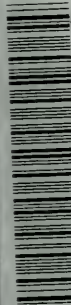


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THE SWEDISH SETTLEMENTS ON THE DELAWARE

1638-1664



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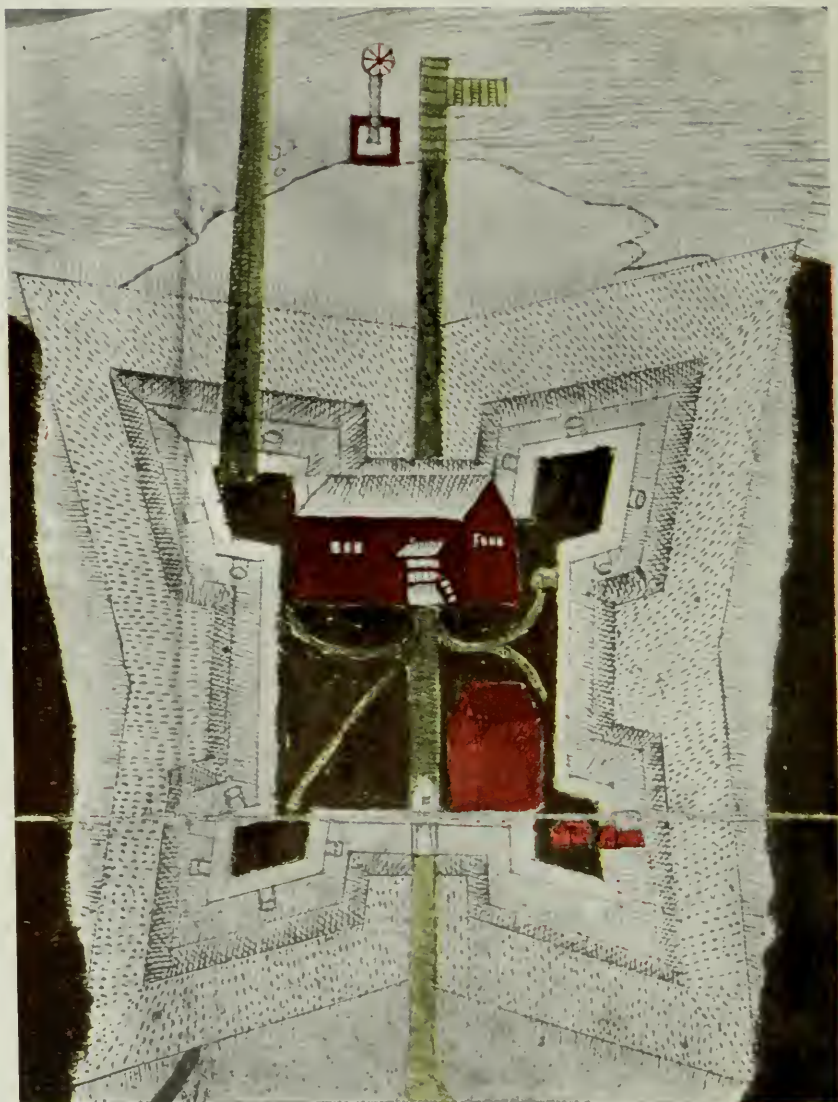
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Fort Christina (1654), section of Lindeström's plan of Christinehamn. See below, p. 518.

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THE
SWEDISH SETTLEMENTS
ON THE DELAWARE

THEIR HISTORY AND RELATION TO THE
INDIANS, DUTCH AND ENGLISH

1638-1664

WITH AN ACCOUNT OF THE SOUTH, THE NEW SWEDEN, AND
THE AMERICAN COMPANIES, AND THE EFFORTS OF
SWEDEN TO REGAIN THE COLONY

VOLUME I

BY

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UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA
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1911

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H. M. KONUNG GUSTAF V
TILLEGNAS DETTA VERK
OM
NYA SVERIGE

UNDERDÅNIGST AF
FÖRFATTAREN

PREFACE.

“The springs of American civilization,” says Francis Parkman, “unlike those of the elder world, lie revealed in the clear light of history.”

It is the purpose of the present investigation to reveal one of these many small springs of American civilization. It will not be a complete history of the Swedish settlements on the South River, for a complete account of New Sweden, or of any other colony, will never be written; but it will present, in as clear a light and as extensive a manner as the documents at hand allow, the rise and progress of the Delaware settlements, not only as to their political, but also as to their social, economic and religious aspects. The settlements were small and it might seem that two volumes devoted to so short a period of a single colony will tend to emphasize its significance unduly and that the labor expended in the preparation of so exhaustive a study is not at all commensurate with the relative importance of the theme; but the beginnings, however small, and the springs, however insignificant, whence some of the civilization and culture, some of the strength and power, of a great nation have sprung, are worthy of the closest consideration and the most painstaking research.

The investigation was begun five years ago. The author's intention was then to write an account of the religious and educational activity of the Swedes on the Delaware from 1638 until 1831, and a mass of material was collected for that period; but it was soon found that, since a great deal of new matter on the political history of the colony was discovered in the archives of Sweden, it would be necessary to limit the treatise, if anything like an exhaustive study was to be produced in a reasonable time. The author has made three trips to Sweden, two to Holland and

England, and one to Finland, in search of documents and materials. The first of these was largely devoted to the visiting of Swedish church archives and to the collecting of material which, to a great extent, could not be used for the present work, as the matter mostly covers a period later than 1664. The other two journeys were confined to the searching for material relating to the years 1638 to 1664, and the author visited The Hague, Amsterdam, London, Oxford, Stockholm, Lund, Upsala, and other principal places in Sweden and Finland, where documents of any kind were preserved. The great bulk of the new material has, of course, come from Stockholm and Upsala, while London, The Hague and other places have furnished some important data. The facts relating to the companies and their activities and to the colony are based entirely on sources and almost two-thirds of the introduction is likewise the result of original investigation. All the books on the subject, whether important or not, have been examined, which are given in the bibliography (none being knowingly omitted), while works on other subjects than New Sweden that have been referred to once or relatively few times are not listed in the bibliography but are included in the index.

The author has examined and read every document on the subject known to exist. Copies or photographic reproductions were made of the more important of those of which no copies existed in this country, and since the author has, except in the case of the photographic reproductions, been compelled to rely on copies for the proof reading, it is possible that minor variations have crept in, that would have been removed had the author been able to compare the proofs with the originals, but not, it is hoped, in such number as to detract from the value of the work.

A glance at the table of contents will reveal the method of treatment. The work is divided into books, further sub-divided into two parts each, the first part of books II.-V. treating of the activities in Europe for the period covered by each book, the second part giving the story of the settlements for the same

period. There are obvious advantages and disadvantages in a treatment like this, but the author hopes that the keeping of the activities in Europe (the sending out of the expeditions and the other events in Sweden that had direct bearing on the colony) separate from the events in the settlements will make the presentation clearer and more logical than if the facts had all been related in an intermingled mass.

The introduction giving the European background is, as far as the author is aware, the most complete account of the economic conditions in Sweden at this time, and of the trading companies, that has so far appeared in English, and might seem too long and detailed; but as this period (1612-1664) of Swedish history is of *general* interest, as the conditions in Sweden and Finland will help to explain conditions and the trend of events in New Sweden and as the New Sweden Company was only one of the many trading societies in Sweden during this period, similar in type though not entirely similar in their objects, the author hopes that the somewhat extended account of these things will not be out of place.

The path of the investigator is a thorny one, and much of his time is consumed in hunting for documents that once existed, but which have disappeared decades ago, when the zeal for preserving everything and anything was not so general as now. This path, however, is sometimes made easier by men who have gone before and who have cleared the way, and by those who through their aid, interest and encouragement, lighten the labor. It now remains my pleasant duty to express my obligation to those who have aided me in Europe and in America. I wish in the first place, to express my appreciation of the valuable services rendered me by the officials of the Royal Archives at Stockholm, Dr. Edelstam, Dr. Brulin, Dr. Malmsten, Dr. Bååt, Count Lewenhaupt, Dr. Bergh, Dr. Hildebrand, and the late Dr. Hammarsköld, but, more especially, the archivists Dr. Per Sondén and Dr. Theodor Westrin, whose invaluable aid and assistance, so freely given at all times, made the author's researches in the archives not only possible but in so high a

degree fruitful. My acknowledgments for assistance are likewise due to the officers of the Kammararkiv, including Dr. Afzelius and others, and to the officers of the Royal Library at Stockholm, particularly to Dr. Lundstedt, Dr. Settervall, and the lamented Dr. Karlsson, whose great memory and encyclopedic information were always a source of aid to the author. To the officers of the University Library at Upsala and especially to Dr. Aksel Andersson the author is under great obligation for aid and encouragement. I wish also to tender my thanks to Dr. Bratt, then at the Landsarkiv at Upsala, and to the officers of the Archives of the Archbishop at Upsala, to Dr. Zettersten of the Archives of the Navy, to the Archivist of the Archives of War, to Dr. af Petersens, Librarian of the University Library of Lund, to Captain Malmberg of Stockholm, and to all other friends in Sweden and Finland too numerous to mention who have aided me by answering questions and otherwise. In this connection I also desire to express my gratitude to Dr. Bruggman, the Royal Archivist, Dr. van Riemsdijk and other officers of the Royal Archives at The Hague, as well as to the officers of the archives in Amsterdam and to Professor Kernkamp and the Archivist Dr. Muller at Utrecht. To Dr. Wood of the British Museum and to the officers of the Public Record Office in London thanks are likewise due for the courtesies extended to me during my investigations in these institutions, as also to the officers of the Bodleian Library at Oxford.

Among men in this country who have been of service to me, are to be mentioned Dr. J. W. Jordan, Mr. Spofford, and others connected with the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, especially Dr. Gregory B. Keen who has read the proof sheets and offered many suggestions, Dr. I. M. Hays, Librarian of the American Philosophical Society, the Librarian of the Ridgway Branch of the Library Company of Philadelphia, Dr. R. H. Kelby, Librarian of the New York Historical Society, Dr. A. J. van Laer, Archivist at Albany of the State of New York, the Archivist of the Library of Congress, the officers of the Mercantile Library of Philadelphia, the officers of the Library of the University

of Pennsylvania and Captain A. J. Erikson, of Philadelphia, for making some of the drawings for the work. My grateful acknowledgment for helpful suggestions and encouragements are also due to Albert Cook Myers, to Professor Albert Bushnell Hart, of Harvard, Professor Herman V. Ames, Professor E. P. Cheyney, and Professor D. B. Shumway, of the University of Pennsylvania, to the Swedish Minister to the United States, His Excellency Dr. Johan Ehrensvärd, to the Swedish Vice Consul, at Philadelphia, M. A. Viti, to my friend and former teacher Professor J. A. Edquist, of Gustavus Adolphus College, St. Peter, Minnesota, who has read the galley proofs and pointed out many misprints, and lastly, to Professor M. D. Learned who suggested the investigation and who has followed its preparation with great interest and always been a source of encouragement.

It remains to record my gratitude to the Committee on Fellowships of the University of Pennsylvania and to Dr. Charles Custis Harrison, former provost of the University, for making it possible for the author to undertake the last two journeys to European archives, to Dr. J. G. Rosengarten, for his interest and aid in the work, to Professor C. G. Child, President of the Publication Committee of the University of Pennsylvania, to the Publication Aid Fund of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania and especially to the Swedish Colonial Society for making the publication of the work possible in its present form,

Unfortunate delays, some beyond the control of every one, have kept the work in press for nearly a year and it is with a breath of relief the author is able to state that the book is at last *ready*.

THE AUTHOR.

PHILADELPHIA, March, 1911.

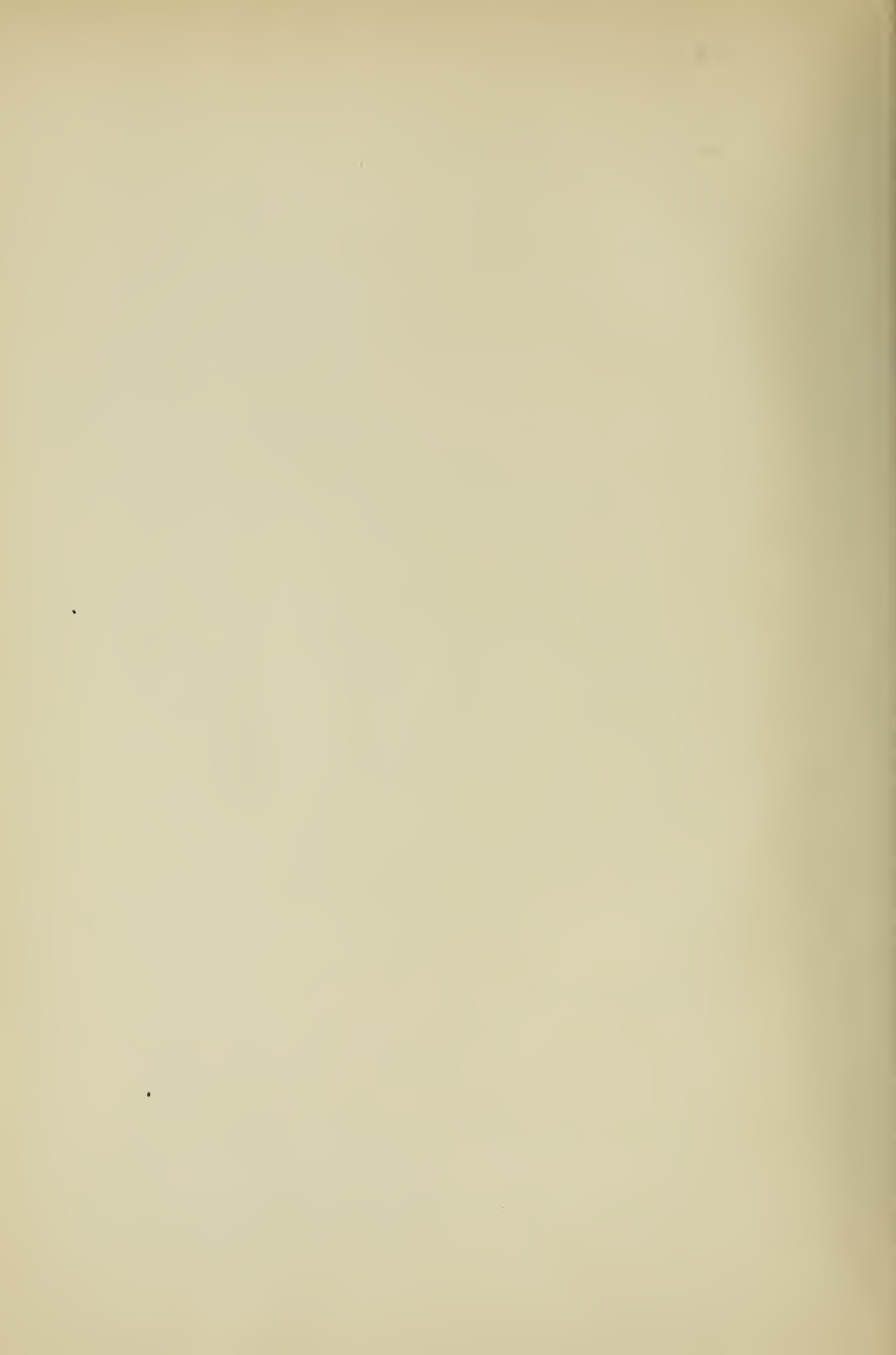


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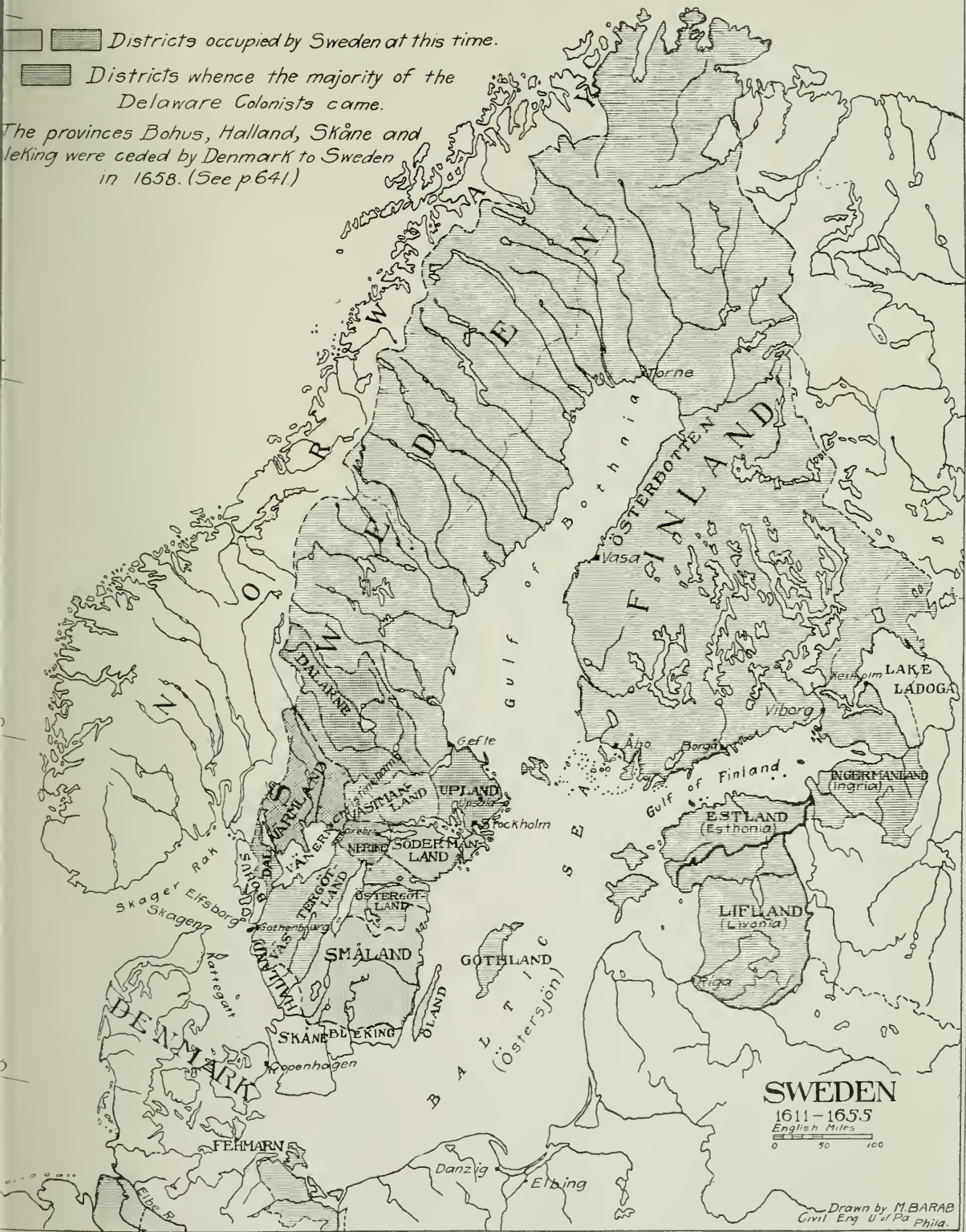
BOOK I.

