, Philip Lewis, William Whann, George Clark, Abraham Staats.

1803 Thomas Perkins, Peter Brynberg, Andrew Reynolds, David Morrison, Morgan Jones, James Monro, Benjamin Merritt.

1804 Peter Brynberg, Thomas Perkins, — Snow, Abraham Staats, Jesse Higgins, John Bird, Morgan Jones.

1805 Thomas Perkins, Isaac H. Starr, Andrew Reynolds, George Gillespie, John Bird, William Hazlett, John Merritt.

1806 Peter Jacquett, Patrick O'Flynn, John R. Phillips, George Gillespie, Peter Williams, Leonard Vandegrift, John Merritt.

1807 John Bird, Jesse Higgins, Leonard Vandegrift, Peter Williams, William Robinson, David Morrison, Andrew Reynolds.

1808 William D. Phillips, Andrew Reynolds, Thomas Phillips, Levi Boulden, John Bird, Leonard Vandegrift, Jesse Higgins.

1809 Robert Forwood, William D. Phillips, John Bird, Benjamin Chambers, Samuel H. Black, Jesse Higgins, Enoch Thomas.

1810 Joseph England, Joseph Pierce, Nicholas G. Williamson, Thomas Phillips, James R. Black, Dr. William W. Haslett, Samuel H. Black, Abraham Staats.

1811 Joseph Pierce, Nicholas G. Williamson, David Morrison, George Read, Jr., George Clarke, Samuel H. Black, Abraham Staats.

• 1812 Peter Vandever, Nicholas G. Williamson, John Harlan, George Read, Jr., George R. Massey, George Clark, Abraham Staats.

✓ 1813 Peter Vandever, Nicholas G. Williamson, Joseph England, George R. Massey, George Read, Jr., John Sutton, Alrichs Ryland.

1814 Victor Du Pont, Nicholas G. Williamson, Joseph England, Alrichs Ryland, George R. Massey, John Crow, John Sutton.

1815 Victor Du Pont, Nicholas G. Williamson, Andrew Reynolds, Samuel H. Black, John Crow, John Sutton, John T. Cochran.

1816 Victor Du Pont, Peter Vandever, Joseph W. Cochran, John T. Cochran, Arnold S. Naudain, Andrew Gray, Samuel H. Black.

1817 Joseph Pierce, Isaac Hendrickson, Jesse Chandler, Henry Whitely, Charles Thomas, Jr., John T. Cochran, Arnold S. Naudain.

1818 Joseph Day, Isaac Hendrickson, Jesse Chandler, Henry Whitely, John Crow, John T. Cochran, John Crawford.

1819 Joseph W. Day, William P. Brobson, Nicholas G. Williamson, Henry Whitely, John Crow, Levi Clark, Alexander Crawford.

1820 William P. Brobson, Levi Clark, Alexander Crawford, John Crow, Benjamin H. Springer, Andrew Gray, Henry Whitely.

1821 William Seal, Jesse Chandler, John Harlan, Washington Rice, John Sutton, Alrichs Ryland, William Weldon.

1822 William Seal, Jesse Chandler, Andrew Reynolds, David Nivin, Samuel H. Black, George Clark, Richard E. Cochran.

1823 William F. Grubb, Josiah F. Clement, Andrew Gray, Benjamin Watson, William Vandegrift, Levi Boulden, Richard E. Cochran.

1824 David Penny, Josiah F. Clement, Joseph England, John Crow, John Exton, Samuel H. Black, Christopher Vandegrift.

1825 Joseph W. Day, William P. Brobson, Andrew Gray, James R. Black, John Higgins, Samuel H. Black, Arnold Naudain.

1826 Josiah F. Clement, John Erwin, Archibald Hamilton, Samuel H. Black, John Higgins, Alexander Crawford, Daniel Corbit.

1827 Harman Talley, William Seal, James Delaplain, Benjamin Whitely, William T. Read, Daniel Newbold, Christopher Vandegrift.

1828 Harman Talley, Benjamin Chandler, Samuel Murphy, Benjamin Whitely, John Sutton, William T. Read, Charles H. Haughey.

1830 Harry Williamson, John Caulk, John Sutton, Charles H. Haughey, William McCaulley, Benjamin Whitely, William Kennedy.

1831 Harry Williamson, John Harlan, John Caulk, John D. Dilworth, James Gardner, Thomas W. Handy, Dickinson Webster.

1832 Harry Williamson, William Herdman, John Caulk, George Springer, Dickinson Webster, John D. Dilworth, Christopher Brooks.

1834 George Lodge, William Booth, John W. Evans, Alexander M. Biddle, Thomas Deakyne, John Harlan, William Herdman.

1836 George Lodge, Archibald Hamilton, Abraham Boys, William Booth, John W. Evans, Alexander M. Biddle, Thomas Deakyne.

1838 Alexander M. Biddle, John D. Dilworth, William Rogers, Nathan Boulden, Andrew Kerr, William Hemphill Jones, Henry Williamson.

1840 Mahlon Betts, Samuel Barr, Alfred Francis, John Higgins, John Dale, Palmer Chamberlain, Robert M. Black.

1842 Harlan Cloud, John Harlan, William Booth, David C. Wilson, Andrew Kerr.

1844 William M. Day, Stephen M. Staples, Lewis Thompson, Samuel Burnham, John Allen, William Kennedy, Thomas Caulk.

1846 John W. Evans, William Smith, William M. Day, Henry Swayne, Lewis Thompson, John Allen, Levi G. Cooch.

1848 Edward G. Bradford, Benjamin Caulk, Levi G. Cooch, Edward T. Bellah, James L. Miles, Thomas M. Rodney, Elias S. Naudain.

1850 Aquilla Derrickson, William C. Lodge, Abraham Boys, Albert O. Newton, Samuel Jefferson, James B. Rogers, Nathan T. Boulden.

1852 James Delaplaine, Jeshur H. Dixon, Alexander M. Biddle, Charles Gooding, Joshua S. Valentine, John A. Reynolds, Ephraim Beaton.

1854 David C. Wilson, Samuel Biddle, Jonathan Groves, Edward Sheppard, David McKee, James V. Moore, John J. Henry.

1856 William C. Lodge, Edward Sheppard, Francis D. Dunlap, Harlan Cloud, Charles Gooding, Thomas J. Foard, Baynan Deakyne.

1858 George W. Churchman, Franklin Q. Flinn, Lewis Thompson, Charles H. Oldham, Jonathan L. Ellison, Thomas W. Belville, John M. Naudain.

1860 George W. Churchman, Edward Betts, Abram Chandler, John F. Williamson, Anthony M. Higgins, Robert A. Cochran, Henry H. Appleton.

1862 John Hayes, John A. Duncan, Solomon M. Curtis, David W. Gemmill, Merritt H. Paxson, John Whitby, Levi W. Lattomus.

1864 John A. Duncan, James H. Hoffecker, John G. Jackson, John A. Alderdice, Merritt H. Paxson, Andrew Eliason, Elias N. Moore.

1866 John A. Alderdice, Samuel Bancroft, Jr., James Bradford, Charles Corbit, Andrew Eliason, Levi W. Lattomus, John Pilling.

1868 Lot Cloud, Dr. John A. Brown, Albert H. Silver, William Dean, George F. Brady, Joseph W. Vandegrift, Jacob Deakyne.

1870 Lot Cloud, J. Poulson Chandler, Aquilla Derrickson, Benjamin Caulk, Sewell C. Biggs, Albert O. Newton, Francis T. Perry.

1872 William Silver, Joshua Maris, Lewis Thompson, Joel Thompson, Jr., D. Brainard Ferris, Theodore F. Clark, Joseph C. Hutchinson.

1874 Samuel Hanby, Isaac C. Pyle, Thomas Bird, Thomas L. J. Baldwin, Thomas Holcomb, Henry A. Nowland, William P. Biggs.



1876 James W. Ware, John W. R. Kilgore, John E. Bartholomew, Thomas Holcomb, Thomas Bird, James Nicholson, Edwin R. Cochran.

1878 James W. Ware, Dr. Swithin Chandler, William Dean, John Doran, Giles Lambson, Edwin R. Cochran, William P. Biggs.

1880 Edward G. Bradford, Jr., Henry Swayne, David Eastburn, John Pilling, Andrew Eliason, George L. Townsend, Henry H. Woodkeeper.

1882 George H. Bates, Henry M. Barlow, Albert N. Sutton, Robert C. Justis, William Cooch, William A. Comegys, James V. Crawford.

1884 Henry M. Barlow, Enoch Moore, Abram Palmer, Theodore F. Armstrong, William A. Comegys, John T. Wilson, Richard Ferguson.

1886 James W. Ware, James A. Mulligan, George D. Medill, Douglas M. McCoy, Dr. Swithin Chandler, Elwood R. Norney, William F. Smalley.

1888 George Lodge, George W. Gray, George W. Eccles, J. Harvey Whiteman, Theodore F. Armstrong, William P. Biggs, Richard C. Brockson.

1890 John A. Cranston, Thomas J. Day, David W. Elkinton, John C. Higgins, Thomas B. Smith, Edwin E. Thomas, Charles Walton.

1892 J. Harvey Spruance, J. Harvey Whiteman, James H. S. Gam, Joseph Whitlock, Harry Day, William Cooch, Columbus Watkins.

1894 Henry H. McMullen, Frederic Pyle, William Wilson, Jr., Francis M. Walker, George W. Reybold, Walter S. Money, John W. Jolls.

1896 Woodward W. Cheers, Charles G. Dempsey, Robert McCullough, David K. Donaldson, William B. McCoy, James B. Taylor, J. Frank Eliason.

1898 James Hitchen, Robert M. Burns, James W. Robertson, John P. Donohoe, Francis J. McNulty, Frank P. Ewing, George Frizzell, John W. Dennison, John Pilling, David C. Rose, Jr., Harry W. Hushebeck, Theodore F. Clark, James T. Shallcross, Francis H. Lattomus, George R. Donovan.

1900 James Hitchen, Samuel H. Baynard, James W. Robertson, Thomas M. Monaghan, John E. Healey, Frank P. Ewing, William R. Flinn, Richard T. Pilling, William Chandler, Chauncey P. Holcomb, John W. Dayett, Theodore F. Clark, James T. Shallcross, Richard Hodgson, Andrew J. Wright.

1902 Henry G. Buckmaster, James P. Jones, John Bancroft, Thomas M. Monaghan, William M. Connelly, Abraham L. Tyre, William R. Flinn, William M. Eastburn, John W. Morrison, Chauncey P. Holcomb, David C. Rose, William A. Price, Leonard V. Aspril, Jr., Edward Hart, Samuel C. Derrickson.

1904 Henry Stafford, Willard S. Meredith, M. Howard Jester, Thomas O. Cooper, Frank M. Sevier, Jacob K. Hanby, William H. Miller, William M. Eastburn, John P. Armstrong, Elwood L. Wilson, John B. Mahoney, Willard T. Smith, Frank J. Pennington, Edward Hart, Andrew J. Wright.

1906 Benjamin B. Allen, Frank R. Paradee, Robert Keenan, Dr. Thomas O. Cooper, Joseph E. McCafferty, Jeremiah B. Harvey, Darlington Flinn, Isaac Richards, John P. Wilson, Chauncey P. Holcomb, William H. Evans, Richard T. Cann, Jr., Alexander P. Corbit, Richard Hodgson, Wilmer C. Statts.

*Members of Assembly under Penn., Kent County.*

1682 Francis Whitwell, John Briggs.

1683 John Briggs, Simon Irons, Thomas Haffold, John Curtis, Robert Bedwell, William Winsmore, John Brinckloe, Daniel Brown, Benoni Bishop.

1684 John Briggs, John Glover, John Curtis, William Sherwood, James Wells, William Berry.

1685 John Briggs, John Curtis, Daniel Jones, Peter Groningdyke, William Berry, John Brinckloe.

1686 John Brinckloe, John Bradshaw, John Walker, William Berry, Robert Bedwell, Richard Wilson.

1687 John Brinckloe, William Berry, Richard Wilson, Thomas Pemberton, William Freeland, Benoni Bishop.

1688 John Brinckloe, John Betts, William Rodney, John Burton, Samuel Burberry, John Richardson, Jr.

1689 Daniel Jones, William Berry, William Manlove, John Walker, Peter Groningdyke, Daniel Brown.

1690 John Barnes, John Betts, Daniel Brown, Ezekiel Needham, Richard Curtis, William Freeland.

1692 William Freeland, Daniel Jones, Simon Irons, John Barnes, George Manlove, William Manlove.

1693 John Brinckloe, John Walker, William Manlove.

1694 John Brinckloe, William Freeman, Richard Wilson.

1695 John Betts, William Rodney, William Morton, Simon Irons, Daniel Brown, John Hilliard.

1696 William Rodney, William Morton, Richard Wilson.

1697 John Walker, Thomas Bedwell, Samuel Burberry, John Bradshaw.

1698 Richard Wilson, Robert Edmonds, Henry Molleston, William Morton.

1699 John Foster, Thomas Sharp, Henry Molleston, James Brown.

1700 William Morton, John Brinckloe, Richard Wilson, George Jones, Arthur Meston, William Rodney, William Morton, Henry Molleston.

1701 William Rodney, John Brinckloe, William Morton, John Walker.

1704 William Rodney, John Brinckloe, William Morton, Arthur Meston.

*Members of the State House of Representatives, Kent County.*

1782 John Gordon, Charles Ridgely, Philip Barratt, William Molleston, Edward White, Isaac Carty, John Davis.

1784 John Gordon, James Raymond, Charles Nixon, John Revell, Jacob Stout, Jenifer Taylor, Francis Maury.

1785 Charles Nixon, James Raymond, Allen McLane, John Revell, Mark McCall, John Patton, Jacob Emerson.

1786 Mark McCall, John Gordon, Joshua Clayton, John Davis, John Cook, Thomas Rodney, Richard Bassett.

1787 James Raymond, John Gordon, Mark McCall, John Davis, John Revell, Thomas Rodney, John Vining.

1788 John Gordon, James Raymond, George Truitt, John Davis, Benjamin Coombe, John Vining, Risdon Bishop.

1790 James Raymond, George Truitt, Joshua Fisher, Francis Maury, Silas Snow, Edward White, Joseph Oliver.

1791 George Truitt, Andrew Barratt, Francis Maury, Stephen Lewis, Joseph Baker, Joseph Oliver, Allen McLane.

1792 Nicholas Ridgely, Caleb Sipple, Stephen Lewis, Isaac Davis, John Lockwood.

1793 John Lockwood, Caleb Sipple, Ebenezer Blackiston, Stephen Lewis, George Truitt, James Henry, William Warner.

1794 Peter Lowber, William Adams, Philip Lewes, William Alleband, Presley Spruance, James Douglas, James Miller.

1795 George Cummings, James Raymond, Stephen Lewis, Robert Clark, James Henry, William Sorden, Abraham Pierce.

1796 James Raymond, Nicholas Ridgely, Manlove Emerson, William Warner, Stephen Lewis, William Sorden, William Morris.

1797 Nicholas Ridgely, William Warner, Stephen Lewis, James Raymond, Manlove Emerson, Peter Caverly, Joseph Barker.

1798 John Vining, William Warner, Stephen Lewis, Manlove Emerson, William Sorden, Joseph Barker, William Collins, Jr.

1799 Henry Molleston, Nicholas Ridgely, Stephen Lewis, William Warner, William Sorden, James Henry, Manlove Emerson.

1800 Henry Molleston, George Cummings, Nicholas Ridgely, William Warner, William Sorden, Manlove Emerson, Stephen Lewis.

1801 Henry Molleston, Stephen Lewis, John Marim, Nicholas Ridgely, William Sorden, James Henry, William Warner.

1802 Henry Molleston, Thomas Clayton, William Warner, Stephen Lewis, John Marim, William Sorden, James Henry.

1803 Henry Molleston, John Marim, Thomas Clayton, James Henry, William Warner, Stephen Lewis, William Sorden.

1804 Thomas Clayton, Stephen Lewis, John Marim, William Warner, Henry Molleston, William Sorden, James Henry.

1805 Henry Molleston, Thomas Clayton, John Marim, William Warner, Robert Cook, William Hughlett, James B. Ralston.

1806 Henry Molleston, Thomas Clayton, John Marim, William Warner, Robert Cook, James B. Ralston, William Hughlett.

1807 James B. Ralston, Henry Molleston, John Pleasanton, Henry M. Ridgely, Stephen Lewis, John Adams, William Torbert.

1808 Henry M. Ridgely, Stephen Lewis, James B. Ralston, John Marim, Nicholas Lockerman, Edward Joy, Stephen Paradee.

1809 William Denny, John Marim, Stephen Paradee, Henry M. Ridgely, William Warner, John Williams, Stephen Lewis.

1810 David Lockwood, Thomas Clayton, William Denny, John Marim, Cornelius P. Comegys, John Williams, Stephen Lewis, John Clarke.

1811 William Denny, John Marim, John Clarke, Samuel White, Cornelius P. Comegys, John Williams, James Finthswait.

1812 Thomas Clayton, Jacob Stout, Cornelius P. Comegys, Samuel White, Robert Dill, John Williams, Luff Lewis.

1813 Cornelius P. Comegys, Henry Molleston, Thomas Clayton, John Clarke, Jacob Stout, Luff Lewis, Spencer Williams.

1814 John Pleasanton, Cornelius P. Comegys, John Clarke, Jonathan Jenkins, Isaac Lockwood, Spencer Williams, John Mitchell.

1815 Henry M. Ridgely, John Cummins, Joseph G. Rowland, John Mitchell, Cornelius P. Comegys, John Clarke, Spencer Williams.

1816 John Cummins, James Battell, Thomas Condy, Joseph G. Rowland, John Mitchell, Spencer Williams, John Wood.

1817 John Cummins, Thomas Condy, Joseph G. Rowland, John Booth, Spencer Williams, Charles Polk, Charles Kimmey.

1818 John Cummins, Joshua G. Brinckle, Martin W. Bates, Jonathan Jenkins, Jacob Boone, John Mitchell, John Booth.

1819 John Cummins, Joshua G. Brinckle, Joshua H. Mifflin, William K. Lockwood, Edward Fisher, Jacob Boone, John Booth.

1820 John Cummins, Samuel Mifflin, Thomas Condy, Joshua G. Brinckle, Major Townsend, Joseph G. Oliver, Benjamin Harrington.

1821 Robert Register, Henry M. Ridgely, James B. Macomb, George Walker, Samuel Mifflin, Samuel Warren, Sr., William Hopkins.

1822 Presley Spruance, Jr., Elias Naudain, Andrew Calley, John Adams, John Brinckloe, Williams Hopkins, Robert Register.

1823 John B. Savin, John Pleasanton, John M. Clayton, Samuel Mifflin, Samuel Coombe, Luff Lewis, Charles Polk.

1824 John Raymond, James Kimmey, Samuel Mifflin, Samuel Coombe, Spencer Williams, John Booth, William Johnson.

1825 Elias Naudain, Martin W. Bates, Thomas M. Stout, Samuel Warren, Sr., Joel Clements, John Brinckloe, William Saulsbury.

1826 Jacob Raymond, Robert Register, Henry M. Ridgely, Thomas M. Stout, Jehu Clark, Martin W. Bates, Ignatius Taylor.

1827 John Raymond, William W. Morris, Mathias Day, Samuel Virden, Peter L. Cooper, James P. Lofland, John Booth.

1829 Simon Spearman, Charles Marim, Cornelius P. Comegys, Joel Clement, William Roe, Benjamin Potter, Thomas Simpson.

1830 John Raymond, Thomas A. Rees, Charles Marim, William Huffington, Isaac Gruwell, John Booth, Peter F. Causey.

1831 Thomas A. Rees, Ayres Stockley, Charles Marim, William Huffington, Isaac Gruwell, John Booth, Peter F. Causey.

1832 Thomas A. Rees, John Raymond, Charles Marim, Ignatius T. Cooper, Isaac Gruwell, Peter F. Causey, Manlove Johnson.

1834 John Raymond, Charles Marim, Robert Frame, Joel Clements, Jacob Boone, Philip Fiddeman, Benjamin Harrington.

1836 Thomas A. Rees, Charles Marim, William Nickerson, Peter L. Cooper, James S. Buckmaster, William Johnson, Charles F. Fleming.

1838 Presley Spruance, Thomas A. Rees, John Frazier, Robert Frame, Henry Pratt, Samuel B. Cooper, Philip Fiddeman.

1840 James D. Wilds, John Frazier, William Huffington, Samuel Virden, Joel Clements, Alexander Johnson, John A. Collins.

1842 Robert Jones, James Knight, Joseph P. Comegys, Paris T. Carlisle, John Gruwell, Levin H. Adams, William Shaw.

1844 Joseph Hoffecker, William Temple, William Cowgill, George P. Fisher, John Gruwell, Shadrack Raghley, John W. Adkins.

1846 William R. Cahoon, John Woodall, Jr., William Nickerson, Thomas L. Temple, Henry W. McIlvaine, Thomas Lockwood, Thomas Wallace.

1848 Daniel Cummins, Edward W. Wilson, Joseph P. Comegys, Paris T. Carlisle, Henry Taylor, James Postles, John A. Collins.

1850 Enoch Spruance, Francis B. Harper, Caleb Smithers, John G. Chambers, Benjamin Harrington, Nathaniel C. Powell, Captain Elias Smithers.

1852 Benjamin L. Collins, John G. Chambers, Paris T. Carlisle, Eli Saulsbury, Merritt Scotten, Manlove Hayes, William Thompson.

1854 James W. Spruance, John Woodall, John W. Cullen, William Tomlinson, Thomas Draper, James B. R. Powell, John W. Smith.

1856 George W. Cummins, John B. Penington, William Meredith, James Williams, Joseph Moore, William A. Atkinson, Bethuel Watson.

1858 Jonathan Brown, Isaac Short, Caleb S. Pennewell, William Slaughter, John W. F. Jackson, John Harrington, Curtis S. Ambson.

1860 John A. Moore, Thomas Clements, Jr., Ambrose Broadway, William Virden, Henderson Collins, Jr., Charles Williamson.

1862 Benjamin S. Goote, John H. Bewley, James Williams, John Slay, William B. Stubbs, Robert Raughley, Curtis S. Watson.

1864 Henry C. Douglas, John C. Wilson, Henry Todd, William Dyer, Abner Harrington, Charles M. Adams, William D. Fowler.

1866 Joseph Booth, Peter L. Cooper, William A. Polk, Henry Pratt, George A. Raymond, Elias S. Reed, James H. Smith.

1868 William C. Jump, Benjamin F. Hamm, Thomas J. Marvel, Whiteley W. Meredith, Robert J. Reynolds, Henry C. Wolcott, James R. Mitchell.

1870 Henry M. Howe, James L. Smith, John C. Carsons, Samuel B. Cooper, David Needles, Nimrod Harrington, Samuel Hutchison, Jr.

1872 John Van Gaskin, J. Frank Wilds, Robert B. Wright, William B. Clough, Joseph Burchenal, William Sheldrake.

1874 John M. Voshell, William B. Collins, J. Frank Wilds, Webster D. Learned, James H. Todd, William Broadway, Thomas C. Green.

1876 Thomas K. Taylor, Andrew J. Wright, Jonathan Slaughter, Cornelius J. Hall, Jacob G. Brown, Wilber H. Burnite, Garretson Saulsbury.

1878 John E. Collins, Minos Conaway, Cornelius J. Hall, Peter M. Lindall, David Needles, John A. Savin, John W. Sharp.

1880 Charles H. Register, John W. Graham, Abraham Moore, Amos C. Williams, Moses S. Van Burkalow, Alfred H. Cahall, Reynear Williams.

1882 James D. W. Temple, James T. Lowe, Thomas H. Denny, James Williams, Ezekiel C. Frazier, Robert Y. Watson, Beniah L. Lewis.

1884 Henry H. Howe, John F. Saulsbury, James Virden, Christian C. Brown, John H. Schabinger, Nicholas R. Johnson, William T. Watson.

1886 John W. Taylor, Franklin Temple, John H. Jones, Philemon Scotten, John Harrington, William R. Allaband, Peter E. Lowber.

1888 John H. Hoffecker, James Richardson, David S. Clark, Robert A. Davis, William E. Davis, John P. Maston, Garrett L. Hynson.

1890 John M. Eisenbrey, William T. Hutson, Gilder D. Jackson, David D. Marvel, Daniel M. Ridgely, Perry P. Rickards, Thomas Attix.

1892 William E. Hall, Abel Sevil, Minos Conoway, William Saulsbury, John D. Pratt, Samuel Armstrong, Hezekiah Harrington.



1894 Horace R. Mustard, William R. Davis, Clarence D. Sypherd, Alexander M. Daly, Elwood C. Killen, Thomas A. Watson, Ezekial Fleming.

1896 Benjamin A. Hazell, William R. Davis, Leander L. Hopkins, Charles M. Adams, James A. Martin, Joseph H. Hopkins, Robert H. Wilson.

1898 William A. Faries, Edward F. O'Day, Samuel M. Taylor, James B. Clark, John Satterfield, William T. Jester, Jabez Jenkins, George C. Hering, William Sharp, Davis H. Frazier.

1900 Thomas C. Moore, John L. Scotten, John W. Hutchinson, James P. Aron, Cornelius B. Hope, John H. Gooden, James V. McCommons, William G. Hardesty, David Vinyard, John M. White.

1902 Henry S. Anthony, Charles H. Paradee, George Cook, William H. Gehman, Thomas M. Gooden, Samuel Carl Hughes, Thomas E. Warren, Joseph Frazier, James W. Powell, Lavinus Austin.

1904 William H. Baggs, William D. Denney, Gamaliel Garrison, Thomas C. McGinnis, Alden R. Benson, John G. Meredith, Daniel B. Murray, Robert C. Stevenson, Frank J. Prettyman, Frank W. Davis.

1906 William H. Baggs, Herman C. Taylor, Gamaliel Garrison, Howard Rash, James A. Hirons, Thomas L. Cooper, Charles S. Conwell, Edward R. Knotts, Albert Harrington, Luther F. Cabbage.

*Members of Assembly under Penn, from Sussex County.*

1682 William Clark, Luke Watson, Edward Southrin.

1683 Luke Watson, Alexander Draper, William Fritcher, Henry Bowman, Alexander Molestine, John Hill, Robert Bracey, John Kiphaven, Cornelius Verhoof.

1684 John Roads, Henry Bowman, Hercules Shepperd, Samuel Gray, William Emmett, Henry Stretcher.

1685 Henry Smith, William Carter, Robert Clifton, John Hill, Samuel Gray, Richard Law.

1686 Henry Bowman, Norton Claypoole, Henry Stretcher, John Vines, Albertus Jacobs, Samuel Gray.

1687 Luke Watson, Henry Smith, Henry Molestine, Henry Bowman, Samuel Gray, Henry Stretcher.

1688 Thomas Wynne, Henry Bowman, Henry Molestine, Thomas Price, John Symons, Albertus Jacobs.

1689 Baptist Newcombe, Samuel Gray, Robert Clifton, Henry Shepperd, Luke Watson, Jr., Jonathan Bailey.

1690 John Hill, Samuel Gray, Robert Clifton, Henry Smith, Baptist Newcombe, Thomas Branscom.

1692 William Clark, Robert Clifton, Baptist Newcombe, Luke Watson, Jr., Thomas Branscom, William Piles.

1693 Albertus Jacobs, Thomas Pemberton, Samuel Preston.

1694 Thomas Pemberton, Luke Watson, Roger Corbett.

1695 John Stockley, Thomas Oldham, Joseph Booth, Henry Molestine, James Peterkill, Jonathan Bailey.

1696 Thomas Pemberton, Roger Corbett, John Mires.

- 1697 Luke Watson, Thomas Oldham, Nehemiah Field, Thomas Fisher.  
 1698 Thomas Oldham. Jonathan Bailey, Luke Watson, Jr., Cornelius Wiltbank.  
 1699 William Piles, William Fisher, Nehemiah Field, William Dyer.  
 1700 Joseph Booth, Thomas Peniberton, Luke Watson, Jr., Thomas Fisher, Arthur Van Kirk, Robert Burton, John Hill, Thomas Fenwick.  
 1701 William Clark, Luke Watson, Jr., Samuel Preston, Joseph Booth.  
 1704 John Hill, William Bogwell, Robert Burton, Richard Paynter.

*Members of the State House of Representatives, Sussex County.*

- 1782 John Collins, William Peery, Nathaniel Waples, Simon Kollock, David Hazzard, William Jordon Hall, Charles Polk.  
 1784 Isaac Bradley, William Peery, James Douglas, Simon Kollock, Nathaniel Waples, Robert Houston, George Mitchell.  
 —1785 John Tennent, Charles Polk, Rhoads Shankland, George Mitchell, Nathaniel Hayes, Israel Holland, William Moore.  
 1786 Charles Polk, Rhoads Shankland, William Moore, Nathaniel Hayes, Edward Dingle, Jeremiah Cannon, George Mitchell.  
 1787 William Peery, John Tennent, Nathaniel Waples, George Mitchell, Rhoads Shankland, Charles Polk, Nathaniel Hayes.  
 1788 Peter Robinson, Charles Polk, Isaac Cooper, Nathaniel Hayes, Jeremiah Cannon, John Collins, John Wise Batson, Rhoads Shankland, George Mitchell, Hap Hazzard, William Massey.  
 1790 John W. Batson, John Collins, Nathaniel Hayes, Jeremiah Cannon, Charles Polk, William Moore, Wingate Cannon.  
 1791 John Collins, Daniel Rogers, Nathaniel Hayes, John W. Batson, Isaac Draper, Jeremiah Cannon, Wingate Cannon.  
 1792 Nathaniel Hayes, John W. Batson, Woodman Stockley, Barclay Townsend, Hap Hazzard.  
 1793 Nathaniel Hayes, Barclay Townsend, John W. Batson, John Tennent, David Nutter, William Peery, Charles Polk.  
 1794 David Nutter, William H. Wells, William Carlisle, John W. Batson, Robert Burton, John Williams, William Peery.  
 1795 William H. Wells, Robert Burton, William Carlisle, Nathaniel Hayes, Elisha Adams, Barclay Townsend, John W. Batson.  
 1796 David Owen, Robert Burton, William H. Wells, Woodman Stockley, Samuel Paynter, Jr., Thomas Sorden, John Williams.  
 1797 Thomas Robertson, William H. Wells, David Owens, Samuel Paynter, Jr., Thomas Sorden, Joshua Burton, Jesse Green.  
 1798 Samuel Paynter, Jr., Thomas Sorden, William H. Wells, Stephen Styer, Thomas Robertson, Joshua Burton, Isaac Beauchamp.  
 1799 Joshua Burton, Samuel Paynter, Jr., Stephen Styer, Jacob Wolfe, Elijah Adams, George Waller, Thomas Sorden.  
 1800 George Waller, Outerbridge Horsey, Peter Robinson, Elijah Adams, Jacob Wolfe, Armwell Long, Jesse Green.  
 1801 Caleb Rodney, Outerbridge Horsey, Peter Robinson, George Waller, Armwell Long, Jesse Green, Elijah Adams.