**Introduction. Sweden Immediately Preceding and
During the Occupation of the Delaware.**

 Districts occupied by Sweden at this time.

 Districts whence the majority of the Delaware Colonists came.

The provinces Bohus, Halland, Skåne and Bleking were ceded by Denmark to Sweden in 1658. (See p641)



PART I.

POLITICAL, SOCIAL AND RELIGIOUS CONDITIONS IN SWEDEN, 1611-1660.

CHAPTER I.

POLITICAL HISTORY, 1611-1660.

The decades preceding and following the year 1600 mark a turning point in history. The Germanic peoples begin to assert themselves in European politics and one of the characteristics of the following centuries is the growing influence of these races in the history of the world. England destroyed the Armada and laid the foundation for her greatness; the Netherlands defeated Spain, became the leading mercantile nation of the age and introduced a new era in painting; the Germanic nations laid the foundation for a commonwealth destined to become the greatest republic and to develop from various heterogeneous elements into the most extensive homogeneous settlement on record; the Reformation inaugurated by Germany was saved by Sweden, and the invention of printing, due to Germanic genius, now attains to its full significance in the new era of freedom of thought and of conscience. The proudest chapter of Swedish history belongs to the same period, more accurately to the first half of the seventeenth century, the era of Gustavus Adolphus and of Oxenstierna, of Christina and of Charles X.

It was preëminently an epoch of war and of great achievements. When Gustavus Adolphus ascended the Swedish throne in 1611,¹ his country was at war with three nations. Having been refused peace by Denmark, he was compelled to

¹ He was crowned at Upsala in October, 1617. Hildebrand, *Sw. hist.*, V. 98.

bring the struggle with that nation to a bitter end. Although the Swedish people gave their undivided support to their king, the enemy gained considerable advantages and Gustavus Adolphus had to submit to rather hard terms in 1613, when both parties were finally tired of the useless and bitter warfare.²

Troops could now be spared for the Russian campaign, which had been conducted with marked ability and singular success by Jacob de la Gardie and Evert Horn, and the king went in person to lead the operations in the summers of 1614 and 1615. After lengthy peace conferences, which lasted nearly a year and a half, English and Dutch commissioners acting as mediators (although the Dutch are not mentioned in the treaty to satisfy the vanity of King James), the treaty of peace was signed at Stolbova on February 27, 1617.³ Through this peace the territory of Sweden was increased by *Ingermanland* and *Keksholmslän*, and Gustavus Adolphus had won two of his great objects—Russia was pushed back from the Baltic and a natural northern boundary was secured for Finland.⁴

The truce with Poland, which had been renewed several times, came to an end in 1617.⁵ Rumors of great preparations in Poland and Spain for an attack on Sweden were freely circulated and Gustavus Adolphus kept his army and navy in readiness. A Swedish fleet manned by Dutch soldiers captured Dünamünde and Pernau the same year, but a new truce was made in the autumn of 1618. Now followed a period of comparative quiet; however, in 1621 the struggle began anew.

Poland, having lately renewed and firmly established the Catholic religion, was ruled by a king of the Vasa house, who had a legal right to the Swedish crown. She was the leading European power in the east and the standard bearer of Catholicism against Turks and heretics, and hence a natural enemy of Sweden, and finally she possessed territory along the Baltic that must be brought under Swedish control, if the dream of

² Cronholm, I. 27 ff.; Geijer, III. 68 ff.; Odhner, 191 ff.

³ Cronholm, I. 194 ff.; Hildebrand, *Sv. hist.*, V. 37 ff.

⁴ See map in *Sv. hist.*, etc., V. 117. Also Odhner, p. 243.

⁵ Hildebrand, *Sv. hist.*, V. 109 ff.

making the Baltic a Swedish inland sea should be realized. There were therefore various circumstances that might provoke hostilities. The immediate cause of the war, however, was Sigismund's pretensions to the Swedish throne and his refusal to recognize Gustavus Adolphus as the rightful king of Sweden.

In the summer of the above-mentioned year (1621) a Swedish fleet of one hundred and forty-eight war ships and ten yachts set sail for Riga, with about 14,000 selected soldiers on board, some being mercenaries from Scotland and Holland.⁶ Brilliant campaigns followed under the leadership of the king, De la Gardie, Gustaf Horn, Johan Banér and others, arresting the attention of Protestant Europe, and many voices from the camp of the new faith called upon the Swedish king to become the leader of their forces. He expressed his willingness to do so⁷ on certain conditions and presented a comprehensive plan of operations, while diplomatic conferences were held with representatives of England and Holland, having this end in view. But King Christian, always jealous of his northern neighbor, also offered his services in the pending struggle, and, as his conditions were more moderate and his demands on the allies less exacting than those of Gustavus Adolphus, he was chosen to be the Gideon of the Evangelical Union in the fierce combat with the Catholic League.⁸ The Swedish army had been reorganized and the navy had been largely increased, but it was not yet to be used against the imperial forces. Gustavus, hoping for more favorable times, went to finish his war with Poland. After several victorious expeditions, through which Sweden gained great advantages and extended her territory, a six years' truce was concluded at Altmark in 1629.⁹

King Christian in the meantime, having lost his battles with

⁶ Cf. Cronholm, I. 372 ff.

⁷ A truce having been effected with Poland.

⁸ Rydfors, *De dipl. förb. mel. Sv. och Eng.*, p. 1 ff.; Gardiner, *Eng. under the Duke of Buckingham and Charles I.*, I. 139 ff.

⁹ For these campaigns see Cronholm, II. 1 ff.; Hildebrand, *Sv. hist.*, V. 125 ff.

the veteran Tilly, was forced to withdraw from the field. The time was now ripe for action. England and Holland were willing to submit to the plans of Gustavus Adolphus. The Protestant princes requested him to become the defender of their faith, and Richelieu advised him to take an active part in the war. He negotiated with England through Spens and Roe, with Holland through Camerarius, and Lars Nilsson was sent on an embassy to France; but England gave no support, no treaty being made,¹⁰ and Nilsson's mission to France had little result.¹¹

The Swedish king was now fully determined, however, to enter the lists—it was a case of averting a future danger from his own kingdom. The Polish war not only prepared him for this struggle; it also furnished means for its prosecution, and when he returned to Sweden it appears that his decision had been made.¹² Shortly after his arrival in his country in the autumn of 1629 he called a meeting of the Council of State to determine what action was to be taken. The meeting became a turning point in modern history, for it was decided that Sweden should take an active part in the Thirty Years' War. The motives of Gustavus Adolphus for beginning the war are clearly stated in the minutes—they were *religious, political and commercial*.¹³

After large preparations the King set sail for Germany with an army of about 13,000 men and landed on the island of Usedom in June, 1630. His achievements in Germany and his death in the midst of victories, are well-known facts. The Swedish forces were successful for some time after the Battle of Lützen, but at Nördlingen, Gustaf Horn and Duke Bernhard were defeated by Ferdinand and Gallas. The years 1634, 1635 and 1636 were dark and full of trials for the Swedish leaders. Johan Banér indeed won a brilliant victory over the

¹⁰ A *private* treaty was made with Hamilton, however.

¹¹ Rydfors, *De dipl. förb. mel. Sv. och Eng.*, p. 21 ff., 148 ff.

¹² Sweden collected the duties at Pillau, Memel, Danzig, Libau and Windau. Over half a million R.D. were collected in 1629. Hildebrand, *Sv. hist.*, V. 150.

¹³ Fries, *Sv. Kulturb.*, p. 19 ff.

Emperor's forces at Wittstock, but he was soon after compelled to retreat, before a superior army. Gradually, however, things became brighter for the Swedes. Swedish statesmen like Oxenstierna and Swedish generals like Banér and Torstensson wrought success out of what appeared to be disaster.

Denmark had played false to Sweden in her years of trial. To revenge these and former wrongs the Swedish government determined to use its armies against its southern neighbor and to compel this power to recognize the Swedish rights. Lennart Torstensson was ordered to bring his army by forced marches into Denmark and to deliver a decisive blow before the enemy had time to make necessary preparations. The plan was eminently successful¹⁴ and soon the Swedish armies could again be sent against the Imperial forces. The Thirty Years' War finally came to an end in 1648, through the treaty at Westphalia, and Sweden enjoyed a short period of almost undisturbed peace.¹⁵

Christina, having ruled for ten years, abdicated in 1654, and was followed on the throne by Carl X. The Polish King, John Casimir, would not recognize Carl as the lawful king of Sweden, even using the titles and coat of arms of the latter in royal proclamations. Carl X. therefore determined to compel him to resign these titles and pretensions as well as to recognize the Swedish right to Livonia.

The Swedish treasury was empty and the two great parties, the nobility and the commoners, were pitted against each other in a social struggle; but the diet of 1655 gave permission to the King to begin hostilities and voted funds for his use. There was great enthusiasm for the war in Sweden and wealthy noblemen contributed large sums from their own means. Foreign soldiers flocked to Sweden to enlist under her victory-crowned banners, and soon Carl X. was able to move against his foe.

A period of war was now inaugurated and the four years

¹⁴ Cf. below, Chap. XXVI.

¹⁵ Cf. Geijer, III. 303 ff.; Gardiner, *The Thirty Years' War*, p. 121 ff.; Hildebrand, *Sw. hist.*, V. p. 289 ff., 466 ff.; *Hist. Tid.*, XXII. 169 ff.; Otté, *Scand. Hist.*, p. 272 ff., 289 ff.; Bain, *Scandinavia*, 177 ff.; Ward, A. W., *Cambridge Mod. Hist.*, IV. 178 ff., 364 ff., 430 ff., 560 ff.

from the autumn of 1655 to the beginning of 1660 were almost a continuous chain of battles and sieges. Few men in history have given greater surprises to their age than Carl X.; few, perhaps none, have accomplished equal results with the same means and in so short a time. In a few months Poland lay bleeding at his feet, destined never to regain her former power. Russia, Austria and Denmark made war on him almost simultaneously, but by a march over a frozen sea, one of the greatest feats on record, he led his army into the heart of Denmark, compelling this power to sue for a peace, which secured to Sweden the most valuable territorial acquisition in her history.¹⁶ The great warrior king, however, soon broke the peace, the total annihilation of Denmark being his aim, but fortune failed him for the first time. Cromwell, on whose influence he had relied, died, changing the attitude of the commander of the English fleet; France fell off, the Netherlands took sides with the enemy and the Danish people were aroused to fight for their existence. In the midst of tremendous activities, the King became ill during a diet in the beginning of 1660, and on the morning of February 13 he died, at the age of thirty-eight years.¹⁷

¹⁶ Another important historic event at this time was Carl X.'s treaty with Brandenburg in 1656. This treaty laid the foundation for the Kingdom of Prussia, which was destined to play such an important part in European history.

¹⁷ For this period of Swedish history see Carlson, *Sv. hist.*, etc., I. 156 ff.; Hildebrand, *Sv. hist.*, V. 504 ff. Fridericia, *Dan. Hist.*; Bain, *Scandinavia*, p. 228 ff.; Ward, etc., *Cambridge Mod. Hist.*, IV. 576 ff.; V. 558 ff., 562 ff.; *Hist. Tid.*, 1904, p. 35, etc.



Carl X. From a painting at Gripsholm. (H.)

CHAPTER II.

RELATION OF SWEDEN TO OTHER COUNTRIES, 1625-1660.

Through these wars and through her efforts to extend her power, her commerce and her trade, Sweden came in contact with the outside world to a degree unknown in her previous history. Swedish statesmen wove a network of diplomatic connections, which brought their country in touch with almost every important nation in the world, and the government at Stockholm¹ stretched the webs of its diplomacy to Holland, England, France, Russia, Spain, Portugal, the German States and even to Venice, Italy, Persia and Turkey.²

The king of Spain, being a member of the league, was an enemy of Sweden on general principles. Rumors were often afloat that a Spanish Armada was under way to attack Gothenburg.³ Oxenstierna tried to avoid an open break for commercial reasons and in 1639 there was talk of trying to make a treaty with Spain in order that commerce might have its free course, so that iron wares could be sent there. The salt trade was the most important, however, and much of the salt con-

¹ A great many foreigners were employed by Sweden in her diplomatic service of this period, Hollanders, Englishmen, Germans, Frenchmen and even Italians, such as Camerarius, Spiring, Spens, Van Dyck, Rutgersius, Le Blon, Blommaert, Grotius and others. "The first native Swedish diplomat" was Anders Swensson Odell. *Nordisk Familjebok*, Vol. XVIII. (old ed.), 558, says of him that he became "häradshöfding" in 1612, and that he died in 1634. Hildebrand says that he died in 1630 (*Hist. Tid.*, IV. 161). There seems to be a confusion of two persons with the same name in N. Famil. Another Swedish diplomat at this early time was Lars Nilsson. (See *Hist. Tid.*, IV. 157, 161. Cf. above.)

² Bühring, *Gustav Adolf und Rohan* (1885); *Hist. Tid.*, I. p. cix; Bullo, *Il Viaggio*, etc.; Odhner, *Sv. förb. med. den venit. repub.*, *Nordisk Tidsk.*, 1867; *Sv. in. hist.* Cf. *Hist. Tid.*, I. 63 ff. It has even been said that Gustavus Adolphus studied at Padua under Galileo, *Hist. Tid.*, VI. 95.

³ Concerning the coalition between Spain, Poland, Denmark and Brandenburg, see Fridericia, *Dan. ydre pol.*, II.; Sillén, IV. 50 ff.

sumed in Sweden was imported from Spanish ports, although Swedish ships were arrested from time to time⁴ and the Spaniards caused much damage to the South and the New Sweden Companies.⁵

After the Thirty Years' War the relations between Sweden and Spain became more cordial. In the beginning of 1651 Palbitsky was sent to the latter country to establish friendly intercourse and to request the right and liberty for Swedish subjects to sail to Spanish countries and harbors in Europe, Africa, America and Asia.⁶ In 1654 he was again sent to Madrid. His instructions required him to secure commercial privileges for the Swedish Colony on the Delaware and permission for the Swedish African Company to trade in slaves in America.⁷ Spain also sent representatives to Sweden⁸ and Pimentelli had great influence with Queen Christina, who, to further Spanish interests, declared in 1654 that she no longer recognized John of Braganza as King of Portugal.⁹

During this period more intimate commercial and political relations were established with Portugal. In 1634 the council

⁴ *Rådspr.*, II. 8, 74, 91 ff.; VII. 69, 117, 191, 412, 501 ff.; VIII. 61 ff.; IX. 240 ff.; X. 121 ff.; XI. 250, etc. Wine also seems to have been imported from Spain. Cf. *Samlaren*, 1883, p. 125. Privileges for trade with Spain were issued in December, 1638. R.R., December 30, 1638.

⁵ Cf. below, Chap. XXIX.

⁶ *Memorial för Palbitsky*, etc., Jan. 31, 1651 R.R.; letter to the King of Spain, Jan. 31, 1651 R.R. (Latin). Several other documents concerning his mission found in R.R. Jan. 31, 1651. *Till Cam. för Palbitsky*, Aug. 13, 1653 R.A., etc. A "Patent about the Spanish Trade" was published on Dec. 5, 1651 R.R. (R.A.).

In the *Diarum* and *Titular Reg.* to R.R. is given a memorial for Palbitsky, dated Jan. 30, 1653, but it is not found in R.R. for this date.

⁷ *Memorial*, etc., Jan. 30, 1654. *Instruction*, etc., Jan. 30, 1654. *Öppet bref för Palbitsky*, etc., Jan. 30, 1654 R.R. and documents in "*Hisp. Strödda handl.*, 1606-1813" (R.A.).

⁸ As early as 1578 Philip II. sent Eraso to Sweden to make a treaty with that nation and to contract for ship materials (*Hist. Tid.*, VI. 1-50). Concerning later relations with Spain, see *Deklaration ang. Sveriges satisf. af Spanska kronan*, 25 April, 1668. *England No. 7, D. Trakt.* (R.A.).

⁹ Hildebrand, *Sw. hist.*, IV. 466; cf. Starbäck, *Berät. ur Sw. hist.*, V. 486 ff., 490-2.

discussed the practicability of finding a market for copper in that country. In the summer of 1641 a Portuguese embassy arrived in Sweden, and the ambassador, De Sousa Coutinho, was well received by the Swedish government. When he returned to his country in the autumn, an alliance and a commercial treaty had been made and Lars Skytte was appointed Swedish Resident in Lisbon. In 1643 Rodrigo Botello was sent to the Swedish capital and later De Guimares was located there to look after Portuguese interests. Several commercial expeditions were made to Portugal, cannon, firearms, masts and lumber being shipped there, but the salt trade was the most important,¹⁰ and ships returning from New Sweden stopped on their way and took on board Portuguese salt.¹¹

With France Sweden stood in close relation, even in the preceding century, and the former country often proved a helpful friend.¹²

England's policy was generally one of friendship.¹³ To the English of this period, "Svecia was a kingdom rich in gold, silver, copper, lead, iron, fruit, cattle, and exceeding increase of fish of the rivers, lakes and sea."¹⁴ In 1620 one G. Vischer (?) proposed to bring "out of Swedland . . . men skilful in making pitch, tar, potash and soapashes" for the Virginia settlement, and Swedish cannon and iron works soon acquired fame in England.¹⁵ Several English representatives were sent to Stockholm, Spens acting as a minister for both nations, and Swedish ambassadors went to London. But Swedish ships were often captured by the English and put under arrest, leading to com-

¹⁰ Concerning Portuguese salt trade to England see Shillington, *Com. Rel. of Eng. and Portugal*, p. 64, 73, etc.

¹¹ *Rådspr.*, VIII. 515 ff.; IX. 139 ff.; X. 45 ff.; XI. 28 ff.; etc.; R.R., Feb. 6, April 3, 8, June 26, Aug. 13, 1653. The Collection *Portugalica* in R.A. contains a great deal of unused material.

¹² Cf. Hildebrand, *Sw. hist.*, IV.; Starbäck, *Berät.*, etc., V. 487. See Bibl. below.

¹³ A treaty was made between Sweden and England during the reign of Henry VIII. and Gustaf I. Cf. Troil, *Ur Hand. o. Sjöf. Häfder*, p. 16.

¹⁴ Arber, *First Three English Books on America*, p. 305.

¹⁵ *Records of the Virginia Co.*, I. 420 ff.; Whitelocke, *Embassy*.

plaints and complications.¹⁶ In 1653 Whitelocke was sent on his well-known embassy to Queen Christina. An alliance and a commercial treaty was effected in the spring of 1654, later ratified by the Protector and the Queen. In the beginning of 1655 Coyet set out for London with instruction to work for an increase "of the good confidence, which existed between both nations," and for an agreement upon the limits between New Sweden and the English colonies.

In the summer of the same year George Fleetwood¹⁷ was sent to England on a secret mission, and on July 28 Christer Bonde made his brilliant entrance into London with his two hundred followers. In this manner the friendship with England was established¹⁸ and continued and no danger threatened the Swedish possession across the ocean from that direction.¹⁹

Of foreign nations, except the immediate neighbors, Holland stood in closest connection with Sweden. From Holland, Sweden received many of its best and most useful citizens, capital-

¹⁶ Bonnell was sent to London in 1651 and 1652 and in 1653 Bonnell and Lagerfelt were in London to guard Swedish rights. Lagerfelt delivered a Latin oration in Parliament on April 8 and another oration before the Council of State on April 15, 1653. His mission was to further the commercial relations between England and Sweden. Letters Jan. 20, Aug. 13, 1653 R.R. (R.A.); *Foreign Entry Books (Sweden)*, 151, *Pub. Rec. Office*. Cf. Biography of Bonnell, below.

¹⁷ The son-in-law of Cromwell.

¹⁸ A commercial treaty was made in July, 1656. A new treaty was made in 1661 and another in 1665. *Treaty Papers, Sweden*, No. 69. *Pub. Rec. Office*. Cf. also below, Chap. XLVIII.

¹⁹ For the relation of Sweden and England during this period see *State Papers For., Sweden*, Nos. 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 1613-71. (In these collections are letters, and copies of letters from Gustavus Adolphus, A. Oxenstierna, Feb. 27, 1630-Aug. 23, 1637 (mostly originals), Christina, Appelbom, June 8, 18, Oct. 11, 1652, De Geer, Fleetwood, Coventry, Wood, Leijonberg and others; also copies of instructions, etc.) Letters from J. Thurloe, Feb. 4, 1653, Whitelocke, Upsala, Mar. 10, 1653, Mar. 17, 1654, in *Brit. Mus.* See also *Treaty Papers, Sweden*, 1618-71, No. 69. *Pub. Rec. Office*. Letters from Bonnell, Christina, Lagerfelt, A. Oxenstierna, Bodleian Library. *Anglica* and other papers in R.A. *Rådspr.* Vol. I. and following vol. Riks. R. (a great number of entries) (R.A.). Cf. Index below. See also Gardiner, *The Per. Gov. of Charles I.*, I. 130, 207 ff.; II. 50, 63 ff., 87; Gardiner, *Hist. of the Com. and Prot., 1649-60*, I. 207; 212, 221 ff.; II. 377, 37 ff.; Gardiner, *Eng. under the D. of Buckingham and Charles I.*, I. 4, 83 ff.; 138 ff.

ists, merchants and warriors. Dutch soldiers served in Swedish armies and Dutch captains and skippers commanded Swedish ships; Swedish students went to Holland to study commerce²⁰ and Swedish scholars gained inspiration from Dutch teachers; Dutch money helped Sweden to support its armies and found its commercial companies and Dutch brains developed the industries of the country, and from Holland came the first impulses for transatlantic trade.

The political relation between Sweden and Holland was friendly as a rule before 1655 and the States generally followed Oldenbarnevelt's policy. Several Dutch embassies were sent to Stockholm and Sweden had constant representatives, correspondents, consuls and residents in Holland from an early date. Several treaties were made between the two nations (1614, 1618, 1633, 1644, etc.), and in 1638 and 1639, the years that mark the beginning of the colony on the Delaware, the States drew closer to Sweden. In 1644 and 1645 Holland proved a fast friend, but the friendly relations were soon to be severed.

Holland and Sweden reached their highest political importance about the same time, and here lies the explanation of their estrangement. The Dutch controlled the shipping on the Baltic, half of their enormous merchant fleet sailing on its waters. Over two thirds of the Swedish imports and exports for the period 1637-1643 were carried on foreign ships, the majority of which were Dutch. Swedish statesmen, however, endeavored to wrest this supremacy from the Hollanders, and through their efforts Swedish commerce and shipping increased greatly. Sweden soon became the leading power in the north. The States, fearing this supremacy, sided with her enemies and ruined many of her great plans. When Sweden stood almost ready to weld the three Scandinavian nations into one and make the Baltic a Swedish inland sea, Holland interfered, crushing her last hope of success. The Swedish colony on the

²⁰ Rising advised his countrymen by all means to go to Amsterdam, "which was the best organized commercial city in the world."

Delaware passed over to the Dutch and the Swedish possessions in Africa (1648-63) were captured by the same people. Swedish merchant vessels were now often taken by the Dutch²¹ and they did much damage to Swedish shipping and commerce.²²

²¹ In Aug., 1665, they arrested four Swedish ships belonging to the Salt Company. See *State Papers, For., Sweden, No. 5, 1639-65*. Pub. Rec. Office.

²² For the relation between Sweden and Holland, see Aitzema, III. 5, p. 162 ff.; Fridericia, *Dan. ydre pol.*, etc.; *Sveriges trakt. med främ. makt.*; *Handl. rör. Skan. Hist.*, XVII.-XXXVI., and the bibliography below; *Strödda handl.*; *Hollandica* (R.A.).

CHAPTER III.

THE GOVERNMENT.

I.

As may be gathered from the brief statements of the preceding pages, Sweden developed a highly organized military system in this period, the best in Europe, retaining its main features for several centuries; and through its statesmen the machinery of state was brought to a degree of perfection not attained by other European powers at this early date. The government of the King lost most of its patriarchal features, and "division of labor" becomes the watchword of this epoch. The military affairs of the nation were placed in the hands of the College of War, and the management of the navy was assigned to the College of Admiralty (fully organized in 1634); the College of Mines (1637) superintended the mining industries and the reorganized financial system was placed under the direction of the College of the Exchequer (Kammarkollegium, organized in 1618); the custom house service was headed by "a general collector of customs," aided by one hundred and ten assistants, and an inspector was appointed to superintend the surveying of the country (the last two departments being branches of the Kammarkollegium).¹

In the same year, which marks the founding of the New Sweden Company, it was decided to establish a commercial college, to regulate, control and encourage trade. As this organization has special bearing on our subject, a short history of its origin and work will be given down to the time when the directorship of the company was intrusted to its officers.² The

¹ Odhner, *Sv. in. hist.*, 135 ff.; Hildebrand, *Sv. statsf.*, p. 294 ff.; Carlson, I. Intro.; Zettersten, *Sv. flot. hist.*, I. 16 ff. German surveyors were employed by Gustavus Adolphus. See Ekstrand, *Sv. landtmätare*, XVII. ff.

² The following is the most complete account of the college that has so far appeared.

idea of a commercial college, suggested perhaps by Oxenstierna or Spiring, was brought before the Council of State in the autumn of 1637,³ although there is no mention of the fact in the minutes.⁴ On November 28, the same year, "a commission . . . for the recently established Commercial College"⁵ was issued by the government. The special function of the college was to supervise, increase and extend foreign and domestic trade. Klas Fleming was appointed president, while Lars Grubbe and Mårten Augustinsson were selected assessors at a later meeting of the council, and on December 22, 1637, Johan Beier, the only officer drawing a salary, was appointed secretary. It is likely that the college held meetings in 1638 and discussed commercial matters, especially with reference to the New Sweden Company (the management of which was placed under its charge), but there is no trace of its labors, except the statement that certain questions and requests of a number of cities were referred to it the same year.⁶ Already in the beginning of 1641, however, it was considered dead, for the colleges of the kingdom were then only five in number.⁷ During the next few years the question of founding a commercial college was brought up in the council several times. On July 28, 1643, that body discussed a "Commercial Council, which should keep up correspondence" and supply news; again on April 9, 1644, it was thought that "an organization of this kind ought to be established," and three days later a whole session was devoted to the deliberations concerning a trading college. In the spring of the following year proposals were made to the Queen for the establishment of such a college, and in the fall it was again up for consideration in at least two of the council meetings. It seems that an organization was effected about this time, for in December, 1645, the Queen suggested⁸

³ Stiernman, *Kungl. br.*, etc., II. 110.

⁴ The first mention of the commercial college in the minutes of the council is on December 1, 1637.

⁵ R.R. November 28, 1637, fol. 364. Printed in Stiernman.

⁶ *Rådsspr.*, VII. 121; Odhner, *Sv. in. hist.*, 167.

⁷ *Rådsspr.*, IX. 351; cf. also Holm, *Sv. all. postv.*, II. 4.

⁸ "H. M: tt. sade man skulle frågha Handels Collegium derom, hvadh de mena," *Rådsspr.*, XI. 255.

that the commercial college should be requested to express its opinion about a certain subject and in December, 1646, a sum of money was assigned by the government for an assistant to Secretary Beier "until a certain budget and ordinance for a certain commercial college . . . could be made and established."⁹

But the reestablished college was as short-lived as the first and soon new plans were presented for its revival. In 1649 Eric Oxenstierna wrote that a commercial college would prove very profitable for the kingdom. Some progress was made at this time towards the realization of the old plan and Daniel Behm prepared an instruction for its officers and stated certain principles and objects of such an organization. The matter was also brought into the council, but it did not get beyond "the paper state."¹⁰ It is not quite clear why the college as established in 1637 and reestablished in 1645 was not a success, nor why a firm organization was not effected in 1649. Financial difficulties could not alone be responsible, for surely the state treasury was not in a more prosperous condition in 1651-1653 than in 1649 or even in 1645 and 1637. The main trouble was probably that suitable men could not be found to manage the college nor spared from other fields of work.

In 1651 there was again activity in the matter. It was also referred to the diet, where the idea was well received and the college was finally and firmly established. A new instruction was issued, prescribing in more definite and detailed terms the object of the college and its jurisdiction.¹¹ The main office should be located at Stockholm (two other offices should also be maintained), and all "navigation and trade" to foreign countries were to be placed under its jurisdiction. The college

⁹ *Rådspr.*, X. 232, 498, 505-6; XI. 28, 147-8, 150, 255, R.R. Dec. 31, 1646 (R.A.).

¹⁰ Fries, *E. Oxenstierna*, 120 ff., 339; Odhner, *Sv. in. hist.*, 167 ff.

¹¹ A commercial college was founded in Denmark in 1668. Barfod, *Hist.*, p. 1318; Fridericia, *Dan. Rig. Hist.*, 1588-1699, p. 490. Mention is made of a Handelskollegium long before, however. Barfod, p. 462. A commercial college was founded in Amsterdam in 1663. See H. Brugman, *De Notulen en Min. van het Col. van Com. te Amsterdam, 1663-65*, in *Bijdr. en Mededeel.*, XVIII. 181 ff.

should correspond with Swedish ambassadors and residents abroad, as well as with servants of the commercial companies and in cities of sufficient importance, where there were no representatives, such should be appointed. The instruction for the college is dated August 23, 1651. Four days later Berndes was appointed general director, and on September 30, Mårten Leijonsköld was made vice-director and Anders Olofsson, secretary. A general commission for the three chief officers was issued on October 1,¹² defining their collective duties, which were to consist in seeking for the welfare of Sweden and the advantage and prosperity of the commerce and manufactories in the kingdom and its colonies and dependencies.¹³

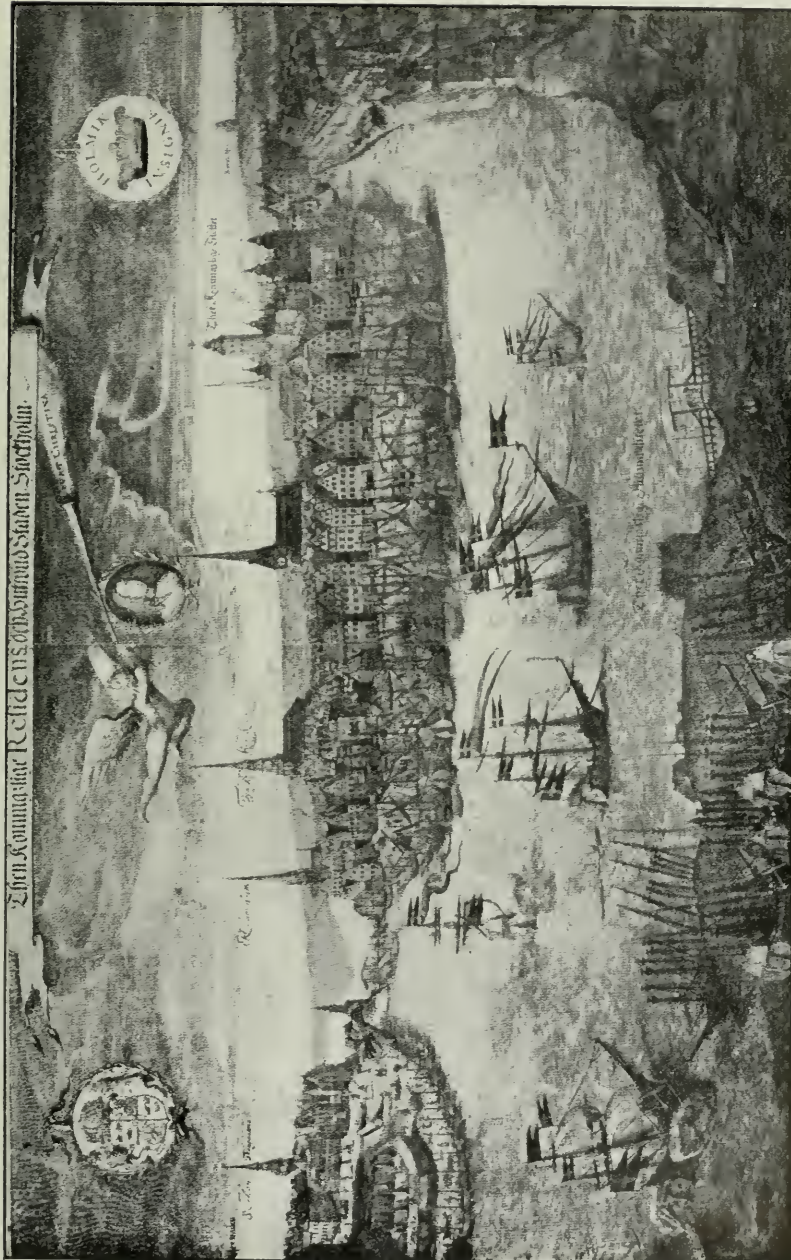
The budget of the college was at first provided for by the tobacco-excite, but later part of the money for the necessary expenses was taken from the "large sea-toll." We learn from the budget of 1654, that the college had one director, three assessors, one secretary, two scriveners, one bookkeeper, "one scrivener under the bookkeeper," one janitor, one servant and ten correspondents in foreign countries. The general director had no salary, since he was a member of the Royal Council. Each of the assessors was paid a salary of 1000 D. a year; the bookkeeper 500 D.; the scriveners 300 D. each; the janitor 150 D.; the servant 50 D.; and the salary of the correspondents was 750 D.; expenses for light and extras were 100 D. and rent amounted to 300 D. a year, making a total of 13,100 D.¹⁴

¹² Johan Lellienrantz is designated as "assessor."

¹³ The college was also to inspect hospitals, insane asylums, and orphan homes and to demand annual accounts from these.

¹⁴ "Handels Colle[gi]um Anno 1654.

Behöfwes		Anordnas.	
För efterskrefne Nembl.		Aff 1654 åhrs stoorå Siötull,	
		N. uttaf Toobackz-tullen	
1.	General Director, hafr sin anordning ibland Rickzrådh.		
3	Assessorer à 1000 D.....	3,000	
1	Secreterare	600	
2	Skrifware à 300 D.....	600	
1.	Bookhollare	500	
1	Skrifware under honom.....	300	



Stockholm during the time of Christina. (From Unger's *H. sv. sjökrigsh.*) See also page 222.

The work of the college began in 1651 and in 1652 we find it giving instructions, writing letters, and the like. In the beginning of 1652, the general director died and Lejonsköld was appointed in his place. The work of the college does not seem to have been managed with the energy and power necessary to make it a force of any importance. But in the autumn of this year, Eric Oxenstierna was placed at the head of it and when he returned to Sweden in the summer of 1653, new life and vigor were infused into its work,¹⁵ and now begins its management of the New Sweden Company.¹⁶

II.

The government was constitutional. Gustavus Adolphus having given his "Royal Assurance," virtually a constitution, "ruled with the aid of his people" and he decided on no important measures without reference to the diet or the council.

A constitution, written by Oxenstierna and sanctioned by the King before his death, was adopted in 1634 and Sweden now took the first place among the governments of Europe. After the death of Gustavus Adolphus the kingdom was ruled by "the five high officers"¹⁷ until the Queen was of age. Headed by the great chancellor, this government was one of the wisest that ever ruled a nation and many of the plans originated by the King were perfected and executed by it. It made the first

1	Wachtmestare	150	
1	Dräng	50	
	Till huushyra	300	
	Till Lius och andra Extraordin.		
	Expenser	100	
10	Correspondenter à 750 D.....	7,500	
	Summa	13,100.	13,100.

Datum, Ubsala den 31 Martij Anno 1654. På dragande kalls och Embetets wegner, Herman Fleming," etc. (This document was discovered by the author among some unclassified papers in *Kam. Ar.* in 1907.) Ellen Fries, taking her facts from R.R. states that the total sum was 13,100 R.D. My copy has 13,100 D., however.

¹⁵ R.R. Aug. 27, September 30, 1651, fol. 455 ff.; Stiernman, II. 669 ff.; Fries, *E. Oxenstierna*, p. 122 ff.; R.R. Oct. 1, 1651.

¹⁶ Cf. below.

¹⁷ This government was called "förmyndare regeringen."