1802 Caleb Rodney, Outerbridge, Horsey, Peter Robinson, George Waller, Armwell Long, Jesse Green, Thomas Laws.

1803 Jesse Green, Thomas Cooper, George Waller, Armwell Long, Thomas Laws, Caleb Rodney, Isaac Marshall.

1804 Thomas Laws, Edward Dingle, George Waller, Caleb Rodney, Isaac Marshall, Armwell Long, Thomas Cooper.

1805 Thomas Cooper, Edward Dingle, Jr., Jesse Green, Thomas Laws, George Waller, Isaac Marshall, Joshua Burton.

1806 Thomas Cooper, Edward Dingle, Jesse Green, Robert Hill, Joshua Burton, George Waller, Nathan Vickers.

1807 Thomas Cooper, Edward Dingle, Jesse Green, Nathan Vickers, Joshua Burton, Robert Hill, John Polk.

1808 Robert Hill, Solomon Moore, Nathaniel Mitchell, Joshua Burton, William Hazzard, Peter Robinson, Armwell Long.

1809 Peter Robinson, Joshua Burton, Robert Hill, John Wilson, Peter G. Wooten, Thomas W. Rogers, Ebe Walter.

1810 Solomon Moore, Nathan Vickers, Robert Hill, William H. Wells, Peter Robinson, John Carlisle, Joshua Burton.

1811 William H. Wells, Joshua Burton, Solomon Moore, Robert Hill, Nathan Vickers, Caleb Rodney, Ebe Walter.

1812 Caleb Rodney, Joshua Burton, Solomon Moore, Robert Hill, Nathan Vickers, Ebe Walter, Charles M. Cullen.

1813 Charles M. Cullen, Joshua Burton, Robert Hill, Solomon Moore, Nathan Vickers, Ebe Walter, Charles Polk.

1814 Charles M. Cullen, Robert Hill, Robert Wiltbank, Nathan Vickers, Ebe Walter, Charles Polk, Jr., Thomas Townsend.

1815 Charles M. Cullen, Robert Hill, Nathan Vickers, Ebe Walter, John Carlisle, William B. Cooper, Isaiah Burton.

1816 Charles M. Cullen, William B. Cooper, Nathan Vickers, John Carlisle, Isaiah Burton, David Smith, Solomon Evans.

1817 Peter Robinson, William Polk, Solomon Evans, David Smith, Isaiah Burton, William W. Green, Nathan Vickers.

1818 Charles M. Cullen, Nathan Vickers, David Smith, Isaiah Burton, William Polk, John Carlisle, John Dickerson.

1819 Nathan Vickers, William H. Wells, Charles M. Cullen, David Smith, William Polk, John Carlisle, John Dickerson.

1820 John Robinson, Isaiah Burton, John Dickerson, George Phillips, Isaac Cannon, John Wilson, Tilghman Layton.

1821 Peter Robinson, Charles M. Cullen, Joshua Burton, David Smith, John Wilson, George Howard.

1822 Charles M. Cullen, William N. Polk, Joshua Burton, Thomas Townsend, George Howard, John Robinson, Purnal Tindall.

1823 Peter Robinson, Joshua Burton, Purnal Tindall, John Robinson, William N. Polk, George Howard, Spencer Phillips.

1824 Peter Robinson, Joshua Burton, Purnal Tindall, John Robinson, Spencer Phillips, George Truitt, Whiting Sandford.

1825 Francis Brown, Joshua Burton, Purnal Tindall, John Robinson, Spencer Phillips, George Truitt, Whiting Sandford.

1826 Joshua Burton, Francis Brown, John Wiltbank, Miles Tindall, Lawrence Riley, George Phillips, John Tennent.

1827 John Tennent, Caleb S. Layton, Kendall M. Lewis, Thomas Davis, John White, William Dunning, George Truitt.

1829 John Tenuent, Thomas Davis, Kendall M. Lewis, Caleb S. Layton, Isaac W. Copes, Joshua Burton, Henry F. Rodney.

1830 Joshua Burton, Thomas Davis, Henry F. Rodney, Kendall M. Lewis, George Frame, George Hearn, Nicholas W. Adams.

1831 Thomas Davis, Shepard P. Houston, Jehu Bennett, George Frame, George Hearn, James Barrett, Dr. John Gibbons.

1832 Thomas Davis, George Hearn, Thomas Jacobs, John H. Harris, William Harris, Nicholas W. Adams, Joshua Johnson.

1834 Thomas Davis, Kendall M. Lewis, William B. Cooper, Thomas Jacobs, James Parker, William D. Waples, Joshua Johnson.

1836 William D. Waples, Thomas Davis, William S. Hall, John P. Brinckloe, Stansbury Jacobs, Robert Houston, Jonathan Waller.

1838 John P. Brinckloe, James Hopkins, Robert Houston, Joseph W. Neal, Aaron Marshall, Jr., Richard Jefferson, Robert Hopkins.

1840 Gardiner H. Wright, William Hill, Robert Houston, Aaron Marshall, Robert Waples, Richard Jefferson, John R. Sudler.

1842 Charles G. Ridgely, Benjamin Burton, William Hill, Richard Jefferson, John D. Rodney, Robert Waples, William O. Redden.

1844 Samuel Paynter, William Porter, John West, Charles Wright, Joseph Smith, Thomas Robinson, William Cannon.

1846 Peter Marsh, John W. Scribner, James F. Burton, John M. Philips, William Cannon, Purnal Tatman, Jacob Bounds.

1848 Samuel D. Vaughn, William Tunnell, John Marshall, Philip C. Jones, John Martin, Nathaniel Tunnell.

1850 John W. Scribner, Peter Marsh, William D. Waples, Job Pride, Dr. John Martin, John Hosea, James Satterfield.

1852 James F. Burton, James F. Martin, John R. McFee, John Day, William W. Morgan, Benjamin Burton, Alfred Short.

1854 Charles Rickards, Asbury C. Pepper, Joseph P. H. Shipley, Robert G. Ellegood, Woolsey Burton, John S. Waples, Burton C. Prettyman.

1856 James Ponder, Thomas J. Cannon, Ebe Walter, Dr. Hugh Martin, Thomas J. Phillips, Paynter Frame, John Marshall.

1858 Benjamin White, Thomas A. Jones, Loxley R. Jacobs, William H. Moore, Bushrod L. May, Alfred McIlvaine, John W. Walker.

1860 William H. Richards, Jonathan Moore, William S. Phillips, Lemuel W. Waples, Peter Cahoon, James H. Boyce, Peter Robinson.

1862 Major W. Allen, William A. Scribner, John Sorden, Luther W. Fisher, William D. Waples, Isaac H. Bailey, George W. Horsey.

1864 William F. Causey, John Hickman, Shephard P. Houston, James Stuart, John Jones, Benjamin Hitch, Miles Messick.

1866 John S. Bacon, Robert H. Davis, Paynter Frame, John M. Houston, Joshua J. Johnson, Thomas A. Jones, William D. Waples.

1868 Isaac Conaway, Peter Robinson, Shepard P. Houston, Philip C. Mathews, John S. Bacon, John Hickman, William B. Tomlinson.

1870 William W. Morris, Jesse W. Robinson, John W. Short, Ebe W. Tunnell, Levin Hitch, Shepard P. Martin, Curtis A. Conaway.

1872 David H. Holland, Edward Jones, George M. Davis, James T. Thompson, John Hickman, Hugh Martin, Jesse B. Stevenson.

1874 Asa F. Conwell, George H. Phillips, Robert Lambdin, John W. Phillips, Joseph G. McNeal, Paynter Frame, Shepard P. Houston.

1876 David L. Mustard, Peter Robinson, Kendall Richards, John L. Thompson, William W. Morris, Hugh Martin, Miles Messick.

1878 Joshua Webb, Isaac N. Fooks, Shepard P. Houston, James Law, Eli S. Short, Jacob G. Cannon, Clement C. Hearn.

1880 William P. Jones, Peter Robinson, Philip C. Mathews, Joseph G. McNeal, Thomas N. Williams, Peter W. Tomlinson, Amos J. Stayton.

1882 George W. Risler, Thomas J. Perry, William A. Jacobs, Samuel H. Messick, Stansbury J. Wheatley, Thomas Dukes, James Rawlins.

1884 John O. Truitt, David H. Atkins, Jacob H. Adams, John Tatman, W. R. McCabe, Jacob W. Cannon, Joseph B. Hearn.

1886 William R. McCabe, Thomas R. Wilson, William C. Rust, Lemuel W. Waples, Robert W. Dasey, George W. Magee, William T. Perry.

1888 Charles H. Sackett, Henry H. Morgan, Daniel Short, John A. Lingo, Charles H. Maull, McKendree Downham, Lewis E. Wallace.

1890 William H. Chapman, Horace J. Hickman, Elihu J. Morris, Robert R. Morris, William L. Sirman, John A. Tindall, John H. West.

1892 George A. Bryan, Randall M. Lynch, Horace J. Hickman, Robert W. Dasey, John H. Prettyman, John S. Jacobs, Samuel S. Kenney.

1894 John M. Robbins, Newell Ball, Edward S. Burton, George H. Townsend, Charles L. Moore, Horace Brown, Henry H. Morgan.

1896 Emory B. Riffin, Matt Ford Short, Asbury Smith, Thomas Johnson, Elisha C. Dukes, Isaac N. Whitney, John C. Thompson.

1898 Mark L. Davis, George S. Buell, Thomas E. Cottingham, James C. Conoway, William F. King, William P. Short, George H. West, Joseph W. Hunter, John T. Wagaman, David Hazzard.

1900 George B. Clendaniel, Robert R. Layton, Walter M. Hearn, William J. West, David W. Ralph, Shadrach Short, Daniel J. Long, Harry S. Prettyman, Eli Pepper, Ebenezer W. Warren.

1902 John W. Bennett, Oliver A. Newton, Frank Allen, Samuel J. Messick, Samuel J. Lowe, Rufus D. Lingo, Jr., John E. Townsend, Frank W. Lawson, Thomas R. Purnell, Joseph B. Thompson.

1904 Charles D. Abbott, John T. Vandenberg, Daniel W. Ellis, Charles W. Messick, Edward P. Ellis, Rufus D. Lingo, Jr., Timothy E. Townsend, Henry O. Bennum, Henry Marshall, Harry V. Lyons.

1906 William H. Richardson, Oliver A. Newton, Joshua J. Lambden, Noah H. James, William H. Elliott, James S. Donaway, William G. Williams, Henry O. Bennum, Jr., Dr. John W. Messick, James C. Palmer.



*Speakers of the State House of Representatives.*

1777 Samuel West	1847 Lewis Thompson
1782 Simon Kollock	1849 Daniel Cummins
1784 Thomas Duff	1851 Samuel Jefferson
1786 John Cook	1853 John R. McFee
1787 Thomas Rodney	1855 Samuel Biddle
1788 Jehu Davis	1857 George W. Cummins
1790 Henry Latimer	1859 John W. F. Jackson
1791 Allen McLane	1861 John F. Williamson
1793 George Wilson	1863 John Sorden
1794 Stephen Lewis	1865 Shephard P. Houston
1795 Peter Lowber	1867 William Polk
1796 Stephen Lewis	1869 John Hickman
1804 Jesse Green	1871 Sewell C. Biggs
1806 Thomas Laws	1873 Joseph Burchenal
1807 William Warner	1875 Thomas Holcomb
1808 Stephen Lewis	1877 Hugh Martin
1811 Cornelius P. Comegys	1879 Swithin Chandler
1816 Nathan Vickars	1881 Reynear Williams
1820 John Cummins	1883 George H. Bates
1822 Alrich Ryland	1885 William A. Comegys
1823 George Clark	1887 William R. McCabe
1824 Joshua Burton	1889 John H. Hoffecker
1825 Arnold Naudain	1891 William L. Sirman
1831 Joshua Burton	1893 J. Harvey Whiteman
1832 Thomas Davis	1895 Henry H. McMullen
1833 John Raymond	1897 Emory B. Riffin
1835 William D. Waples	1899 Theodore F. Clark
1839 John P. Brinkloe	1901 James V. McCommons
1841 Robert Houston	1903 Henry S. Anthony
1843 William O. Redden	1905 William D. Denney
1845 William Temple	1907 Richard Hodgson

*Clerks of the State House of Representatives.*

1778 James Booth	1823 William P. Brobson
1795 Robert Clark	1824 Kemp Roberts
1796 James Sykes	1825 John W. Ruth
1797 John Caldwell	1832 Ignatius T. Cooper
1800 Thomas Clayton	1833 Joshua G. Baker
1803 John Caldwell	1837 Charles G. Ridgely
1807 John Fisher	1839 Henry Todd
1811 Molton C. Rogers	1841 Joseph P. Comegys
1812 John Barratt	1843 John R. McFee
1815 Joshua Gordon Brinckle	1845 N. B. Smithers
1816 Alexander L. Hayes	1849 Edward Gibbons
1820 John M. Clayton	1851 Dudley B. Tinker

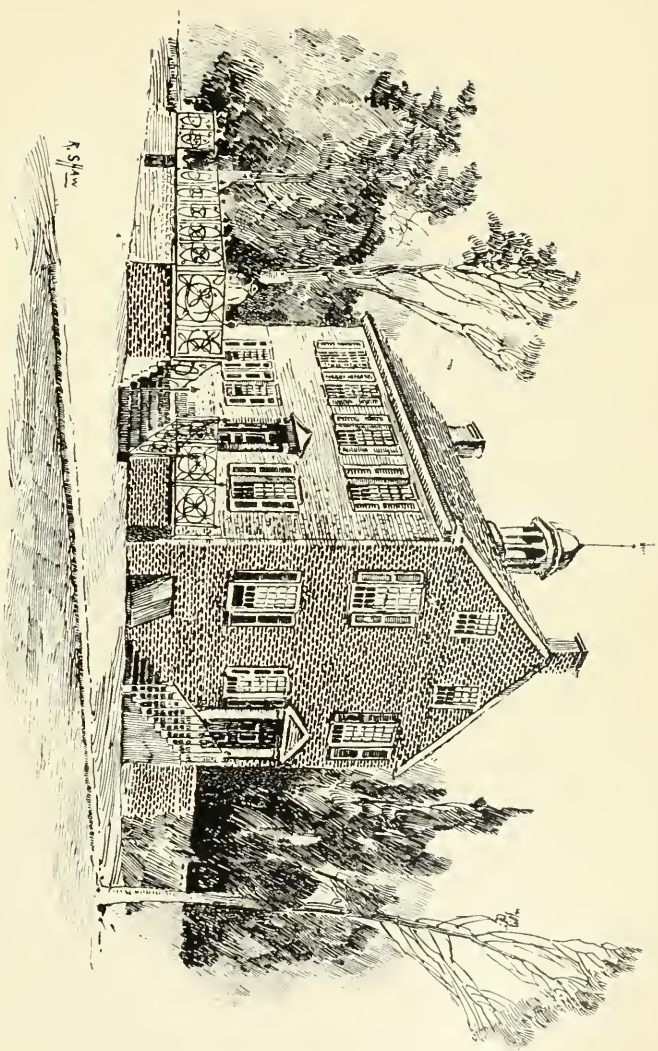
1853 Clayton C. Cowgill	1881 David T. Marvel
1855 James D. Prettyman	1883 E. W. Waples
1857 Charles B. Lore	1885 C. L. Williamson
1859 John B. Penington	1887 Ezekiel T. Cooper
1861 Caleb S. Layton	1889 William A. Gum
1863 John B. Penington	1891 Francis M. Dunn
1865 J. Frank Hazel	1893 John H. Layton
1867 Ignatius C. Grubb	1895 Edward T. Hastings
1869 Beniah Watson	1897 George W. Spicer, Jr.
1871 John B. Penington	1899 Benjamin F. Sheppard
1873 W. Fiske Townsend	1901 William T. Deighton
1875 William D. Hazel	1903 Richard Hodgson
1877 Charles H. B. Day	1905 Thomas S. Lewis
1879 John F. Saulsbury	1907 William J. Swain

## HISTORY OF THE COUNTIES AND HUNDREDS.

## NEW CASTLE COUNTY.

New Castle County is the most northerly of the three counties of the State. It is bounded on the north by the State of Pennsylvania, on the east by the Delaware River, on the south by Kent County, and on the west by the State of Maryland. With very little change the boundaries of the county have remained as originally established. The early records describe the county as extending from Stony Creek (now Quarryville Creek) to Bombay Hook. After the settlement of the boundary line of the State between Lord Baltimore and William Penn, the northerly line of the county was of course extended to the circular boundary line of the state on the north. The subdivisions of the counties of the state are known as hundreds, as contra-distinguished from townships or election districts, the latter subdivisions being the usual term applied in other states. The records disclose the name "hundred" as early as the year 1687.

Originally New Castle County was divided into five hundreds, viz., Brandywine Hundred, being all that part of the county lying north and east of the Brandywine Creek; Christiana Hundred, all the land north of the Christiana Creek and west of the Brandywine; New Castle Hundred, all lying south of the Christiana Creek and north of St. George's Creek; St.



THE ORIGINAL COURT HOUSE BUILT AT NEW CASTLE, A. D. 1676.



George's Hundred, all lying between St. George's and Appoquinimink Creeks; and Appoquinimink Hundred, all the territory lying between Appoquinimink Creek on the north and Duck Creek, the southern boundary of the county, on the south.

In 1710 the number of hundreds had been increased to nine by the addition of the hundreds of Pencader, Red Lion, Mill Creek and White Clay Creek. In 1833 Wilmington was made a separate hundred, and about the year 1875 Appoquinimink Hundred was divided, and Blackbird Hundred, as at present constituted, was carved out of it.

During the early Swedish reign the seat of government was at Christina and New Amstel. The early courts for the county were held in the forts. The first fort was Fort Christina. The second fort, called Fort Casimir, was built by the Dutch in 1651, and was the starting point of the present city of New Castle. The fort seems to have been rather frail in construction, and only lasted a few years, although some parts of it were standing when William Penn first came to New Castle in 1682. The first forts were succeeded by block houses, which served as places of defence, and they were also used for the holding of the primitive courts of that day.

Nothing in the nature of a permanent court house was built until after the advent of Penn. About 1676, the east wing of the court house at New Castle, still standing, was built. It served for years, both as a state house and court house for New Castle County, and it was not until 1779 that the state house at Dover was built, and it was after that year that Dover became the established capital of the state, and thereafter the sessions of the General Assembly of the state have been held there. The east wing of the original court house at New Castle served all purposes until about the year 1708, when a large addition was made, which constitutes the present middle or main building, and about 1767 a further addition was made to the westward, and eighty years later, that part of the building was still further enlarged. The jail in 1771 was in the

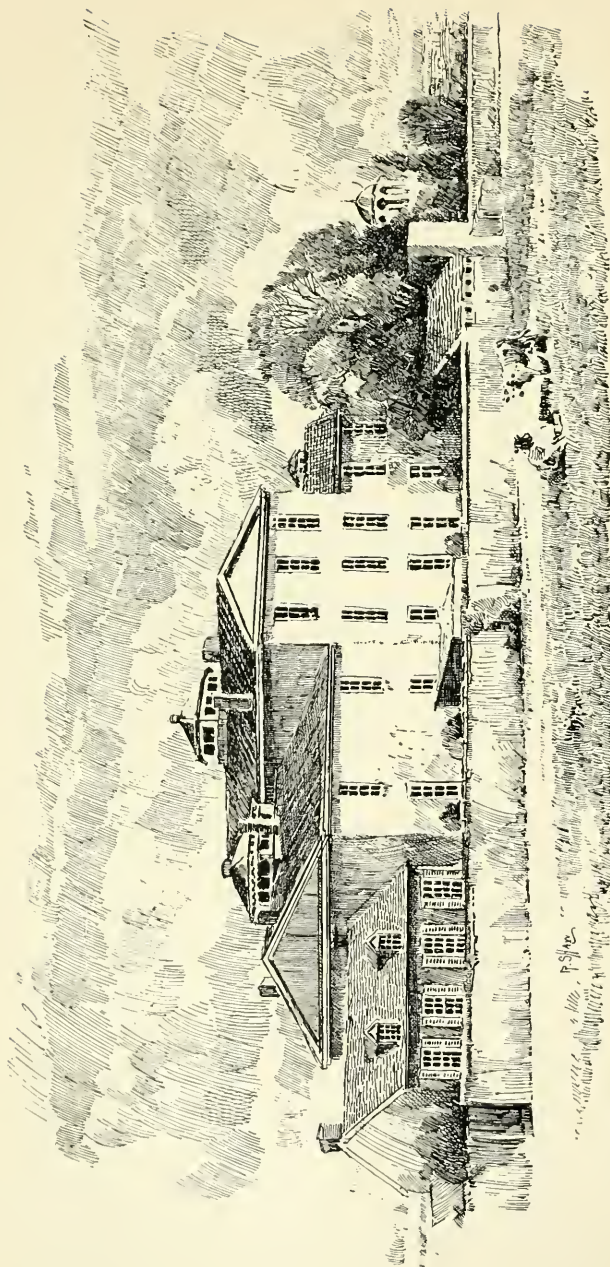


rear of the court house. A new jail was built in 1798, and served until 1858, when the jail was greatly enlarged and improved, and an adjoining residence built for the use of the sheriff of the county.

This jail served for the county until, in the year 1899 provision was made for the erection of a county work-house. Legislation for this purpose was enacted by the General Assembly in the year 1899, and from this grew the erection of a modern work-house, located at Greenbank, in Christiana Hundred, controlled by a board of trustees, appointed for a term of years by the judges of the Superior Court of the State of Delaware residing in New Castle County. The original board appointed in 1899 was composed of the following persons: J. Newlin Gawthrop, Joseph L. Carpenter, Jr., J. Frank Ball, George G. Kerr, and Daniel W. Corbit and the same have continued to the present (1905). The county prisoners were transferred from the old jail at New Castle to the new work-house on the 23d day of November, in the year 1901. The management of the institution has been so admirable that it has won the full confidence of the right-thinking people of the county, and the institution itself is doing so excellent a work in caring for the prisoners under its charge that there is a likelihood in the near future that the State may take charge of the work-house instead of the county alone. The New Castle County work-house as at present managed, is one of the ideal penal institutions in the country.

As early as 1803 a movement was made towards the removal of the county seat from New Castle. Thirty years later an earnest effort was made headed by James A. Bayard, Esquire, to remove the county seat to Wilmington, and a like effort was made at almost every session of the General Assembly until 1847. In that year a movement was started to divide the county, but that also failed. At the session of the General Assembly in 1879 a bill passed both houses of the General Assembly by an almost unanimous vote, providing for the erection of a new court house in Wilmington, and





COUNTY ALMSHOUSE AT WILMINGTON. - 1852 TO 1887.

authorizing the Levy Court of New Castle County to borrow \$70,000 for that purpose.

The authorities of the City of Wilmington, after conference with the Levy Court of the county, donated the "Basin Lot," on Market street, between Tenth and Eleventh streets, for a site for the new court house, and on August 22, 1879, the contract was awarded for the erection of the new court house on that site. The building was completed late in the year 1880, and on January 20, 1881, the county records were removed to the new building, and the first session of court was held in the new building in February, 1881. The contract price for the court house was \$66,203, but the total cost of the building, grading, equipment, furniture, etc., was \$112,605.33.

It was not until the year 1785 that steps were taken for a county almshouse. In that year the overseers for the poor of Christiana Hundred (which included Wilmington), purchased a tract of land on the old Kings Road (now Broome street), between Front and Fourth streets, and erected thereon a suitable building for the accommodation of the poor of the Hundred. This movement led to action being taken in 1791 for the building of almshouses for the three counties. The same year New Castle County succeeded to the ownership of the building erected by Christiana Hundred alone, and thereafter it was conducted as a county almshouse. Additional land was purchased in 1829. The original buildings were burned in 1804, and two years later new buildings were erected on the same site at a cost of \$15,000. The insane department was added in 1843, and a hospital building was erected at Fourth and Broome streets in 1848. It was afterwards known as the smallpox hospital.

The second almshouse, built in 1806, was burned down in 1850. New and enlarged buildings were substituted two years later, and continued in use until 1885, when the trustees of the poor of the county moved the almshouse and insane department to the handsome and commodious buildings erected for the purpose on a farm of about 100 acres that had

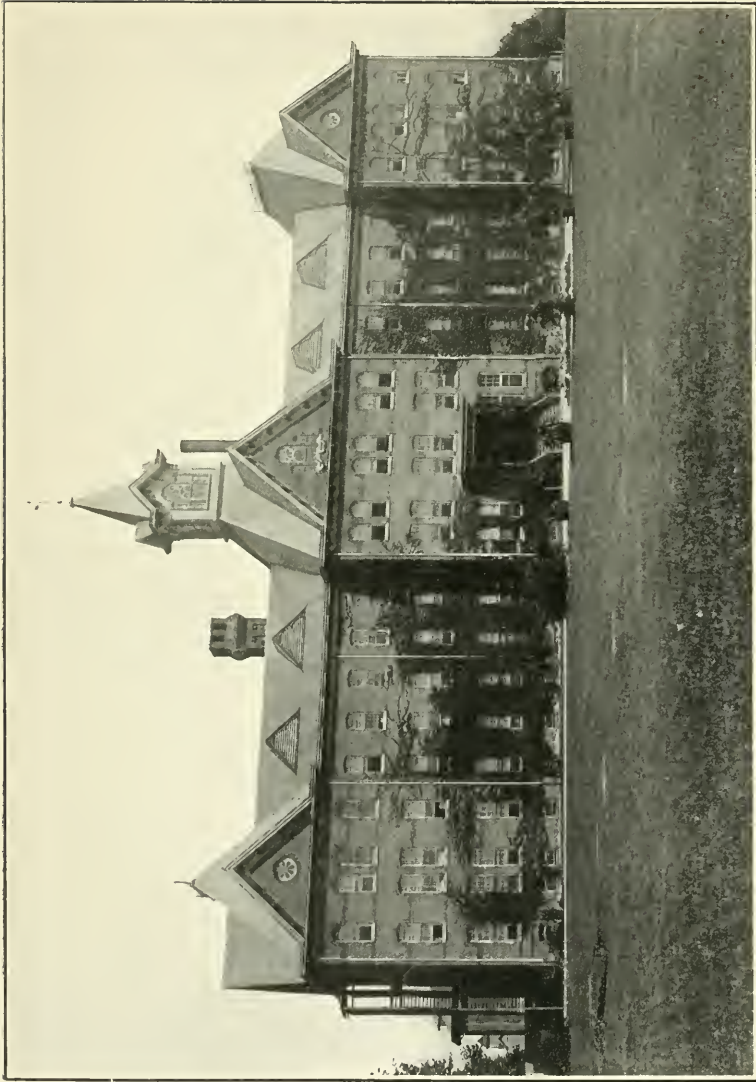
been purchased in 1882 from Graham Blandy. The new buildings are in New Castle Hundred, on the public road leading from Wilmington to Hare's Corner, and their cost complete was over \$300,000. The plot of ground owned by the trustees of the poor in Wilmington had greatly enhanced in value, owing to the growth of the city. It was turned over to a board of trustees to be sold for the benefit of the trustees of the poor, the proceeds to be used in liquidating the debt created by the erection of the new buildings.

At the session of the General Assembly in 1889, an act was passed providing for the purchase by the State of Delaware of the building or buildings that had been erected for the insane in combination with the county almshouse. A non-partisan board of trustees, to be appointed by the governor, was provided for, and thereafter the institution was to be conducted by the state under the name of "The Delaware State Hospital for the Insane." The management is non-partisan, and the personnel of the trustees has been representative of the best citizenship in the state. Several of the leading physicians of the state have been members of the board. Dr. John J. Black has been president of the board since its inception, and through his wise counsels, seconded by the other trustees, the institution ranks with the best in the country.

Prior to 1793 the matter of levying taxes for county purposes seems to have been entrusted to the justices of the peace, but in the latter year an act was passed providing for Levy Court Commissioners, one from each of the hundreds except Christiana and Appoquinimink, each of the latter hundreds being entitled to two Commissioners. This act continued in existence until within a few years past, except that each hundred has for many years been entitled to one commissioner, the whole body of commissioners being elected from the county at large. This made a body of eleven, on whom was the duty of assessing and levying taxes for county purposes, also taxes necessary for the support of the poor, and incidentally for the maintenance of public roads and bridges.







STATE HOSPITAL FOR THE INSANE, FARNHURST.

The General Assembly of 1891 changed the law by dividing the county into five districts, one commissioner to be elected from each of the districts. The first district was composed of the hundreds of Brandywine, Christiana and Mill Creek ; the second district of all that portion of the City of Wilmington lying north of Sixth street ; the third of all that portion of the City of Wilmington lying south of Sixth street ; the fourth to be composed of the hundreds of Red Lion, New Castle, Pencader and White Clay ; and the fifth of the hundreds of St. George's, Appoquinimink and Blackbird. The General Assembly of 1901 amended the law, increasing the number of commissioners from five to seven, so that the Levy Court Commissioners for the county at present compose a body of seven members.