Swedish settlement on the Delaware and, had it continued in power, the colony would probably have suffered less neglect.¹⁸

In 1644 the government was handed over to Christina, who like her father gave a *Royal Assurance*. In the beginning she took interest in the state business, but she soon tired of the arduous duties. Her mind reverted to literature and arts. She collected books and art treasures, she called the greatest men of Europe to her court, and she sought to establish learned societies. The splendors of her court were far in excess of the resources; pageants, court balls and festivities of every description drained the treasury and occupied the time of the Queen. Gifts in estates and privileges were showered on favorites without number and without reference to results. Soon the five million R.D. paid to Sweden through the Westphalian treaty were gone and five millions more had followed, leaving the nation in great debt. At last conditions became impossible. She resigned her scepter to a stronger hand and joined the Church against which her great father had fought.¹⁹

Self-government in Sweden dates from antiquity. The king circumscribed to some extent this prerogative of the people, as the political organization of the country was perfected, but municipal self-government was never fully relinquished by the commons and the people who came to the Delaware between 1638 and 1664 were accustomed to partake in the administration of their local affairs, secular and religious. The diet was made up of the four estates (the Nobility, the Clergy, the Burgesses and the Peasantry), giving the people an opportunity to participate in the government of the whole country. It was summoned by royal authority as circumstances required and as questions of great import arose, and the members were elected or appointed to represent the various districts of the kingdom.²⁰

The Council of State became an important body during this period. According to the constitution of 1634 it was to con-

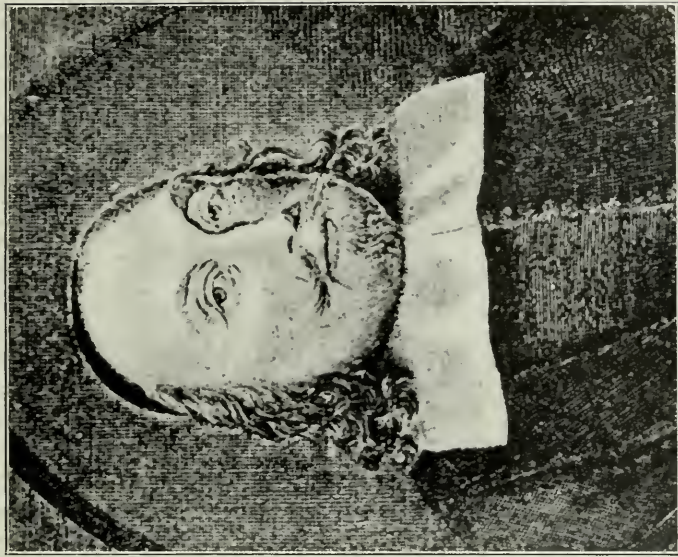
¹⁸ See Odhner, *Sv. in. hist.*, p. 1 ff.; Hildebrand, *Sv. statsf.*, p. 341 ff.; *Sv. hist.*, V. 290 ff.; Bain, *Scandinavia*, p. 208 ff.

¹⁹ Hildebrand, *Sv. hist.*, V. 397 ff.; Bain, *Scandinavia*, p. 218 ff.

²⁰ Hildebrand, *Sv. statsf.*, 372 ff.



Johan Stiernhöök ('The father of Swedish jurisprudence').



Johannes Laccenius (Kising's teacher).

sist of twenty-five members. Practically every phase of public life was discussed at its meetings. It decided questions of peace and war; it deliberated about foreign and domestic commerce; it discussed the ways and means of trading companies; it settled disputes between city officials and between companies and individuals; "it revised judgments of courts," as well as court-martials; in short, the entire religious, social and economic life of the nation received its attention.²¹

The judicial system was reorganized and perfected during this period. Laws were printed, commentaries were written, foreign books on the subject were translated, the old Swedish law began to be studied at the University of Upsala,²² dissertations and treatises on the old Swedish as well as the Roman law were published and men like Jonas Magni, Olaus Crusius (the first professor of law in Sweden 1625-31),²³ Sidenius, Rosengren, Jonas Bureus and above all Loccenius (Rising's teacher) and Stiernhöök attained renown in this field. The old Swedish law was the foundation for all proceedings, but the Roman law made its influence felt, and in many cases "the law of Moses" was followed, when a paragraph in the secular law could not be found to apply to the case in question. Thus thirty-six paragraphs from the laws of Moses were printed as an appendix to the edition of the Swedish law published by Carl IX.²⁴ It is quite probable that Printz and Rising used one or more of these ordinances and commentaries published before 1653 and we have at least one instance, in which the "laws of Moses" were followed on the Delaware.

²¹ Hildebrand, *Sv. statsf.*, p. 268 ff.; *Rådspr.*, I. ff.; R.R. 1637 ff.; *Rådspr. mss.*, 1649 ff., 1650, March 20, etc.

²² The Roman law alone was studied at the universities of other countries, at this early date (Schück).

²³ Messenius was really appointed "juris professor" in 1609, but he does not seem to have done anything in the field (Schück, 488).

²⁴ Schück, I. 482 ff.; Hildebrand, *Sv. statsf.*, 286 ff.; Odhner, *Sv. in. hist.*, p. 138 ff.; *De la Gard. Arch.*, II. p. 220 ff.

CHAPTER IV.

RELIGION, LANGUAGE, SCIENCE, CLASSES OF SOCIETY, POPULATION.

The Reformation had fully permeated Swedish religious thought even before this era. It had accomplished permanent results and the Church, under the direct control of the government, had become firmly established. "The Bible of Gustavus Adolphus," a revision of the old translation of 1541, was published in 1618, and several new editions were issued. "A church-handbook" was published in 1614 (based on earlier editions), which continued to be used until 1693; revised and enlarged editions of the Psalm-book (several private collections were also printed) appeared in 1610, 1616, and in a more final form in 1645.¹ New editions of Luther's catechism (translated in 1548?) were printed from time to time, as well as other translations of foreign catechisms.

The large masses were moved by the new life—the Lutheran Reformation was a movement of the people—and it improved their morals and standard of life. The Lutheran clergy in Sweden were generally well educated, many of them having studied abroad, and there were no more learned preachers in America in the seventeenth century than those sent here by the Swedish government.

The vigorous religious and spiritual life of the Reformation period soon gave way, however, to a cold, narrow theology, but foreign religions were tolerated in the larger cities and there were churches of the Reformed sects in Stockholm and Gothenburg.²

¹ Concerning the earliest Psalm-books in Sweden see *Samlaren*, 1891, p. 5 ff.

² Anjou, *Hist. of the Reform. in Sweden* (transl. by Mason); Norlin, *Svenska kyrk. hist.*, I.; Cornelius, *Sv. kyrk. hist. eft. reform.*; Sillén, IV. 42. Schück, *Sv. lit.*, 215; Schück och Warburg, *Il. Sv. lit. hist.*, I. 173 ff., 410 ff.; Odhner, *Sv. in. hist.*, 309 ff.; Lövgren, *Kyrkohist.*, p. 261 ff.; Lundström, *När utk.*

The language was passing through a period of transition. The Reformation emphasized the use of Swedish and the Reformers of religion also became Reformers of the language, endeavoring to free it from foreign influence and make it a cultured speech. The period immediately following the Reformation was unpropitious for "the cultivation and growth of the language," however; but with Gustavus Adolphus begins a new era. An *A-B-C Book* was published in 1611;³ a new edition of the Bible, as we have seen, in 1618; in 1629 instruction was given to the "antiquarian and historian of the kingdom" to collect words for a *complete Swedish Dictionary*,⁴ and a few years earlier the King recommended to the professors at the University of Upsala that they should strive to present *in Swedish*⁵ the learning of the world.⁶ These efforts were not in vain. "The language of the chancery," which had attained some regularity already in the preceding reign, became the standard for good Swedish and three quarters of a century later the chancery language of the period of Gustavus Adolphus and of Christina and of the Bible of 1618 was selected by a commission as the norm for "the regulation of the written language."⁷ There were principally four lines of foreign influence—Danish, German, Dutch and Latin.⁸ Danish influenced the phonology and inflexion and the Latin, German and Dutch furnished many new words. Traces of these influences and of the humanistic learning (which in general tended to add foreign expressions and words to the vocabulary) are found everywhere.⁹

Luthers l. kat., etc., Samlaren, 1897, p. 172 ff. and references given there. Bang, *Dokum. og Stud.*, etc., I. (Christ., 1893); *Samlaren*, 1893, p. 9 ff.; *De la Gard. Arch.*, X. p. 162 ff.

³ New editions in 1612 and 1624. *Samlaren*, 1884, p. 15; Hernlund, *Sv. skr. spr. regl.*, p. 7 and notes 1 and 2.

⁴ Other works of this character were also published by Stiernhjelm and others.

⁵ Mainly by translating foreign works.

⁶ Cf. Hernlund, *Sv. skr. spr. regl.*, p. 6.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 30 ff.

⁸ Hernlund gives only three.

⁹ Cf. Hernlund, p. 3 ff.; *Hist. Bibl.*, VI. 259 ff. and references given in these works. *De la Gard. Arch.*, VI., VIII., X., XII.

The Swedish language was divided into several dialects, well defined within certain geographical areas. The Swedish colonists on the Delaware came largely from Upland and the Northern Provinces, and hence they spoke the dialects of these districts. The language of the peasants was purely Germanic; but the soldiers of the Thirty Years' War and foreign merchants and warriors brought in many new words, which gradually found their way even into the vocabulary of everyday speech.

The national language was not taught in the schools and there was no standard of authority. Hence literary monuments present great variations in spelling and other respects. The dentals, *d*, *t*, and *th* are often indiscriminately used to spell the same word, often by the same man.¹⁰ *Ch* is often used instead of *ck*, especially before *t*, probably with no difference of sound,¹¹ and before *t* (sometimes *h*) we find *g* in some cases, where it has been entirely replaced by its corresponding tenues in the modern speech.¹² In many instances the old Swedish *ð* (pronounced much like *th* in father) is retained, indicated by *dh*.¹³ *H* combined with *g* formed a spirant,¹⁴ but sometimes *h* seems to have served no purpose in a word (unless to lengthen the vowel).¹⁵ *I* and *j* were often interchanged¹⁶ and an *i* is found where it has dropped out in modern Swedish.¹⁷ *P* and *b* were often silent;¹⁸ *z* and *s* were used to represent the same sound,¹⁹ and sometimes *p* was replaced by its corresponding medial.²⁰ Consonants were often doubled to express length, but there was no uniformity.²¹

¹⁰ Det, tet, thet; thetta, detta, dy, ty, etc.

¹¹ Macht, macht, plicht; ock, och, ach, ack, etc.

¹² Mächtig, ogh, etc.

¹³ Wedh, medh, gudh, dherhos, kommandhe, etc.

¹⁴ Borgh, sigh, etc.

¹⁵ Wähl, ähre, fahna, etc.

¹⁶ Spörja, spöria, biuda, etc.

¹⁷ Lägga, sökia. (Mod. Swedish lägga, söka).

¹⁸ Lamb, sampteliga.

¹⁹ Landzhöfding, skepsz., landshöf., skepsk., etc.

²⁰ Ubsala, etc.

²¹ Effer, efter, skepp, skep, sheep, etc.

The vowels had different values in different dialects and a variety of uses can be observed in the same document. The vowels *ä* and *e* are used to indicate the same sound. The word silver is written "*sölfter*," and "*silfter*" due to phonetic spelling, and *å* is often replaced by *o*. Long vowels were sometimes indicated by doubling, but here again no uniformity is observed.²² The letters, documents and books of the period contain a large number of foreign words, such as *river*, *voagie*, *compagnie*, *ungefär*, *glorwürdig*, etc.²³ Long and unwieldy sentences, often loosely and illogically constructed, are almost the rule and the inverted and transposed sentence-order, due to German influence, often predominates. Punctuation and capitalization follow no rules; they are sometimes entirely wanting.²⁴

Before the seventeenth century Sweden had had no poet of importance and no works of great literary value were produced. But in this epoch of enthusiasm for Swedish language and antiquities a list of names meets us, which have received a permanent place in Swedish history and literature. Bureus²⁵ studied the old language, collected runes and wrote a grammar and other treatises. His disciple, Georg Stiernhjelm, composed a dictionary, tried to prove that Swedish was the mother of the Germanic languages, foreshadowed Grimm's law and through his poems gained the name of "*the father of Swedish poetry*."²⁶

²² Weet, sheep, reesa, etc. Cf. Beckman, *Bidr. till känded. om 1700-talets svenska*, *Arkiv. för Nord. Fil.*, XI. 154 ff., and the references to Kock, Noreen, Lundell, Kullin and others found there. The examples are taken from documents relating to New Sweden, the letters of Lindeström, Rising, etc.

²³ The following is an extreme case of "Germanized" Swedish: "*Ihn getreu undt fleisigst informiren, samt i synnerhet bibringa honom ånyo det som nu en tid var forsummadt; han skulle och alltid hålla so wohl Ihn alls den knabeen so neben Ihme,*" etc. (From a letter written by J. De la Gardie, Sept. 29, 1649. *De la Gard. Arch.*, VI. 90.)

²⁴ For samples of the "letter style" of this period see *De la Gard. Arch.*, VI. 30 ff. Cf. *ibid.*, VIII. 139 ff. Words like *voagie*, *river*, etc., were common in the other Germanic languages as well. In M. H. German they often occur. Cf. *Parzival*, 118, 4-22, etc.

²⁵ *Samlaren*, 1883, p. 12 ff., 71 ff., 1884, p. 5 ff., 1890, p. 55 ff. Schück och Warburg, *Lit. hist.*, I. 254 ff.

²⁶ Swartling, Birger, *Några bidr. till Stiernhjelm's biogr. 1636-50; Stud. tilläg. H. Schück*; Schück och Warburg, *Lit. hist.*, I. 258 ff., 321 ff.

Wivallius (the first great poet in Sweden) wrote verses with pure lyric touch²⁷ and a host of other authors wrote ballads and stories.²⁸

The "devotional" and moral literature²⁹ was very rich, consisting of sermons, psalms, hymns, long sacred poems, such as *The Suffering and Resurrection of our Lord Jesus Christ*, and didactic and moral pieces, such as *Concerning Drunkards and their Destruction*, and the like. Folk-ballads also abounded, and prose romances were published and circulated. Germanic productions such as *Reyneke Fosz* and *Thil Ulspegel* and Italian novels³⁰ such as "All's Well that Ends Well" and others were translated and printed. These books were not read by the people in general, but it is probable that the stories soon became common property and we may assume that at least a few of the colonists on the Delaware had some knowledge of them.³¹

Education, measured by our present-day standards, was on a low level. The Reformation broke down old customs and practices, and it can hardly be said that it improved the culture and the higher education in the country. It took a generation to reëstablish what had been changed, in some cases with too violent a hand. But the early reformers laid much stress on the education of the masses and their efforts were not without result. The knowledge imparted was largely religious and the first instruction was given at home, which was afterwards supplemented by the Church.

²⁷ For various "principles employed in writing Swedish verse" see *Samlaren*, 1894, p. 1 ff.; Schück, *Sv. lit. hist.*, p. 541, note. "*Ad Poesin Svecanum*" (a book in imitation of Optiz, *Buch von der deutschen Poeterei*. Cf. Georg Witkowski, *Martin Opitz*, etc.) was published in 1651. See *Samlaren*, 1894, p. 79 ff.

²⁸ Schück, p. 351 ff.; Schück och Warburg, I. 300(?) ff.; *Samlaren*, 1887, p. 58 ff., 176 ff., 1890, p. 27 ff.; 1892, p. 5 ff.; 1893, p. 44 ff.; 1899, p. 1 ff. Many of these poems and literary works have been edited in our day. Schück edited the poems of *L. Wivallius*, etc. Wieselgren also printed some of these early poems in *De la Gard. Arch.*, VIII. 168 ff.

²⁹ *Uppbyggelselitteratur*. Cf. *Samlaren*, 1883, p. 175 ff.; 1884, p. 18 ff.; 1888, p. 99 ff.

³⁰ "The first Swedish novelist," Olof Broman, was born in 1676. *Samlaren*, 1897, p. 2.

³¹ For the books found in a cultured man's library of that day, see Schück och Warburg, I. 207. Wieselgren, *De la Gard. Arch.*, VI. 200 ff.; *Samlaren*, 1887, p. 183 ff.; *Samlaren*, 1899, p. 113 ff.

During the first half of the seventeenth century public schools were established in many places and commercial colleges were planned, where merchants could obtain instruction in the most necessary business branches. Secondary schools and so-called *Gymnasier* were founded, giving courses preparatory to the university. The university at Upsala was reorganized and new universities were chartered at Åbo and Dorpat. The Royal Library in Stockholm and the University Library at Upsala date from this period; the Royal Archives and the "College of Antiquity" owe their existence to the enterprising statesmen of this age, and the first newspapers were published during this time.³² Education (especially that of the people) was under the direct control of the Church. It was her business to see that the members understood her teachings and her best men, such as Paulinus, Rudbeckius, Angermannus and others, wrote books on pedagogy and labored with much diligence "to scatter the spiritual darkness" of their country. As early as 1571 a chapter "concerning schools and the order of instruction in schools" was inserted into "the Ordinance of the Swedish Church," and several other school ordinances were drafted from 1611 on. But laymen like Per Brahe, Axel Oxenstierna, Johan Skytte, De la Gardie and Gyllengren, also had a large share in improving the instruction and organizing the school-system of their people; and Amos Comenius (or Komenský), the greatest pedagogue of his age, several centuries in advance of his contemporaries, went twice to Sweden (in 1642 and again in 1646) through the influence of his patron, Louis de Geer, for the purpose of reorganizing the schools of the country, according to his educational theories. At the expense of the government he was engaged to write a series of pedagogical works and several of his books were translated into Swedish, in some cases going through a number of editions.³³

³² Cf. *Samlaren*, 1888, p. 174; 1892, p. 125 ff.; Key, *Försök till sv. tidningspr. hist.*, I.

³³ For the labors of the great Bohemian and his relation to Sweden, see Lützow, *Hist. of Boh. Lit.* (New York, 1900), p. 249 ff.; Hollander, *Sv. underv. hist.*, I. 352 ff.; Schück, *Sv. lit. hist.*, 569 ff.; Carlson, *Hist.*, I. 92.

It was natural that such efforts should bear fruit. Even in 1632 Professor Menius, of Dorpat, said "that Melanchthon's prophecy was about to be fulfilled, that the liberal arts, expelled from the countries where they formerly flourished . . . would find refuge in the North." The pedagogic thought and discussion of the early part of the century finally crystallized into the school-ordinance of 1649, "with a system of instruction equal to which no other country could show a parallel, whether we refer to the completeness and thoroughness of the formal and pedagogic principles or the extent and content of the material studied."