Immediately after the advent of William Penn, the inhabitants were invited to take an oath of allegiance to the new form of government. The list of inhabitants, at that time, who took the required oath has been preserved and is as follows :

Peter Alrichs	Jan Erkelsen Cock
Roelof Andries	Oele Clemenson
Jacob Aertsen	Arnold DeLagrange
Jacobus Andries	Peter DeWitt
Pieter Abrinck	Henry Doll
Hendrick Andriessen	Moses De Gam
Claes Andriessen	Hendrick Dulgar
Christian Andriessen	Mathias De Ringh
John Barrentsen	Amellius De Ringh
Ambroose Becker	Hendrick Evertsen
Mary Bloeq	Abraham Euloos
David Bilderseck	Eldert Egbertson Foraben
Jurian Boatsman	Jan Peterson Frost
Joseph Barrons	Hendrik Fronsén
Jan Bisk	Hendrick Garretson
Anthony Bryant	Paul Garretson
Jan Boyer	Lasse Andries Gubban
Peter Bayard	John Hermonson
Jacob Classen	Jan Hendrickson
Reyner Vander Collen	Evert Hendrickson
William Croesie	Ephriam Hermon
Simeon Erkelsen Cock	Casparus Hermon

Dirck Hingbertsen	Dr. Tymen Stiddem
Justa Andriessen de Haen	Lucas Stiddem
Peter Jacquet	Joslyn Sempill
Jean Paul Jacquet	Luloff Stiddem
Jan Jacquet Jurian	Erasmus Stiddem
Peter Jogan	Adam Stiddem
Sybront Jansen	Samuel Samuells
Harmon Jansen	Corell Stalcop
Harmen Laurien	Jan Stalcop, Jr.
Huybert Laurenson	Jan Andriessen Stalcop
Paul Laersen	Andries Stalcop
Hendrick Lemmens	Olle Thomassen
Engelbert Lott	Olle Tearson
Hans Hansen Miller	Olle Ollsen Tassen
Peter Maisland	Lasse Oesen Tassen
Christopher Myer	Isaac Tayne
Hans Marckussen	Mathias Laersen Tossen
Jan Mornsen	Hendrick Vonder Burgh
John Nommers	Garret Jansen Van Beck
John Williamsen Neering	Arent Jansen V. Burgh
Gerritt Otte	* Cornelius Vandeveer
Gick Oelkins	Jean Garretson Verhoff
Michael Oelsen	Corneles Jansen Vrier
Hans Petersen	Mathias Vanderheyden
Justa Poulsen	Jan Valch
Samuel Petersen	Sybront Valch
Olle Poulsen	Peter Volkertsen
Clays Danielsen Prays	* Jacob Vandeveer
Carell Petersen	Mathias de Vos
Adam Petersen	Gerrardus Wessles
Niels Nielson Ripot	Hendrick Walraven
✓ Broor Sinnexson	Dirck Williensen
Isaac Saboy	Gysbert Walraven

## CIVIL LIST FOR NEW CASTLE COUNTY.

*Sheriffs.*

Under the Dutch, the Sheriff was called the Schout. The first one for this county seems to have been Gregorius Van Dyck, appointed in 1657. He acted as deputy under the schout who lived at New Amsterdam. His successor was Gerrit Swearwingen, appointed in 1660, who served four years. Captain Edmund Cantwell was the first Sheriff under the English, being appointed in 1668, and serving until 1683.

He was in turn succeeded by Abraham Mann. He served one year, his successor being Samuel Land, and he in turn gave way to Edward Gibbs, who served from 1686 to 1690. Here follows, as near as can be obtained from the records, a list of the Sheriffs since the year 1700 :

Joseph Wood	1700-1703	Marcus E. Capelle	1830-1833
John French	1703-1712	James Gardner	1833-1833
Richard Clark	1712-1715	Peter Vandever	1833-1836
Anthony Houston	1715-1718	Nathaniel Wolfe	1836-1838
✓ Roland Fitz Gerald	1718-1725	Elihu Jefferson	1838-1840
William Battell	1725-1726	W. G. Moore	1840-1842
John Gooding	1726-1728	✓ Abraham Boys	1842-1844
✓ William Read	1728-1731	Jacob Caulk	1844-1846
Henry Newton	1731-1733	George Platt	1846-1848
John Gooding	1733-1735	James Grubb	1848-1850
Henry Newton	1735-1739	Samuel Chandler	1850-1852
John Gooding	1739-1744	William R. Lynam	1852-1854
<u>Gideon Griffith</u>	1744-1749	John A. Willard	1854-1856
John Van Dyck	1749-1756	Thomas M. Ogle	1856-1858
William Golding	1756-1757	Abraham Cannon	1858-1860
John McKinly	1757-1760	Levi B. Moore	1860-1862
Thomas Dunn	1760-1765	Lewis W. Stidham	1862-1864
Thomas Duff	1765-1766	George S. Hagany	1864-1866
John Thompson	1766-1770	William Herbert	1866-1868
Thomas Duff	1770-1773	Jacob Richardson	1868-1870
John Thompson	1773-1775	James Armstrong	1870-1872
John Clark	1775-1779	R. Lewis Armstrong	1872-1874
Samuel Smith	1779-1783	William H. Lambson	1874-1876
Joseph Stidham	1783-1785	Isaac Grubb	1876-1878
Thomas McKean	1785-1788	John Pyle	1878-1880
John Stockton	1788-1791	Philip R. Clark	1880-1882
Daniel Jenifer Adams	1791-1794	James Martin	1882-1884
William Stidham	1794-1797	Thomas Ford	1884-1886
Maxwell Bines	1797-1800	Giles Lambson	1886-1888
Joseph Israel	1800-1803	Alvan Allen	1888-1890
Richard C. Dale	1803-1806	William Simmons	1890-1892
Francis Haughey	1806-1809	Pierce Gould	1892-1894
Thomas Perkins	1809-1811	Paul Gillis	1894-1896
William Moore	1811-1815	William R. Flinn	1896-1898
Francis Haughey	1815-1818	John E. Taylor	1898-1901
John Moody	1818-1821	Samuel A. McDaniel	1901-1903
David C. Wilson	1821-1824	Emmit F. Stidham	1903-1905
Peter B. Dulany	1824-1827	Harry I. Gillis	1905-1907
William Herdman	1827-1830	Henry Stafford	1907-



*Coroners.*

Robert Robinson	appointed	1686
Joseph Story	"	1724
Henry Vining	"	1769
Joseph Stidham	"	1774
John Stockton	"	1783
William Stidham	"	1790
Alexander Harvey	"	1797
Thomas Anderson	"	1803
Benjamin Ogle	"	1806
Alexander Porter	"	1809
John Bates	"	1812
Thomas Clark	"	1815
James Thompson	"	1818
Peter L. Ogle	"	1821
William Woonsock	"	1824
Henry Vining	"	1827
William Thompson	served from	1830-1834
Eli Crozier	" "	1834-1836
James Adams	" "	1836-1838
Archibald Gordon	" "	1838-1840
Eli Crozier	" "	1840-1842
John Moore	" "	1842-1846
Otten D. Jester	" "	1846-1848
Isaac Janvier	" "	1848-1850
John Stillwell	" "	1850-1854
Lindley Pearce	" "	1854-1856
James Rickards	" "	1856-1858
✓ John Boys	" "	1858-1860
Joseph Kilgore	" "	1860-1862
Owen Zebbley	" "	1862-1864
John Currey	" "	1864-1866
Benjamin Bellew	" "	1866-1868
Lawrence Pendegrass	" "	1868-1870
Daniel B. Woodward	" "	1870-1872
Charles A. Winslow	" "	1872-1874
Richard Groves	" "	1874-1876
David C. Rose	" "	1876-1878
Jacob Butz	" "	1878-1880
Rayworth Weldin	" "	1880-1882
Frank E. Smith	" "	1882-1884
Bayard Widdoes	" "	1884-1886
George T. Barnhill	" "	1886-1888
Nevin C. Gamble	" "	1888-1890
Charles E. Sparks	" "	1890-1892
Joseph H. Kirk	" "	1892-1893



WHIPPING-POST AND PILLORY, NEW CASTLE.



George C. Rothwell	served from	1893-1894
Emmit F. Stidham	" "	1894-1896
J. Thomas Wright	" "	1896-1898
• Alfred D. Vandever	" "	1898-1901
John L. Frick	" "	1901-1903
Samuel McCormick	" "	1903-1905
William T. Purks	" "	1905-1907
James H. Calloway	" "	1907-

### *Registers of Wills.*

Prior to 1684, the courts had, upon petition, appointed persons to administer on the estates of deceased persons. In the latter year John Cann was appointed Register of Wills by the Provincial Council. After John Cann came John French, who served from 1717 to 1721. The following list is incomplete between 1721 and 1800, but as far as the records disclose, the following persons served in the office of Register of Wills for New Castle County :

Robert Gordon	appointed	1728
William Reed	"	1735
William Shaw	"	1738
Theodore Maurice	"	1766
Gunning Bedford	"	1788
Evan Thomas	served from	1799-1804
Nehemiah Tilton	" "	1804-1809
Evan Thomas	" "	1809-1832
Evan H. Thomas	" "	1832-1837
Jacob Caulk	" "	1837-1842
Joshua E. Driver	" "	1842-1847
Amos H. Wickersham	" "	1847-1854
• Peter B. Vandever	" "	1854-1864
Robert C. Frain	" "	1864-1869
Benjamin Gibbs	" "	1869-1874
Sewell C. Biggs	" "	1874-1884
Ignatius C. Grubb	" "	1884-1886
John K. Bradford	" "	1886-1891
J. Wilkins Cooch	" "	1891-1896
Calvin W. Crossan	" "	1896-1903
Fred. Eden Bach	" "	1903-1907
Francis M. Walker	" "	1907-

*Clerks of the Peace.*

The first clerk of the courts on the South River seems to have been William Tom, and his jurisdiction extended from Upland to the southern part of Delaware. He served prior to 1676. Governor Edmond Andros reorganized the courts in 1676, and the same year Ephraim Herman was appointed clerk, and served until 1684, when he was succeeded by John White, who served five years, his successor being James Claypoole, who was appointed in 1689 and served until 1694. Following is a list of the Clerks of the Peace since 1728, not entirely complete in the earlier years :

David French	appointed	1728
William Till	"	1738
Richard McWilliams	"	1748
Theodore Maurice	"	1766
J. A. Keith	served from	1800-1805
Hugh W. Richie	" "	1805-1810
Alexander Reynolds	" "	1810-1817
Joseph Roberts	" "	1817-1822
David Paynter	" "	1822-1827
Thomas Stockton	" "	1827-1835
John Gordon	" "	1835-1840
Charles H. Black	" "	1840-1850
John D. Dilworth	" "	1850-1855
Edward Williams	" "	1855-1860
John Merritt	" "	1860-1870
John P. Springer	" "	1870-1880
Edwin R. Cochran	" "	1880-1890
William P. Biggs	" "	1890-1895
Jefferson B. Foard	" "	1895-1901
Winfield S. Quigley	" "	1901-

*Recorders of Deeds.*

Robert Gordon	appointed	1727
William Read	"	1735
John Mackey	"	1746
Richard McWilliams	"	1748
Richard McWilliams	"	1777
George Booth	"	1799
Evan Thomas	"	1800
Daniel Blaney	"	1804
Evan Thomas	"	1805



Daniel Blaney	appointed	1811
Abraham Van Dyck	"	1814
Henry Steele	"	1821
Abraham Van Dyck	"	1822
Matthew Kean	"	1822
James S. White	"	1834
John Wiley	"	1835
Matthew Kean	"	1836
Cornelius D. Blaney	"	1841
William Ocheltree	served from	1847-1855
Samuel Thompson	" "	1855-1859
Charles M. Allmond	" "	1859-1863
Abraham P. Shannon	" "	1863-1868
James Nicholson	" "	1868-1873
Thomas Holcomb	" "	1878-1888
James T. Shallcross	" "	1888-1893
Courtland C. Montgomery	" "	1893-1899
Delaware Clark	" "	1899-1903
James S. Moore	" "	1903-1905
Harry H. Billany	" "	1905-

*Prothonotaries.*

William Long	appointed	1702
David French	"	1728
Thomas Noxon	"	1742
John Mackey	"	1746
William Till	"	1748
Theodore Maurice	"	1766
Gunning Bedford	"	1777
Alexander Glassford	"	1796
Archibald Alexander	"	1801
Hugh W. Ritchie	served from	1805-1810
Thomas Stockton	" "	1810-1812
Henry Steele	" "	1812-1817
Joseph Roberts	" "	1817-1831
Cornelius D. Blaney	" "	1831-1837
James D. Mansfield	" "	1837-1847
Samuel Biddle	" "	1847-1852
William G. Whitely	" "	1852-1857
John A. Alderdice	" "	1857-1862
William G. Whitely	" "	1862-1865
Richard G. Cooper	" "	1865-1875
Charles Beaten	" "	1875-1880
George A. Maxwell	" "	1880-1890
Peter A. Harty	" "	1890-1895
Victor B. Wooley	" "	1895-1901
Frank L. Speakman	" "	1901-

*Registers of Court of Chancery and Clerks of the Orphans' Court.*

Hugh W. Richie	served from	1805-1810
Alexander Reynolds	" "	1810-1817
Joseph Roberts	" "	1817-1822
David Paynter	" "	1822-1826
Joseph L. Harper	" "	1826-1832
Thomas Stockton	" "	1832-1835
John Gordon	" "	1835-1840
Cornelius D. Blaney	" "	1840-1840
Charles H. Black	" "	1840-1845
Cornelius D. Blaney	" "	1845-1847
Hugh H. Thompson	" "	1847-1849
Peter B. Vandever	" "	1849-1854
William Huffington	" "	1854-1854
Edward W. Clay	" "	1854-1856
John D. Bird	" "	1856-1861
James Duncan	" "	1861-1863
Samuel Guthrie	" "	1863-1868
Benjamin Ustick	" "	1868-1873
Charles M. Vandever	" "	1873-1877
James M. Houseman	" "	1877-1887
Charles H. McWhorter	" "	1887-1893
Colin Ferguson	" "	1893-1903
Joseph C. Jolls	" "	1903-

*Treasurers of New Castle County.*

Richard McWilliams	served from	1777-1785
John Hyatt	" "	1785-1797
James McCalmont	" "	1797-1807
Caleb P. Bennett	" "	1807-1833
George Houston	" "	1833-1841
Ziba Ferris	" "	1841-1843
Washington Russell	" "	1843-1846
Andrew P. Reading	" "	1846-1847
Benjamin Whiteman	" "	1847-1849
Edward Williams	" "	1849-1851
James N. Sutton	" "	1851-1853
Thomas H. Moore	" "	1853-1855
Henry Rowan	" "	1855-1857
James Delaplaine	" "	1857-1859
Thomas Scott	" "	1859-1861
Mark M. Cleaver	" "	1861-1869
James B. Clarkson	" "	1869-1871
Gassaway Watkins	" "	1871-1873
Mark M. Cleaver	" "	1873-1874
Gassaway Watkins	" "	1874-1875

William Herbert	served from	1875-1887
Edmund Haman	" "	1887-1892
John T. Dickey	" "	1892-1897
Horace G. Rettew	" "	1897-1905
Robert M. Burns	" "	1905-

## THE CITY OF WILMINGTON.

Wilmington is the only city in the State that has a population exceeding 6,000. Its admirable location between two rivers and its proximity to the Delaware River have led to its rapid growth, and almost from its beginning it has been noted as a manufacturing center. The streets, with rare exceptions, are laid out at right angles with each other and those running from east to west are named numerically. The founders of the city seemed to have copied after Philadelphia in the general plan adopted.

The city is built upon a succession of hills, the highest ground being in the vicinity of Eighth and Rodney streets. The land on which the city was originally built was granted by the agent of the Duke of York to John Anderson and Tymen Stidham; these grants were made about the year 1761. Part of the land granted to Anderson was afterwards sold to Samuel Peterson and by the heirs of Peterson a sale of part was made to Andrew Justison. A daughter of Andrew Justison in 1728 married Thomas Willing, and a few years after the marriage Willing became possessed of part of the Justison land by deed from his father-in-law that embraced all of the land lying on the Christiana between West and French streets, and on this part Willing laid out streets at right angles and sold a number of lots evidently with a view of establishing a town; this was about the year 1731.

The town so laid out was called Willingtown; but Thomas Willing did not seem to prosper in his enterprise, as a map of the town made in 1736, that has been preserved, shows that in that year only 33 houses had been built; they were mostly grouped on Market street south of Second and between King and Shipley streets. The town as then laid out extended from

Walnut street on the east to Tatnall street on the west and from Christiana River on the south to what is Fifth street on the north. The first house built in Wilmington was probably the residence of Thomas Willing built for his own use on the occasion of his marriage with Catharine, the daughter of Andrew Justison ; it stood at the northwest corner of Water and King streets.

In 1735 William Shipley of Ridley Township, Pennsylvania, made a visit to Willingtown and on that visit purchased a small lot in the town and a few months later purchased a tract of twelve acres lying between Market and West streets above Second and below Fifth. Shortly afterward William Shipley and his wife came to the town and settled. They were people of means and influential members of the Society of Friends. Others of the same sect soon followed and from that time the town grew rapidly. William Shipley built a home for his own occupancy at the southwest corner of Fourth and Shipley streets in 1735 ; it was undoubtedly the most pretentious house erected up to that time in the State and served as the Shipley residence until his death in 1768. The building stood for 148 years until 1883 when it was torn down, being still in a good state of preservation, to make room for the present Gawthrop building. William Shipley was virtually the founder of Wilmington.

The name was changed from Willingtown to Wilmington about 1739 when a charter was granted to Wilmington as a borough. As was entirely proper, William Shipley was elected the first Burgess under the first borough charter in 1739, and served for three years ; he was again re-elected in 1743 and served another year. Descendants of William Shipley are still living in this city. At the granting of the first charter the population was only 610. The original charter continued in force until 1832 when a charter was granted converting Wilmington from a borough into a city. The boundaries of the city for many years extended from the junction of the Christiana and Brandywine creeks to the Old

Kings Road on the west, and by an irregular line running in a southeasterly direction from Front and Broome streets to the Christiana. In the year 1873 the westerly boundary was extended to Union street and later to Greenhill avenue and Rising Sun Lane. The city covers at present about ten square miles of territory and embraces 6519 square acres of land. The charter granted in 1832 was revised in 1883. Under the old charter the Mayor was the sole police and Committing Magistrate but the charter of 1883 provided for the establishment of a Municipal Court which superseded the Mayor as a Magistrate. Walter Cummins was the first judge of the Municipal Court, serving from 1883 to 1888, and being succeeded by J. Frank Ball, who served until 1900.

On October 22d, 1900, Edwin R. Cochran, Jr., was appointed Judge of the Municipal Court by Governor Tunnell. The appointment was sent to the State Senate for confirmation at its session in January following, but the State administration having changed, the appointment of Mr. Cochran was not confirmed. Thereupon Governor Hunn sent to the Senate the name of Philip Q. Churchman for the place, and the appointment of Mr. Churchman was confirmed by the Senate.

Mr. Cochran then resorted to legal proceedings before the Superior Court, to test the question as to whether an appointee to the office of Judge of the Municipal Court must, under the constitution of 1897, be confirmed by the Senate. The Superior Court held that confirmation by the Senate was necessary. The case was then appealed to the Supreme Court and by a decision of that court in which Chancellor Nicholson and Judge Grubb joined, the lower court was reversed and the seat given to Mr. Cochran. During the pending of these proceedings, from February 1901 until January 1902, Mr. Churchman performed the duties of the office. Judge Cochran assumed the place in January, 1902, and has since performed its duties.

The first market house was built in Fourth street between Market and Shipley streets, and a second was afterwards built



on the same street between Shipley and Orange streets. The first Second Street Market House was built in 1737 and stood until 1793 when it was rebuilt and lasted until 1876 when the City leased the land to a corporation called the "City Market Company" and it was under its direction that the market house now standing was built in 1876. The City established a market house on Twelfth street between Market and King streets in 1848 and a Farmers' Market was authorized to be built on the same street between King and French streets; this market, however, never prospered; the building stood for about forty years when it was torn down.

When the firm of Gregg & Bowe built their large carriage works at the S. W. corner of Eighth and Orange streets in 1868 they set apart the first floor of the building for market purposes calling it the "Farmers' Market." This was the first private market enterprise. It is occupied by butchers, truckers and farmers and has been well patronized by the public. A second venture to found a market house as a private enterprise was the establishment of the Third Street Market at the S. W. corner of Third and King streets by James Bradford in 1875. It has been fairly successful and is now under the control of the Wilmington Market Company. An effort was made to establish a market on Front street between Jefferson and Madison streets but it failed for lack of patronage. The building is now used by Thomas H. H. Messinger as a carriage factory.

Wilmington for many years has been noted for its good markets. A street market has been maintained as long as the memory of man runneth. This market until about the year 1868 was held on Market street but after the advent of street cars it was transferred to King street and a public market is now held on that street on Wednesday and Saturday of each week and for some hours of the two afternoons preceding. The town folk are much attached to the street market and the belief is general that fresher and cheaper commodities are offered on the public street than could be gotten in the market houses.





WILMINGTON POSTOFFICE AND CUSTOM HOUSE. 1855 TO 1897.



WILMINGTON CITY HALL. BUILT A. D. 1798.

The first Town Hall was built over the west end of the Second Street Market House fronting on Market street. It was built in 1774 and was torn down in 1795. In 1798 a City Hall was built on Market street below Sixth, and has been occupied since as the meeting-place for the City government. It has been several times enlarged and is quite different in construction from what it was originally. The clock and bell on the City Hall were donated to the city by Joseph Tatnall. The clock is still in running order, but the bell was removed and replaced by another in 1866.

The first Postmaster was Jacob Broom who served from 1790 to 1792. He was succeeded by John Webster who served from 1792 to 1795, and then in turn came Samuel Byrnes from 1795 to 1796, Enoch Welch from 1796 to 1798, and Edward Gilpin from 1798 to 1802. As the successor of Gilpin, Joseph Bringhurst was appointed April 19, 1802, and served until 1820. During his term the Post Office occupied a small room adjoining Bringhurst's drug store on Market street below Third. The location of the Post Office before Bringhurst's incumbency is not known.

In 1820 Nicholas G. Williamson was appointed as the successor of Bringhurst and served, under succeeding administrations, until 1841. During Williamson's time the office was located at the northwest corner of Third and Shipley Streets. In 1841 Jacob Alrichs was appointed as Williamson's successor, but after serving about two years Alrichs was removed and Nicholas G. Williamson reappointed under date of July 25, 1843. He only served until October 20, 1843, when William Sellars was appointed to succeed him. Sellars occupied the place until 1849. In the latter year Henry H. J. Naff was appointed and served until 1853. John McClung was his successor, serving from 1853 to 1856. Henry F. Askew was appointed in 1856 and served until the Lincoln administration in 1861. The following have served as postmasters since the beginning of the Civil War:

*Postmasters.*

Arthur H. Grimshaw	1861-1866	Daniel F. Stewart	1890-1894
Joseph M. Barr	1866-1869	Enoch Moore, Jr.	1894-1898
James Lewis	1869-1874	Hugh C. Browne	1898-1901
William M. Pyle	1874-1882	William H. Heald	1901-1906
William Y. Swiggett	1882-1886	Henry C. Conrad	1906-
Robert H. Taylor	1886-1890		

The first government building erected at Sixth and King streets for postoffice purposes in 1855 continued in use until 1897 when a new federal building was erected on Ninth street occupying the entire frontage between Shipley and Orange streets. This building was erected at a cost of \$200,000, and accommodates not only the post office but also the United States courts and other federal offices.

The inhabitants of the city for many years procured their water supply through private pumps. As early as 1796 the borough council took steps toward placing the pumps under the care of the borough and in 1800 some effort was made to have the town supplied with water from the spring on the hill on Third street near Tatnall, but this effort did not succeed. "The Wilmington Spring Water Co." was incorporated in 1804 by several of the most influential citizens of the place. This company supplied water in a limited way to a small territory for five or six years when the borough council purchased all the rights and equipments of the company and established the Wilmington Water Department. For many years wooden pipes were used for conveying the water from the reservoirs at the springs, along the principal streets where a number of cisterns were placed.

This primitive system, while not entirely satisfactory, served the purpose until 1820, when a committee was appointed by the borough council to "view the field and report the probable expense of having water brought from the Brandywine." From this movement developed the building of a large reservoir on the lot between Tenth and Eleventh streets and Market and King streets, the water supply being brought from the Brandywine by means of force pumps. In 1827 the borough author-







WILMINGTON POSTOFFICE AND CUSTOM HOUSE. A. D. 1897.

ities purchased from John Cummins for the sum of \$28,000 his large mill on the south side of the Brandywine, to be used as the location for the pump that was to force the water to the basin. From time to time the system has been improved and extended.

The new reservoir at Eighth and Rodney streets was erected about 1865 and the Cool Spring Reservoir at Tenth and Franklin streets was finished in 1877. The pumping stations and general equipment of the department have been gradually enlarged and improved of recent years but the rapid increase of population has led to the necessity of a still further supply of water for the accommodation of the increased population, and steps are now being actively taken for the erection of a new reservoir on the Weldin Farm, a mile or more from the city limits on the Concord turnpike.

By an Act of the General Assembly passed in 1883, the control of the water department was taken away from city council and vested in a Board of Water Commissioners. The original members of the board were William T. Porter, Caesar A. Rodney and Lewis Paynter. The affairs of the board have been managed in a way to commend them to the public. Mr. Porter, who for many years was the president of the board, proved to be a most capable man for the position and under his direction the department was most carefully managed and the income continually increased. No department of the city government has shown more efficient management.

The following have served as members of the Board of Water Commissioners since its organization in 1883 :

William T. Porter	April, 1883	to January, 1901
Caesar A. Rodney	April, 1883	June, 1884
Lewis W. Paynter	April, 1883	June, 1884
William G. Gibbons	June, 1884	July, 1885
Christian Febiger	June, 1884	January, 1892
James Carmichael	July, 1885	July, 1891
Henry F. Pickels	July, 1891	July, 1897
Thomas B. Smith	January, 1892	July, 1893
Washington Hastings	July, 1893	July, 1899

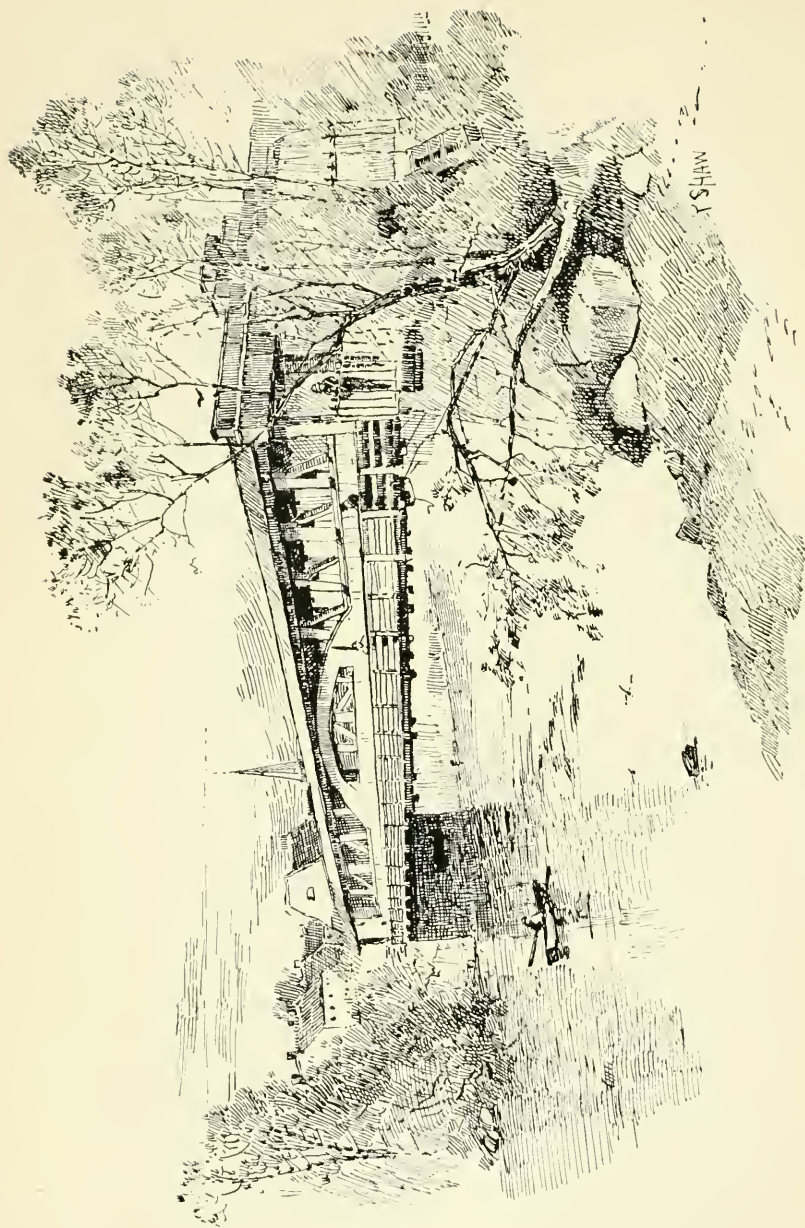
Alfred Betts	July, 1897	to July, 1903
William H. Swift	February, 1901	July, 1901
Joseph P. Pyle	July, 1899	November, 1903
James P. Jones	July, 1901	November, 1903
Peter J. Ford	July, 1903	
David Lindsay	November, 1903	
A. H. G. Garrett	November, 1903	July, 1905
Benjamin F. Shaw	July, 1905	
William W. Knox	July, 1907	

In the early days, before the erection of bridges, there were several fords across the Brandywine. The Philadelphia road was possibly the oldest of the public roads leading into Wilmington. Most of the traffic coming into Wilmington by this road crossed the Brandywine on a ferry maintained at the foot of French street. There was also a ford across the Brandywine at the foot of Adams street and on the southerly side of the stream the ford at that place connected with the Old Kings road which intersected the Kennett road at what is now the intersection of Delaware avenue and Adams street. The Old Kings road took a southwesterly course after leaving the Kennett road, gradually mounting the hill, passing what is now Eighth street at Harrison, and Sixth street at Franklin, and joining what is now Broome street near the corner of Fifth. From that point it followed the course of Broome street, as at present laid out, to Lancaster avenue, which at that time was the Lancaster road.

The present Pennsylvania avenue was in olden times known as the Kennett road, afterwards incorporated as the Wilmington and Kennett Turnpike Company. Maryland avenue continues the course originally taken by the Baltimore road. The early road from New Castle led to a ferry that was maintained near the site of the present Third street bridge and for many years this road was known as the Old Ferry road. A map made in 1772 shows two old roads crossing the city, one leading from the Brandywine bridge at Market street to the ferry on the Christiana at Third street, the other is really a continuation of the Kennett road and called the "Road to the







BRIDGE OVER BRANDYWINE AT WILMINGTON—1839 TO 1887.

Rocks." It ran diagonally across the city in a southeasterly direction and intersected the road to the ferry, striking the same at about Seventh street. It is claimed that Peter Vandever built a bridge across the Brandywine near the present site of the Eleventh street bridge but the date of its erection is not known.

The first Market street bridge, across the Brandywine, was completed in 1764; it was what was known as a chain bridge and continued in use for fifty years, when it was superseded by another of the same kind. The latter lasted until 1822 when the first wooden bridge was built across the Brandywine; this bridge was carried away by a flood in 1839, and the bridge that was built in its stead, being the old-fashioned covered wooden bridge, continued in use until 1887 when the present substantial iron structure was placed across the stream by the Levy Court of the county.

The Legislature of 1867 authorized the erection of a bridge over the Brandywine at some point between Seventh and Thirteenth streets; afterwards Eleventh street was chosen, and the first bridge at that point was built about the year 1869. The erection of a bridge at that point led to the building up of the territory lying on the easterly side of the stream. Very soon manufactories were started and many houses built. When, in 1902, the Philadelphia, Washington and Baltimore Railroad Company bought a tract of land at Todd's Cut near Edge Moor the whole section of the city east of the Brandywine took on new life, and within the past five years hundreds of houses have been erected to accommodate the large and growing population employed by the railroad company in the shops and yards near at hand.

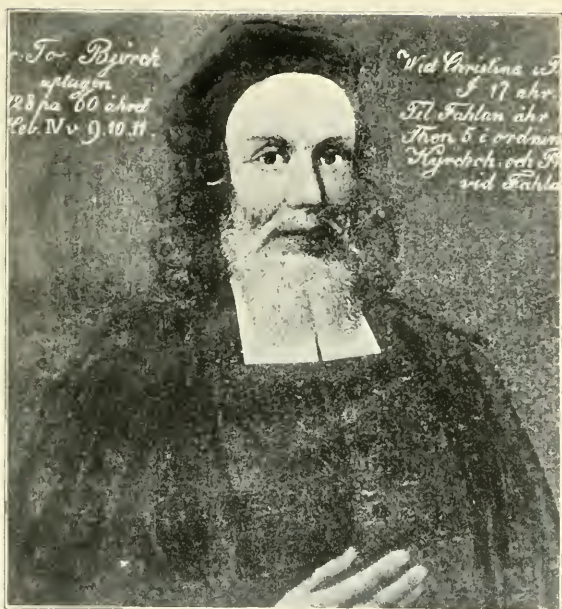
The high and beautiful land lying to the north of the Brandywine at Washington and adjoining streets attracted the attention of several citizens who anticipated that that section, if developed, would prove a popular one for the best class of residences, and accordingly a company under the name of the North Side Improvement Company was incor-

porated in 1891, and that company, after securing a large tract of land from the Elliotts, started the movement which resulted in the building of the Washington street bridge over the Brandywine in 1893 at a cost of \$79,000. A handsome avenue called "The Boulevard," was laid out from the northerly end of the bridge to the Concord Turnpike, and many acres of land, which up to that time had been under cultivation as farm land, were plotted and divided, and building operations started which give evidence of making this part of the city the favored one for attractive and expensive homes.

No bridge spanned the Christiana until the year 1808. The year previous a company was incorporated by the General Assembly under the name of the Wilmington Bridge Company with authority to erect a drawbridge over the Christiana at the foot of Market street, and to open a road from thence through the Holland Creek Marsh to the fast land near the home of Major Jacquette. This company built the first bridge, and it continued the property of the company as a toll bridge until 1851 when it was purchased by the county. The present bridge was built in 1883. All the traffic was carried across the Christiana by this one bridge until the year 1868, when the present Third street bridge was erected by Zadock Townsend and his sons, George R. Townsend and B. Frank Townsend, who had bought large tracts of land on the south side of the stream on the Old Ferry road. On the completion of the bridge it was accepted by the Levy Court, and opened to public travel.

The streets of the City of Wilmington have been under the control, first, of the borough, until 1832, then under City Council from 1832 until 1887. In the latter year the control of the streets was taken from the the City Council and vested in a Board of Directors of the Street and Sewer Department, and that department has since had full control of the streets of the city. In 1891 an act was passed providing for a system of public sewers for the city, which provided for the extension, over the entire city, of a full and complete sewer system. The





REV. ERISCUS TOBIAS BJORCK AND THE CHURCH HE BUILT.



sewers are under the control of the same department. A recent report of the department shows that the city has a total of ninety-three miles of streets, improved and unimproved, and of this number about one-half are paved streets. The same report shows that the city has a total of over seventy-five miles of sewers. The following list shows the directors of the Street and Sewer Department since its organization :

Joseph L. Carpenter, Jr	1887-1893	Ayres S. Webster	1897-1902
J. Newlin Gawthrop	1887-1895	James D. Carter	1899-1905
James Murray	1887-1891	Patrick Fahey	1901-1902
Samuel Chambers	1891-1897	Andrew L. Johnson	1902-1907
Enoch Moore	1893-1895	Thomas H. Melvin	1902-
William A. Pratt	1895-1899	John G. Gray	1905-
William Simmons	1895-1901	George W. Sparks	1907-

*Secretaries of the Street and Sewer Department.*

T. Leslie Carpenter	1887-1891	Leslie V. Christy	1903-
Harvey J. Wiley	1891-1903		

### CHURCHES.

The history of the churches in Wilmington is so fully traced in the separate chapter on Religious Denominations that but little need be said here. Shortly after the first Swedish settlement in 1638, religious exercises were arranged for and possibly the first Christian minister to preach the word within the limits of the present city of Wilmington was Rev. Riorus Torkillus, who conducted religious services in old Fort Christina soon after its erection. The Crane Hook Church, the first regular church established by the Swedes was built in 1667, but it was not located in Wilmington, being near the Delaware river, in what is now New Castle Hundred, some distance south of the Christiana creek.

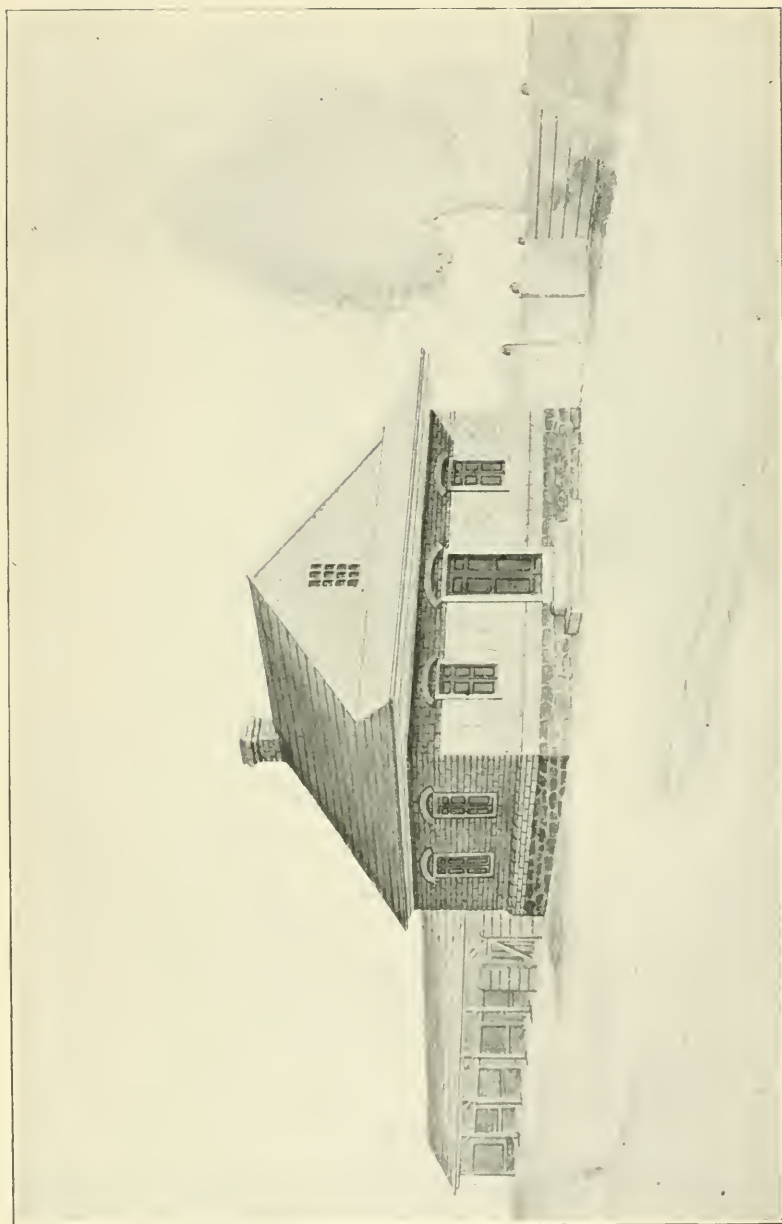
The old Swedes (Holy Trinity) Church was the first church built in Wilmington. It bears the date of 1698, but it was dedicated on Trinity Sunday in 1699, and still stands as an honored monument to the pious God-fearing Swedes. The church from its organization until late in the eighteenth

century, continued under the direction of the Lutherans, but subsequently came under the control of the Protestant Episcopal Church, the services being conducted in the English language since 1800. In 1830 the old church was temporarily abandoned, and the congregation in that year removed to the northeast corner of Fifth and King streets, where a new Trinity Church had been erected. In 1881 this church was sold and a new church built at Delaware avenue and Adams street, which now accomodates the Holy Trinity congregation. From Old Swedes has sprung St. Andrew's, founded in 1829, and St. John's, in 1858. Calvary Church at Third and Washington streets, an offspring of St. Andrew's, was consecrated in 1858, and later followed St. Michael's at Chestnut and Adams streets, and Immanuel on the Highlands. With the advent of Bishop Coleman as bishop of the diocese was established the Chapel of the Good Shepherd at Bishopstead.

The first meeting of the Society of Friends was held in Wilmington in 1738, in a house owned by William Shipley. Prior to this date meetings for Friends had been established at Newark in Brandywine Hundred, and at New Castle. In 1738 the first Friends Meeting House was built in Wilmington on the easterly side of West street, between Fourth and Fifth streets. Ten years later another and larger meeting house was built on the opposite side of the street, and in 1816 it gave way to the structure which is still standing, and used regularly for services by the Hicksite branch of the society. On the division of the society in 1827, the Orthodox Friends built the meeting house which is still in use by them at Ninth and Tatnall streets.

The First Presbyterian Church was built in 1740. It is the unique building occupied for several years past by the Historical Society of Delaware, on the easterly side of Market street, just south of Tenth street. The second Presbyterian church was established at Fifth and Walnut streets in 1774 by several members who withdrew from the first church. For a time it was called the Christiana Church, but in 1829 the congrega-





FIRST FRIENDS MEETING HOUSE IN WILMINGTON, A. D. 1738.

tion built a new church at Sixth and King streets, and called themselves the Hanover Street Church. From this church grew Central Church, established in 1855, and Olivet in 1863. The latter was first located at Chestnut and Adams street, but afterwards was removed to Fourth and Broome streets. West Church was founded in 1868, and a Sunday school was established at Rodney street, near Delaware avenue, which developed into the present Rodney Street Presbyterian Church. A neat little church building at Twenty-seventh and Market streets is called the East Lake Presbyterian Church, and it is the youngest church of the denomination in the city. Gilbert Presbyterian Church for colored people was founded in 1890.

Asbury Church, on Walnut street near Third, was the pioneer Methodist Episcopal church in the city. It was dedicated by Bishop Asbury, after whom it was named, on October 10, 1789. From Asbury sprang St. Paul's in 1844; Union was built in 1850, Scott in 1857, Brandywine in 1857, Grace in 1866. Epworth and Madely were the offsprings of Grace Church. Silverbrook, Wesley and Kingswood are daughters of St. Paul's. The Swedish Mission was founded in 1882. Cookman and Harrison Street were established within the past fifteen years to meet the wants of growing sections of the city, and Trinity and Washington Heights, now in course of construction, are needed to accomodate the rapidly increasing Methodist population north of the Brandywine.

The first Baptist church in Wilmington was founded in 1785, and the building then erected on King street, between Tenth and Eleventh streets, is still standing, although services are no longer held there by the Baptist denomination. In 1835 the Second Baptist Church was organized, its first location being at the southeast corner of Fifth and Walnut streets. Twenty years later, in 1855, the congregation having greatly increased, a new church was built at the northeast corner of Fourth and French streets. At the time, this was the most attractive church building in Wilmington. In course of years, business encroached, and in the year 1888 a lot was

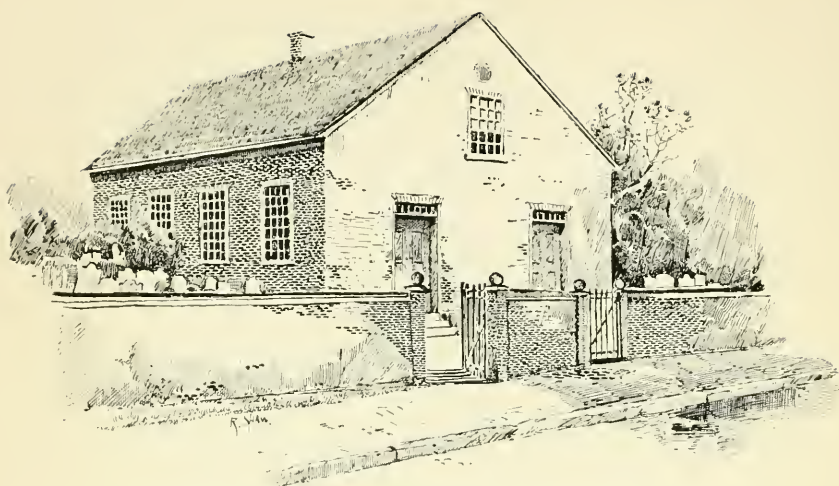


purchased at the southeast corner of Ninth and Franklin streets, and to this site the Second Baptist Church was removed in 1892. From the second church came Delaware Avenue Baptist Church in 1865, and four years later the Baptist City Mission was established, out of which grew Bethany Baptist Church, founded 1878. Grace Baptist Church was organized in 1885, by about sixty members from the Delaware Avenue Church, but it only continued a few years. Shiloh Baptist Church for colored people was started in 1876, and the present commodious building occupied by its congregation at the southeast corner of Twelfth and Orange streets was dedicated in 1885.

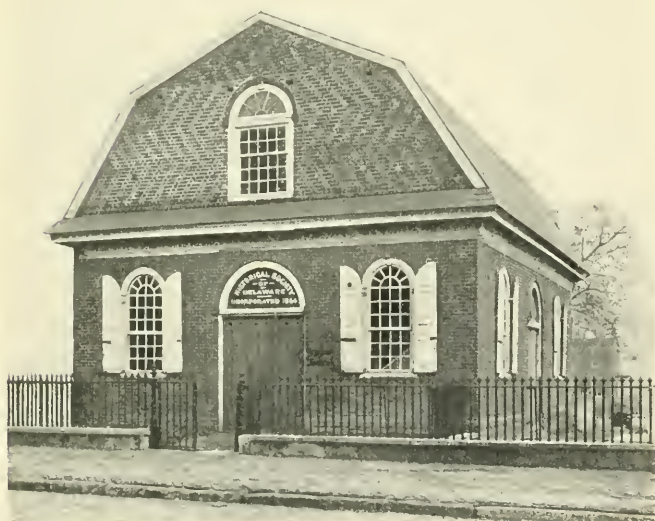
Rev. Patrick Kenny established the first Roman Catholic church in Wilmington, in the year 1816, when St. Peter's Church, at the southeast corner of Sixth and West streets was built through his exertions. It was forty years later, in 1856, when St. Mary's, the second church, was organized under the direction of Rev. Patrick Reilly. In 1839 Father Reilly established a Catholic school, which grew into St. Mary's College, which occupied a commanding site on Delaware avenue near Jefferson street and which under Father Reilly's management, attained great success until the outbreak of the Civil War. The third Roman Catholic Church established was St. Paul's, at the southwest corner of Fourth and Jackson streets, dedicated in 1869. Then came the Church of the Sacred Heart, at Tenth and Madison streets, in 1874; and St. Patrick's, at Fourteenth and King streets in 1881. St. James, established in 1869, was discontinued in 1887, when St. Anne's Church, on Union street, north of Delaware avenue, was erected, and the congregations of the two churches combined. St. Hedwig's Church, at Linden and Harrison streets, and St. Thomas' Church at Fourth street and Grant avenue are the latest Catholic churches, each of these occupying a field made available by the rapidly increasing Catholic population in the city.

Ezion Methodist Episcopal Church was the first church





ASBURY M. E. CHURCH, WILMINGTON. BUILT A. D. 1789.



FIRST PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH, WILMINGTON. BUILT A. D. 1740.

established in Wilmington exclusively for colored people. The present handsome building occupied by its congregation at the southeast corner of Ninth and French streets is the third church building that has occupied the same site, the first having been built in 1805, the second in 1870, and the third in 1886.

From this church has grown the many churches now controlled by the colored people throughout the city, representing the various denominations; the Methodist Episcopal denomination alone having three churches. The African Methodist Episcopal Church is possibly the strongest in members among the colored people, that denomination having four charges in the city, its largest church being Bethel on Walnut street, above Sixth.

#### PRIVATE SCHOOLS.

But little has been preserved touching the history of the early schools in Wilmington. It is clearly established that schools were extant among the early Swedish settlers, and presumably the early pastors of the old Swedes' church also served as school teachers, teaching the children of that time the rudimentary elements of education. A brother of Emanuel Swedenborg was one of the earliest teachers in Wilmington, and Lars Gooding served as teacher as early as 1716. One of the early schools was kept at the house of John Stalcup. A Scotchman named Wilson, about 1760, kept a school near the corner of Spring Alley and French street. Among the early teachers was Robert Coram. In 1790 he taught a school located on Fourth street between Market and King streets.

Prior to the Revolution, John Filson came to Wilmington from Chester County, where he was born, and opened a school in Wilmington. He served in the war of the Revolution, and was wounded in the right arm. After the war he again opened the school, and continued it for a few years. The complaint was made that owing to the wound in his arm he

was unable to thrash the boys, and this led him to abandon the profession of teaching; so leaving Wilmington, he went to Kentucky, and with Daniel Boone was one of the early adventurers there. He wrote a history of Kentucky, and brought the manuscript of his history to Wilmington, where it was printed by James Adams, the pioneer Wilmington printer. As a frontispiece a map of the State of Kentucky appears, drawn by Filson himself. Filson, in a good many regards, was an unusual character, and his memory is held in such high regard in Kentucky that the leading social and literary club in Louisville is called the "Filson Club." A map of the city of Wilmington, made by Filson, is now in the possession of the Historical Society of Delaware. His later life was spent in Kentucky, and he was killed in an Indian encounter about the year 1788.

Joseph Anderson succeeded John Filson as a teacher in Wilmington. Anderson served in the Revolution, rising to the rank of major. After the war he studied law with Gunning Bedford, and in 1791 was appointed territorial judge of the region south of the Ohio River. He settled in Tennessee, and was a member of the convention that framed the first constitution of Tennessee. He was the first United States senator from that state, and from 1815 until his death in 1837, occupied the office of First Comptroller of the United States Treasury at Washington.

Another of the old school teachers was John Thelwell. He not only taught school, but seemed to be a useful man generally in the community, acting as town bellman and clerk of the public markets. He was one of the founders of Asbury Methodist Church and for many years was leader of the singing. He taught school for nearly half a century, and his daughter Deborah followed the same occupation some years after. Mrs. Elizabeth Way taught the ordinary branches, and also gained quite a fame as a teacher of needlework in a school which she occupied on French street, about the end of the eighteenth century. It is claimed that she was a school-



mate of Benjamin West, the famous painter. Among the French refugees who came to Wilmington about 1800 was M. Michael Martel, and for some years he taught school in Wilmington. He was a distinguished linguist in his time, it being claimed that he knew and could speak fifteen languages, and before coming to Wilmington, he had taught languages successfully in New York and Boston. After teaching in Wilmington for about two years, he became paralyzed, and was unable to earn a support, so that his latest days were spent in the county almshouse, where he died.

William Cobbett, the distinguished English writer, taught for a brief while in a school kept at the time on West street, between Third and Fourth streets. Lewis Cass, who afterwards became a distinguished American statesman, representing Michigan for many years in the United States Senate, taught school in Wilmington for about a year in 1797. General Cass came to Wilmington as a young man on his way to the West, having been born in New Hampshire. He served as Secretary of War in the Cabinet of Andrew Jackson, as Secretary of State in James Buchanan's Cabinet, and he was a candidate for President of the United States against Zachary Taylor in 1848.

The oldest school in continuous existence in the city and state is the Friends School on West Street, between Fourth and Fifth streets. It was established in 1748 by some of the early members of the Society of Friends. Among the early teachers were John Webster, Jesse Gause, Alexander McKiever, Robert Hurnand, Aquilla Thomas, Nathan Bassett. Jacob Heald and Thomas Griffith. Among the teachers in the girls' department were Margaret Mecannon, Margaret Dixon, Sarah Ann Tyson, Ann Fothergill and Emma Worrell. Among later principals have been Frederick Eden Bach, Isaac T. Johnson, Enos S. Doan and Herschel A. Norris. The first building used was the meeting house. That has long since disappeared. From time to time improvements and additions have been made, and in 1883 a modern school

building was erected on the old site, and since that date it has accomodated the leading and most successful private school in the city. The school is under the control of a committee of the Wilmington Monthly Meeting of Friends.

About 1765 the Wilmington Academy was built. It was a substantial stone structure, and stood on the easterly side of Market street, about one hundred and fifty feet south of Ninth. In general outward appearance it greatly resembled the mansion house of Caesar A. Rodney, known as "Cool Spring," still standing at Tenth and Franklin streets. In 1773 it was chartered as a public grammar school for the county of New Castle, the incorporators being the leading citizens of the place, together with some from outside the state. Rev. Lawrence Girelius was the first president of the board of trustees, and Robert Patterson was the first principal. In 1803 it was remodeled, and for some time thereafter was known as the College of Wilmington, Judge Gunning Bedford serving as president. For many years it ranked as the highest educational institution in the state, but it seemed to meet with varying fortunes, and finally fell into the hands of the sheriff. In 1832 it was purchased by David C. Wilson, and soon after was torn down, and a row of modern dwellings, the most pretentious in the borough at the time, was built on the site.

The early newspapers contained the advertisements of many private schools, many of which existed but a year or so, and most of them made but little impress upon the community. The city directory of 1814 shows fifteen private schools in the city at that time, and but a few of them existed for any length of time.

In 1840, after having been located on Market street for a few years, The Wilmington Classical Academy, under the direction of Rev. Samuel M. Gayley, removed to Lancaster avenue and Rodney street, the building erected for the purpose occupying the site of Philip Plunkett's present residence. The location was called "Mantua" at that time, and the school was a successful one for many years.

Miss Charlotte Grimshaw began a school for young ladies on King street in 1842. It afterward grew into the Hannah Moore Academy, and occupied a large building at the north-west corner of Eighth and West streets, where a successful boarding school was conducted for twenty years by the Misses Charlotte and Isabella Grimshaw, assisted by their brother, Dr. Arthur H. Grimshaw. Rev. Thomas M. Cann for several years conducted a successful school for ladies, known as the Young Ladies' Institute. Its latest location was on the easterly side of Adams street just below Ninth street, the building being afterward used as the Home for Friendless and Destitute Children.

The boarding school for young ladies under the direction of Eli and Samuel Hilles was for a period of nearly thirty years a strikingly successful institution. The school was really founded by Joshua Maule in 1803, and in 1809 Eli Hilles joined him in the work. Three years later on the death of Maule, who was a minister of high standing in the Society of Friends, Eli Hilles was joined by his brother Samuel, and together they directed the school until 1828. During these years it attracted patrons from all parts of this and the adjoining states, and was looked upon as one of the leading schools for young ladies in the United States. The Hilles brothers were unusually well qualified teachers. The brothers separated in 1828, and Samuel Hilles, about 1832, accepted a position with Haverford College, founded about that time. The school afterward passed to the control of John Smith and Dubre Knight, the latter being the principal and conducting a boarding school for young ladies on Market street, below Tenth, after the outbreak of the civil war. He subsequently was one of the instructors at Westtown boarding school.

The Brandywine Academy, on Vandever avenue near Market street, was founded in 1799. It was built on land donated by John Dickinson and John Welsh. The building has been preserved, but of its history as an educational institution almost nothing is known.

The Society of Friends has always been noted for its interest in education. How natural then to find among the early educators in Wilmington the names of several members of that religious denomination. Eli and Samuel Hilles were strict members of that society, and in their latter years were the leading spirits in the Tatnall Street Meeting.

In 1821, John Bullock, an influential Friend, started a boarding school for boys at the northwest corner of Ninth and Tatnall streets, which for over twenty-five years was the leading boys' school of the town. Like the Hilles school, it drew pupils from neighboring states, and as far away as the West Indies. John Bullock was recognized as a most faithful and conscientious teacher and a most useful and honored citizen, and his death in 1847 was universally regretted. The school at his death passed to the control of Samuel Alsop, also a Friend, and a man of fine mathematical ability. In a short while the school management was assumed by Theodore Hyatt, who founded a military academy, which he successfully conducted for some years, when it was removed to West Chester, and subsequently to Chester.

Contemporaneous with the Bullock school was the Smith school for boys on West street above Third. It was founded by Samuel Smith in 1829. He also was a Friend, and came from Pennsylvania. He possessed to the full the qualifications of a teacher, and successfully conducted the school for a term of ten years, attracting pupils from many distant parts. He was the father of Albert W. Smith, at present (1907), one of our oldest living citizens, who for many years was the Treasurer of the Wilmington Savings Fund Society. Samuel Smith died in 1861.

The Wesleyan Female College on French street between Sixth and Seventh streets, was the outgrowth of a private enterprise founded by Rev. Solomon Prettyman in 1837. The college proper started in 1851, when it came under the control of a board of trustees, representing the Methodist Episcopal Church, and for twenty years was an influential and

prosperous institution of learning. During most of this time Rev. John Wilson was President of the faculty, and he and his accomplished wife will long be remembered with kindly regard. It gradually lost its hold on public favor, and early in the eighties closed its doors and passed into private ownership.

The school under the care of the Orthodox Friends, located in the rear of the meeting-house at the northeast corner of Ninth and Tatnall streets, was established in 1832, and was the successor of an earlier school that was held on Market street above Eleventh. It has been continued since. About 1874 a brick building, still standing, replaced the original frame one.

The Taylor Academy, located at the northwest corner of Eighth and Wollaston streets, and taking its name from its principal, T. Clarkson Taylor, was an unusually successful school for nearly twenty years. Mr. Taylor came to Wilmington about 1850 from Virginia. He was a man of great strength of character and unusual intellectuality, and having been liberally educated at the famous school of Benjamin Hallowell, in Alexandria, Virginia, developed into a superior teacher. He was naturally apt as a teacher, and a strict disciplinarian. A devoted member of the Society of Friends, yet his liberality in religious affairs made him warm friends in all denominations, and he won and held the fullest respect of the whole community. His school was large and prosperous, and his patrons came not only from this city and state, but many from adjoining and distant states. The school continued from 1858 to 1871 under Mr. Taylor's management, his death occurring in the latter year. For a few years it was known as the Taylor and Jackson Academy, Milton Jackson of Chester County being associated with Mr. Taylor as a principal. After Mr. Taylor's death his brother Jonathan K. Taylor continued the school for a few years, when the school building was sold to the Board of Public Education, and the site is now occupied by Public School No. 9, and known as the "Wollaston School."



In the year 1866 the State Normal School was established by John C. Harkness. It occupied first the old structure on West Second street near Washington, that for years had been the Union M. E. Church. In a few years it was removed to the upper stories of Nos. 220 and 222 Market streets, and there continued for several years. Mr. Harkness was an energetic New Englander, but he was so aggressive in some of his methods that he stirred up considerable antagonism in various quarters; but, in spite of discouragements, he forged ahead, and in 1875 erected the large four-story brick building at the northwest corner of Tenth and Market streets, of which he used all but the first floor for school purposes. He married Miss Laura A. Osgood, but the marriage proved to be a most unfortunate one, and resulted in disaster to both parties. Miss Osgood had for many years been the principal of Public School No. 4, and, in a large sense, was for many years the head and front of the public school system of the city. She greatly endeared herself to the community, and was universally liked and respected. Her death occurred before that of her husband. Prof. Harkness died in 1903. For several years prior to his death his mind became unsettled, and the property which he had accumulated gradually slipped away from him, and but for the intervention of some who had been pupils under him at the "old Normal" in his good days, he would have been a charge on the public in his latter years. His end was a sad one.

Reynolds Classical Academy was the leading private school of the city from 1866 to 1873. Its founder and principal was William A. Reynolds, a graduate of Wesleyan University, who soon after his graduation at that institution, drifted to Dover, the capital of Delaware, where he established in 1858 a most successful school. While at Dover he had under his care the sons of all the prominent residents of that town, and indeed of Kent county, but Wilmington offered a larger field and he opened his academy here in the fall of 1866, in what was then known as the "Saville Building," at the southeast



WILLIAM A. REYNOLDS.

1837-1906.



corner of Sixth and Market streets. It continued at that location until 1870, when it was removed to the old St. Mary's College building on Delaware avenue, and there it was continued until disbanded about 1873. Mr. Reynolds was a brilliant teacher in the languages and in mathematics, and he also called about him a most efficient corps of assistants. Norman O. Lounsbury and William H. Cobb will be remembered as popular instructors and Stansbury J. Willey, Frederic H. Robinson and Charles F. Eastman, all trained and efficient educators, were for several years assistant teachers in the Reynolds Academy. The improvement in the public school system and the establishment of a well-equipped high school under the management of a male principal had the natural tendency to draw patronage away from the private schools, and largely from this cause Mr. Reynolds discontinued his school about the year 1873. After that time he devoted his time to tutoring and to the auditing of accounts, being proficient in both branches. After a most active and useful life he died in Wilmington, July 13, 1906.