The illiteracy of the common people, however, was great, and superstition and ignorance held sway over their minds. They were not always willing to accept the innovations and improvements offered, and fines and other punishments were often inflicted "to compel the stubborn to submit to the new order of things." Gradually, however, there came a change. In 1638 Bishop Gothus found that "the members in some congregations could give good answers to the questions he put to them," and in 1663 Terserus asserts "that in Leksand³⁴ and mostly in East Dalarne it is counted as a monstrosity that a boy or girl of ten to eleven years can not read in a book." A common gunner on the expedition of the ship *The Cat* in 1649,³⁵ kept an interesting journal of the events, and several of the soldiers who had served in New Sweden sent *written supplications* to the government. It seems that twenty-seven or more out of forty-eight colonists who signed the oath of allegiance at New Gothenborg on June 9, 1654, could write. The other nineteen signed only their initials or made their marks.³⁶ It is therefore probable that a fair number of the early settlers on the Delaware could not only read but also write, and the illiteracy among

³⁴ A district in Dalarne, northern Sweden. See map.

³⁵ Cf. below, Chaps. XXIX., XLIV.

³⁶ Cf. below, Chaps. XLI., XLII.

them was not larger, perhaps less, than among the colonists of other plantations in America.³⁷

The natural sciences received little attention before 1600, and medicine and doctors were almost unknown. Foreign physicians were gradually invited, however, medical works were written and professors were appointed to teach the subject at the University of Upsala, but it required half a century before the science could divorce itself from theology and the authority of the Bible, and not before Rudbeck (1630-1702), who as a youth of twenty-two, discovered the lymphatic canal, did Sweden produce an investigator of note in this field. The barber-masters (barber-surgeons) and their journeymen were the doctors of the period³⁸ and they were employed on the navy, in the army and by the people at large.³⁹

The class distinctions were more pronounced than at a later period. The peasants and burghers were classes by themselves; above these stood the nobility, and a middle class can hardly be spoken of at this time. The Swedish peasant was a free man. His voice was heard at the *ting*, and he retained much of the old-time liberty that his fellows in other countries had lost long before. Many heathen customs still clung to him, and he even possessed a knowledge of runes, as late as the time of Olaus Rudbeck. Much of the old Viking nature lived in his strong form and he objected to rigid laws and stringent rules.

³⁷ For a history of Swedish education in 1600-1664 see Westling, *Hufv. af den sv. folkund. hist.*, p. 5 ff., especially p. 29 ff.; Wieselgren, *De la Gardiska Arch.*, VIII. 1 ff.; VI. 193 ff.; R.R. Sept. 22, 1651; Hollander, *Sv. underv. hist.*, I. 302 ff.; Schück, 495 ff.; Odhner, *Sv. in. hist.*, 326 ff.; cf. also Sillén, IV. 126; Bang, *Dokum.* etc. (*Christiania*, 1893); Paulson, *Hist. af folkund. i Sv.*, Stkh., 1866; Anjou, *Sv. kyrk. hist.*; *De la Gard. Arch.*, VI. 89 ff.; XII. 121.

³⁸ There were a few physicians, however, in Sweden at this time. At Gothenburg we find Doctor Nalvick, Georg Mascovius and von Hattingh; and others were employed at Stockholm and Upsala. See Berg, *Saml.*, I. 2; Schück, *Lit. hist.*, 576 ff. The Barber-surgeons were well-known in England at this time.

³⁹ Odhner, *Sv. in. hist.*, p. 222 ff.; Zettersten, *Sv. flot. hist.*, II. 112 ff.; Schück, *Lit. hist.*, p. 576 ff. Cf. Carlson, *Hist.*, I. 91 ff.; *De la Gard. Arch.*, VI. 113 ff.; Hasser, H., *Grundriss der Gesch. d. Medicin* (Jena, 1884), p. 208 ff. Cf. below, Chapter —. Hofberg, *Sv. Biogr. Lex.*, II. 381-2; *Encyclo. Britan.*, I. (article on anatomy), 811; The New Intern. Encyclo., XV. p. 215.

He was skilled in all kinds of manual arts.⁴⁰ He made his wagons and his sleds, his plows and his harrows, his rakes and his hay-forks; he made his shoes of wood, birchbark or leather; he made his furniture, his wooden spoons and dippers, his cups and saucers and practically everything he used, and the Swedish housewife could weave, knit and sew skillfully. Since the common people never lost their freedom to the same extent as in other European countries, poverty was less prevalent in Sweden than elsewhere at this time, and Ogier says that "the Swedish peasants were neither poorly nor inconveniently dressed, and prosperity was more evenly divided in Sweden than in other countries."⁴¹

The national consciousness was strong. It was an epoch when Swedish generals led victorious armies over half of Europe, it was an age when Swedish statesmen held the destinies of nations in their hands. There was an enthusiasm for Swedish language and Swedish history. Foreign ambassadors were welcomed in Swedish—"the mother of the other languages"—and foreign representatives were addressed in the same tongue, if they were pretentious enough to use their native speech. It was a period when Swedish scholars delved into the misty past and located the cradle of the human race in their country; when Swedish kings dreamed of world-power, and when Swedish leaders stretched their arms across the oceans and made settlements on two continents, that were to become *New Swedens*. The enthusiasm of youth permeated the nation and drove it on to deeds that an older power of twice its size would not have attempted. Patriotism ran high and national pride verged on chauvinism. No wonder that Printz with a handful of men talked the language of a general with an army at his back to

⁴⁰ "Slöjd."

⁴¹ Sillén, IV. 90. For conditions in Sweden in this period see Fryxell, *Hand.*, I. 66 ff. (extracts of Juel's letters to the Danish government); Whitelocke's *Embassy*; *De la Gard. Arch.*, X. p. 41 ff.; Lundin och Strindberg, *Gamla Stockholm*; *Hist. Tid.*, I. xx ff.; Brahe, *Oeconomia* (written in 1581); Carlberg, J. O., *Hist. saml. om Sv. bergsverk*, etc., 91 ff.; Mankell, J., *Stockh. i forna dagar*; Holmberg, *Bohusläns historia*; Granberg, *Götheborgs beskrifning*; *Per Brahes tänkebok*.

give emphasis to his words, and that Rising with high-handed authority captured Fort Casimir.

Conditions in Finland, whence many of the Delaware colonists came, resembled those in Sweden. The country, being united with Sweden since the Middle Ages, had absorbed much of the superior culture of its conquerors and adopted their religion.⁴² In 1639 a bishop related that the people "can read their pieces from the catechism and morning and evening prayers" and Terserus, bishop in Åbo (Turko), asserted that "it had come so far that almost all below [the age of] twenty or thirty years are able to read their mother tongue fluently." Quite similar reports came from other bishops. The Swedish language had made great headway among the Finns at this time, and Andreas Bureus wrote about 1630 that "the nobility of Finland, burghers and priests as well as the richer farmers see to it that their children learn Swedish already in the cradle," making it easy for the Finns and Swedes to associate.

The country was poor and the Finns seem to have had a great desire to migrate, large numbers going to Sweden and other places. It has been said that the Finn was lazy and indolent at home and that he would rather spend his time over the fireplace of his primitive dwelling than clear away the forests or sow his grain, but in new surroundings he became industrious and "worked for two."⁴³

The population of Sweden and Finland was about one million in 1645, making these extensive areas very sparsely settled.⁴⁴ The entire city population was only about 125,000.⁴⁵ Queen Christina's remark in 1649, when two hundred Finns applied for permission to go to America, that she found it strange that they should ask for such permission, when there

⁴² For a good account of Finnish history from the time of the Swedish conquests to 1600 see Yrjö Koskinen, *Finlands historia*, I. 26-285.

⁴³ For a short sketch of the social condition of Finland in the 17th Century see *Finlands hist.*, I. 272 ff. Cf. Westling, *Sv. folkund. hist.*, p. 86. Cf. also *Usselin's letters to Oxenstierna*. *Ox. Saml.* (R.A.).

⁴⁴ There were about 120 inhabitants to every Swedish square mile, a Swedish mile being more than six and one half English miles.

⁴⁵ Odhner, *Sv. in. hist.*, 349; Carlson, *Hist.*, I. 16 ff.

was enough land to settle at home, was pertinent, and there was no overflow population, which was compelled through lack of room to seek new homes on the other side of the Atlantic.⁴⁶

And yet, other things being normal, the reason for migration is not always over-population, in a relative sense, for what would be a large population in England or Belgium would be more than over-population in Sweden. There seems to have been an element in Sweden that could have been spared without much loss to the nation, and Rising said that all those who would not work ought to be sent to the Delaware colony, where they would either have to work or starve. There were a great number of poor in the cities, who were out of work. Their migration to America would have relieved them of suffering and given them an opportunity for improving their condition, and a burden to the community would have been removed.

⁴⁶ It is said that laborers were so scarce in the time of Christina that women were often compelled to handle the plow. See Sillén, *Sv. hand. o. när. hist.*, IV. 89. Cf. Whitelocke, *Embassy*, I. p. 209, etc.

PART II.

INDUSTRIES, COMMERCE AND TRADING COMPANIES, 1607-1660.

CHAPTER V.

THE INDUSTRIES.

In her military and political systems Sweden was in advance of her age in the seventeenth century, offering models to France,¹ Denmark² and other countries, but her industrial and commercial organization was on a low plane compared with nations like England and the Netherlands. The many wars and intimate foreign relations, however, brought Sweden in close touch with the greatest commercial and industrial countries in the world and marked advances were made during the period of Swedish rule on the Delaware. The armies needed cannon, muskets, swords and other implements of war. It was cheaper to make them at home than to import them from abroad, and besides money was lacking with which to buy those things. The country being new and undeveloped, offered larger opportunities to capitalists than the old industrial centers, and in return for special privileges, titles and land grants, besides the regular remuneration that comes to the shrewd business-man, wealthy Dutchmen, like De Geer, Spiring, Von der Linde and others, were induced to invest capital in Swedish industries and to establish manufactories of various kinds. Foreign laborers

¹ France organized its government during the infancy of Louis XIV. along the plans of the Swedish government during the infancy of Christina. Cf. Ranke, *Fran. Gesch.*, III. 10.

² Denmark organized its commercial college in imitation of the one in Sweden. Cf. Carlson, *Hist.*, I. 39, note. It was founded in 1668, but Barfod in his *Danish Hist.* mentions a handels-kollegium long before. See Barfod, p. 462, 1318; Fridericia, *Dan. Reg. Hist.*, 1588-1699, p. 490.

were engaged in large numbers and Swedish mechanics were sent abroad to study the best methods used there.

As a result Swedish iron works and especially Swedish cannon and firearms became famous throughout Europe. Whitelocke was ordered to buy cannon on his embassy in 1653-4, and in 1642 a thousand muskets, a thousand cuirasses and large quantities of other implements of war "could be sold or given to Portugal."³

The textile and clothing industries likewise receive an impetus from the wars. To buy clothes and other wearing apparel for the soldiers and sailors from Holland or England appeared uneconomical, since Sweden shipped large quantities of wool, unprepared hides, skins and other raw materials to these countries. In 1619 Gustavus Adolphus held a conference with representatives from cities and provinces of his kingdom concerning the establishment of textile and clothing factories, so that the needs of the army could be supplied. Successful private factories were also established during this period and a Countess, Oxenstierna, founded a clothing factory at Tyresö, a few years later, which proved a paying venture. Shoe and glove factories are also mentioned at this time, but they appear to have been run on a small scale. Kettles and all kinds of utensils for the house as well as axes, knives and the like were made at a number of places. Glass factories are also reported. Paul Gangunkel built a factory at Bergkvarna, where window-panes and glasses of all kinds were made, and Melchior Jung established glass-works near Stockholm in 1643, securing workmen from abroad, probably from Holland.⁴ To aid this industry importing of glass articles to Sweden was forbidden in the same year.

Copper mining reached its highest development during this period and proved a great source of revenue for the Crown.

³ And this at a time when Sweden had large armies on the German battle-fields, which had to be supplied with arms. Cf. Sillén, IV. 137 ff.; *Rådskr.*, X. 382 ff.; Whitelocke, *Embassy*. In the middle of the sixteenth century Olaus Magnus says that the Helsingar (inhabitants of *Helsingland*, a province of northern Sweden) were splendid blacksmiths and could compete with those of foreign countries, yes even with those of Italy. Cf. *Hist. Tid.*, IV. 319.

⁴ Cf. below.

Silver mining was also conducted with great energy, but the results were unsatisfactory.

Brickyards were common in Sweden during the first part of the seventeenth century and earlier. A considerable number of bricks were exported from Upsala, Stäk and Strängnäs. Members of the aristocracy established brickyards where bricks were made for their large buildings, and in a few cases they produced bricks for sale. The colonists on the Delaware were therefore not unaccustomed to this industry.

Paper was manufactured at Upsala at an early date. Rags were bought from the peasants for 4 öre a lb. and the paper-makers were commanded to instruct Swedish youths in the trade. Soapworks for making soft-soaps as well as complexion-soaps and starch, sugar and potash factories were established on a small scale. Salt works were also begun, but they proved unsuccessful.⁵ Powder was manufactured in large quantities, which in its turn gave rise to the saltpeter industry.

Brewing was an important industry, beer being the favorite beverage of the time, and every city had its brewery. Certain rules were prescribed for the manufacture of beer and names were given in accordance to its strength as *spisöl*, *fogdeöl*, *svenneöl*, *sötöl*, etc.⁶

Ship-building received a new impetus after 1611. The Swedish navy and merchant marine had fallen in importance since the time of the great Vasa; but with Gustavus Adolphus begins a new era, due to the wars and the increased commerce. Ships were built in the native harbors and others were bought from Holland, while officers for the vessels and carpenters for the shipyards were hired abroad, largely in Holland. The results were soon to be seen. Stockholm, which in 1611 was without a single ship,⁷ possessed 49 vessels in 1651, Gothenburg, in the same year, had 18 and in 1654 the staple towns owned 1,000 ships and Gothenburg alone 147.⁸

⁵ Cf. R.R. April 3, 1640.

⁶ Cf. Chaps. XXXIII., XLIII., below, and Sillén, IV. 137 ff.

⁷ If the statement in the histories is correct.

⁸ Carlson, *Hist.*, I. 79-80; Zettersten, I. 51, etc.; II. 190 ff., 563 ff.

Shipbuilding tended to develop other industries. Lumber, nails, bolts and ship materials of every kind were needed at the shipyards and the new ships wanted sails, cords, anchors, masts, and the like. In each case the Swedish statesmen and leaders of industry tried to provide these things without going abroad for what could be made at home. Rope-walks were established in Stockholm, at Västervik and other places; sail cloth was manufactured at Stockholm and was also bought in large quantities from the peasants of northern Sweden, who were skillful in weaving and other home-works; anchors, nails and iron articles necessary for shipbuilding were either made in Stockholm at the factories of the government, or bought from private parties in Sweden; masts were cut in the forests of northern Sweden, and planks, boards and such materials were secured from the saw-mills of the various provinces.⁹

Agriculture was the most important industry and there was a large export of grain, except in years of famine and failure of crops, over 1,600,000 bushels being exported in the years 1637-1642.¹⁰ Great efforts were also made to improve the industry. German and Dutch farmers were invited to Sweden to teach the Swedes better methods of farming and introduce new species of grain and new breeds of cattle and sheep, and German and Dutch sheep were imported, which the peasants were compelled to exchange for their own. The dairy industry was also fostered by the government. Dutch farmers skilled in butter and cheese making were induced to settle near Gothenburg and at other places, and from them the Swedish peasants learned new and better methods.¹¹ Despite all these efforts the agriculture of Sweden and Finland declined or did not make very great advancement during this period. The continual conscriptions removed large numbers of the farming class, and hundreds of farms were left untilled on account of the wars. The govern-

⁹ Zettersten, *Sv. flot. hist.*, I. 212 ff.; II. 300 ff. For manufacture in Sweden in the beginning of the seventeenth century cf. *Hist. Tid.*, V. p. 1 ff.; Sillén, 22 ff., 118 ff., 137 ff.

¹⁰ "Over 400,000 tunnor." Carlson, *Hist.*, I. 56.

¹¹ Sillén, IV. 84, 97, etc.

ment tried to remedy this by giving freedom from taxes for a number of years and other privileges to those who took possession of deserted homesteads, but not always with great success.¹²

The government's policy of favoring the cities at the expense of the country was one of the obstacles to the prosperity of the farming communities. The spirit of the age was commercial. It was thought cities alone could trade to advantage, and as it was an aid to the custom service to have the trade concentrated at a few points, laws were made to favor the cities. The country people were allowed to trade with the cities only, all trade among themselves or in the country being forbidden, and goods shipped to foreign ports must first be sent to the staple towns, which were given special privileges.

Many new towns were founded. Farmers, mechanics and skilled workmen were often ordered to remove to cities or towns. In case of refusal they were pressed into military service or their homes were demolished and they were carried by force into the cities. By these stringent means, many cities became prosperous and increased in population, aiding industry and commerce.¹³

¹² For deserted farms in Finland and Sweden see *Hist. Arkisto*, V. 32-36. *De la Gard. Arch.*, VI. 141 ff., 192. Poor crops were common. *Sillén*, IV. 84 ff.

¹³ Cf. *Sillén*, IV. 120 ff., 186 ff.; *Hist. Tid.*, II. 29-66. *Stiernman, Kungl. br. stadg. o. förord.*, II. 57 ff.

CHAPTER VI.

COMMERCE AND TRADE.

The government naturally paid much attention to means of communication. Country roads, canals and other inland waterways were the highways of domestic commerce and of immense importance in the transportation of troops and munitions of war. The old country roads were greatly improved, new roads were constructed into the northern provinces and even into the borders of Russia, and soon Sweden had one of the best systems of roads in Europe.

When Whitelocke made his long journey from Gothenburg to Stockholm in 1654 he could write:

The way was very good, and it was very much to the cheering of Whitelocke and his company, in so long a journey, a time of so much hard weather, and where other accommodations were wanting, to find generally so good highways . . .¹ Hardly any other country affords better ways than these, though in some places very mountainous, and several desperate precipices down to great lakes, and but a very narrow track to pass there, and with great danger. But generally the ways are hard and even, and if at any time broken, the particular officers for that purpose do summon the inhabitants, and forthwith cause the ways to be sufficiently repaired. In low places they use to cast up a causeway, large and high in the middle, with a sloping and fall on each side, where they make ditches to receive the water, which falls from either side of the causeway into them; and the way is filled with stones, yet even, and in places which require it conveyances are made with trunks of timber, laid cross the way underground, to pass the water and keep the way from bogs. . . .