The Rugby Academy for Boys, under the direction of Dr. Samuel W. Murphy, occupied attractive quarters in the second story of the Masonic Temple from 1872 to 1887. Dr. Murphy attracted a large patronage from the best people, and his school held a deservedly high rank. In 1887 he relinquished the school, and it passed under the control of W. M. Foulk, but was only continued for a year or so. Dr. Murphy is still living, being at present connected with a school in North Carolina, but he is always a welcome visitor among the large circle of friends that he made in Wilmington.

The only private school for young ladies that has maintained itself of late years is that conducted by the Misses Hebb. It was opened in 1880 as an English and French boarding and day school, at the southeast corner of Ninth and West streets, and continued at that location until 1887. In the latter year a large and attractive building, particularly adapted for school purposes, was erected by the Misses Hebb

at the corner of Franklin street and Pennsylvania avenue, and here, with improved facilities, since that time has been conducted an educational institution which ranks with the best in the country of the same class. Faithful effort on the part of the principals has brought a fair measure of reward.

William S. McNair established in 1878, in the Institute Building, what was known as the "Brandywine Academy." It met with some success, and in a few years moved to the Harkness building, but it was destined to be short-lived, and was discontinued about the year 1882.

#### GOLDEY COMMERCIAL COLLEGE.

This institution, which has grown to large proportions, and which has become one of the largest and most prosperous commercial colleges in the country, was founded by Harry S. Goldey in 1886. It was an entirely new venture for the City of Wilmington, and Mr. Goldey received but little encouragement from the leading business men whom he consulted prior to launching his enterprise. But Mr. Goldey proved himself a man of unusual vim and energy and the college has been a success since the day it opened.

Every year since it started has shown hundreds of students in attendance, the year last past showing a total enrollment of over seven hundred, and it is marvelous what a demand exists for those who graduate in the commercial and shorthand departments. For several years the demand has greatly exceeded the supply, a sure evidence of the substantial growth of the business interests of this city and vicinity.

Founded in 1886, the institution was incorporated under the laws of Delaware in 1895, as the "Goldey Wilmington Commercial and Shorthand College." H. S. Goldey has been at the head and front of the college since the beginning, serving as president since its incorporation. R. J. Maclean has been the efficient manager of the college since 1898, and W. E. Douglass and J. E. Fuller have served as principals for eight years, the former in the commercial department,



and the latter in the shorthand department. The college has large and commodious quarters in the Wilmington Institute Building.

#### THE WILMINGTON BUSINESS SCHOOL.

The Wilmington Business School was opened August 28, 1900, in three small rooms in the Bayard Annex, at No. 1 East Ninth street. The founder of the school was William H. Beacom, who had been an instructor in the Goldey College for six years. Mr. Beacom was a trained teacher in commercial lines, and came to Wilmington in 1894 from Illinois.

Seven students appeared at the opening, but the attendance grew so rapidly that the principal found new and larger quarters necessary, and in March, 1901, the school was moved to the McVey Building at the northeast corner of Eighth and Market streets, and here it occupied the entire third floor until March, 1907, when the second removal was made to the new DuPont Building at Tenth and Market streets.

The school has grown into an institution that enjoys and merits the confidence and support of the people of Wilmington and it has succeeded beyond the expectations of its founder. The six years of its existence have shown an average yearly enrollment of nearly five hundred. The graduates have found employment readily, and the service rendered by the graduates has attested the efficiency of the work of the school. Mr. Beacom has always personally conducted the commercial department, and in the shorthand department Mrs. Beacom has been in control. In addition to the principal and his wife there are eight assistant instructors.

#### THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS.

The public schools in the City of Wilmington until the year 1829 were part and parcel of the free school system of the state. In the year 1829 the City of Wilmington was divided into ten school districts, and so continued until 1833, when by Act of the General Assembly, School Districts from num-

bers nine to eighteen, inclusive, were formed into a united school district, and provision made for the election of two School Commissioners from each of these districts, to whom the government and control of the schools of the city were entrusted. Soon after the first regular school house was built at the southwest corner of Sixth and French streets, and was known as No. 1. It continued to be used for school purposes until the erection of the larger school house in the same block, on the easterly side of French street in 1871, also known as No. 1.

In 1852 the act was passed providing for the first Board of Public Education for the City of Wilmington, and under it, the following were elected as members, of the first Board, Samuel Hilles, Jesse Sharpe, Azariah H. Quinby, Robert Carswell, David C. Wilson, Dr. John F. Wilson, John H. Stidham, J. Morton Poole, Dr. Arthur H. Grimshaw, John Rudolph, Edward Moore, and James Webb. Samuel Hilles was elected president, but he resigned as a member of the board, and Judge Willard Hall was elected in his place, and also elected president of the board, a position which he held continuously until 1870. Judge Hall was therefore not only the father of the state school system, but the head and front of the city system, rendering most valuable services to the city in the cause of public education.

A second public school was early established on Twelfth street between Market and Orange streets, and called No. 2. It continued until the new No. 2 was built in 1856 at the northeast corner of Eleventh and Washington streets. The second-story rooms of the water department building at the northeast corner of Tenth and King streets were donated by the city for school purposes, and that was known as No. 3. In 1857, a large new school house was built on the easterly side of Jefferson street above Second, and called No. 3, superseding the earlier school of the same number. The first school house built of any pretension was No. 4, on Washington street between Second and Third streets. It was com-

pleted in the fall of 1852, and Albert J. Webster became the first principal of the boys' department, and Laura A. Osgood principal of the girls' department, but in 1855, Miss Osgood was made principal of both departments, and continued in charge of No. 4 for nearly thirty years. She was a most capable and excellent woman, and rendered invaluable aid to the work of education in the city.

In 1853 the city granted the use of the building on Sixth street, between Market and King streets, (still standing, and occupied by the tax receivers and the Board of Public Education), for school purposes, and School No. 5 was opened there in 1853. The later No. 5 was erected on Walnut street near Thirteenth, in 1876.

No. 6, on Walnut street above Third, was built in 1853. Two years later the school building at the southwest corner of Fifth and Pine streets was completed, and called No. 7. A primary school was conducted for a few years in a building on Tenth street, near Orange street previously known as the "bowling alley," and afterward used as a school for colored children.

For nearly ten years, there was a decided cessation in the building of school houses. The school report published in 1861 shows that in that year eight school houses were in use in the city, six of which belonged to the board.

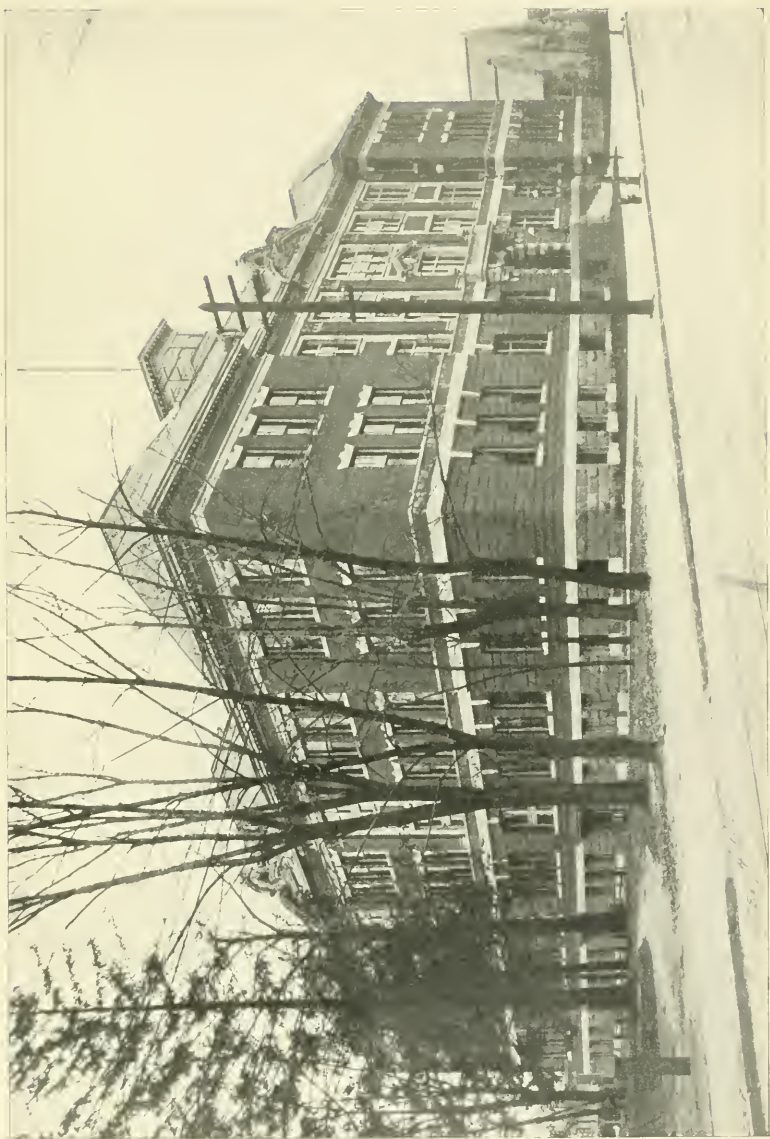
Schoolhouse No. 8, at the northeast corner of Seventh and Spruce streets was built in 1863. The Taylor and Jackson Academy at the corner of Eighth and Wollaston streets, was purchased by the board in 1876, and was thereafter known as public school No. 9. In 1895, an entirely new building was erected on this site, and is now known as the "Wollaston School," and it accommodates the only training school for teachers under the control of the board. No. 10, at Adams and Elm streets, No. 11, at Ninth and Scott streets, and No. 12, at Twenty-second and Market streets, all primary schools, were built in 1869. No. 13, at Seventeenth and Union streets, built in 1888, did not immediately follow; a school under

that number was conducted for some years in a rented building. No. 14, on Claymont street near Lobdell, built in 1872, was the first city school established south of the Christiana River, and No. 15, at Third and Harrison streets, was built in 1874. No. 16, on Orange street, above Twelfth, was built for the use of colored children by friends of that race within a few years after the close of the Civil War, and was at first known as the "Howard School," being named for General O. O. Howard, who served in the Civil War, and who after the war was in charge of the Freedman's Bureau at Washington, an institution designed by the general government to assist in an educational way the colored people of the late slave states. This school was formally taken in charge by the Board of Public Education in 1873, and marked the beginning of the assumption of control of the colored schools, in the city, by the board. The building since 1874 has belonged to the board, having been materially enlarged and improved in 1887.

No. 17, at Sixteenth and Claymont streets, was built in 1883. No. 18, the second school for colored pupils, at Townsend and B streets, was built in 1882. No. 19, at Oak and Harrison streets, and No. 20, at Tenth and Spruce streets, were built the same year. No. 21, at Fifth and Scott streets, the third school for colored pupils, was built in 1891. No. 22 is on Second street, near Washington, and has been used for school purposes for twenty years or more. It is not a regular school building however. No. 23, at Thirtieth and Madison streets, was established in 1893, the building formerly used as a Presbyterian church being remodeled for school purposes; and No. 24, at Fourteenth and Washington streets, known as the "Washington School," followed in 1893. No. 25, on Bayard avenue, between Third and Fourth streets, and No. 26, on Thatcher street near Vandever avenue, were both built in 1890. No. 27, on Rockford lane near Park avenue, came under the control of the board by the extension of the city limits in 1895. It had formerly been the district school for the Rockford district.







WILMINGTON HIGH SCHOOL. BUILT A. D. 1901.

No. 28, now conducted as a grammar school, was built as a high school in 1885. It is located at the northwest corner of Eighth and Adams streets, and continued in use as the high school until 1901, when the new high school, on Delaware avenue, was occupied. No. 28 is now known as the Willard Hall grammar school.

In the early days of the board, the most advanced pupils were for many years taught in old Schoolhouse No. 1, at Sixth and French streets, so that it was to all intents and purposes the first high school. Later No. 4 was the most advanced school, and so continued until the erection of the new Schoolhouse No. 1 on French street between Fifth and Sixth streets in 1871. This marked the introduction of male principals and the beginning of a real high school, a step in advance of the grammar grades that had been followed theretofore. The high school continued in Schoolhouse No. 1 until 1885, when the new school building (now No. 28) was completed at Eighth and Adams streets. Here it remained until 1901, when the large and commodious high school building on Delaware avenue near Monroe street was built, and in that year the high school department took possession of the new building. The total cost of the present high school, lot and building, was \$250,000.

There have been seven principals of the high school since 1871, as follows :

Loring H. Barnum	1871-1872	William W. Birdsall	1882-1885
Alfred F. Tenney	1872-1873	Thomas L. Graham	1885-1887
Stansbury J. Willey	1873-1882	A. Henry Berlin	1887-
Charles D. Raine	1882-1882		

The superintendents of Wilmington city schools have been as follows :

David W. Harlan	1871-1900	George W. Twitmyer	1900-
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The following is a complete list of the presidents of the Board of Public Education :

*Presidents of the Board of Public Education.*

Willard Hall	1852-1870	Charles Elton Buck	1876-1878
William R. Bullock	1870-1872	Henry Eckel	1878-1880
Arthur H. Grimshaw	1872-1873	Henry C. Conrad	1880-1882
William S. Hilles	1873-1874	Charles Baird	1882-1897
Evan G. Shortlidge	1874-1876	Evan G. Shortlidge	1897-

## THE FIRE DEPARTMENT.

The City of Wilmington can boast of its fire department. It is recognized as one of the most complete and efficient of the volunteer fire departments in the country. While paid fire departments have been generally adopted by the leading cities, yet the volunteer department of this city has rendered such satisfactory service that no change has been seriously considered.

The Friendship Fire Company is the oldest in the city. It was instituted as early as 1775, by a number of the most prominent citizens of the town, and the regulations of those early days provided that each member should furnish two leather buckets and a large wicker basket. It was obligatory upon each member to place a lighted candle in the window of his house when he started for a fire. If he passed the house of a fellow-member, and saw no light in the latter's window, it was his duty to stop and awaken his fellow-member. The members ranged themselves in a row, and the buckets, filled with water from a spring or pump, were passed from hand to hand. This primitive method was succeeded by the hand engine, the first engine appearing in the city being purchased by the Friendship Company about 1790.

The first engine house of this company was on the south side of Fifth street between Shipley and Orange streets. The Friendship Company was incorporated January 15, 1805, and shortly afterward its engine house was moved to the northeast corner of Seventh and Shipley streets. In 1825 its house was moved to the east side of Market street, between Sixth and Seventh streets, about the location now occupied by the Smith Building, and known as No. 610. The membership at that

time embraced the leading and most substantial citizens of the town. Carson Wilson acted as president for several years, his son, David C. Wilson, afterwards Sheriff of New Castle County, and Mayor of Wilmington, served as secretary. George Jones, a prosperous jeweler and clockmaker, and a leading elder in Hanover Presbyterian Church, was treasurer. In 1845 the engine house was again moved, this time to Orange street, west side, above Tenth, and in 1859 the large and imposing fire-engine house at Tenth and Shipley streets was built, and continued as the home of this company until 1906. In 1907 a new house was built on Tatnall street above Delaware avenue.

The Reliance Fire Company was the second company organized. Its organization dates from 1796, and it was incorporated January 2, 1802. Like its predecessor, the Friendship, it started as a bucket company, but as early as 1810 had procured a hand engine. Among its early members were James Wilson and Robert Porter, two of the pioneer Wilmington printers, and later, Dr. Henry F. Askew, William H. Naff, Ziba Ferris and Edward Bringham, all prominent business men, were influential members. Henry H. J. Naff, the editor of the Delaware State Journal, was president for over twenty years. The company was located first at the corner of Fifth and Orange streets, and from that location went to Fifth street between Walnut and Poplar, and in 1886, the present handsome house of the company at the southeast corner of Fourth and Lombard streets, was erected, and since that time has been occupied by it. The motto of the company is *Non nobis solum*, "not laboring for ourselves alone."

The Brandywine Fire Company, organized early in 1800, had its headquarters in Brandywine village, just north of the Brandywine Creek. Its membership came largely from the flouring mills and cooper shops in that section. It was prosperous for several years, but the organization of the Phoenix Fire Company, in 1825, had the effect of weakening the Brandywine Company, and shortly after the Phoenix got

under way, the effects of the Brandywine Company were turned over to the Phoenix, and the Brandywine relinquished business.

The need of a fire company in the westerly and central parts of the Ninth Ward became apparent as the building enterprises known as Eastlake, Creston and North Side developed, and in 1901, a new Brandywine Fire Company was organized, and incorporated on April 11, 1902, and a handsome fire house for its accommodation erected at the northwest corner of Twenty-fifth and Market streets. The people of the neighborhood gave it cordial support, and especial credit for the institution of the new company is due to Cornelius J. Horrigan, who was untiring in his efforts to make the Brandywine Company a success. He has served as president since its organization.

The Delaware Fire Company was organized in 1819. Among the early members were Vincent Gilpin, John Mc-Lear, Lewis Rumford, Dell Noblitt and Henry J. Pepper. The latter was the first president. The organizers asked for private subscriptions, and also requested an appropriation from the Borough Council. In both they were successful. The company for sixty years had its engine house on Sixth street near King, on part of the land now occupied by the street and sewer department building. About the year 1880, the new house of the company was built on the east side of French street, below Sixth, and here it has since been located. The Delaware has always been one of the most substantial in the department.

As the northeastern section of the city built up, the need of a fire company in that section became apparent, and in 1825 the residents in the vicinity of the Brandywine mills held a meeting which resulted in the organization of the Phoenix Fire Company. It was instituted with about thirty members, James Canby being the first president, John H. Price secretary, and Samuel S. Poole treasurer. All of these parties were interested in the milling business on the Brandywine. The



assets of the first Brandywine Fire Company were turned over to the new Phoenix Company, and the borough council voted the new company a donation of one hundred dollars. Very soon a hand engine was procured, which served the company for many years.

The engine house of the company was first located on the west side of French street, between Twelfth and Thirteenth streets. It was a rented house, and the bell hung in the forks of a willow tree which stood on the curb in front. The company in 1835 bought a lot and built an engine house on French street, between Fourteenth and Fifteenth streets. Here it continued until 1869, when the present quarters of the company at the northeast corner of Twelfth and King streets were procured. At first the company occupied only the corner property, but in 1897 the adjoining property was purchased, and the quarters of the company extended, so that at present the Phoenix has one of the largest and most commodious fire engine houses in the city.

The Water Witch Fire Company, instituted in 1833, was for a period of fifty-two years one of the most active and influential companies in the fire department of the city. At first it occupied a small frame building on the northerly side of Fifth street, between Market and Shipley streets, and its bell was hung on a pole in front of the engine house. In 1840 the company built a two-story engine house on Shipley street, between Fifth and Sixth streets, on the site of the present Red Men's Hall. A few years later the building was raised a story, and a bell tower built on top. Among the early members of the company, who were influential citizens, may be mentioned Francis Robinson, Edward A. Wilson, Cyrus Pyle, Joshua L. Pusey and Henry R. Bringhurst. In 1885 the original company disbanded. A few years later, in 1891, a new fire company, organized in the extreme northwestern section of the city, locally known as the "Forty Acres," adopted the old name of Water Witch, and has since maintained itself on Gilpin avenue, near Lincoln street, and is now one of the most efficient companies in the department.

One of the earliest and best fire companies in the southern part of the city is the Fame Hose Company, organized on New Year's day of 1839. A charter was obtained in 1841. The company maintained a hose carriage only until 1868, when a steam fire-engine was added to its equipment. Among its early members were some of the most substantial of the business men of Wilmington, among whom were Henry G. Banning, George Richardson, Bauday Simmons, Samuel N. Pusey, Charles Warner, John A. Griffin, John C. Patterson and James C. Aiken. It has always been located on Second street, between Shipley and Orange streets, at first on the upper side, and later on the lower side.

The Washington Fire Company followed closely after the Fame. It was organized in 1840, and was soon equipped with a hose carriage and hand engine, the latter being built by Betts, Pusey & Harlan of this city, and doing valiant service for the company from its organization until 1866, when it was succeeded by a steam fire-engine. The first engine house of the Washington was a one-story frame on East Sixth between Market and King. This was replaced in 1852 by a three-story brick building erected by the company, and used by it until 1873. It is the same building at present occupied by the City Treasurer and City Auditor. In 1873 the building was sold to the city, and the company bought a lot on the west side of French street, between Third and Fourth streets, and there erected a large and expensive fire-engine house which has since accomodated it.

The Weccacoe Fire Company, located at the corner of Jackson and Second streets, was organized in 1869. It became a necessity through the rapid growth of the city to the southwest. Its first headquarters were in a small frame building on Liberty street, near Maryland avenue, and from there it moved in 1872 to the east side of Jackson street, between Front and Second. Its present building was erected in 1886. At first it was only a hose company, but in 1875 it was incorporated as the Weccacoe Steam Fire Engine Company No. 8, which name it has since borne.

The Liberty Fire Company was established in 1891. It was the first company located south of the Christiana river, and is comfortably housed in a commodious building erected soon after its organization at the corner of New Castle avenue and A street. It has a prosperous membership, and has made an enviable record.

The Union Fire Company was organized in 1902 with a view to the better protection from fire of the extreme southwestern section of the city. It occupied at first a temporary building on Union street near Sixth, but after it was recognized by city council, and given an appropriation in 1903, it moved to its present quarters at the southwest corner of Lancaster avenue and Union street. Its membership is active, and it gives evidence of long life and in the near future it is likely to erect and occupy a substantial and well-equipped home of its own.

The latest acquisition to the fire department of Wilmington is the Independence Fire Company of the Ninth ward. The residents of that part of the Ninth ward, lying east of the Eleventh street bridge, appreciating the rapid growth of that section, and realizing that large and important business interests were located there, urged the establishment of a fire company in that locality. Francis S. Bradley, possibly the most energetic and public-spirited citizen of that section, headed the movement, and in spite of serious obstacles and many discouragements, he persevered, and in the end won because he deserved to win. The company was organized October 21, 1901, and was incorporated just a month later. Without any aid except that contributed by the membership, and from private sources, the company was maintained for four years as an independent organization, outside of the regular fire department. By a vote of the city council on September 7, 1905, the company was recognized and adopted as a member of the department, making the Independence Fire Company the twelfth company in the department as at present constituted—last but not least in an organization that is

recognized as thoroughly efficient, and a credit to the city which supports and honors it.

*Chief Engineers of the Fire Department.*

Henry W. Perkins	1868-1870	Edward A. Robinson	1890-1892
Samuel W. Springer	1870-1872	Dennis S. Shields	1892-1894
George McCall	1872-1876	John H. Walker	1894-1896
William Hanna	1876-1878	Charles L. Welde	1896-1898
William McCrea	1878-1880	George W. Sasse	1898-1900
Samuel G. Tazewell	1880-1882	John P. Welsh	1900-1902
Patrick F. Murphy	1882-1884	Michael T. Conway	1902-1904
David S. Reader	1884-1886	William H. Stilley	1904-1906
Hugh F. Sweeney	1886-1888	William M. Ward	1906-
William McCracken	1888-1890		

The following extract from the report of Chief Engineer Stilley for the year 1905 gives the summary of the Fire Department for the years 1904 and 1905:

	<i>Value of Real Estate.</i>	<i>Value of Personal Property.</i>	<i>Fect of 1st Class Hose.</i>	<i>Active Members.</i>	<i>Honorary Members.</i>	<i>Horses.</i>
Friendship	\$21,000.00	\$10,250.00	1,600	60	50	3
Reliance	10,000.00	10,000.00	1,500	65		3
Delaware	12,000.00	8,500.00		28	25	4
Phoenix	11,000.00	12,000.00	1,000	63	80	6
Water Witch	11,800.00	7,500.00	600	92	130	4
Fame	15,000.00	9,000.00	1,000	75		3
Washington	15,000.00	8,440.00	1,500	82		5
Weccacoe	12,000.00	11,550.00	1,800	89	20	5
Liberty	10,000.00	7,175.00	1,000	31		3
Brandywine	11,000.00	5,000.00	500	75		2
Union		4,500.00	1,000	93		2
	<hr/> \$128,800.00	<hr/> \$93,915.00	<hr/> 11,500	<hr/> 753	<hr/> 285	<hr/> 40

One Chief's horse, buggy and harness. Value \$369.50.

RECAPITULATION.

Steam Engines . . . . .	8
Chemical Engines . . . . .	2
Chemical Extinguishers . . . . .	13
Combination Chemical and Hose Wagon . . . . .	3
Combination Truck and Chemical . . . . .	2
Hose Carts . . . . .	5
Hose Wagons . . . . .	3
Ambulance . . . . .	1
Feet of Ladders . . . . .	528
Gallons Capacity . . . . .	542

## FIRE INSURANCE COMPANIES.

In 1825 the Delaware Fire Insurance Company was organized, with a capital of \$100,000. William Seal, George Jones, and William Canby served as presidents during the existence of the company. The company continued in business until 1884, when by vote of the directors it was determined to discontinue, which was done without any loss to the stockholders.

In 1833 the Wilmington Insurance Company was incorporated, with a capital of \$150,000. James Canby and Stephen Bonsall acted as presidents. The company, however, was not satisfied with the profits made, and discontinued business about 1850.

The Farmers' Mutual Fire Insurance Company of Mill Creek Hundred was organized June 12, 1839. In 1847 the company was reincorporated as "The Farmers' Mutual Fire Insurance Company of the State of Delaware." At first the business of the company was restricted to Mill Creek Hundred, but under the new charter of 1847 the company was allowed to do business in the whole of New Castle County, and later, authority was given to do business throughout the State of Delaware and the bordering counties of Maryland. At its organization, the Mermaid Tavern, in Mill Creek Hundred, was the place of the regular business meetings. Afterward an office was secured in the Odd Fellows Hall in Wilmington, and in 1865 the company erected a building at No. 833 Market street, where the business has since been conducted. The business of the company has grown from year to year until now it is the largest and most substantial home insurance company in the State. Following is a list of the presidents of the company, with the length of time each has served :

James Thompson	1840-1841	Evan C. Stotsenburg	1874-1882
Thomas Baldwin	1841-1844	Victor DuPont	1882-1888
Aquilla Lamborn	1844-1849	Christian Febiger	1888-1892
Maxwell B. Ocheltree	1849-1851	William T. Porter	1892-1901
Samuel Hilles	1851-1857	William H. Swift	1901-
Jesse Sharpe	1857-1873		



The New Castle County Mutual Insurance Company is ten years younger than the Farmers' Company, having been incorporated February 6, 1849. The company had its first office on the east side of Market street, four doors below the City Hall. For some years the office of the company was in the Institute building, at No. 809 Market street, and in 1874 the office was moved to 602 Market street, where, some years later, the present commodious building was erected for the company's use. The following is a list of the presidents :

James Canby	1850-1852	William Canby	1835-1897
Jacob Pusey	1852-1857	Edward T. Bellah	1897-1899
William Canby	1857-1871	Mark M. Cleaver	1899-
William Tatnall	1871-1885		

#### GAS COMPANIES.

With the growth of the population came the necessity for gas lighting instead of the antiquated methods used by our forefathers. The Wilmington Gas Company was organized in 1833 with a capital of six thousand dollars. James Canby served as the first president and William H. Naff as secretary. The office was at No. 1 West Fourth street. The first works were situated on Orange street below Water, and the first product of the company was furnished at the rate of eighty cents per hundred cubic feet of gas, but two years later was reduced to seventy cents. The new commodity proved popular with the inhabitants, and in 1847 it was found necessary to enlarge the plant.

In 1851 the Wilmington Coal Gas Company was incorporated, and it took over the business effects of the first Wilmington Gas Company. The new company had a much larger capital stock and was prepared for a much more extensive business. Stephen Bonsall served as president from 1851 to 1864, George Richardson from 1864 to 1888 and Edward Betts from 1888 to 1901.

The new company bought a lot at the corner of Read and Madison streets, where its first works were erected. Additional

land adjoining has been purchased from time to time, accommodating the large and valuable plant controlled by the successor of the company at the present time. Originally there were but fifty consumers, and when the gas was first turned on in 1851 but seventy-two hundred cubic feet were consumed during the first night.

The business office of the company for many years was at No. 300 Shipley street, but in 1893 the company purchased the property of No. 827 Market street, where they erected a building in which their office has since been located. Thomas J. Mahaffy served as superintendent from 1851 to 1867, when he resigned and was succeeded by Thomas Curley who acted as superintendent until 1901.

In December 1901 the Wilmington Coal Gas Company was merged with the Universal Conduit, Light, Heat and Power Company under the corporate name of the Wilmington Gas and Electric Company, and the latter has since controlled and extended the business. The present officers of the Wilmington Gas and Electric Company are: James Dobson, president; Edmund Mitchell, vice-president; William P. Taylor, secretary and treasurer, and Edward J. Curley, superintendent. Thomas Curley, who had served as superintendent of the Wilmington Coal Gas Company for thirty-four years, was on the organization of the new company made supervising engineer, in which position he served until his death in 1905.

#### ELECTRIC LIGHT COMPANIES.

The first company organized in Wilmington for the lighting of houses and streets by electricity was the Arnoux Electric Company, incorporated October 31, 1882. The company had a paid-in capital of thirty thousand dollars, with John R. Flinn as its first president. The company established its first plant on Third street near Spruce, and began operations January 1, 1883, with a patronage of thirty-five arc lights. Three years later the first incandescent lamps of the Edison system were installed, and on September 6, 1886, a charter was granted

to the Wilmington City Electric Company, who succeeded to the franchises of the original Arnoux Company.

In order to increase facilities, and to furnish power as well as light, the new company purchased a lot on the north side of Fifth street, between Orange and Tatnall, and on this site erected a large station equipped with power sufficient to accommodate the promising increase in business. This company continued in business until July, 1898, with Samuel N. Trump as president and F. L. Gilpin as treasurer, and established a large and successful business. In the summer of 1898 a syndicate, composed of capitalists largely from Philadelphia, purchased a controlling interest in the Wilmington City Electric Company, and at the same time the same parties obtained control of the Wilmington City Railway Company. Since this time both of these corporations have been controlled by capital outside of the City of Wilmington. The present officers of the Wilmington City Electric Company are John A. Rigg, president, Kurtz A. Fichthorn, secretary and treasurer.

#### STREET RAILWAYS.

The Wilmington City Railway Company was incorporated February 4, 1864. The leading spirit in the movement was Joshua T. Heald, who served as the first president of the company. The company organized at once, and with but little effort succeeded in having one hundred thousand dollars of its capital subscribed, whereupon a contract was made with William Wharton, Jr., of Philadelphia, to build a line of street railway from the railroad station at Front and French streets along Front street to Market, up Market to Tenth, along Tenth to Delaware avenue, and from thence to Du Pont street, a distance of two miles. The stable and car-house of the company were built at the corner of Delaware avenue and Du Pont street. Before the completion of the original line, it was decided to extend the road to Rising Sun village. The first cars were run over the road June 29, 1864, and the occasion was made a festive one, the officers of the city and many in-

vited guests joining with the officers of the company in celebrating the event.

At first horses were used as the power for running the cars; and the use of horses, with mules substituted the latter part of the time, was continued until about the year 1888, when electricity was introduced, and since the latter date the whole system has been operated under the most approved plans of an electric trolley system.

The one line from the railroad station at Front and French streets to Rising Sun village constituted the only street railway in the city until 1881, when the Front and Union Street Railway Company was incorporated, and a new line constructed along Front street from Market to Union streets. This company was maintained as a separate organization for several years, when it was combined with the Wilmington City Railway Company.

In 1881, also, the Wilmington City Company constructed a line along Fourth street from Market eastward to the Christiana River, with a branch running northward from Fourth street on Spruce street. Six years later, in 1887, an additional line was built from Tenth and Market streets northward along Market street to Riverview Cemetery, and on the completion of this line late in the year 1887, electricity, through the use of the Sprague Electric Railway System, was introduced, serving as the forerunner of the introduction of electricity by all the lines in the city.

The line on West Eighth street was opened in 1889, and the West Fourth street line followed in 1891. Early in 1892 an additional branch was opened, running on East Eighth street from Market street, and over the Eleventh street bridge. The extension of East Third street and beyond Third street bridge was opened in 1897. The line from Delaware avenue northward on Washington street came into operation in July of 1901, and in September of the same year the Maryland avenue line was extended to Newport, and in April, 1902, the same line was continued to Stanton. At the present time

(1906) the Wilmington City Railway operates twenty-seven miles of trolley lines within the limits of the City of Wilmington, and adding the lines controlled by that company which extend to Stanton and towards Chester, it makes a total of forty miles of railways operated by the company.

The Wilmington and New Castle Electric Railway Company was incorporated by the General Assembly of 1893. The company was organized two years later and at once began the construction of an electric road to connect the cities of Wilmington and New Castle, and cars began running on the same in March, 1897. The New Castle and Delaware City Railway Company was organized in 1900 and the same year an electric line was established between New Castle and Delaware City, the first car being run in August. The two companies, as above, were in May, 1904, merged into one company called the Wilmington, New Castle and Southern Railway Company, and both lines have since been under its direction. Authority has been granted to the company for terminal facilities in Wilmington. Heretofore the lines of the company have only come to the city limits and by arrangement the cars of this company have been run over the tracks of the Wilmington City Railway Company to Fourth and Market streets.

#### THE PEOPLE'S RAILWAY COMPANY.

The General Assembly of 1897 incorporated the Wilmington and Brandywine Springs Railway Company with authority to occupy certain streets in the City of Wilmington, and to construct a trolley line to Brandywine Springs in Mill Creek Hundred. The charter specified that the line should be constructed from the Springs to the city before January 1, 1898. Work was begun in earnest, and on December 12, 1897, the directors of the company and a few invited guests were able to make an inspection trip over the tracks of the company, which at that time were laid, in a more or less unfinished condition, from the Springs to the corner of Lancaster and Greenhill avenues in the City of Wilmington.



The Wilmington City Railway Company resisted, with much vigor, the entrance of the new company into the city, claiming that under its charter an exclusive right had been given to it to run "street cars" in the City of Wilmington. The old company also opposed, strenuously, the granting, by the directors of the Street and Sewer Department, of authority to the new company to occupy the streets of the city. Proceedings were taken before the Chancellor to prevent the new company from operating within the city limits, and numerous rules and restraining orders were issued, all of which proved harassing and delayed the completion of the road.

After fighting in the Court of Chancery for nearly three years, the parties interested in the Wilmington and Brandywine Springs Company obtained a charter for a new company, called the People's Railway Company, and this action greatly simplified the problem, as clear authority was given in the new charter for the occupancy of the streets, and for the conduct of a rival street railway in the city. Operations began at once for the laying of tracks on certain streets of the city, authority to use the same having been granted by the directors of the Street and Sewer Department, and on May 30, 1901, the road to Brandywine Springs was formally opened.

That day being a holiday, Decoration Day, vast throngs of people patronized the new line, and the cars were taxed to their full capacity. Late in the evening one or more of the cars, loaded with passengers, running eastward on Sixth street, became unmanageable when starting on the down grade at Broome street, and the outcome was that at least three of the cars collided at the foot of the hill near Monroe street. Several lives were lost and many passengers were injured, resulting in many claims for damages against the company, and proving to be a most unfortunate beginning for a new enterprise.

The line to the Springs has been in continuous service since 1901. A line to Eastlake was opened in 1903, and in 1906 an extension of the Rockford branch was made, through the park and along the Brandywine to the Hagley yard at Henry

Clay. The moving spirit in this whole enterprise has been Richard W. Crook, who has served as general manager of the People's Railway Company since its organization. Without the efforts of Mr. Crook, who labored early and late, and who never wavered in his faith as to ultimate results, the venture could not have succeeded. The present officers of the People's Railway Company are Spottswood Garland, President, John P. Allmond, Vice-President, Thomas F. Barry, Treasurer, and L. Heisler Ball, Secretary.

#### BANKING INSTITUTIONS.

The first public bank organized in Wilmington was the Bank of Delaware which was incorporated February 9, 1795, under the name of "The President, Directors and Company of the Bank of Delaware." The capital stock was fixed at one hundred thousand dollars. At the first meeting of the stockholders, held June 5, 1795, the following board of directors was chosen :

Joseph Tatnall  
Wm. Hemphill  
Eleazer Macomb

Samuel Canby  
Isaac Hendrickson  
John Ferris

Samuel Hollingsworth  
Joseph Warner  
Thomas Mendenhall

Joseph Tatnall was chosen the first president.

The bank was at first located at the northwest corner of Fourth and Market streets, and opened for business on August 17, 1795. John Hayes was the first cashier. The bank prospered from the beginning, the first semi-annual dividend being five dollars on a share.

Business was conducted at the first location until 1816, when a new site was purchased at the northeast corner of Sixth and Market streets, on which the present banking house was at that time erected. The old bank building and site were sold in 1815.

The conservative management shown by the directors, who have always been men of the strictest integrity and highest character, guided the institution safely through the panics of

1837 and 1857, and the bank has proved a money-maker from the start.

After the establishment of the national banking system, on July 29, 1865, the old company ceased to do business, and in its stead was organized "The National Bank of Delaware," under the control of the national banking system.

The prosperity of the institution increased after the change, and the stock of the bank sold as high as \$795, although the par value of the stock was but \$200 a share. According to the latest official statement the surplus and undivided profits amount to \$130,862.04 and the present deposits reach \$642,-088.01.

The following is a list of the presidents, with their terms of service :

Joseph Tatnall	1795-1802	Henry Latimer	1841-1872
Thomas Lea	1802-1810	Henry G. Banning	1872-1905
Joseph Bailly	1810-1841	John Richardson, Jr.	1905-

The following have served as cashiers :

John Hayes	1795-1810	Samuel Floyd	1844-1873
Edward Worrell	1810-1830	Richard H. Ewbanks	1873-1885
William Paxson	1830-1839	Henry Baird	1885-
Henry Warner	1839-1844		

Joseph Tatnall, the first president of the Bank of Delaware, was born in Wilmington, September 6, 1740, and died August 3, 1813. His father was Edward Tatnall, who was a descendant of Robert Tatnall, of Leicestershire, England. Edward's wife was Elizabeth Pennock, of Chester county, Pennsylvania, and soon after their marriage Edward Tatnall settled in Wilmington, where he spent the remainder of his life.

Joseph Tatnall was for nearly forty years a miller on the Brandywine, and he was not only a successful business man, but through his patriotism and public spirit impressed himself upon the community, and was for many years one of the most influential citizens of the town. He gave strong adherence to the cause of independence during the Revolution, and enjoyed

the friendship of Washington. When but thirty years of age, in 1770, he built the large stone mansion-house now known as No. 1803 Market street, in which he lived for the remainder of his life. It is claimed that Washington and Lafayette dined with Joseph Tatnall in this house, and that prior to the Battle of Brandywine, General Wayne had his headquarters there.

Joseph Tatnall not only conducted a successful milling business, but was largely engaged in the shipping trade, succeeding in both enterprises in the accumulation of a handsome fortune. In 1798 he purchased a clock and bell in Europe and presented them to the City of Wilmington for use in the new City Hall, built at that time. The bell remained on the City Hall until 1866, when it was turned over to the Historical Society, and in 1878 it was given to the Phoenix Fire Company, and has since been used by that company on the belfry of the engine house.

Many descendants of Joseph Tatnall are still living in the City of Wilmington. He was a strict member of the Society of Friends.

Henry Latimer, who for thirty-one years served as president of the Bank of Delaware, was a son of Dr. Henry Latimer, and a grandson of James Latimer, both of whom bore a conspicuous part in the Revolutionary struggle in behalf of the independence of the colonies. Henry Latimer inherited large means from his father, and after receiving a liberal education, lived at "Woodstock," a handsome estate on the Newport turnpike, just beyond the city limits. He became a director of the Bank of Delaware when but twenty-four years of age, and continued as such by annual election for a period of sixty-two years. Under his administration the bank was most successful and prosperous, and he was recognized throughout the community as a most useful citizen.

Henry G. Banning, who served as president of the National Bank of Delaware from 1872 to 1905, was born in Talbot County, Maryland, March 8, 1816. He came from distin-



HENRY G. BANNING.

1816-1906.





guished parentage. His father, Freeborn Banning, was for many years a lieutenant in the United States navy, and his mother, Sarah Geddes, was a daughter of Captain Henry Geddes, who held a commission in the British navy, and who, on the breaking-out of the Revolution, joined the forces of the Colonies, and rendered distinguished service in the struggle for independence. The father of Henry G. Banning having lost his father in his early years, his mother removed with her family to Wilmington, where the son lived ever after. He was for years engaged in the hardware business, first with George Richardson and later by himself. For thirty years preceding his death he lived retired in the old mansion-house on South Broome street near Oak. Mr. Banning married in 1847 Miss Emily Eschenburg, a great-granddaughter of Caesar A. Rodney. Mr. Banning was always a courtly gentleman, and his death removed from the life of the city about the only survivor of the old school gentlemen. His business life had been exemplary and no man in the community stood higher in point of integrity and business honor. As the head of the Bank of Delaware he made an enviable record. With the full measure of years upon him, which he bore with unusual grace and dignity, his life ended on March 12, 1906, he having just completed his ninetieth year. Mr. Banning is survived by one son, James L. Banning; a younger son, John H. Banning, having died a few years ago.

#### NATIONAL BANK OF WILMINGTON AND BRANDYWINE.

On April 16, 1810, the second bank enterprise was started in Wilmington and called "The Bank of Wilmington and Brandywine." The bank opened for business on June 21, 1810, the following serving as the first board of directors: John Way, William Poole, Daniel Lowber, Robert Hamilton, Joseph Robinson, Jeremiah Woolston, James Jefferies and John Torbert. The first president was William Poole.

Within a few weeks one-half of the capital stock, or \$100,000.00, was paid in. For the first six months a dividend of

eight per cent. was declared. At first the bank occupied rented quarters a few doors above the corner of Second and Market streets, and in 1812 the property was bought at the northwest corner of Second and Market streets, upon which was erected a bank building that has since accommodated the bank, it being first occupied in March of 1813.

On May 22, 1865, it became a member of the national banking system as the "National Bank of Wilmington and Brandywine," with a capital stock of \$200,000.00, the directors at that time being John A. Duncan, Jacob Pusey, Leonard E. Wales, Washington Jones, George W. Sparks, William Richards, Thomas W. Bowers, Joseph Mendenhall and Joseph T. Bailey.

The banking house was greatly enlarged and improved in 1885.

The last report of the bank shows surplus and undivided profits of \$312,691.27, and present deposits of \$1,341,353.49.

The following is a list of the presidents in the order in which they have served :

William Poole      April 16, 1810, to April 28, 1810			
John Way	1810-1819	George Bush	1842-1863
John Torbert	1819-1824	John A. Duncan	1863-1868
John Wales	1824-1829	Washington Jones	1868-1888
William Seal	1829-1842	George S. Capelle	1888-

The following have been cashiers :

Daniel Byrnes	1810-1823	Evan Rice	1862-1879
Evan Thomas	1823-1825	George W. Sparks	1879-1882
Joseph P. Wollaston	1825-1837	Otho Nowland	1882-1889
George W. Sparks	1837-1856	Caleb M. Sheward	1889-
William S. Hagany	1856-1862		

Washington Jones, who served as the president of the bank for a term of twenty years, was a gentleman of unusual personality, and a man who made a decided impress upon the business community. His father, William G. Jones, was for years a leading cabinet-maker in the town, and lived to a

ripe old age. After a few years' experience as a clerk in the dry-goods trade in Philadelphia, Washington Jones returned to Wilmington, serving as a clerk for about a year in a dry goods store, and another year as discount clerk in the Wilmington and Brandywine bank. Very soon after attaining his majority, he engaged in the dry-goods business upon his own account, and conducted the same for almost twenty years, at the end of which time he had succeeded in saving enough money to join with Thomas H. Baynard, under the firm name of Baynard & Jones, in starting a morocco manufactory, and he continued in this latter business during the rest of his life. He was continuously a director in the bank from 1847 until his death, and served as its president for twenty years.

He was identified with the Franklin cotton factory, and was one of the original directors in the Wilmington Coal Gas Company, organized in 1852. His careful and prudent management as a business man was everywhere recognized, and no man in the city had better business standing. Like his father, he early identified himself with the Baptist denomination, and for many years was the leading member of the Second Baptist Church, in which he took a very active interest, contributing largely to the erection of the church building at Fourth and French streets, and also to the new building at Ninth and Franklin streets. His death occurred in Wilmington on July 23, 1903.

#### THE FARMERS BANK.

The Farmers Bank of the State of Delaware was incorporated February 4, 1807. Its capital was fixed at \$500,000.00. The principal bank under the original act was established at Dover, with branches at New Castle and Georgetown. By a supplemental act, January 22, 1813, a branch bank was authorized at Wilmington, and the same was opened a few months later on the west side of Market street at what is now known as No. 305. A majority of the stock of the Farmers Bank is held as an investment by the State, and a minority of

the directors represent the State, being appointed by the General Assembly every two years. The present building of the Farmers Bank at Wilmington was erected in 1836, and in 1889 the building was completely remodeled and the whole premises devoted to the banking business. Before that date part of the premises had been used as a dwelling for the cashier.

The latest report of the bank's affairs shows a capital stock of \$200,000.00, surplus and undivided profits of \$49,290.19, and individual deposits of \$663,122.64.

The presidents of the Farmers Bank at Wilmington since its establishment have been :

John Rumsey	1813-1815	David C. Wilson	1843-1865
Louis McLane	1815-1818	Charles I. Du Pont	1865-1868
John Rumsey	1818-1824	Francis Barry	1868-1878
Dr. Allen McLane	1824-1831	George Richardson	1878-1888
Allan Thompson	1831-1836	Joseph L. Carpenter, Jr.	1888-1906
James A. Bayard	1836-1843	William W. Lobdell	1906-

The cashiers have been :

Peter Caverly	1813-1815	Allan Thomson	1842-1843
John Rumsey	1815-1817	Robert D. Hicks	1843-1858
James Harper	1817-1820	Joseph A. Heston	1858-1867
Peter Caverly	1820-1827	Aquila G. Robinson	1867-1888
John Torbert	1827-1842	Thomas E. Young	1888-

#### THE UNION NATIONAL BANK.

The Union Bank of Delaware was chartered as a State institution February 15, 1839. The whole capital stock of \$300,000.00 was subscribed before the end of the year, and on April 3 the first election of directors was held, the following being chosen : James Price, James Canby, Edward Tatnall, Alfred du Pont, John H. Price, Merritt Canby, William Lea, Isaac Starr, William Chandler, John Hemphill, James W. Thompson, William Hemphill Jones and Miller Dunott. The bank was opened for business at the present site in May, 1839.

The bank met with the greatest success from the start, and



it soon became an established financial institution. It flourished as a State bank, but the national banking system offered superior advantages, and the board of directors, under date of June 20, 1865, received authority from the Comptroller of the Currency to convert the institution into a national bank. The following have served as presidents :

James Price	1839-1841	Victor du Pont	1866-1888
James Canby	1841-1843	Preston Lea	1888-
Edward W. Gilpin	1843-1866		

The following have served as cashiers :

William P. Brobson	1839-1848	John Peoples	1868-1885
Joseph T. Warner	1848-1865	John H. Danby	1885-1905
Joseph W. Day	1865-1868	J. Chester Gibson	1905-

In 1873 the bank building was materially improved by the addition of a brown-stone front, and in 1885 further remodeling of the banking house was done and additional room added.

The latest report of the bank shows surplus and undivided profits, \$437,951.34 and the individual deposits \$1,683,073.55.

#### THE FIRST NATIONAL BANK.

The Mechanics' Bank which did business at the southeast corner of Fourth and Market streets for a few years, was discontinued in 1864, and in its stead was organized under the National Banking Law of 1864 the First National Bank in Wilmington. Its certificate of authority bears date March 31, 1864, and the first board of directors consisted of Joshua T. Heald, Clement B. Smyth, Israel Pusey, George W. Bush, Stephen S. Southard, Delaplaine McDaniel, Mahlon Betts, William Tatnall and Daniel James.

Mahlon Betts was elected the first president and Samuel Biddle the first cashier, the bank opening for business on the 4th day of July, 1864, in the building at the southeast corner of Fourth and Market streets. Mahlon Betts only served as

president for about ten days, when he was succeeded by his son, Edward Betts, who was elected July 11, 1864, and served until 1892, when James P. Winchester was elected and has since continued in that position.

Samuel Biddle served as cashier for a month only, when he was succeeded by George D. Armstrong, who served from August 1, 1864, until his death in 1891, when Henry Bush was elected cashier, continuing until the present time.

The latest report of the bank shows surplus and undivided profits \$251,964.41 and individual deposits \$1,026,480.82.

#### THE CENTRAL NATIONAL BANK.

For a period of twenty years from 1864 there was no increase in the number of banks in the City of Wilmington, but in the year 1885 a new banking enterprise was started under the name of the "Central National Bank of Wilmington."

The first meetings were held at the office of S. and T. McClary, at No. 606 Shipley street, and the organization was effected there. The first board of directors elected consisted of the following: John H. Adams, Samuel McClary, Henry C. Robinson, Philip Plunket, Archibald A. Capelle, Samuel G. Simmons, Winfield S. Quigley, Benjamin Nields, John Peoples, Charles E. Fritz, Henry F. Dure, James A. Hart, J. Davis Sisler and William M. Field. John H. Adams was elected the first president and John Peoples the first cashier.

Steps were taken at once for the erection of a bank building, and on November 30, 1885, in combination with the Security Trust and Safe Deposit Company, the bank opened in the new and finely equipped building of the latter, immediately opposite the City Hall, at No. 519 Market street. A few years afterward the bank erected a building of its own at the northwest corner of Fifth and Market streets, which it has since occupied.

The following have served as presidents:

John H. Adams	1885-1886	Phillip Plunkett	1895-1905
Samuel McClary	1886-1890	Henry M. Lodge	1905-
William M. Field	1890-1895		

John Peoples served as cashier from the time of the organization until his death in 1892, when Henry P. Rumford was elected cashier, and has since served in that position.

The latest report of this institution shows capital stock of \$210,000, surplus and undivided profits \$71,031.84, and individual deposits \$540,074.70.

#### THE WILMINGTON SAVINGS FUND SOCIETY.

During the summer of 1831 a meeting of several of the most prominent citizens of Wilmington was held with a view of organizing a Savings Fund Society. Out of this meeting grew the Wilmington Savings Fund Society, which was incorporated January 11, 1832. Fifty-seven of the leading citizens were named as incorporators in the charter, and from these a board of twenty-five managers was elected. Willard Hall was elected the first president and Lea Pusey the first secretary.

The institution opened for business on Saturday, February 18, 1832, and the first office of the society was on the east side of Market street between Fifth and Sixth streets, which was also used by the secretary, Lea Pusey, as his office. At first the society received deposits only on Saturdays, on which day the office of the society was open four hours. At the end of eighteen months from the commencement of business the auditors' report showed that about \$20,000.00 had been received from 420 depositors.

The business of the society grew rapidly. In 1837 the assets amounted to \$37,000; in 1847 to \$71,000; in 1857 to \$252,000; in 1867 to \$482,000; in 1877 to \$877,000; in 1887 to \$2,547,000, and in 1906 to \$7,635,000. The institution has always been most conservatively managed, the investments being made with the greatest discretion, and notwithstanding the large amount of money invested, the percentage of loss has been extremely small. No institution in the city has been of greater advantage to the poorer classes.

After remaining for eight years at its first location, the office

of the society was removed to No. 611 Market street, where it continued until 1856, when the society erected a large and imposing iron front building at the southeast corner of Eighth and Market streets, and the business was conducted at that location until 1887, when the handsome banking building was erected by the society at the southeast corner of Ninth and Market streets, which it has occupied since the latter year. Its present building is possibly the most substantial and surely one of the handsomest and most complete banking institutions in the city.

Judge Hall served as president until December of 1872, a period of forty-one years. He was succeeded by Joseph Bringham, who served until his death in March, 1880, and he in turn was succeeded by William M. Canby, who continued in the office until his death on March 10, 1904. His successor was Wilmer Palmer, elected in 1904, and he is the present incumbent.

The first treasurer, Lea Pusey, served about a year and was succeeded by Jonas Pusey, who held the office from 1833 to 1851. Albert W. Smith was his successor, serving from 1851 to 1876, when he resigned, and his son, J. Ernest Smith, succeeded him, serving until April, 1885. William J. Ellison, the present treasurer, was elected his successor, and has since occupied the office. J. Ernest Smith since his retirement as treasurer has acted continuously as the general solicitor of the society.

#### THE ARTISANS' SAVINGS BANK.

The second savings institution was incorporated February 28, 1861, under the name of the "Artisans' Savings Bank." The first board of managers was composed of the following: Edward Betts, Leonard E. Wales, Clement B. Smyth, William Canby, Joseph W. Day, Eli Todd, Edward Moore, George W. Bush, Dr. J. Frank Vaughan, James Scott, William S. Hilles, Charles W. Howland and Thomas W. Bowers. Organization was effected on April 1, 1861, by the election of William S.

Hilles as president and John P. McLearn, secretary and treasurer, and the bank opened its doors for business on the same day in the building known at that time as No. 117 Market street. Mr. Hilles continued as president until 1877. George W. Bush was then elected and continued until 1895. His successor was J. Augustus McCaulley, who has served as president since 1895. John P. McLearn continued as secretary and treasurer until 1872, when Edward T. Taylor was elected as his successor, and served until his death in 1899, when Charles C. Matchett was elected. The latter served until 1904, and his successor was Robert D. Kemp, the present efficient secretary and treasurer.

In 1865 the office of the bank was removed to No. 602 Market street, where it continued until the completion of the Clayton House building in 1873, and since that year it has occupied its present quarters in that building, known as No. 502 Market street.

The bank has prospered in its business, and is reckoned one of the strong financial institutions of the city. The last report of the bank shows assets of \$1,948,052.55. Like its sister institution, the Wilmington Savings Fund Society, it proves an incentive to the laboring classes to husband their earnings by depositing small amounts from week to week.

#### TRUST AND SAFE DEPOSIT COMPANIES.

##### THE SECURITY TRUST AND SAFE DEPOSIT COMPANY.

Although many trust and safe-deposit companies had been established in the larger cities and had won their way into the public confidence, no institution of this kind was founded in Wilmington until the year 1885. The Security Trust and Safe Deposit Company of Wilmington was chartered by act of the General Assembly, March 25, 1885, and became the pioneer institution in the city. A most desirable site for a bank building was selected on Market street, immediately opposite the City Hall, known as No. 519, and early



in the year 1885 the new and commodious building now standing was begun on that site, and it was completed before the end of the year. At the time it was without question the most complete building for banking purposes in the city.

Business was commenced on November 30, 1885, with a capital of \$140,000, since increased to \$600,000. John H. Adams served as president from 1885 to 1886, Samuel McClary from 1886 to 1887 and Benjamin Nields continuously since 1887. James B. Clarkson was the first treasurer, and served until 1904, when he was elected vice-president; and he was succeeded, as treasurer, by L. Scott Townsend, the present incumbent. John S. Rossell has served as trust officer since January, 1889, his predecessor being J. Austin Ellison.

The last financial report of the company shows a capital stock of \$600,000, a surplus of \$500,000, and individual deposits of \$2,116,129.

#### THE EQUITABLE GUARANTEE AND TRUST COMPANY.

The Equitable Guarantee and Trust Company was incorporated April 23, 1889. The original incorporators were: William Bush, Samuel Bancroft, Jr., Hamilton M. Barksdale, Edward Bringham, Jr., William DuPont, Willard Saulsbury, Jr., Preston Lea, George V. Massey, David J. Cummins, William H. Swift, Christian Febiger and Caleb S. Pennewill. The company commenced business in June, 1889, at the northwest corner of Ninth and Market streets. Very soon after, the company bought the property at that corner, together with several adjoining properties, and on this site proceeded without delay to erect a large banking and office building, which, after completion, it occupied. The building was erected at a cost of \$200,000 and was, at the time of its erection, the largest and most costly building in the city. During its construction the business of the company was conducted at No. 837 Market street.

The new building was first occupied in September, 1892 and in 1903 it was enlarged by the addition of two stories at a cost of \$40,000.

The first president of the company was William Bush, who served from 1889 until his death in 1891. Preston Lea was then elected president, and served from 1891 to 1902, when he resigned, and was succeeded by Otho Nowland, who has served since 1902 until the present time. The first treasurer of the company was Otho Nowland, who served from 1889 to 1902. He then became president and was succeeded as treasurer by Richard Reese, who has served since 1902 in that capacity. John T. Pennypacker has occupied the office of secretary and trust officer since the organization of the company.

The last statement of the company shows a paid-in capital of \$500,000 with surplus and profits amounting to \$477,000, The deposits of the concern amount to \$2,156,784.85.

#### THE WILMINGTON TRUST COMPANY.

The Wilmington Trust Company is the latest trust company in Wilmington. Its charter bears date April 24, 1899. The company began business in temporary quarters at No. 915 Market street on July 8, 1903, and still continues at that location. The first board of directors consisted of T. Coleman du Pont, Henry P. Scott, Pierre S. du Pont, A. J. Moxham, Harlan G. Scott and William S. Hilles. The first officers elected, and they have served continuously since, were : President, T. Coleman du Pont ; First Vice-President, Henry P. Scott ; Second Vice-President, Pierre S. du Pont ; Third Vice-President, A. J. Moxham ; Treasurer, Sylvester D. Townsend and Secretary, Harlan G. Scott. The board of directors has recently been increased from six members to twelve.

The latest report of the company shows capital stock of \$300,000, surplus \$40,683.84 and deposits \$573,571.18.

#### BANKERS AND BROKERS.

For fifty years, starting in 1849, the firm of R. R. Robinson & Company was the leading private banker in the city. For several years this firm had no competitor. The banking busi-

ness was originally founded by Robert R. Robinson, who was born in Wilmington, and for many years followed the business of a tobacconist, and in 1849, he, with his son, John Norris Robinson, began the banking business. Later two other sons were admitted, Robert Emmet, and Henry C. Robinson.

John Norris Robinson in 1865 moved to Philadelphia, where for five years he was a member of the firm of Drexel & Company, bankers, in Philadelphia, and in 1871 he became a partner in the banking house of Drexel, Morgan & Company, in New York. He died in 1878 while yet a young man, but he had been exceptionally successful as a banker, and had amassed a large fortune.

Robert Emmet Robinson died at the age of forty-two, but he too had shown an unusual aptness for the banking business. After the death of Robert R. Robinson, in 1885, the business was continued under the old firm name by Henry C. Robinson, and later his son, J. Norris Robinson, became a partner with him. In the year 1902 the firm discontinued business. The business of the firm had always been conducted at the northeast corner of Fourth and Market streets.

In 1874 the firm of Merrick, Johnson & Company, bankers and brokers, was established, with John Merrick and Harry H. Johnson as partners. Their location was at the southeast corner of Sixth and Market streets. In a very short time John Merrick retired from the firm, and William S. Craige succeeded him, the name changing to Craige, Johnson & Company, and in 1876 Mr. Craige retired and Alfred S. Elliott and Henry P. Scott became partners with Mr. Johnson under the old firm name of Craige, Johnson & Company. The death of Mr. Johnson in 1889, and the retirement of Mr. Elliott a few years later, left the business in the control of Henry P. Scott, and he, with his brother, Harlan G. Scott, have for some years continued the business under the name of Scott & Company. Since July 15, 1902, the business has been conducted at No. 902 Market street. For ten years preceding the location of the firm was at No. 612 Market street.

Scott & Company have met with unusual success, and the senior member of the firm ranks among the leading financiers in banking circles, not only in this city, but his successful business ventures have given him wide and favorable reputation among the bankers of the larger cities.

The banking firm of Heald & Company was established in 1874. The head and front of the firm was Joshua T. Heald, who was surely the most public-spirited citizen of Wilmington of his generation. He, more than any other man, advanced the interests of the city by opening up new territory and promoting extensive real-estate movements. In the line of real estate he was particularly successful. Through his efforts, the residential section which centers on Delaware avenue was developed, and he was the promoter of several enterprises where large tracts of land in the suburbs were divided into lots and building enterprises started. The Wilmington and Western railroad was built largely through his exertions, but it proved unfortunate for him, and through it he met with severe financial losses from which he never recovered. It was after this experience that he started the banking business with his son-in-law, Daniel W. Taylor, and Edwin H. Gayley as partners. Into the banking business Mr. Heald injected the same energy and thoroughness that had marked his earlier life, and the firm during his lifetime built up a large general banking and brokerage business, and in addition conducted the largest real estate business of the city.