¹ The statement in Jameson's *Usselinx*, p. 193, Carlson's *Hist.*, I. 84, and one or two other places, that the roads were poor and that "Whitelocke's men found them so bad that they nearly mutinied," hardly agrees with the above quotation. The cause of the dissatisfaction was poor food and accommodations, rather than poor roads.

Their officers for the highways are not like ours in England, where two poor men in every parish are chosen for overseers of them, who favoring their neighbors and themselves more than intending the business, seldom do much good in it; but these Swedish officers are constant for that service, and like the Romans' *curatores viarum publicarum*, have the charge and care of looking to the public ways that they be kept in repair, and upon any default presently amended; for which end they have power to cause the inhabitants in their precincts who are fit to work that they labor in their persons, and others to contribute by their purses."²

An extensive system of canals was proposed for Finland and Sweden. As early as 1629 the construction of the Hieltmare Canal was begun and it was ready for traffic in 1640³ and a number of other canals and water ways were projected and in some cases executed in this period.⁴

Regular communication of news from foreign countries at short intervals became a necessity in the beginning of the seventeenth century, and correspondents were appointed at various important centers, Englishmen, Hollanders, Germans, Frenchmen and even Italians being induced to enter Swedish service before a sufficient number of trained Swedes could be found for such posts. Out of this institution grew the post-office, and as early as the summer of 1620 a regular postal service once a week was established between Hamburg and Stockholm.⁵ The mail service continued with a few breaks until 1636, when "the post-office within the country . . . was extended to 'all the provinces' in the whole kingdom of Sweden." In 1642-3 the system was reorganized and Johan Beier, the treasurer of the New Sweden Company, was made postmaster general. Several changes were made from time to time, but Beier remained in the service until 1654. The postal service

² Whitelocke, *Embassy*, I. 204 ff.

³ This at a time when England did not possess a single canal.

⁴ Carlson, *Hist.*, I. 84; Odhner, *Sv. in. hist.*, 258 ff.; Sillén, IV. 11 ff.; *Oxenstiernas Skrifter*, 2, XI. 60; Styffe, *Om Sveriges kanalbyggnader*, m. m.

⁵ For the history of the Swedish Post-office in 1620-62 see Holm, *Sv. allm. postv.*, I.-II.; *Sv. postv. ålder*, 1 ff.; Odhner, *Sv. in. hist.*, 255 ff.

was of great importance for the Swedish commerce, as the trading companies, merchants and others, interested in the foreign markets, could now obtain correct information about prices and the movements of ships.⁶

The home trade attained large proportions in the seventeenth century, money playing a larger rôle than before, and it passed more from foreigners into the hands of native merchants,⁷ complaints even being made that too many people left their farms and became traders.⁸

The export and import trade also increased greatly. A large percentage of Swedish shipping was in the hands of foreigners, as we have seen, but the government encouraged shipbuilding and the increase of shipping through favors and privileges, reduction in duty on goods carried on Swedish vessels, etc., and the tonnage of the Swedish merchant marine increased over a hundredfold in the years 1611 to 1660. Swedish ships went to England, Holland, Spain, Portugal, Russia and practically every port in Europe, Barbadoes,⁹ the Canaries and to America and Africa. The principal articles of export were masts, lumber, grain, copper, iron ore, cannon and other implements of war. The incoming cargoes consisted of shoes, cloth, salt, tobacco and articles of luxury.¹⁰

Drafts were used very extensively at this time. Insurance was also common and both ships and cargoes were often insured against loss. Agents for the buying and selling of goods and ships were much employed and they were paid a salary or a certain brokerage.¹¹

⁶ For Swedish correspondents in foreign countries see *Rådspr.*, II. 9, 41, 46, 50, 57, 63, etc.; III. and following volumes. Cf. *Hist. Tid.*, 1884, p. 155 ff.

⁷ A large number of foreign names meet us among the merchants in the cities as late as 1650, however.

⁸ Some restrictions were later imposed.

⁹ In 1665 Leijonberg applied for permission from the English authorities for four Swedish ships (*St. Peter*, *St. Hop*, *Konung Carl*, *Chistina*) to sail to Barbadoes and trade there. *State Papers, For., Sweden*, No. 5, 1639-65. Pub. Rec. Office.

¹⁰ Sillén, IV. 198, 221 ff.; Stiernman, *Kungl. br. stadg. o. förord.*, II. 144 ff., 192 ff., 232 ff., 247 ff., 466 ff., 508, 567, etc. (Lists of articles and the duties on them are given there.)

¹¹ *Journal*, N. S., III. (K.A.); Odhner, *Sv. in. hist.*; Sillén, IV.; Rising, *Köphand.*, etc.; Whitelocke, *Swedish Embassy*.



Riksdaler, 1641.



Riksdaler, 1647.



Ore, 1638.

The money used in the business transactions of the company (and in Sweden in general at the time) was the Riksdaler (*R.D.* rixdollar), the Daler (*D.*) and the Florijn (*fl.* florin) or Gulden (*gl.* guilder, sometimes gold-gulden).¹² The *Riksdaler* was divided into 48 skilling (shillings) and a skilling into 4 styfver¹³ (Dutch stuiver). The *Daler* was divided into 32 öre, the öre being further divided. The (Dutch) *Florijn* so largely used as a standard of value in the colony and in hiring sailors for the expeditions in Sweden or Holland was divided into 20 stuivers (penny). A stuiver was worth about, or little more than, 2 cents. Hence a *Florijn* would be worth from 40 to 45 cents or, in round numbers, half a dollar of our money. A Swedish *Riksdaler* was worth $2\frac{1}{2}$ *Florijn*, varying somewhat at times, and a *Daler* was valued at $\frac{2}{3}$ *Riksdaler*, that is a *Riksdaler* was one and a half *Daler*.¹⁴ Hence a *Riksdaler* equalled about \$1.20 or \$1.25 of American money, and a *Daler* was worth about 80 cents.¹⁵ This *Daler* was called the silver Dollar to distinguish it from the copper money,¹⁶ which was used to a large extent. The copper money (Swedish k.m.) was of less value than the silver money, a *Daler* silver money in 1643, being worth $2\frac{1}{2}$ *Daler* copper money.¹⁷ The *Riksdaler*, the *Florijn* and the copper money were always reduced to *Dalers* silver money in the official journal of the company, and the salaries of the officers in the employ of the company in Sweden were paid in "Daler s.m."¹⁸

The Swedish weights and measures used in the colony and

¹² The florijn or guilder was the Dutch coin and whenever this was used in Sweden it was reduced to Rixdollars or Dalers. See *Journal*, N. S., III. (K.A.) and bills in *Söderk.*, 1637-5 (R.A.).

¹³ These were of course not the same as the English and Dutch money of the same name.

¹⁴ See *Journal*, N. S., III. (K.A.) and bills in *Söderk.*, 1637-5 (R.A.).

¹⁵ To get the real values we must multiply these sums by about five, making the *Riksdaler* worth about \$6, the *Daler* about \$4 and the florin about \$2.25.

¹⁶ The designations were *D. s. m.* (*Daler* silver money) *R.D.*; *D. k. m.* (*Daler* copper money).

¹⁷ See *Nordisk Familjeb.*, article *Daler*. Soldiers were often paid part of their salaries in copper money before going to America.

¹⁸ See *Journal*. "Tunna guld" (= 25,000 kronor or about \$7,000) was sometimes used.

by the company in Europe were the *aln*, "about twenty Swedish decimal inches" or nearly two English feet,¹⁹ the *fot* (ten inches, a Swedish inch being .9714 Eng. in.), nearly equal to the English foot,²⁰ the *famn* (German and Dutch *Faden*), about one and nine-tenths of a yard;²¹ the *Swedish mil*,²² a little over six and a half English miles in length; the *German common mile*, which was about four and six-tenths English miles;²³ the *tunnland*, a piece of ground a little over an acre in size;²⁴ the *tunna* (barrel) for measuring grain and the like, containing 54 *kannor* or 6 *skäppor* (bushels); the *ankare*, a measure with the capacity of about ten gallons;²⁵ the *fat*, somewhat larger than the *Swedish tunna*, which contained about 33 gallons or 48 *Swedish kannor*, a *kanna* being somewhat more than two quarts English measure; the *stop*, about a quart and a half; the *lispund* about 18½ English²⁶ lbs.; the Swedish *pund* or the *skålpund*, a little less than the English lb.²⁷ and the Dutch lb. which was ten per cent. heavier than the Swedish lb.; the *skeppund* (varying) generally contained 400 Swedish lbs., depending on the articles weighed, and finally the *last*, representing the tonnage of a ship, was about two tons²⁸ or a little more.²⁹

¹⁹ A Swedish foot was divided into ten "decimal inches." A Swedish *aln* was not therefore as is commonly stated (even Björkman, p. 42) the same as the English yard. See Falkman, *Om mått.*, etc., II. 83 ff. According to Alexander, *Weights and Measures*, etc., p. 2, the modern Swedish *aln* is .64763 yard.

²⁰ A Swedish foot was about 11.65 inches.

²¹ A Swedish *famn* was about 1.94 yds.; the Dutch was a little shorter, about 1.85 yds.

²² A Swedish mile of that period was longer than the modern Swedish mile, being 18,000 *alnar* or "36,000 *pedibus*" or about 6.62 English miles.

²³ "In Saxony a mile is 4,000 paces, in other places in Germany 5,000 paces." A pace was 5 feet, hence a common German mile was 25,000 ft. or about 4.615 English miles (*Lex Mercatoria*, p. 40).

²⁴ Called *tunnland* from the fact that land was sometimes measured by the number of *tunnor* (barrels) that could be sown on a piece of ground. A *tunnland* was to be 14,000 *square alnar* in 1643.

²⁵ The old *ankare* was larger than the modern one.

²⁶ The Swedish *lispund* contained 20 Swedish lbs.

²⁷ About 425/454 of an Eng. lb.

²⁸ "The *Last* which is two Tonnes lading" (*Lex Mercatoria*, p. 34).

²⁹ Cf. *Journal*, N. S., III. (K.A.); Falkman, *Om mått och vikt i Sverige*, Part 2; Alexander, *Univ. Dic. of Weights and Measures*; Björkman, *Ordbok*; Klimpert, *Lexikon der Münzen, Masse und Gewichte*, etc.

The old Julian calendar was used in Sweden and in New Sweden, being ten days earlier than the Dutch calendar of this period and that of the present day. The English—we shall meet their method of designating time in the following pages—began their year on March 25.³⁰ In other respects their time was the same as that of the Swedes,³¹ the only chance for confusion being that the first two months of the Swedish year were the last two months of the English.

It was an age of combinations and societies. Merchants were restricted by law to the handling of but one article of trade, except by special permission. They belonged to certain privileged societies, according to their particular trade, and on festive occasions they wore uniforms as marks of distinction. The master workers of practically all trades were divided into guilds and corporations, which were very exclusive and guarded with the greatest jealousy against the intrusion of "outsiders." "In Sweden," said Klas Fleming, "a person may by chance become king, but to become a tanner is impossible." As time went on, however, the restrictions were to some extent removed.³²

³⁰ The English often employed first, second and third month, etc. Hence when they wrote March 23, 1644, it was Mar. 23, 1645, according to the Swedish calendar, and April 2, 1645, according to the Dutch—written by the English 1 mo. 23, 1644½.

³¹ Cf. Goldscheider, *Über die Einf. des n. Kalenders in Dän. und Schw.* (Berlin, 1898).

³² Odhner, *Sw. in. hist.*, 275; Sillén, IV. 133 ff.; *De la Gard. Arch.*, X. 204 ff.

CHAPTER VII.

THE AFRICAN COMPANY AND THE MINOR TRADING SOCIETIES, 1607-1663.

It was preëminently the age of commercial companies. Christian II. of Denmark (1481-1559), who was also for a time king of Sweden, was perhaps the first to suggest a trading company for the north. Seeking means for checking the power of the Hansa League, like Gustaf Vasa after him, he proposed to found a large company, which should include all northern Europe. The company was to appoint agents in foreign countries and four principal factories were to be established, one in Copenhagen, a second in Stockholm, a third on the Russian boundary and a "fourth in the western countries." It was a great idea, and if carried out would undoubtedly have become of immense importance to the three northern countries, which were just then awakening to national consciousness and securing a place among the civilized nations of Europe. The time was perhaps not ripe for such a scheme. At any event political complications killed the plan in its inception,¹ and years passed before a trading society was established in the Scandinavian countries.

The first successful trading company of the north was organized in Denmark in 1616.² Combinations of this kind were early planned in Sweden also, and in 1607 a commercial

¹ Sillén, V. 23; *Dansk Biog. Lex.*, III. 481 ff.

² In 1602 the Iceland Company was established; in 1616 a Greenland Company; in 1636 a "Genian Company" and an "East India Company," etc.; in all about fifteen companies were founded in Denmark at this time. See Barfod, p. 694. Morris is mistaken in stating that the Dutchman Boscover founded the Danish East India Company. Gjedde had already decided to send some ships to the East Indies when Boscover arrived in Denmark. Barfod, 1594 ff.; Morris, II. 282 ff. Cf. the large number of companies founded in England, Holland and France in this and in the preceding century.

company was chartered at Gothenburg for the purpose of conducting an extensive trade.³

A general trading company was founded in 1615. The charter was to be in force for ten years, it was to be managed by a governor, assisted by directors, and Stockholm was to be its main office; it could hire, buy and sell ships; it could carry on foreign trade and erect warehouses; it was free from all taxes in 1615, and for the following three years it should pay no import duty and only one fourth of the usual export duty, but after that it should pay half of the ordinary rate of each. Abraham Cabeliau⁴ was appointed general director or governor and the King promised to recommend the company and assist it with ships and money.⁵

Again in the summer of 1619 it was decided to organize a commercial company, which was given a monopoly of the foreign copper trade and granted privileges to buy and sell all kinds of merchandise. The inhabitants of the kingdom were invited to join by contributing 100 D. and upwards before January 11, the following year; but the scheme failed.⁶ From 1620 to 1626 a copper company, an iron company and a Persian company were chartered. The copper company was the most important and did a large business, but, being badly managed, it ran into heavy debts and was soon dissolved. A new company was founded in 1636 but this had as little success as the first.⁷ In the spring of 1626 still another trading company was established by Gustavus Adolphus (probably) at Riga for the benefit of the Finnish and Livonian trade.⁸ In 1629 plans were

³ Sillén, IV. 153; Stiernman, I. 538. ("Patent," etc., in German, dated Sept. 8, 1607.)

⁴ For him see below.

⁵ Stiernman, I. 660 ff.

⁶ Stiernman, I. 708 ff., Hallenberg, V. 191 ff.

⁷ A large number of letters concerning the company in R.R. See Jan. 8, 9, Mar. 14, etc., 1636, etc. Sillén, IV. 114 ff.; Odhner, *Sv. in. hist.*, 242 ff. See also the letters of Spiring to A. Oxenstierna, and *Oxenstiernas Skrifter*, 2, XI. 536 ff.; *Handl. rör. Skan. Hist.*, XXIX. 26 ff., 204 ff., 277 ff.; XXXVII. 148 ff.; XXXVIII. 204 ff.; *Kam. Reg.*, 1636, etc. (K.A.).

⁸ De Nieuwe Comp:ie die men voor heeft in Lyflandt op te rechten, etc. Usselinx. (spring), 1626. See Jameson, p. 144 and note 190. On May 1, 1626, the town council of Riga thanked the king for the recent decree, issued by him, establishing the company.

on foot for founding a colonizing company in Holland, which should settle large tracts of land in Swedish Livonia, but privileges were not granted. A company on a smaller scale was organized, however, and an expedition was sent from Holland the same year with colonists and supplies. The venture was of limited success and the company was soon discontinued, leading, as was usual in such cases, to complaints and lawsuits.⁹

A so-called French company was formed the same year (1629?) for trade with Russia through the efforts of the French sea captain, Abraham de Quesne, who was given special privileges by the King. The government supplied some of the capital, but the undertaking led to small results and it was abandoned in 1633 or soon after that year. A Russian company was later formed, but it was without success.¹⁰

In 1630 the "English Eastland Company at Danzig" applied for a renewal of its privileges at Elbing. The king promised to grant the request and Oxenstierna sent a number of articles and proposals in answer to the company's solicitations.¹¹

Two years later plans were made by the Duke of Holstein for the formation of a large trading company in connection with Sweden which should bring the valuable merchandise of silk, spices and the like from India and Persia across the country to Nyen and Narva and from there to Holstein. Embassies were sent to Russia and Persia and privileges were granted by Sweden, but nothing but expense came out of it.¹²

In the spring of 1635 some English merchants at Gothenburg sent representatives to the Council of State with an application for the privilege of establishing a commercial company. Fleming favored the plan, but final agreements were postponed,

⁹ See Öhlander, *Bidrag*, etc., p. 34 ff., 95 ff.

¹⁰ Odhner, *Sv. in. hist.*, 294; Öhlander, *Bidrag till kän. om Ingerm.*, etc., p. 92 ff.

¹¹ Copy of letter to A. Oxenstierna, Aug. 16(26), 1630; Oxenstiernas Memorial, dated Elbing, Feb. 27, 1631, cop. of his Maj:s letter, etc., 1631, *State Papers, For., Sweden*, No. 3, 1629(7)—32. *Pub. Rec. Office*, London. As early as Feb., 1600, Charles IX. offered privileges to English merchants. Copy in *State Papers, For., No. I. Pub. Rec. Office.*

¹² *Rådspr.*, III. 121, 184; Öhlander, *Bidrag*, etc., 97 ff.

due to the absence of the chancellor. In the autumn the English commissioners were again at Stockholm. In August they appeared before the council and presented a memorial and probably a draft for a charter. The council, thinking that Sweden would be greatly benefited by the company, granted many of the privileges and freedoms that were requested¹³ and wrote to the magistrates at Gothenburg concerning the affair and the place for a storehouse, which the company was under obligation to build. The company, however, soon misused its privileges and, having become indebted to the Crown, it was dissolved in 1639 and its storehouse was confiscated.¹⁴

In the autumn of 1636 Alexander Forbes was sent to Sweden to establish more intimate commercial relations with that country and England and to present plans, as it would seem, for a cloth company with a factory at Gothenburg for the purpose of monopolizing the cloth trade in the Baltic "and drawing off the trade from Archangel."¹⁵

A salt company was formed in 1641, which received special privileges, being permitted to import salt from Portugal into certain cities duty-free.¹⁶

In 1642-4 "some prominent merchants in Amsterdam requested . . . privileges from Her Royal Majesty for the erection of a West-Indian Company in Gothenburg," and an *extract* of the charter was sent to Oxenstierna.¹⁷

About the same time (probably in 1642) a hemp company was formed at Riga. It was apparently successful, but some

¹³ The company had a right to trade in Sweden as well as in foreign countries.

¹⁴ R.R. Aug. 18, 1635, fol. 749 f.; *Rådspr.*, V. 69, 132 ff.; VI. 776-7; VII. 526.

¹⁵ *Rådspr.*, VI. 771 ff. Cf. Öhlander, *Bidrag*, etc., 103.

¹⁶ Sillén, IV. 50. "Privileges for the Spanish salt-trade" were issued at Stockholm in Dec., 1638. Stiernman, *Kungl. br. stadg. o. förord.*, II. 202 ff. An open letter for salt companies in Gothenburg was issued by the government in 1650. Stiernman, *Kungl. bref*, etc., II. 628 ff.

¹⁷ "Extract off Privile., som någre förnæmlige Kiöpmän i Amsterdam," etc. No date but from internal evidence it can be determined that it was written in or after 1642. Two copies, one with marginal references to the D.W. India Co. (no date) in *Västind. komp.* (R.A.); the other (no date) in *Oxenstiernska Saml.* (R.A.).

Holland merchants, who had been admitted, changed its character, causing Riga to send representatives to Stockholm in the summer of 1643, praying for the "discontinuation of the trading company" since "the citizens had little benefit" from it.¹⁸

In 1646-7 plans were made for the formation of a new ship company and the Council of State discussed the practicability of the scheme. Prominent merchants were asked to contribute and De Geer wrote in 1647 that he would not fail to aid the undertaking according to his means.¹⁹ In 1648 the company was fully organized, *privileges* being given to it by the government in the beginning of 1649, and about the same time the Royal Copy Book states that the newly organized ship company intended to equip two warships for commercial voyages.²⁰ In April of the same year, the company was given freedom from duty on sails and all articles necessary for the equipment of its ships.²¹ In March, 1652, the Queen proposed that the capital of the company should be employed in the service of the New Sweden Company or that the two should be joined, but the chancellor objected to this and the two companies remained separate. It had a long existence, and traded in coal and other articles. This company was sometimes called the "Large Västerviks Company" to distinguish it from "The Little Västerviks Company" which did business during this period.²²

A tar company was founded in 1648 which became of great importance and was reorganized several times. The following year another tar company was established on the island

¹⁸ R.R. Jan. 31, June 3, *Rådspr.*, IX. 318; X.

¹⁹ De Geer to A. Oxenstierna, July 15, 1647. Kernkamp, *Zweed. Arch.*, p. 304. This is not the Old South-Ship Company as Professor Kernkamp thinks.

²⁰ There is some uncertainty in the mind of the author as to the above. It is possible that we have two different projects to deal with. Cf. Zettersten, *Sv. flot. hist.*, II. 191, and R.R. Jan. 19, 1649, but being away from the sources the writer is unable to go into the subject any further.

²¹ R.R. Jan. 19, 1649, April 26, 1649. Stiernman, *Kungl. bref*, etc., II. 575.

²² *Am. Reg.*, 1649 (Fl. Ar.). Till Johan Lejonberg för Västerviksskepskomp., April 10, 1675, R.R. fol. 769. Com. Col. skrif. till Kungl. Maj., July 21, 1657 (R.A.). Wieselgren, *De la Gard. Arch.*, X. p. 178 ff.; Zettersten, *Sv. flot. hist.*, II. p. 191.

of Gothland and a wood company was given privileges about the same time.²³

The Delaware Colony was not the only settlement made by Sweden in this period. In 1647 a Swedish African Company²⁴ was organized for the purpose of trade and territorial acquisition²⁵ and a charter was given to it about two years later.²⁶ Johan Beier, Oxenstierna and other members and officers of the New Sweden Company finally joined the African association and Hans Kramer, the bookkeeper of the former company also became bookkeeper of the latter. A ship was sent to the "Gold Coast" in 1648, land was bought from the natives, several forts and factories were erected and a profitable trade was begun. The company also traded with slaves and efforts were made to extend the trade to America. The capital stock was relatively large and tended to divert money from the treasury of the New Sweden Company. The colony came under Danish and Dutch rule for a short period, was reoccupied by Sweden and captured by the Dutch in 1663.²⁷

²³ *Hist. Bibl.*, VII. 289 ff.; Sillén, IV. 113 ff.; R.R.; Carlson, *Hist.*, I. 76 ff.; Stiernman, *Kungl. bref*, etc., II. 608 ff. In the *Diarium* to R.R. the date given for the privileges of the *Gothland Tar Company* is Dec. 12, 1649, but in Stiernman it is printed correctly as Nov. 22, 1649.

²⁴ There is no good account of this company. Granlund's *En svensk koloni i Afrika* is incomplete and biased.

²⁵ Granlund, however, thinks that the company was not founded before 1649. *En sv. koloni*, p. 7. But it does not follow that the company was not organized before the "Privileges" were given.

²⁶ The *Octroy* is dated Dec. 15, 1649 R.R.; Stiernman, II. 615; Acrelius erroneously assigns this document to the New Sweden Company. *Beskr.*, etc., p. 34, note (a).

²⁷ For documents concerning the African Company not made use of by Granlund, see K. Koll. Reg. 1657, fol. 165, 167 (Nov. 26); fol. 174, 176, Aug. 12 (6); 1654, fol. 118 ff.; Nov. 29, 1654, fol. 137, etc. Also in K. Kol. Prot; Trotzig to de la Gardie, Sept. 18, 1666, and other letters, *Rådspr.*, 1647; Oct. Dec., 1649, p. 619, etc.; and other documents in *Kam. Ar.* Wieselgren, *De la Gard. Arch.*, X. 182, and Bibliography below.

Also documents in the archives at Copenhagen, at Upsala, at the Hague and at London.

In the summer of 1906 the author examined a bundle of papers from *Kom. Kol.* concerning this company, but they could not be found again in 1909.

For other plans of Swedish colonization see Högström, E.O.E., *S. Barthelemy under sv. väld* (not a very satisfactory work); Dahlman, Sven, *Beskr. om S. Barthelemy*, etc.; *Nordisk familjeb.*, X. 543; Wachtmeister, Hans, *Om Sveriges*

In the autumn of 1651 a *Northern Company* was organized, which seems to have conducted trade with foreign ports.²⁸

In 1652 privileges were granted to Daniel Junge²⁹ and four others for the establishment of a "*Fish-company* according to the use and manner which was customary in Hamburg and other commercial cities on the Baltic Sea."³⁰

A new *Russian Company* was organized in 1653 through Pierre Terreau, and Nils Nilsson, Nils Skunck, Truls Kåhre and a large number of others became stockholders. Terreau was appointed factor. The first trading expedition was successful, giving a dividend of 25 per cent. "which was added to the capital (38,000 R.D.)." The second expedition, however, ruined the company. A large quantity of rhubarb was purchased from Czar Alexis Michaelivitsch, but it seems that fraud was practiced both by the Czar and Terreau and the company came to an end in a few years, although lawsuits and litigation about the transactions were instituted in Holland, Germany and Sweden as late as 1672.³¹

Planer och Åtgärder rörande Sjörof. på Madagascar (about the plans of Swedish colonization and occupation of Madagascar); for *New Sweden in South America*, see *Nya Sverige i Södra Amerika*, etc. (no author given), Stockh., 1841; Hildebrand, *Den sv. legenden i Guiana, Hist. Tid.*, 1899, p. 71 ff.; Edmundson, G., *Eng. Hist. Review*.

²⁸ It owned at least one ship *Härnösand*. R.R. Aug. 26, 1651; Oct. 8, 1652, etc.

²⁹ Who later became director of the American Company.

³⁰ Stiernman, *Kungl. bref.*, etc., II. 682 ff. (dated Mar. 4, 1652). Cf. Starbäck, *Berät.*, V. 556.

³¹ Wieselgren, *De la Gard. Arch.*, X. p. 176 ff.

³² In 1665 a scheme for a large English-Swedish trading company was conceived by some English merchants and a charter was drafted. The company should consist of Englishmen and Swedes, with equal privileges in both countries; the capital of the company should be placed at from £200,000 to £260,000, one third to be furnished by the Swedish stockholders, either in goods or money; a number of directors, chosen by both nations "to rule the trade," should constitute a college and Englishmen and Swedes should preside alternately at the meetings; the whole trade of the kingdom of Sweden should be in the hands of the company and all goods in Sweden such as tar, masts, iron, copper, grain, etc., should be exchanged for "the commodities and manufactures of England and the East Indies or other southern parts" at a certain price to be agreed upon, but if the balance of trade was in Sweden's favor, the company should pay the difference in cash; no new mills or iron furnaces should be erected in Sweden during the existence of the charter without consent of the

The above is not a complete list of the companies organized or planned in Sweden during this period, but those that have been mentioned will give us an idea of the great activity along these lines.³²

company; only Swedish and English vessels should be used and one third of the goods should be carried in Swedish ships.

A copy of the charter was delivered by Lord Arlington to H. Coventry at Stockholm on May 31, 1665, for presentation to the Swedish government. It was referred to Count Leijonberg, the Swedish ambassador to England, who inserted "his private observations and sentiments touching these articles," and returned the charter. It was an ambitious plan, not unlike that proposed by Willem Usselinx, a quarter of a century before, but to monopolize the Swedish trade by one company, would have required, even in 1665, a larger capital than it was possible to raise. Leijonberg, observing this and making other objections to the charter, did not favor the plan and nothing seems to have come out of it.

In the draft of the charter are answers to these objections by some Englishman.

Copy of the paper delivered by Lord Arlington to Mr. H. Coventry at Stockholm, May 31, 1665; "Paper del. to me by Mr. Vice Chamberlain from Mr. H. Coventry," etc. *State Papers, For., Sweden, No. 5, 1639-65*, Public Record Office, London; another copy in *Treaty Papers, 1618-72, No. 69*, P.R. Office, London.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE SOUTH COMPANY, 1624-1630.

We must now revert to the year 1624, to the founding and progress of the *South Company*, which stands in closer relation to the New Sweden Company than any of the other schemes of trade and colonization. Willem Usselinx, the famous founder of the Dutch West India Company, failing to receive "what he thought to be his just dues" in his native land, after several rebuffs and disappointments, left Holland in the beginning of 1623, with the avowed purpose of going to Danzig to enter the service "of several Dutch mercantile houses." On his way, however, he wished to visit Glyckstadt, Gothenburg, Copenhagen and two or three other commercial cities in the north. At Copenhagen he was introduced to the King by Christian Fries and received offers from His Majesty to enter Danish service. But he determined to see Gothenburg and left for that city soon afterwards.¹ The young king of Sweden through his brilliant campaigns against Poland, had attracted the attention of Europe and the success of the Swedish arms in Russia had spread his fame far and wide.² Hundreds of Hollanders had settled in Sweden; many of them entered Swedish service and rose to positions of distinction and honor.³ May we not therefore suppose that Usselinx had some faint hope of finding Sweden a more propitious place for the furtherance of his plans than the ungrateful republic on the Zuyder Zee, and King Gustavus Adolphus a more ardent supporter and a more liberal

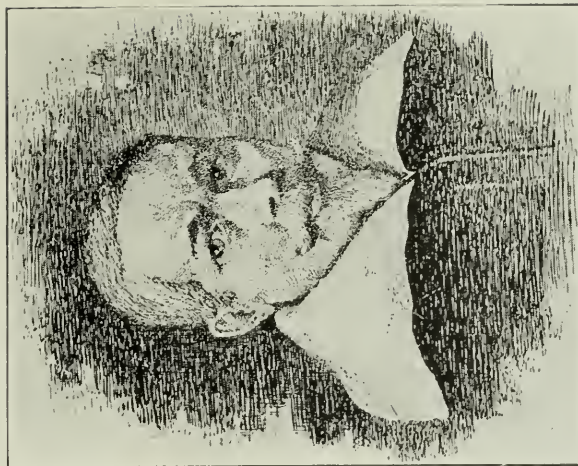
¹ Jameson, p. 83 ff.

² For the struggle in Russia see Geijer, III. 76 ff.; Cronholm, I. 194 ff.; and for the Swedish-Polish campaigns, see Geijer, III. 82 ff.; Cronholm, I. 287 ff. Cf. Chapter I.

³ Such men were Van Dijck, Cabeliau, Welshuisen, Blommaert, Spiring, Erick von der Linde and others.



King Charles I. of England, said to have granted
 "his rights to the Delaware" to Sweden. (See
 p. 175ff.)



Willem Usselinx. From Avery's *Hist. of the*
U. S.

patron than the States General?⁴ Events were favorable to his schemes. Gustavus Adolphus was now (in the autumn of 1624) in Sweden and he had opportunity for thinking of internal affairs. About the time of Usselinx's arrival at Gothenburg, the King was expected in the city also. Usselinx was persuaded by two friends (and we may feel sure that it was not hard to persuade him) to remain there until the King came and to apply for an audience with his majesty. The audience was obtained towards the end of October or in the beginning of November.⁵ It lasted for six hours and Usselinx found time to explain fully his schemes and the great advantages Sweden could reap from them. Memorials and expositions were later presented, setting forth in more definite and compact form the ideas that had been considered at the audience. Trading companies as we have seen were no new ideas to the King. The proposals therefore found in him a willing supporter and he made the great projector offers of service and of freedom to carry out his plans in Sweden.⁶ Usselinx, thinking that he had now found a field for his activities, accepted the offers and at once set about to launch his schemes. On November 4, his draft of the charter was ready, a few days later the prospectus of the company was issued,⁷ and on December 21, 1624, the King gave "commission to Willem Usselinx to establish a General Trading Company⁸ for Asia, Africa, America and Magel-

⁴ Professor Jameson (p. 89) suggests that Usselinx might have gone to Copenhagen with the purpose of laying his plans before the Danish King.

⁵ Geijer, III. 93. I am informed in a letter from Dr. Theodor Westrin, of the Royal Archives, that Gustavus Adolphus was at Elfsborg and in Gothenburg between Oct. 17 and Nov. 5, 1624 (or Oct. 27–Nov. 15).

⁶ See Jameson, p. 91 ff.

⁷ The prospectus set forth the great advantages to be derived by the subscribers and the country at large. See copy in Usselinx Mss., No. 2, Penn. Hist. So.; Doc., XII. p. 1 ff.

⁸ It was generally called *The South Company* (Söderkompaniet), but various other names were used, as the *General Trading-Company* (General Handelskompaniet), *The Indian Company* (Indiska Companiet; Indianska Compagniet), *The Southern Company* (Söderländska Komp.), *East Indian Company* (Ostindiska Komp.), *The Sea-trading Company* (Sjöhandelsk.), *The Sea-Company* (Sjö-komp.), or simply the *Trading Company* (Handelskomp.), *The General Company* (Generalkomp.), *The Company* (Komp.). *Rädspr.* I. 54, 75, 96, 155,

lanica."⁹ Usselinx, says the commission, proposed to found a trading company and he had presented such good reasons that the King was led to believe that it would be a great success and that it would bring large gains to the kingdom. On these grounds the commission was issued and the "governors, stateholders, captains, mayors and councils in the cities" and other public servants were commanded to aid and assist the founder in raising subscriptions for the company.¹⁰ Some time later Usselinx printed "The Contract of the General Trading Company of the Kingdom of Sweden . . . with its conditions and terms," again presenting the great advantages of the society and referring to the wealth of Spain and the Netherlands gained through their commercial activities in the New World and claiming that Sweden had as great possibilities and was as well equipped for such a trade as any other country in Europe.¹¹ Although the King greatly favored the scheme and other influential men were interested in it, the project advanced slowly. Usselinx was busy, however. He approached the members of the Supreme Court and obtained promise of contributions from many of the councillors and he suggested to Oxenstierna various ways of furthering the cause. In order to spread the news of their intentions far and wide he made arrangements to have his arguments translated and he had hopes of interesting France in his great scheme.¹² In the summer of 1626, Gustavus Adolphus was again in the capital and on June 6 the charter of privileges of the company (in 37 articles) was signed by the King.¹³ The

166; II. 46, 119, 129; III. 71; IV. 168; V. 277, 281; VI. 21, 354; VIII. 16; letters from Usselinx, *Ox. Saml.*; N.S., I.-II. (R.A.); N.S., I.-II. (K.A.). Cf. Chapter XIII, below.

There was an English South Sea Company in the next century. See Broad-sides, I. 22. By-laws, etc., printed in 1726 by E. Symon.

⁹ R.R. Dec. 21, 1624. Printed at Stockholm. Cf. Jameson, p. 100, note 167.

¹⁰ R.R. Dec. 21, 1624; Jameson, pp. 100-101. See also "Usselinx and the South Company" Mss. copies, No. 4, Penn. Hist. So.

¹¹ Published in Swedish and Dutch. See Jameson, Bib. no. 13, 14.

¹² Usselinx drew up a memorial for C. Banér, who was sent on a diplomatic mission to France. See Jameson, p. 103; Mss. in Penn. Hist. So.

¹³ R.R. June 6, 1626, fol. 332 ff. The printed copy is dated June 14, for what reason is not clear.



Seal of Gustavus Adolphus.

A handwritten signature in cursive script, reading "Gustavus Adolphus", followed by a large, stylized flourish.

Signature of Gustavus Adolphus.

purposes of the company were to establish commercial relations with almost the whole world,¹⁴ outside of Europe, and to make settlements (although a secondary object) on hitherto unoccupied ground, with the hope that the prosperity of Sweden would be largely increased, the Gospel would be spread among uncivilized peoples, and the private shareholder would reap a large gain. "We have maturely considered it," says the charter in the name of the King, "and as far as is in our power we have sought to bring about that the advantages, profits and welfare of our kingdom and of our faithful subjects, as well as the propagation of the Holy Gospel, might be in the highest degree improved and increased by the discovery of additional commercial relations and navigation." The charter was to be in force for twelve years (from May 1, 1627, until May 1, 1639) and during this time the company was given sole right to trade "in Africa, Asia, America and Magellanica or Terra Australia, beginning on the coast of America at the same latitude as . . . [the Strait of Gibraltar] unto the 36th¹⁵ degree" and no one else [from Sweden] was permitted to sail to these parts "nor to any country or island between Africa and America" on pain of confiscation of ships and cargoes. The condition of membership was liberal and foreigners were admitted and given special privileges. March 1, 1627, was the limit set for subscriptions promised in the kingdom, and May 1 for foreign membership (all subscriptions to be paid in four yearly instalments) and after that date no new members would be received and no subscriptions could be withdrawn before the expiration of the charter, except after the end of six years, when the company could be dissolved by a majority vote of the shareholders. The size of the subscriptions was left with the subscribers, but inducements were given to encourage the subscription of large sums, only those contributing 1,000 D. or more having a right to vote for directors, which were to be chosen from among the

¹⁴ A later document says that the King had decided to establish a "General Trading Company which could trade in all places in the world where profit was to be found." Fullm. for Dir. P. Anderson, etc., Mar. 19, 1627. R.R. fol. 103.