On the death of Joshua T. Heald in 1887, the business was conducted under the same firm name by the surviving partners until the year 1896 when the firm became seriously involved, and its business was liquidated.

The firm of H. L. Evans & Company started in the banking business at the northwest corner of Eighth and Market streets in the year 1895 and continued at the same location until March, 1906, having built up a large and prosperous business; but in the latter month were forced to make an assignment, the failure proving to be a very serious one. Mr. Henry L.

Evans, the senior partner, received instructions in early days as a clerk with the banking house of Heald & Company.

The youngest banking firm in the city is F. D. Lackey & Company, founded in 1900, and doing business since that time at No. 843 Market street. The active member of the firm is Frank D. Lackey, who also was with Heald & Company in earlier days, and who by dint of close attention to business and untiring industry has gained an enviable place among the younger business men of the city.

#### COMMERCIAL AFFAIRS.

Before the advent of the steam railroad, all shipping was necessarily done by water, and Wilmington, situated between the Christiana and Brandywine creeks only a short distance from the broad Delaware, was admirably located for the shipping trade. Nearly all of the old residents for thirty years preceding the Revolution were interested in one or more sailing vessels, many of which were built at home.

The brig "Wilmington," built in 1740, was owned by Griffith Minshall, William Shipley, David Ferris and Joshua Way, and is said to have been the first boat that left Wilmington with a cargo for foreign ports. She made several successful trips to the Island of Jamaica. Thomas Willing in 1750 built a sloop that carried freight between this port and Philadelphia. William Woodcock, Barney Harris and John Harris were early shipbuilders. Isaac Harvey conducted a large business and sailed several brigs and schooners. He controlled for many years the wharf that was later owned by the Bush family. Captain Thomas Mendenhall was a large trader and owned valuable wharf property. Joseph Shallcross and William Hemphill were both large shippers in early days.

The Warner wharf was owned for many years by Captain Robinson, an early sea-captain and later a merchant. Jonathan Rumford was one of the largest shippers for many years and amassed a large fortune. His wharf was between Orange



and Tatnall streets. He built and for many years lived in the large mansion-house at the corner of Front and Thorn streets, now occupied by the sash and door factory of Simmons & Brother. This house in 1792 was sold to Eleazer Macomb, who conducted a large trade in flour, and ran a line of packets on the Delaware.

After the Revolutionary war quite an active trade was carried on between Wilmington and the West Indies. A dozen or more vessels, owned and manned by Wilmington captains, sailed from this port. Others traded with Ireland, American products being carried from this port, and on the return voyage Irish linen and other commodities being brought from foreign shores. At one time emigrants from Ireland were frequently brought over and landed at Wilmington. Toward the close of the eighteenth century quite a large coasting trade with the Eastern States and with Nova Scotia was carried on.

The proprietors of the Brandywine mills for many years owned and sailed a fleet of sloops used for carrying flour from Wilmington to Philadelphia and other ports.

The Western Transportation Line was established in 1827. It ran boats from Philadelphia up the Christiana creek to Christiana village. The freight carried was transported from Christiana village to Elkton by wagons, and from Elkton to Baltimore a line of packets was used.

A number of Wilmington business people, doubtless enamored by the glowing reports of the profits derived from whaling by the New England companies then in operation, organized, in 1833, the "Wilmington Whaling Company," with a paid-in capital of over \$200,000. The company made some money, but was not the success which its promoters anticipated. After a continuance of thirteen years, it went out of business. The ships owned by the whaling company were the largest that had ever been in the Christiana, and their inability to reach the wharves at low tide led to the first movement toward deepening of the channel. This led to an appeal to Congress

in 1836, which resulted in an appropriation of \$15,000 for improvements of the harbor at the port of Wilmington. From time to time these appropriations have been made, and several hundred thousand dollars have been spent in improvements of the Christiana.

The first steamboat line between Wilmington and Philadelphia was established in 1812. The pioneer boat was the "Vestal," in after years called the "Vesta." Her first arrival in Wilmington is said to have caused much enthusiasm, and the people turned out in large numbers to visit the steamboat while she lay at the wharf. In 1814 the "Delaware" ran on the same route, and in 1820 the "Superior" was built, and for several years accommodated the traffic between Wilmington and Philadelphia. It is stated that it required eight hours to make the trip one way, and that the fare was one dollar. The steamer "Emerald" began running between Philadelphia and Cape May Point in 1829. Afterwards the same boat ran from Philadelphia to Wilmington. Six years later the "New Castle" was put on the river, and was the first boat to make the round trip to Philadelphia on the same day. The "W. Whildin," named after Captain William Whildin, was the first iron steamboat with side wheels to run on the Delaware. It was built in 1841, and ran between Philadelphia and Wilmington. In 1843 the "Balloon" and the "Rainbow" were the two boats on the route.

The "Ariel" for many years ran between Wilmington and Philadelphia, and was succeeded in 1866 by the "Samuel M. Felton," which continued to run until 1886. The latter boat was owned by the Philadelphia and Wilmington Steamboat Company, and for many years had no opposition. In 1869 an opposition was started and the steamboats "John Sylvester" and "Eliza A. Hancock" were put on. The competition between these two boats and the "Felton" was very lively and continued for many years, resulting in the discontinuance of the opposition boats.

The Wilmington Steamboat Company for some years past





GEORGE W. BUSH.

1825-1900.

has been running a line of propeller steamers between Wilmington and Philadelphia. The pioneer boat on this line was the "Wilmington." In 1885 the "Brandywine," a companion boat, was added, and a few years later a third boat, the "City of Chester." It is now known as the "Wilson Line" in honor of the present Mayor of Wilmington, Horace Wilson.

Wilmington could boast of no United States Custom House until about the year 1800. Prior to that time the custom house was at New Castle, and the duties collected as of that port. The first custom house established at Wilmington was located in a small rented building on Water street between Market and King streets, which disappeared entirely on the construction of the elevated railroad. The office remained there until the government building was erected at the corner of Sixth and King streets in 1856. The following is a list of the collectors of customs at the port of Wilmington :

George Bush	1790-1797	Thomas M. Rodney	1861-1866
Allen McLane	1797-1829	Theodore F. Crawford	1866-1869
Henry Whitely	1829-1841	William D. Nolen	1869-1876
Arnold Naudain	1841-1845	Lewis Thompson	1876-1884
Henry Hicks	1845-1849	Henry F. Pickels	1884-1888
Nathaniel Young		Henry M. Barlow	1888-1892
April 19, 1849-May 4, 1849		George L. Townsend	1892-1896
William P. Brobson	1849-1850	William H. Cooper	1896-1901
Charles Polk	1850-1853	Robert G. Houston	1901-1906
Jesse Sharpe	1853-1861	David S. Clark	1906-

#### GEORGE W. BUSH AND SONS COMPANY.

Just prior to the Revolution, in 1774, the first line of freight boats between Wilmington and Philadelphia was established by Samuel Bush, a man then of the age of twenty-four, who from his sixteenth year had been sailing back and forth to the West Indies. Equipping himself with a small sloop, which was called the "Ann," he made weekly trips between the little town on the Christiana and the larger city on the Delaware. The enterprise gave promise of success from the start, but during the Revolutionary War it met with some backsets,



and there were discouragements encountered by Captain Bush, all of which he was able to overcome, and after the war, the business materially increased and in course of time other boats were added, and provision made for the carrying of passengers also. This was the beginning of the line of transportation boats which has since that time been conducted in the name of Bush.

In course of time the two sons of Samuel Bush, David and Charles, joined their father in the business, and it was not long until French street wharf was one of the active business places of the town, a storehouse having been built in which Samuel Bush and his sons collected produce from the town and neighboring country, buying it and shipping it on their own account, not only to Philadelphia, but to other ports. In 1820 Samuel Bush, having reached his seventy-fourth year, retired from business, and George, his next son, took his place, the firm name being changed to David & George Bush, the son Charles having died in 1804.

David and George continued the business until 1846, when David Bush retired and his son George W. Bush succeeded him in the firm, the firm name changing to George & George W. Bush. George Bush died in 1863, and the business was continued by George W. Bush alone until 1873, when the latter's son, Walter D. Bush, joined his father in the business, the firm name changing at that time to George W. Bush & Son. In 1882 George W. Bush, Jr., another son, was admitted, and the firm name of George W. Bush & Sons adopted.

For many years the firm not only conducted a flourishing transportation business, but they established a large business in anthracite and bituminous coal, which necessitated a branch office in Philadelphia, and through which was carried on a coal business that was recognized as one of the largest on the Eastern coast. In 1884 an addition was made to the business by the incorporation of the George W. Bush & Sons Lumber Company, through which a large wholesale business in yellow pine lumber, especially, was conducted, and which for many

years proved to be a profitable branch of business. After the death of George W. Bush in 1900, the coal and transportation business was incorporated under the name of the George W. Bush & Sons Company. The lumber business a few years ago passed to the control of Bush & Rayner, a partnership consisting of J. Danforth Bush and Robert B. Rayner.

The present officers of the George W. Bush & Sons Company are: Lewis P. Bush, president, Walter D. Bush, Jr., treasurer, J. Danforth Bush, vice-president and Henry T. Bush, secretary.

#### THE CHARLES WARNER COMPANY.

The Charles Warner Company is one of the largest and most important commercial concerns in Wilmington. The name Warner has been connected with business life in Wilmington for more than a century, the first of the name being John and William Warner, who started in business in 1790. Prior to 1800 the Warners ran a sloop to and from Philadelphia to carry freight. In 1816 they were instrumental in establishing the first passenger steamer between Wilmington and Philadelphia, and thirty years later used the first propeller in their carrying trade. From these beginnings grew the Wilmington and Philadelphia Propeller line that for forty years has maintained a daily line between the two cities, with a system of express delivery at each end of the route.

Charles Warner was the active factor in the business from 1837 to 1868, when he retired from the active management and his nephew, E. Tatnall Warner, and his son, Alfred D. Warner, became the active partners. This continued until 1885 when the Charles Warner Company was incorporated, and E. Tatnall Warner became president of the new company, continuing as such until his death in 1904. The company for many years has been the largest dealer in the city in coal, cement, mortar, lime, plaster and building sand. The ready-mixed mortar, introduced by the company within the past ten years, has largely superseded with builders the old-fash-

ioned mortar. For many years the company has held a controlling interest in the Diamond Ice Company, and in order to supply its own trade the company has large interests in lime and kindred companies. These many enterprises make necessary an enormous capital, the business for the past year aggregating three millions of dollars. The company has commodious ware-houses on both sides of the Christiana, and valuable terminal facilities for its shipping trade in Philadelphia.

E. Tatnall Warner, who came into the business in 1860, remained with it until his death on January 15, 1904. He was a man of superior business judgment, quick, active and unusually energetic. He made a deep impress upon the community, and was able through his capable management to greatly extend the business of the concern to which he gave the work of his life. He fully earned the success that attended his efforts, and although in his sixty-ninth year, when he died, gave no indication of failing faculties, but maintained the energy and buoyancy of youth. He was for many years a director in the Philadelphia, Wilmington and Baltimore Railroad Company. He took a great interest in the religious life of the city, being a leading layman in the Protestant Episcopal church, and serving as senior warden at St. Andrew's.

Alfred D. Warner, son of Charles Warner, has been the president of the Charles Warner Company since the death of E. Tatnall Warner. His active connection with the company dates from the retirement of his father in 1868. He possesses the energy, the integrity and the sterling business ability that have marked the century and more of business life of the Warner family in Wilmington. He is rated an exceptionally successful business man. His sons, Charles, Alfred D. and Irving are now actively with the company, as is also John Warner, son of E. Tatnall Warner, so that the enterprise gives evidence of being continued under Warner management for many years to come.



E. TATNALL WARNER.

1835-1904.





## BOARD OF TRADE.

The first Board of Trade of Wilmington was organized January 3, 1837, and in its membership were included many of the leading business men. David C. Wilson acted as president for a dozen years or more, and the membership showed much interest in trade affairs, and was instrumental in having the navigation of the Christiana improved, and in other ways furthering the interests of the city. The first board seems to have gone out of existence, and in its place in 1868 was organized the "Wilmington Board of Trade." The board has continued since with rather a varied experience. At times it showed life and activity; at other times but little interest was manifested by the membership.

Edward Betts served as president from 1868 to 1870, and since that time the following have occupied the office of president: George W. Bush, E. Tatnall Warner, Henry S. McComb, Preston Lea, Henry Mendenhall, George S. Capelle, Francis N. Buck, Daniel W. Taylor, William Lawton and Thomas H. Savery. The Board of Trade at the present time (1907) has a membership of 600 and is officered as follows: Robert J. Maclean, president; Archibald S. Reed, first vice-president; Horace Wilson, second vice-president; John W. Lawson, Jr., secretary, and Frank J. Williams, treasurer.

## THE PUBLIC PARKS.

On July 11, 1868, a public meeting was held at which the project was discussed of having the city buy land along the Brandywine with a view of establishing a public park. A sentiment favorable to this object developed at the meeting, and the following committee was appointed to consider the same: Thomas F. Bayard, Samuel M. Harington, Charles B. Lore, Daniel W. Taylor and George W. Stone. A year later this committee reported to the City Council that after careful consideration, it would recommend that the council arrange for the purchase of all the land lying between Lovering avenue on the south and the Brandywine Creek and race on the north,

and extending from Adams street on the east to Rattlesnake run on the west. The committee also recommended the purchase of some woodland on the northerly side of the creek, but did not describe the boundaries. The committee was enthusiastic in its recommendations, and much sentiment was created in favor of the acquisition of the lands for park purposes. The City Council took prompt steps toward purchasing the lands as recommended by the committee, and were about to follow this action up by borrowing money to pay for the same, when a number of the tax-payers, alarmed at the possible expense that would be incurred, retained counsel and succeeded in having all further proceedings stopped by an injunction issued by the Chancellor of the State, it being urged that the city charter forbade the borrowing of money for such a purpose. This action had the effect of putting a quietus upon the matter of a public park for several years, but in 1882, by the coöperation of a number of prominent citizens, preliminary steps were taken which resulted in the passage of an act by the General Assembly at its session in 1883, creating a Board of Park Commissioners for the City of Wilmington. This action grew largely out of the fact that William P. Bancroft had bought the Thompson farm just west of Rockford on the Brandywine, and had made a proffer to donate certain parts of it for park purposes, if the necessary steps were taken for the acquisition of a park. The following persons were named in the act as the first Board of Park Commissioners: William P. Bancroft, George H. Bates, Thomas F. Bayard, Edward Betts, Francis N. Buck, George W. Bush, William M. Canby, Joseph L. Carpenter, Jr., Henry A. du Pont, J. Taylor Gause. The act provided that the Mayor of the city, the President and the Chairman of the Finance Committee of the City Council and the Chief Engineer of the Surveying Department should be ex-officio members of the board. In 1885 the city was authorized by the General Assembly to borrow \$150,000 for the purchase of land for park purposes, and from time to time additional authority has been given to borrow money for the same

purpose. William M. Canby was elected president of the board at its organization in 1883, and remained as such, continuously until his death on March 10, 1904. He was recognized as the leading member of the board, and he gave much painstaking and valuable aid in establishing and extending the parks of the city. As was most appropriately suggested in a minute adopted by the board at the first meeting after his death: "His appreciation of nature, his botanical and general scientific knowledge and his executive ability, rendered him especially useful, and no results at all like those that have been attained could have been reached without him."

The following have served as members of the Board of Park Commissioners:

Edward Betts	1883-1885	Walter D. Bush	1904-1904
George H. Bates	1883-1894	Dennis J. Menton	1886-
Joseph L. Carpenter, Jr.	1883-1887	Samuel Bancroft, Jr.	1895-
Joseph L. Carpenter, Jr.	1895-	Horace W. Gause	1904-
Francis N. Buck	1883-1895	George S. Capelle	1893-
J. Taylor Gause	1883-1897	Samuel H. Baynard	1900-
William Canby	1883-1895	J. Newlin Gawthrop	1895-
Thomas F. Bayard	1883-1898	Henry A. du Pont	1883-
George W. Bush	1883-1900	William P. Bancroft	1883-
William M. Canby	1883-1904	John M. Rogers	1898-

The following extract from the report of the Board of Park Commissioners for the year 1904 shows the growth of the system since its establishment in 1883:

## MAIN PARK SYSTEM.

	<i>Area in Acres.</i>	<i>Total Area in Acres.</i>
North Brandywine Park . . . . .	100.60	
South Brandywine Park . . . . .	73.22	
Kentmere Parkway and Rockford Grove . . . . .	14.83	
Rockford Park . . . . .	71.37	
	<hr/>	260.02

## SMALL PARKS.

Kirkwood Park, Eleventh and Kirkwood streets . . . . .	4.45	
Delamore Park, Broome and Maple streets . . . . .	5.34	
Eden Park, Newcastle avenue and F street . . . . .	7.35	
	<hr/>	17.14
		<hr/>
		277.16

## OTHER SMALL PARKS AND OPEN PLACES.

*Not under Control of Park Commission.*

Cool Spring Park, Tenth and Jackson streets . . . . .	7.50	
Rodney Park, Eighth and Clayton streets . . . . .	1.66	
Franklin Park, Eighth and Broome streets . . . . .	2.89	
Garfield Place, Delaware avenue and Washington street . .	.12	
Kennett Place, Pennsylvania avenue and Franklin street .	.12	
Shipley Place, Twelfth and Market streets . . . . .	.17	
Soldiers' Monument, Delaware avenue and Broome street .	.09	
		<hr/> 12.55
		<hr/> 289.71
Miles of driveway . . . . .	3.86	
Population of Wilmington in 1900 . . . . .	76,500	
Area of Wilmington in 1900 . . . . .	10.18 square miles	
One acre of park land to 264 inhabitants.		
One acre of park land to 22 acres of city area.		

## SHIP AND CAR BUILDING.

## THE HARLAN AND HOLLINGSWORTH COMPANY.

This company, which for many years has occupied the foremost place among boat and car-building establishments, grew out of a partnership formed in 1836 by Mahlon Betts and Samuel N. Pusey. The firm of Betts and Pusey carried on a small business for a few years at Front and Tatnall streets. In 1837 Samuel Harlan, Jr., was admitted as a partner and the firm name was changed to Betts, Pusey and Harlan. In 1841 Mr. Pusey retired, his interest being purchased by Elijah Hollingsworth. In 1849 Mr. Betts retired, and for ten years it was Harlan and Hollingsworth. In 1858 J. Taylor Gause became an equal partner, when the firm name became Harlan, Hollingsworth and Co., and this continued until the incorporation of the Harlan and Hollingsworth Company in 1867.

The first enterprise was the building of cars in a limited way, less than twenty men being at first employed, and Samuel Harlan being the general manager. In 1841 larger quarters became necessary, and the firm established its plant at the foot of West street, and Mr. Hollingsworth who had before that

time been the foreman of the Baldwin locomotive works at Philadelphia, entered actively into the work as superintendent of machinery, and the firm soon extended its business so as to embrace ship-building. The equipment of the machine-shop was unequalled in the country. It was not long until ship-building became the main business of the firm, and in the course of time Captain Alexander Kelley, Nathaniel R. Benson and Thomas Johnson were called in as trusted lieutenants by Mr. Hollingsworth, and this trio of trained and experienced ship-builders gave a fame to the works of Harlan and Hollingsworth that extended far and wide.

The first iron sea-going propeller constructed in the United States was launched in the yards of this firm in 1844. During the Civil War the firm built some of the most noted ironclads that took part in that memorable struggle. In 1870 a dry-dock was constructed. At first a building forty-five by fifty-five feet accommodated the business. Now it occupies nearly fifty acres of land with appliances and equipment equal to any in the land.

Mr. Harlan was the leading voice in directing the business and managing its finances until after the incorporation of the the company in 1867. In 1883 he retired from the active management, and J. Taylor Gause became the head and served continuously as president until 1896. Thomas B. Smith served as treasurer of the company for many years and in faithful and efficient service was excelled by none. He was succeeded by his son, Samuel K. Smith, who is still with the company, and who has proved a worthy son of a most worthy sire. Among others who served the company long and acceptably were Harry T. Gause and Horace W. Gause, sons of J. Taylor Gause ; Thomas Jackson, Nathaniel R. Benson, Edward Mahoney, Dennis J. Menton, Andrew G. Wilson, Thomas Johnson, T. Jackson Shaw and Nathaniel R. Benson, Jr.

In 1896 Henry G. Morse was elected president, but the material advance that was expected from this move was not realized and after serving but little more than two years Mr.



Morse resigned the presidency and J. Taylor Gause was chosen to succeed him in September, 1898, and served until his death, December 1st, 1898. Harry T. Gause succeeded his father and served for nine months, Horace W. Gause being elected president in September, 1901. During the following year the control of the company was acquired by the United States Shipbuilding Company, and under its management David C. Reid was elected president in September, 1902, and continued to act as such until February, 1905. The affairs of the United States Shipbuilding Company becoming involved, the plant of the Harlan and Hollingsworth Company was sold under judicial degree, and was bought-in by interested parties who turned over the effects of the old company to a new company incorporated late in the year 1904, called the Harlan and Hollingsworth Corporation. In September, 1905, William G. Coxe was elected president of both the Harlan and Hollingsworth Company and the Harlan and Hollingsworth Corporation, and still continues as the head of both organizations.

#### THE PUSEY & JONES COMPANY.

In 1848 Joshua L. Pusey and John Jones started what has developed into the Pusey & Jones Company. The beginnings were modest and the first machine-shop was a small building still standing in the present yards of the company. In 1851 Edward Betts and Joseph Seal became additional partners, but both of the latter retired in 1857, and Alfred Betts became a partner, but in two years he gave way to William G. Gibbons, and the firm became Pusey, Jones & Co. John Jones retired in 1866, and Thomas H. Savery succeeded him as a partner. The Pusey & Jones Company was incorporated in 1879, Joshua L. Pusey was its first president; at the latter's death William G. Gibbons became president, serving until his death. He in turn was succeeded by Charles W. Pusey who served until 1904, when on a reorganization of the company, Thomas H. Savery became president and still continues as the honored and capable head of the company. William

W. Pusey served as treasurer until 1904, being succeeded by John S. Rossell. Samuel C. Biddle has served continuously as secretary of the company.

The company has done a large business in ship-building, its boats being known throughout the world; but of late years the company has made a great fame in paper-making machinery, its products in this line being unexcelled in the world. It has a full equipment for the manufacture of all kinds of heavy machinery, engines and boilers, with foundry facilities for both iron and brass work, from the smallest to the largest dimensions. The present plant covers an area of nearly ten acres, and its products go not only to the remote parts of the United States, but are found throughout the countries of the old world. Possibly no other Wilmington firm is so fully and favorably known abroad as the Pusey & Jones Company.

#### E. AND C. MOORE.

In 1833 Enoch and Charles Moore began the building of small boats at the foot of Poplar street. They were both practical shipwrights, and the business thus started continued for many years and the firm was famous in the construction of staunch and reliable shipping craft. Later the ship-yard was moved to the foot of East Fourth street, and in 1871 came under the control of Enoch Moore, Jr., who was the sole proprietor until 1894. At this point Enoch Moore, Jr., conducted successfully a large business, building many wooden vessels and ships ranging from the small yacht up to the large, full-rigged ship and making a specialty of steam freight barges, and also having ample facilities for the docking and repairing of all kinds of vessels. The Enoch Moore and Sons Company was incorporated in 1893 and Enoch Moore, Jr., retired from active management, turning the business over largely to his two sons, George B. Moore and Enoch Moore, Jr., 2nd. The plant in 1892 was removed to the south side of the Christiana, where business was conducted until 1902, by the company, who in the latter year discontinued business,

and Enoch Moore, Jr., the father, resumed control and is actively pushing the same.

#### THE JACKSON & SHARP COMPANY.

This company which developed into one of the largest and most important of Wilmington's industries, was the outgrowth of a partnership established in 1863 by Job H. Jackson and Jacob F. Sharp. The firm established its plant at the foot of East Eighth street, and began business by building peach or fruit cars, and the industry was afterward developed until the most elaborate of palace cars were constructed by the firm. The works located on about twenty acres of land afforded every facility for the building of cars and in addition a boat-building plant was established and has continued during all the years of the company's existence. The firm of Jackson & Sharp continued until 1870 when Mr. Sharp withdrew, and the Jackson & Sharp Company was incorporated with a capital of five hundred thousand dollars. Job H. Jackson became president on the organization of the company and continued uninterruptedly in that position until his death. Under the direction of the new company the works rapidly developed and the cars built by the company were sent not only throughout the United States but to many foreign countries. Many of the most elaborate of the sleeping cars of recent years have been constructed by this company, and in several instances ruling sovereigns of foreign countries have ordered special cars finished in a palatial way from this company. In 1901 the controlling interest in the company was purchased by the American Car & Foundry Company, whose main office and business is in St. Louis, Mo. The plant was continued as it existed at that time, and has since been known as the Jackson & Sharp plant of the American Car and Foundry Company, and the business developed under the direction of Job H. Jackson has been continued and still continues one of the largest and most important of the industries in Wilmington.

## THE PULLMAN PALACE CAR COMPANY.

In 1871 Thomas W. Bowers and Henry F. Dure entered into a co-partnership under the firm name of Bowers and Dure and established a car-building works on the easterly side of the Brandywine at its intersection with the Philadelphia, Baltimore and Washington railroad. The firm manufactured all kinds of railway and street cars and at one time employed three hundred and fifty men. After several years Thomas W. Bowers retired from the partnership and Mr. Dure became sole proprietor, and in 1886 he sold the plant and the real estate to the Pullman Palace Car Company, who established on the site a branch of the car works operated by the company at Pullman, near Chicago, Illinois, and it has since been known as the eastern branch of the Pullman company. The shops in recent years have been rebuilt, and a large industry in repairing and rebuilding is carried on, necessitating a large force of workmen and an equipment of the best of machinery.

## THE LOBDELL CAR WHEEL COMPANY.

In 1836 Jonathan Bonney and Charles Bush formed a partnership under the firm name of Bonney & Bush for the manufacture of car wheels. The business was started in a small way; railroads at that time were in their infancy, there being at that time but one other car-wheel manufactory in this country. Mr. Bonney died in 1838 and his nephew, George G. Lobdell became a partner with Mr. Bush, the firm name changing to Bush & Lobdell. Under the new firm the business grew rapidly, a new foundry being built in 1844, giving greater capacity for the business. This foundry was burned down in 1853 but was immediately rebuilt. The death of Mr. Bush in 1855 threw the management of the business upon Mr. Lobdell, who became the sole proprietor in 1859 and continued it under his sole control until 1867 when the Lobdell Car Wheel Company was organized, with George G. Lobdell, president, William W. Lobdell, secretary, and Peter N.

Brennan, treasurer. The business rapidly increased, additional land and buildings being found necessary. The stagnation of business during the panic of 1873 effected somewhat the output of the company, but in 1881 the company found it necessary to materially enlarge its plant, and for that purpose bought a large tract of land in South Wilmington, near the mouth of the Christiana. To this site the works of the company were removed in 1882 with an equipment of machine-shop, foundry, smith-shop and all necessary appliances that were unexcelled for the purpose in the country, and in addition to car wheels the company prepared to manufacture on a large scale chilled rolls for paper-machines, flour mills, etc. The capacity of the company's plant is about two hundred tons of wheels, rolls and castings per day. In connection with its Wilmington plant the company owns about three hundred and fifty acres of land on the south side of the Christiana creek. In Wythe and Smyth counties, Virginia, the company owns two charcoal blast furnaces and about ten thousand acres of ore, wood and farming land; and in North Carolina about five thousand acres of timber and farming land.

George G. Lobdell, the founder of the industry, was born October 1, 1817. He served an apprenticeship with his uncle, Jonathan Bonney, and became a partner with Charles Bush, just as he attained his majority in 1838. From that time until his death, March 1, 1894, a period of fifty-six years, he gave close and faithful attention to business, and made an honored name in the industrial world. A man of the simplest tastes and rare modesty, his whole life was devoted to the management of the car-wheel and chilled-roll industry, to which his name added much of value, and the success of which is largely due to his close application and untiring industry.

He found time for stock-raising and took great delight in farming and rural affairs, being one of the most progressive farmers in the county. In connection with his home at





Geo. G. Lobdell



Minquadale, in New Castle Hundred, he conducted one of the model farms of the state. For twenty years he was a director of the Farmers' Bank at Wilmington, and he was president of the Masonic Hall Company from its organization to the time of his death. In financial circles he stood for the highest integrity and his word was at all times as good as his bond. Unassuming in manner, he won and held the highest regard of the Wilmington community, and the provision contained in his will for the maintenance of his country residence as a home for aged people was but an evidence of the kind and philanthropic nature of the man, whose charities were always dispensed quietly and without attempt at show. No man has won a more enviable business record than George G. Lobdell.

Since George G. Lobdell's death in 1894 the management of the company has devolved upon his two sons, William W. Lobdell and George G. Lobdell, Jr. The former has served as president, the latter as vice-president. The high standards of work have been maintained, the business has increased, its financial standing has not been in the least impaired, and the company gives evidence of many more decades of successful business life.

#### MACHINE COMPANIES.

##### THE J. MORTON POOLE COMPANY.

In 1839 J. Morton Poole opened a small machine-shop in the basement of one of the first buildings used by the Bancrofts on the Brandywine. From this humble beginning sprang the J. Morton Poole Company, manufacturers of chilled rolls used in the grinding of flour, the making of paper, sheet rubber, cloth and other commodities, the perfection of whose products has given the company a worldwide fame, and resulted in the building-up of a business whose success was attained entirely because of the high merit of the work produced. In 1848 Mr. Poole bought a small building on the present plant of the company at the foot of Orange street on the Christiana, and began operations there. In 1853 William

T. Porter, who had been an apprentice under Mr. Poole, became a partner, and the business moved forward, the main product in the early days being milling machinery. In 1867 the firm began the manufacture of chilled rolls. Mr. Poole was a born mechanic, a man who was most conscientious with his work, and ambitious that his work should excel. It is related that it required a full year to grind the first pair of rolls after the firm started upon their manufacture, but the time and care given at the beginning showed the high standard that would be required, and went a long way towards establishing the reputation of the firm for exact and thorough work. The firm continued until the death of Mr. Poole in 1879, when the J. Morton Poole Company was incorporated, and William T. Porter was made president of the new company, with two sons of Mr. Poole, Alfred D. Poole and J. Morton Poole, Jr., as co-workers in the new company. Mr. Porter continued as president until his death in 1901. No more capable successor could have been found to J. Morton Poole than William T. Porter. A man of unusual scientific knowledge, with a natural aptness for mechanics, he became through his long touch with Mr. Poole thoroughly versed in all that went with the making of perfect machinery, so that the high standard of the company's work was maintained under Mr. Porter's management, which continued until the latter's death in 1901.

The high record made by this company, both in excellence of work and in business integrity, continues under the present management, with J. Morton Poole, son of the founder of the business, as president, and Alfred D. Poole, another son, as secretary and treasurer.

#### BETTS MACHINE COMPANY.

The firm of E. & A. Betts, composed of Edward and Alfred Betts, began business at the present location of the company in 1860. Both partners had been identified with other important Wilmington industries prior to the formation of this

firm. In 1879 the Betts Machine Company was incorporated and succeeded to the business of the firm. Edward and Alfred Betts both retired, and William and Edward T. Betts, sons of Edward Betts, became the controlling factors in the company. The company conducts a large and well-equipped plant on Maryland avenue near Beech street, and its products consist of machine tools and appliances of all kinds, including lathes, planes, drills, slotting-machines, turning and boring-machines, car-wheel borers, cutting-off machines, standard gauges, etc. The present officers of the company are William Betts, president, and Edward T. Betts, vice-president and treasurer. The company turns out excellent work and its financial standing is of the best.

#### THE REMINGTON MACHINE COMPANY.

George W. Remington, a practical machinist, began business in a limited way, but in 1872 the company bearing his name was incorporated and he has since acted as its president with Henry M. Taylor and John J. Satterthwaite as co-workers and officers in the company. The company manufactures engines, boilers, steam-pumps, also brass castings and finishings. The plant of the company has always been located on East Front street near Poplar street; its equipment is complete, and the work produced by its force of a hundred workmen is of the best in its line.

#### THE DIAMOND STATE CAR SPRING COMPANY.

This company grew out of a small business established in 1844 by Edwin J. Horner. In 1872 James P. Hayes and James C. Pickels, trading as James P. Hayes & Co., succeeded to the business, and in 1883 the Diamond State Car Spring Company was incorporated. The company manufactures all kinds of first-class springs used in the construction of locomotives or cars, and several patent springs for special uses. The company has in its employ about fifty men and does a



substantial business. Nathan H. Davis is the present president and manager of the company.

#### THE TRUMP BROTHERS MACHINE COMPANY.

This company was the outgrowth of a business established in 1873 by C. Newbold Trump and Samuel N. Trump, who came to Wilmington from Rochester, New York. They first began the manufacture of the "Fleetwood Scroll Saws," which they turned out in large quantities, and for which they found a large and profitable sale. In 1879 the company was organized, and since that time a large business has been built up in small machinery, largely hosiery machinery, coupled with the manufacture of bolts and nuts. The plant is located at the corner of Beech and Anchorage streets, and the equipment is up to date. The company employs fifty men and the present officers are C. Newbold Trump, president, Samuel N. Trump, vice-president, and George R. Hoffecker, secretary and treasurer.

#### WALKER & ELLIOTT.

For twenty-five years the above firm has conducted business at Second and Lombard streets. It is composed of Vincent C. Walker and Robert T. Elliott, both practical machinists, who by dint of industry and thoroughly good workmanship have built up a large and prosperous business, largely in the manufacture of fertilizing machinery. The business was started in 1880 and with the progress of years has reached large proportions, with financial standing of the best.

#### IRON AND STEEL COMPANIES.

##### THE DIAMOND STATE STEEL COMPANY.

In 1853 Joshua P. Edge and Robert S. Harris associated themselves together in a small ship-smithing business. They located on the present site of the Diamond State Steel Company's plant at the northerly end of the present Third street bridge. Mr. Harris dropped out in 1855, and Delaplaine

McDaniel and William S. Craige joined with Mr. Edge and the firm became McDaniel, Craige & Co. Mr. Edge retired in 1857 and the remaining partners bought his interest. In 1859 John H. Adams entered the firm and the name was changed to McDaniel, Adams & Co. The next year Mr. Craige sold his interest to Henry Mendin hall, but the firm name continued the same.

In 1865 the Diamond State Iron Company was incorporated, and it is claimed that it was the first industrial corporation organized in Delaware. John H. Adams was elected president, and Henry Mendin hall secretary and treasurer. The next year Mr. Adams parted with his interest and retired, Clement B. Smyth buying his holdings and being elected treasurer, the office of president going to Mr. Mendin hall who remained in that office for over twenty years until his death, April 28, 1887. In 1866 George W. Todd entered the company and was made secretary two years later, and in 1884, succeeded Mr. Smyth as treasurer. John T. Davis, an experienced iron-master, became superintendent of the company and continued as such until his death. Mr. Smyth was made president on the death of Mr. Mendin hall in 1887 and served but a few years, when George W. Todd became president. The latter occupied that position until the formation of the Diamond State Steel Company in 1899.

Up to 1865 the business of the company was conducted in small quarters and on a limited scale. In the latter year larger buildings were erected, and in 1870 a tract of adjoining land was purchased and a large machine shop and also a spike, bolt and nut shop were erected. In 1876 the old ferry mill on the south side of the Christiana was purchased, and in 1883 ten acres of land adjoining the latter were purchased. Since 1877 the manufacture of horse and mule shoes has been one of the main industries of the company.

In 1899 the Diamond State Steel Company was incorporated and the business theretofore conducted by the iron company was turned over to the steel company. The new company at

once erected large and admirably equipped buildings and began the manufacture of steel in various shapes. Splice bars; track bolts; railroad spikes; boat, wharf and counter-sunk spikes; machine bolts; merchant bar-iron; rivet rods; horse shoe iron; horse and mule shoes of iron and steel; car and other forgings, were among the varied and manifold products of the company.

The increased facilities of the steel company put it at once in the forefront of kindred enterprises in this country and led to the anticipation that it might become the largest and most successful business in the city. Howard T. Wallace, who had for years been the efficient secretary of the Diamond State Iron Company, was made president of the new steel plant. Notwithstanding the energy and enthusiasm infused into the new management and its bright promise of success, the new company soon encountered difficulties and the stockholders representing the largest interests in the concern applied in December, 1904, to the United States court for appointment of receivers, and the application being granted, Howard T. Wallace and James P. Winchester were accordingly appointed receivers and have since that time been in control of the affairs of the company.

#### THE MCCULLOUGH IRON COMPANY.

In 1847 Delaplaine McDaniel, Jethro J. McCullough and Edmund A. Harvey formed a copartnership under the name of McCullough & Company, and began the manufacture of sheet iron. Their first venture was in a small mill at Northeast, Maryland. Within a few years they acquired two other mill properties in Cecil county, and in 1865 the parties above mentioned were incorporated under the name of the McCullough Iron Company. Ten years later the company acquired ten acres of land at the foot of East Seventh street in Wilmington and thereon they established the Minquas iron works which in course of time has become the main plant of the company. One of the special products of the company is what is known

as "Harvey's Patent Cleaned" iron, being a block sheet finished by a patent process, the invention of Edmund A. Harvey, one of the originators of the company. By this invention the dust and dirt were removed from the surface of the sheets, and it greatly facilitated the handling of the sheets. To this company is given the credit of making the first galvanized sheet-iron in the United States. Delaplaine McDaniel served as president of the company from its organization until his death in 1885. He was a resident of Wilmington until the last ten years of his life, when he lived in Philadelphia where the central office and ware-rooms of the company, together with the main galvanizing plant, had been established. He died in 1885, and Edmund A. Harvey became president of the company, serving until 1899. Mr. Harvey is the sole survivor of the three original partners, Jethro J. McCullough having died in 1878.

The company was placed in the hands of receivers in February, 1895, but the business was continued by the receivers, and at the end of four years the receivers were discharged and the business was handed back to the stockholders, under whose direction it has since been operated with much success. Henry Whitely was elected president in March, 1899, and has since been the executive head of the concern, serving with great acceptability and success. Martin E. Walker is the present secretary and treasurer.

#### THE SEIDEL & HASTINGS COMPANY.

This company was the outgrowth of a small rolling-mill establishment in 1845 on the site occupied by the present company on Church street between Ninth and Tenth streets. Henry B. Seidel became the owner of the plant in 1864, and and in 1867 Washington Hastings became a partner with him. Ten years later Edward T. Canby was admitted as a third partner, and the firm name adopted of Seidel, Hastings and Company. In 1884 the Seidel & Hastings Co. was incorporated. At first only small boiler plates were made, but

the company has developed and is now fully equipped for the manufacture of iron and steel plates of various dimensions for boilers and for ship and bridge work. The output has been greatly increased and a large and handsome business built up, necessitating the employment of more than a hundred men. The company maintains a warehouse in New York City, and its products are known throughout the United States. Much of the success of the company was due to the energy and business ability of Mr. Hastings, who for many years has been recognized as a leader in the business life of Wilmington, and has served as president of the company for several years. The company, owing to reverses, was forced to go into the hands of a receiver in 1906, and its affairs are now being liquidated.

#### HILLES & JONES COMPANY.

In 1870 William S. Hilles and Henry C. Jones became partners under the firm name of Hilles & Jones and began the machine and tool business at Ninth and Church streets, the location of the present company. They succeeded the firm of Robert H. Barr & Co., who in turn were successors of Crossley & Barr, and Crossley & Allen. John S. Crossley had started a small manufactory of machinists' tools on the same site as early as 1854. In the earlier days engines and boilers were built, and at least one schooner was built, but vessel-building was early abandoned and the whole attention of the firm given to machine and boiler building. William S. Hilles died in 1876, but the firm continued without change until 1885, when T. Allen Hilles, a son of William S. Hilles, became an active partner. The products of the firm have gradually changed from all kinds of machinery to a special line of tools for locomotive builders, railroad shops, boilermakers and bridge builders, and in these lines signal success has been made. In 1889 the Hilles & Jones Co. was incorporated and succeeded the old partnership in the same lines of manufacture. Henry C. Jones and T. Allen Hilles have of late years retired from the active management, the company at present



being officered as follows: Alfred R. Jones, president; Robert W. Smith, vice-president; Lawrence T. Jefferies, treasurer.

#### A. L. HENDERER'S SONS.

A. L. Henderer established, in 1873, a tool industry at Maryland avenue and Beech street. After the death of the father in 1897 the business was assumed by his three sons, Harmon J., Howard E. and Myron C. Henderer, and has since been conducted under the name of A. L. Henderer's Sons, at the old stand. They manufacture hydraulic jacks and boiler-maker's specialties, various styles of roller tube expanders, screw punches, punches and dies, etc., every article of which is of the highest grade, both in material and workmanship. The name Henderer is a guarantee of good work and the business of the firm extends from year to year.

#### MOROCCO AND LEATHER INDUSTRIES.

Wilmington for many years was noted for its leather products. From 1860 to 1890 very many establishments were engaged in the manufacture of leather, and it proved one of the most prosperous industries of the city. Of late years the number of manufactories has decreased, but possibly the capital invested is as large now as at any previous time, but the tendency of leather manufacturing of later years has been towards New England.

William Robinson as early as 1829 had a small leather plant on Market street, between Fourth and Fifth streets, and about 1835 Lewis C. England started a small morocco works on Fifth street near Orange, which continued until 1847. Among the apprentices of England was James Scott who in 1845 joined with Israel Pusey and William Marr, and formed a partnership known as Pusey, Marr and Scott. The business was started at Third and Tatnall streets and remained there until 1866. William Marr left the firm in 1849, the remaining members of the firm continuing. In 1866 a new plant was established at Third and Madison

streets, and three years later John M. Scott and William Y. Warner became members of the firm, and the name changed to Pusey, Scott and Company. This continued until 1883, when the Pusey and Scott Company was incorporated with James Scott as president, J. Winfield Scott, treasurer, and William L. G. Thomas, secretary. For twenty-five years this company did a large and profitable business, but about 1890 the company relinquished business, and the concern was merged with the American Leather Company which now occupies the old site.

#### AMERICAN LEATHER COMPANY.

This company, now the leading and most important in the leather trade in Wilmington, grew out of a partnership founded in 1850 by Thomas H. Baynard and John Farsons, who began in a small way in a stone building on Second street, between Orange and Tatnall streets, known for years as Sheward's brewery. The interest of John Farsons was bought by Stephen Postles in 1853, and the firm became Baynard & Postles, and continued until 1858, when Postles became sole proprietor. In the meantime the firm had built a new factory on Fourth street between Orange and Tatnall streets, now occupied by the Wilmington and Brandywine Leather Company. In 1866, J. Parke Postles and William Postles, sons of Stephen, were admitted to the firm, but William remained for two years only, and in 1875 Stephen Postles retired from the business and turned it over to his son J. Parke Postles, who for ten years was the sole proprietor. In 1885 James S. Dobb became a partner and the firm name changed to J. Parke Postles & Company. This partnership continued until 1891, when the American Leather Company was organized, and the business of the old firm was transferred to it, and the concern secured the plant at the southwest corner of Third and Madison streets, formerly occupied by the Pusey & Scott Company, where the business has since been conducted on a large scale and with great success. The present officers of the company

are J. Parke Postles, president, G. Parke Postles, vice-president and Henry C. Taylor, secretary and treasurer.

#### WASHINGTON JONES & COMPANY.

In 1858, when Thomas H. Baynard retired from the firm of Baynard & Postles, he made an alliance with Washington Jones, the firm being called Baynard & Jones, and started on Walnut street above Front a new leather manufactory. Mr. Baynard died in 1864 and Mr. Jones carried on the business alone until 1867, when Daniel P. Price and Charles R. Jones were admitted as partners. In 1873 William G. Jones was admitted as a fourth partner, and the firm as thus constituted continued until 1886, when Mr. Price retired. Washington Jones retired from the firm in 1888, when his two sons, Charles R. Jones and William G. Jones succeeded to the business, the old firm name of W. Jones & Company being used. The business has since been conducted under their direction.

#### WILLIAM BUSH.

For thirty-three years, from 1858 until his death in 1891, William Bush was a successful morocco manufacturer on Walnut street below Second, adjoining W. Jones & Company. The business started in 1858, the firm name being G. T. Clark & Company, with Mr. Bush as a silent partner. In 1866 the firm became Bush, Clark & Co., and in 1870 William Bush & Co. was adopted as the firm name. Mr. Bush was a practical leather man, of good judgment and a careful manager. He succeeded in amassing a comfortable fortune and gained a deservedly high place in the business community. At his death the business passed to a firm composed of Arthur H. G. Garrett and William A. Barr, who continued at the old site until 1905, when the firm dissolved and the business is now conducted by William A. Barr and Hugh F. Dougherty trading as Barr & Dougherty, at 314 to 328 East Second street.

## CHARLES BAIRD &amp; COMPANY.

The firm of Maltritz, Baird & Taylor began the manufacture of leather on East Fifth street near Poplar in 1865. A year later they moved to Third street near Tatnall, and occupied the old factory vacated by Pusey, Scott & Co. In 1872 Messrs. Maltritz & Taylor retired from the firm, and the business was continued by Charles Baird with Henry S. McComb as a limited partner, and the firm of Charles Baird & Co. continued until the death of Mr. Baird in 1897. Since the death of Charles Baird his son Robert S. Baird has succeeded to the business, using the old firm name, the present location being on Walnut street below Second. The thirty years and more of time covered by the life of this firm have been marked by strict business integrity and the business has been a prosperous one.

## C. &amp; J. PYLE.

This firm began in 1844 as C. & W. Pyle & Co., the partners being Cyrus and William Pyle, Edwin A. Wilson and James Webb. It was a few years afterward known as Pyle, Wilson & Pyle, and in 1861 became C. & J. Pyle, composed of Cyrus and Joseph Pyle. The firm manufactures patent leather, and is the only firm in Wilmington that produces that commodity. The business was started on Orange street above Fifth, but before 1850 was moved to Sixth and Monroe streets. In 1885 the C. & J. Pyle Company was incorporated, and what had at that time assumed a large business has since grown to still larger proportions, and the products of the company are in demand and are shipped to all parts of the civilized world. Joseph Pyle, who from the organization of the company until his death in 1896 served as president of the company, was a man of sterling qualities and a leading and popular citizen. The present officers of the company are: Willard S. Pyle, president; Frederic Pyle, vice-president and treasurer, and Elwood P. Pyle, secretary.

## F. BLUMENTHAL &amp; CO.

After the firm of Quigley & Mullen was dissolved in 1882, Charles Mullen, the junior partner, established a plant of his own at the southwest corner of Front and Monroe streets. The business continued in his name alone until October of 1888, when Daniel Pierson, Jr., was admitted as a partner. Mullen remained in the firm only three months longer, disposing of his interest to Daniel Pierson, Jr., in January, 1889, and the latter continued the business until January, 1891, when the entire interest was sold to Ferdinand Blumenthal and Julian Ulman, trading as F. Blumenthal & Co. The latter firm has since continued the business, and it has been extended to meet their wants until the plant covers the whole of two blocks of land extending from Front to Chestnut streets and from Monroe to Adams. The equipment of the plant is unexcelled in the country, the products of the firm are known everywhere, and no establishment in the United States has a larger output. Daniel Pierson, Jr., continued as manager for the Blumenthals until 1893. He was succeeded in that year by Richard Patzowsky, under whose management the business was conducted until 1900, when he resigned. His successor as manager was Joseph H. Blatz, who served for about two years, meeting an untimely death in 1902 by a railroad accident. Since that time the management of the business has fallen to William C. Blatz and John B. Blatz, men of younger years, but who by dint of good judgment have been able to maintain the good management of their predecessors. The firm gives employment to hundreds of people, and is reckoned one of the most prosperous and enterprising of the Wilmington manufactories.

## FORD MOROCCO COMPANY.

The Ford Morocco Company was conceived and started by Thomas Ford in 1886. Thomas Ford had been a contractor and builder of prominence in the city and served as sheriff of New Castle County from 1884 to 1886. But to Peter J. Ford



belongs the credit of the establishment of the Ford Morocco Company. He was a brother of Thomas, and both were sons of Peter Ford and Mary (O'Conner) Ford. Both parents were born in Ireland and after coming to America settled on the banks of the Brandywine, afterwards taking up their residence in the City of Wilmington, where they raised a large family of children.

Among the younger children was Peter J. Ford, who was born August 15, 1857. Educated in the public schools he early showed the qualities of heart and mind which were destined to make him an influential man in business and political life. Impressed with the strict integrity and sterling qualities of his immediate ancestors, he early showed an ambition to accomplish things. He began when a very young man to invest his first savings in real estate, and showed such judgment and discretion that he soon found friends who were so impressed with his grit and determination to succeed that they were willing to help him in his enterprise. His success has been unusual. His capital at the beginning was a clear head and a good heart. He inherited no money, but his Irish blood was red with pluck and determination. He dared to do when other men of less courage would have hesitated. From these qualities grew the Ford Morocco Company which, under the efficient management of Peter J. Ford, has expanded from one small building erected in 1886, until it now occupies three entire blocks, with every equipment and modern appliance for the manufacture of "Vassar Kid," the special product of the firm. Mr. Ford served as president and managed the business from 1886 to 1898. Retiring therefrom in the latter year, the company was reorganized, and the capital increased. It has since, under the direction of William A. Stetson, the well-known morocco dealer of Boston, upheld its well-earned reputation, and occupies the position today of one of the leading industries of Wilmington.

Peter J. Ford has shown himself to be a man of large public spirit. In 1898 he erected a large office-building at the



Arthur Ford



southwest corner of Tenth and Market streets, known as the Ford building, the forerunner of other important improvements in upper Market street, and a living evidence of Mr. Ford's business sagacity. In 1900 Mr. Ford was the Democratic candidate for the office of Governor of the State, and entering with spirit into the campaign, he made an ideal party candidate, though not elected. He has been for two years the president of the Board of Water Commissioners of the City of Wilmington. It is rarely the case that a man has risen as rapidly in business circles and maintained his vantage ground as well as Peter J. Ford.

#### MITCHELL & THOMAS.

In 1888 a new firm was formed for the manufacture of morocco by Elmer E. Mitchell, Robert W. Tadman and Frank H. Thomas, using the name of Mitchell, Tadman & Thomas. They erected a large three-story building at Maryland avenue and Monroe street, at which location a large and profitable business has since been conducted, in which nearly two hundred men are employed in the manufacture of a special glazed kid. Mr. Tadman left the firm in 1894, and it has since been continued by the surviving partners trading as Mitchell & Thomas.

#### WILMINGTON AND BRANDYWINE LEATHER COMPANY.

In 1895, a year after the retirement of Robert W. Tadman from the firm of Mitchell, Tadman & Thomas, he formed a partnership with James B. Hickman, under the firm name of Tadman & Hickman, and they began the manufacture of fancy glazed kid at No. 208 West Fourth street, the old stand so long occupied by Stephen Postles and J. Parke Postles. Mr. Hickman had for years been with John G. Baker, and Mr. Tadman had been raised in the leather trade. The firm soon built up a large business. In 1901 the Wilmington and Brandywine Leather Company was incorporated and the business of the old firm was absorbed by it and continued at the

old stand. The present officers of the company are Robert W. Tadman, president, George F. Lowry, vice-president and secretary, and James B. Hickman, treasurer.

#### NEW CASTLE LEATHER COMPANY.

Richard Patzowsky who for seven years had been the manager for F. Blumenthal & Co., retired from the latter firm in 1900 and immediately began to look around for a site upon which to erect a leather plant of his own. He located at the northwest corner of Eleventh and Poplar streets, erecting buildings that covered nearly a block of land. In 1902 the New Castle Leather Company was incorporated with Mr. Patzowsky as the leading stockholder, and in the same year the business of the new concern was started in quarters that are strictly up to date, and which have every facility for the turning-out of the special leather products which have made Mr. Patzowsky known throughout the leather trade. An extensive and continually growing business has been established and the affairs of the company are moving along with great success. The present officers of the company are Richard Patzowsky, president, Alden B. Sleeper, vice-president and treasurer, and Robert E. Burger, secretary.

#### JOHN G. BAKER.

John G. Baker for twenty years was proprietor of a large leather manufactory on East Fifth street near Church. He was a practical leatherworker, a man of strong individuality, and with unusual energy and ambition. He began business in 1867 in a small way, but in a few years had established a large trade that required an enlargement of the plant. He devoted himself to the production of some special leathers which proved popular, and it was but a brief while until he was a leader in the trade. After a successful career covering several years he met with reverses which clouded his later years. While still in the prime of life he died, January 28, 1895.



## THE BEADENKOPFS.

William, Charles and Martin Beadenkopf have at various times under various firm names been connected with the leather trade in Wilmington for the past thirty years. The factory on West Fourth street near Jackson was built by them, and is now conducted by Charles Beadenkopf. Later they operated on Conrad street near Jackson, and within a few years William Beadenkopf bought the old plant used by the Diamond Match Company at Fourteenth and Walnut streets, and has been conducting a leather factory there for the past five years. All three of the brothers have shown an aptness for business, and it is unusual to find three brothers who have been so successful in business life.

## OTHER LEATHER DEALERS.

Robert H. Jones and William Richman started in 1875 a small morocco plant on Fifth street near Orange which they conducted successfully for ten years, when it passed to the control of James Q. Bonner, who still conducts business at the old stand.

Jeremiah Mahoney, under the firm name of J. Mahoney & Co., conducted a small business on Third street near Madison for about five years, beginning in 1879.

Isaac T. Quigley started in 1881 at Fourth and Monroe streets, where for some years previous John Taylor had conducted the same line of business. Charles Mullin afterwards became a partner with Mr. Quigley, the firm name being Quigley and Mullin, but in a few years the firm dissolved and each partner continued a separate leather business.

William J. McClary built, in 1881, the large morocco factory on the south side of Sixth street, near Monroe, and started in business there, which he conducted successfully for fifteen years, when he retired, and the business passed by purchase to the United Leather Company by whom it is now operated.

B. L. Kent & Co. in 1886 established a morocco-tanning

plant in conjunction with their lumber business at Front and Justison streets, but the venture was short-lived.

William B. Clerk came to Wilmington in 1887 from Haverhill, Massachusetts, where he had formerly been a member of the firm of Clerk, Lennox & Briggs, and began the manufacture of chrome kid by a special process in the old Franklin factory at Ninth and Walnut streets. The enterprise proved very successful, and was continued until 1903 when a new company called the Continental Leather Company was incorporated, of which Mr. Clerk became president, and the business of the company was moved to the old Baker property at Fifth and Church streets where it still continues.

Clifford and Walter Pyle have for twenty years conducted a sheepskin tannery on Van Buren street above Fourth, where in a modest but successful way they have built up a paying business which employs over a hundred hands. Their product is colored leather used by book-binders and for pocket-books. In 1883 the C. & W. Pyle Company was incorporated and the business of the old firm was absorbed by it. The company is now conducting the business.

The firm of Charles E. Fritz & Co., composed of Charles E. Fritz, William V. Bond and George W. Chambers, have been engaged since 1877 in the manufacture of special lines of leather at No. 211 West Third street. With its experience of nearly thirty years, the firm has made a deservedly high reputation, both in point of financial strength and in quality of products.

C. Wesley Weldin ran a morocco plant on Conrad street, between Adams and Jackson streets, from 1902 to 1904. The building erected by William Beadenkopf had been idle for some years, when Mr. Weldin began business there in 1902. After continuing for two years Mr. Weldin sold his plant to Clarence M. Beadenkopf, who continued there but a short while when he sold out to George F. Betz, who is still manufacturing there.

One of the youngest morocco plants in Wilmington is that

of the Delaware Leather Company, incorporated in 1904, and located at the southwest corner of Thirteenth and Lombard streets. Charles E. Corey is the president of the company and William C. Corey the secretary and treasurer.

#### CARRIAGE BUILDING.

Prior to and about the time of the Civil War, Wilmington led the carriage trade of the country. William Moore was probably the first carriage-builder in the city, having a small shop at the southeast corner of Sixth and King streets, which gave place to the new postoffice building, erected on that corner in 1855. Joseph Hunter started in the same trade at Seventh and Shipley streets some years after Moore, and John Merrick began about the same time at Front and Orange streets.

In 1844 seven of the workmen employed by Merrick started an independent shop at Water and Market streets, but soon after occupied a building just south of the Market street bridge. They did business under the name of Flaglor & Co. for six or eight years. In 1856 Joel Frist and George Allmon erected the large building at the northwest corner of Seventh and Shipley streets, and for forty years carried on business there, attracting a large and profitable trade.

Enos Hunsberger built a five-story carriage factory at the southwest corner of Water and Market streets about 1860, and was equipped for a large business, but the breaking-out of the Civil War cut off the southern trade, which seriously crippled his business and led to his failure. John Merrick, after being deserted by his main workmen, moved to the southeast corner of Second and French streets, where for twenty years he conducted a successful business and made money. In 1864 he sold out and retired, building soon after the handsome brown-stone mansion at No. 1103 Market street, which he occupied as his residence until his death. His successors in the carriage business were Henry C. McLear and Caspar Kendall. The firm of McLear & Kendall for twenty-five years occupied the

leading place as carriage builders. In 1886 they moved to the southeast corner of Ninth and King streets and continued there until about 1896.

John Green occupied the old stand at Second and French streets from 1866 to 1874, and in turn he was succeeded by Samuel Kerns, who adopted the name Novelty Carriage Works, and continued the business until his death in 1903. The Novelty Carriage Works, Incorporated, is now located there.

The Bowe Carriage Company, at Eighth and Orange streets, is the successor of Gregg & Bowe, a partnership composed of William H. Gregg and William Bowe, who commenced business in 1855 at Third and French streets, moving to the present location in 1867. Mr. Gregg continued in the business until his death in 1901. The firm always stood at the head of the trade and fully merited the high place which it gained.

Jones Guthrie began the building of carriages in 1849 and continued the business until his death, a period of nearly fifty years. For nearly thirty years he was on the south side of Market street bridge, and in later years he took his son, George C. Guthrie, into partnership, and the firm name became Jones Guthrie & Company.

Cooling and Lloyd commenced carriage-building on French street above Fourth in 1863, the firm being composed of Joseph N. Cooling and Isaac V. Lloyd. In a few years Mr. Lloyd retired from the firm, and the partnership became Cooling Brothers. The latter continued for thirty years and their manufacture of carriages was of the highest class and their work always commanded the highest prices. The business is still continued at the old stand by Severson B. Cooling, a son of Joseph N. Cooling, and he maintains the high standard of work set by the old firm.

Charles W. Horn, after serving with John Merrick for fifteen years, began the carriage business on his own account in 1867 at No. 110 French street. He succeeded from the beginning, and in course of time erected one of the largest carriage man-

ufactories in the city, and established a large trade, extending chiefly on the Delaware-Maryland peninsula. Samuel D. Paschall located a carriage factory on the south side of Market street bridge in 1866, and for ten years conducted there a thriving business. John Walther four years later began a repair business on property adjoining and is still engaged in the trade.

The firm of Rice & White began in the same locality in 1880, and a few years later Samuel J. White, the junior partner, assumed the whole business and erected a large carriage factory on Second street, between Orange and Tatnall streets, which he ran successfully for many years, when it went into the hands of the S. J. White Carriage Company. The latter company met with reverses and retired from business.

John W. Reeve, for several years, beginning in 1873, manufactured carriages at No. 106 Orange street, and was succeeded by Joseph B. Foster. Hudson & Cahill began business at No. 206 Orange street in 1878 and fifteen years later the junior partner, Patrick J. Cahill, succeeded to the business, which still continues, and which has proven successful to its owner.

The firm of Mills & Combs, successful wagon-builders at Fourth and Railroad avenue, began business in 1869, and continued for twenty-five years. Gatta & Kaiser, in 1862, established a wagon works at the corner of Third and Walnut streets, and, by close attention to business for over thirty years, both partners were able to amass a comfortable fortune.

Henry Pretzner, about 1855, started the building of carriages at the northeast corner of Fourth and Walnut streets, and the business was successfully conducted by him for twenty years. In 1884 the firm of McCabe and Darragh succeeded to the business which they have continued since with marked success.









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