¹⁵ Hence not including the Delaware region. Cf. below.

shareholders contributing 2,000 D. or more; cities, countries, towns or individuals, foreigners as well as natives, who invested 100,000 D. had the right to appoint a director,¹⁶ and the sum of 300,000 D. should entitle any country or city to a separate department and to the right of sending out ships in proportion to their invested capital.

The management of the company was minutely provided for. One director (with a salary of 1,000 D.) was to be elected by the majority of the shareholders qualified to vote, or appointed from the eligible members, for every 100,000 D. subscribed. The directors were to hold their office for the term of six years; upon the expiration of this time they were all to be discharged; but at the new election two-thirds of the outgoing directors must be reelected and the other third chosen from the shareholders qualified for the office. Departments or offices of the company were to be established in various places and a certain number of supervisors should be elected for each department to inspect the accounts and deliberate with the directors. The head office was to be at Gothenburg, where each department was to have a director, and from there all ships were to depart. The governing body was to be made up of twelve directors (an additional vote to be held by the King), furnished by each department according to the proportion of its shares in the company,¹⁷ and its duty should be to plan the commercial voyages, to set the price on all arriving goods, to audit accounts and to superintend other business of the company. The place of meeting of the board was to rotate among the departments, beginning with the office holding the largest share of the capital and the next year with the next in order, and so on.

The relation of the company to the Swedish government

¹⁶ They had the right to appoint two if they so desired, but with the salary of one.

¹⁷ Hence, if a department held half of the capital it should send six directors. No account is taken of the fact that the capital may be less than 1,200,000 D., in which case the number of directors would be less than twelve. Usselinx seems to have been so sure of his ability to raise that sum that nothing less was thought of.

and to foreign powers was set forth in several paragraphs. The company was to pay a duty of four per cent. on all exports and imports,¹⁸ but coined or uncoined silver and gold received in payment for merchandise was to be duty free. Besides the duty the government was to receive one fifth of all minerals found in the occupied territories and one tenth of the produce of the cultivated lands in the established colonies,¹⁹ all booty taken by the company from pirates and other enemies was to be used for the defense and protection of the trade, but in the case of the presence of a Swedish man-of-war at the capture of such booty, a certain share was to go to the government. As a compensation the company was to be under the special protection of the government; the King was to appoint a council from among the most prominent shareholders, which, at the expense of the government, was to provide for the building and garrisoning of all fortifications necessary for the protection of the colonies, establish courts of justice, make good laws, appoint governors, commanders and other officers, as well as to settle all difficulties between the colonists and the natives in the occupied districts and all disputes between themselves and the directors, as well as between the departments and the shareholders. The company was also given the right to build its own fortifications as well as cities and castles, it could make treaties with the republics, princes and kings of the countries lying within the scope of the charter. It had a right to defend itself against enemies but could not begin hostilities.²⁰ To compensate Usselix for "his services, trouble and great expense" the company was to pay him one per mill of all goods and merchandise sold and bought as long as the charter was in force.

The charter was soon printed in Swedish and German²¹ (the

¹⁸ The duty should be paid only once for the same goods, and merchandise once paid for could be shipped out of and into the country as often as necessary.

¹⁹ On "tionde" or tithes in Sweden, see E. Hildebrand, *Sv. statsf.* 56, 188, 313. H. Hildebrand, *Sv. Medeltid*, I. 285 ff.; Odhner, *Sv. in. hist.*, p. 235.

²⁰ *Preveligium för Gen. Kiöp. Comp.*, June 6, 1626, R.R. fol. 332 ff. (Copy in Jameson Mss., Penn. Hist. So.); *Arg. Gust.*; *Cronholm*, IV. p. 367 ff.; Acrelius, p. 5 ff.; Hazard, p. 15 ff.; *Adels Riksd.*, I. 2, p. xi.

²¹ A later edition appeared in Dutch at the Hague, see Jameson, *Bib.*

preface being dated July 2, 1626), and Usselinx had high hopes of success. He distributed his books freely to spread knowledge of the company, sending them even to Venice; he urged its reprinting in Germany, and he planned to place a French and a new Dutch version before the public. Subscription was gradually obtained and the council took a hand in the affair.²²

In the beginning of 1627 the business of the company was brought before the diet and on January 31 Usselinx was present at the deliberation of the estate of nobles and his great project was presented to the House by Gabriel Bengtsson Oxenstierna, who explained the advantages to be derived from the same by the private participants and the country at large. The land-marshal answered that the House would take it into consideration, not doubting that the members would be found willing to contribute on the information that had been presented. Didrick von Falkenberg then spoke in favor of the company, and told of the large gains it would be sure to bring, if it should be properly started, which he thought could be done without difficulty, since large sums were already subscribed. The charter was then read by the Secretary, Johan Larsson, and the meeting was closed with a speech by Gabriel Gustafsson Oxenstierna, who further recommended the project and advised the nobles to subscribe liberally.²³ The efforts had some result and at the meeting of the House on February 6 "as many as had a desire" subscribed.²⁴

But the subscriptions came slowly and something more effective had to be done. To facilitate the work and fully establish the company the King appointed two of his directors,²⁵ Peter Andersson (recommended by Usselinx) and Christian Welshuisen. The appointment was made some time in March, it seems,

²² *Rådspr.*, I. 32; Jameson, p. 120.

²³ *Hand. rör. Skan. Hist.*, I. 132-4; *Riddarsk. prot.*, I. 2, pp. xi, 23. Cf. Jameson, pp. 120-1.

²⁴ *Riddarsk. prot.* (Feb. 6, 1627). Copy in *Jameson Mss.*, Penn. Hist. So.

²⁵ He had a right according to the charter to appoint four directors since he had subscribed 450,000 D., a fact overlooked by older writers.

although their commission was not given till May 4,²⁶ and on March 19 Andersson was given a special commission and authority "to travel all over the kingdom in the country and in the cities, to collect subscriptions from the rich and poor, learned and ignorant, villagers and farmers." All local officials were instructed to aid him in his work and every citizen in the kingdom was highly advised to risk his capital in the venture according to his means. About six weeks later the King issued the commission for his two directors and advised the other participants to appoint their directors, at the same time recommending seven prominent men for the office.²⁷ In the spring Valentin Nilsson²⁸ was elected a third director by the contributors of Stockholm, for in June he signed a *Memorial* for Usselinx on behalf of the company. Late in April a letter was sent to the bishops in the kingdom advising them to contribute, since the King himself had subscribed a large sum (450,000 D.), and they were requested to deliver the money at the next synodical meeting.²⁹ The priestly estate took a lively interest in the scheme and gave promises of as large contributions as they were able to make (at least 100,000 D.), indicating their willingness to appoint a director of their own, which was done some time later.³⁰ But the money was not paid in the specified

²⁶ It has been stated that Andersson had been appointed director on March 19, and Christian Welshuisen on May 4, but in the commission of May 4 we read: "Haffve wij öffwer vår anpart till Directorer och föreståndhare satt och förordnatt ehrliche och wellachtadhe män oss ellskelighe Pedher Andheresson och Christian Willshusen, och dhem i fullmacht och befallningh giffvet haffve såsom vij och här medh i fullt befallningh giffve." I take it that a copy of the same contents was given to each director. It was often the case that the commission to an office was not given until sometime after the appointment.

²⁷ "Fullmachtt för Dir. Pedar Andersson att optala stenderne," etc., Mar. 19, 1627 R.R. fol. 103 ff.; *Fullm. för direch.*, etc., May 4, 1627, R.R., fol. 221; Usselinx to Oxenstierna, July 19, 1628.

²⁸ A councillor at Stockholm. See *Rådspr.*, IV. 323; *Anrep, Ättart.* under *Löwenburg*.

²⁹ "Till biscoparne," etc., April 27, 1627, R.R.

³⁰ But there were also warning voices raised against subscriptions. A poem, the opening verses of which were published by Geijer, runs as follows:

"O arma prest lägg thig ej i
Directors-och köpmans-compagni.

time, and in September the directors presented a supplication to the Council of State, praying that the money subscribed might be collected.³¹

The success of the project was not so great as Usselinx had expected. The sums subscribed were far less than he had hoped for³² and even these could not be collected, but neither he nor

Vinningen veta the till sig draga,
Försträckningarne får thu på thig taga."

Geijer refers the quotation to *Nordinska handskrifterna*, but Dr. Andersson of the University Library, who kindly made a search for me, informed me in a letter that the verses could not be found in *Nordinska samlingen*. The poem, however, is probably written some time after 1634.

³¹ *Rådspr.*, I. 54.

³² A list of the principal subscriptions was prepared by Usselinx, probably about the middle of 1627. It runs as follows:

"A list of [those] who have subscribed to the South Comp[any], [and] who have a right to choose directors as follows:

The honorable Pfalsgrave [Johan Casimir].....	Dl. 8,000
The Admeral Carl Carlsson.....	Dl. 8,000
The Chancellor [Axel Oxenstierna].....	Dl. 12,000
Gabriel Bengtson Oxenstierna.....	Dl. 1,500
Clas Horn	Dl. 4,000
Johan Skytte	Dl. 5,000
Gabriel Gustafsson Oxenstierna.....	Dl. 4,000
Svante Banér	Dl. 2,000
Per Banér	Dl. 2,000
Carl Eriksson Oxenstierna	Dl. 2,000
Klas Fleming	Dl. 2,000
Johan Sparre	Dl. 1,000
Carl Bonde	Dl. 1,000
Antony Monnier	Dl. 4,000
Johan Banér	Dl. 1,000
Axel Banér	Dl. 1,000
Mathias Soop	Dl. 1,000
Åke Axelsson	Dl. 1,000
Jacob Jacobsson	Dl. 1,000
Jesper Andersson	Dl. 1,000
Herman Wrangel	Dl. 4,000
Diedrick von Falkenberg	Dl. 4,000
who has further promised.....	Dl. 6,000
Christer Ludwig Rask	Dl. 8,000
Bengt Oxenstierna	Dl. 1,000
Doctor Robertson	Dl. 1,500
Lasse Skytte	Dl. 1,200
Per Andersson	Dl. 1,000
Paridon van Horn	Dl. 1,200
Peter von Bennigen, 40 <i>skeppund</i> of copper, worth about	Dl.
Mickel Werner	Dl. 2,000

the directors were daunted by the slow progress. They planned to prepare a trading expedition in the near future and for this reason they had in mind to present a request to the King that the company should be allowed to export 30,000 barrels of grain from Sweden and Livonia,³³ so that merchandise for the expedition could be bought in Holland, since it would not be possible to raise money for the purpose in any other manner. The government was also to be requested to furnish the necessary ships, which ought to be fully equipped and each "armed with four metal cannon." In case that any of the vessels were lost, they were to be paid by the company according to the value, estimated by competent judges. In the summer of 1627 Usselinx was sent by the directors to Gustavus Adolphus in Prussia,³⁴ to further the undertaking by urging the payment of his majesty's first instalment of 115,000 D. and the supply of as many ships as the King should find advisable to use for the intended voyage. He was also to request the King to appoint a director at Gothenburg, where there ought to be a chamber and to "most graciously grant a seal to the company."³⁵ He was

Jacob Forbes	Dl. 1,000
Gierdt Dierichson (Dietricksson)	Dl. 1,000
Johan Fegreus	Dl. 1,000
Gilius Coynet (Coijet)	Dl. 1,000
Hans Nilsson	Dl. 1,000
Herman Westman	Dl. 1,000
Philip Schedinck has promised	Dl. 4,000
Henrick Fleming has subscribed	Dl. 2,000
At Gothenburg has been subscribed about	Dl. 30,000
Jacob van Dyck	Dl. 3,000
Nils Burson	Dl. 2,000
Jacob de Rees	Dl. 1,000
(The above three persons are present here.)	

In Finland was subscribed

In Finland was subscribed	Dl. 25,000
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That which has been subscribed in Stockholm is entered in another book."

No date but probably in 1627 or 1628. Usselinx letters, *Ox. Saml.* (R.A.).

³³ An ordinance was issued in the spring of 1622 forbidding the exportation of all grain except wheat, and in 1627 some Hollanders complained that Governor Horn had forbidden them to export even that grain. R.R. April 5, 1622, fol. 140; *Rådspr.*, I. 38; Cf. also p. 45, 95, 111, 112.

³⁴ The King was now engaged in his second Prussian campaign. Cf. Cronholm, II. 163 ff., especially 195 ff.; Geijer, III. 100; Droysen, I. Cf. above Chapter I.

³⁵ A seal or trade-mark protected by law was generally used by the trading companies.

further to suggest to Oxenstierna that the latter should appoint a director on behalf of the nobility and he was to propose the first of August as the limit for the paying of the first instalment.³⁶ Of his labors we know little. He did not succeed in collecting the King's subscription however, and he wrote to the directors proposing a new plan. The King was to be requested to furnish eight ships as his first instalment. Other ships could be hired in Holland and thus the King could furnish his share with little expense and without the advance of money.³⁷

In the meantime Usselinx was also busy collecting subscriptions from officers of the Swedish army and he seems to have raised a considerable sum. In November he was sent by the chancellor to collect additional funds in the Baltic provinces and in Finland. Armed with letters and introductions to the royal and the municipal authorities along his route, he made a tour from Dirschau around the Baltic and the Gulf of Bothnia, through Courland, Lithuania, Livonia, Finland and north-eastern Sweden, visiting Riga, Treyden, "Pernau, Reval, Narva, Viborg," Borgå, Helsingfors, Åbo, Gefle "and all other cities in Finland and Norrbotten," everywhere presenting memorials and arguments about this beloved *South Company* and advising rich and poor to join the same. His success was varied. In Livonia the subscriptions amounted to about 50,000 D. and in Narva and the Finnish and Swedish towns he was well received except at Gefle. He arrived in Stockholm in April, 1628, and probably made a report to the directors and to the council.³⁸

He expected to find that ships had already been sent to Africa and that other beginnings had been inaugurated, but in

³⁶ "Memorie voor Willem Usselinx," etc., June 12, 1627. I see no reason for supposing that the memorial was drawn up by Usselinx because it was in Dutch. See Jameson, p. 124, n. 206. Welshuisen, one of the signers, was also a Hollander and could very well have drafted the document.

³⁷ "Aen syne Ko. Matt Memorie," etc. (Presented May 5, 1628.) Mss. in Penn. Hist. So.

³⁸ Letter to Oxenstierna, July 19, 1628, *Ox Saml.* (R.A.); *Jameson Mss. copies*, Penn. Hist. So. Cf. Jameson, p. 124 ff. and Bib.

these things he was disappointed. Some progress had been made in his absence, though not altogether in the direction originally intended. Per Andersson, who began his work with very great ardor, subscribed about 24,000 D. in two cities³⁹ and then gave up the work, and thus the peasants and citizens of other places were not approached on the subject. The result was that the capital stock was as yet very small. The directors had "resolved that they would divert the trade from the west to the east," and make Russia the principal market, probably with the intention of monopolizing the silk trade in that country. Russian trade⁴⁰ was also begun, but to what extent or with what profit is unknown. With a view of increasing the capital stock, Per Andersson entered into an agreement with Johan Sparre to take over some goods in Russia, which the copper company owned there and could not sell, but the transfer was not made.⁴¹ "Some of the stockholders proposed that the company should build ships for the trade with Spain;"⁴² others proposed that it should endeavor to obtain a monopoly of the Swedish salt trade, so that this important article would be brought to its former price, which would require a capital of only 50,000 D.

The directors had entered upon still another venture. Benjamin Bonnell (of whom we shall hear more in connection with the New Sweden Company) went to Sweden in 1625 with the intention of founding a glass factory. He applied for privileges from the King, but for some reason no factory was built.⁴³ In 1628, however, the South Company made an arrangement with him to establish a manufactory of glass in Gothenburg.

³⁹ At Norrköping and Nyköping.

⁴⁰ A commercial treaty was made with Russia in 1626 and in 1637. Sillén, IV. 13-14.

⁴¹ But see Jameson, p. 132.

⁴² Usselinx was not opposed to this idea, if Sweden could enter into some agreement with Spain, assuring the safety of the vessels, otherwise he feared that the vessels would be in greater danger there than elsewhere. Letter to Oxenstierna, July 19, 1628. *Ox. Saml.* (R.A.).

⁴³ Usselinx proposed that he ought to be induced to enter the service of the South Company and advised that the privileges should not be given. Usselinx to Oxenstierna, July 11, 1625. Cf. Jameson, p. 105.

The King granted him 500 D. for lost time and 500 D. for his traveling expenses and the directors issued a commission, empowering him to hire laborers and buy the necessary implements and machines for the purpose. Some of the skilled workmen and part of the material (which could not be obtained in Holland) were secured in England and some special instruments were made for the factory. He wrote to the directors from Amsterdam, requesting them to send him money for his expenses and for the salary of the workmen, but they made no reply. As a consequence he was compelled to dismiss his laborers and, being unable to pay his debts, he was arrested, but it is probable that the company later advanced money for his bills and secured his release.⁴⁴

Preparations for other manufacturing establishments were likewise begun. In the early part of 1628 it seems that Louis de Geer intended to build a ropewalk at Norrköping. A capital of one hundred thousand D. was to be raised and for some reason the directors of the South Company decided to join with him and to furnish in cash two thirds of the stock, probably at the suggestion of the council; while De Geer's share (one third of the capital) was to be furnished in hemp, bought in Prussia. It seems that De Geer withdrew from the contract, but the directors carried out the idea and on April 24, 1628, a small piece of land for the factory "behind the brick shed of the city church at Norrköping,"⁴⁵ along the shore of the lake" was granted to the company. Arrangements were also made for a second ropewalk at Linköping. The King was greatly interested in the work. In the instruction given to the council on April 28, the same year, he recommended that as large orders for ropes should be given to the ropewalks of the company as possible. In May the council instructed Andersson to hurry the

⁴⁴Usselinx now thought that the factory would be of great value to the company, as beads were very salable in Africa and America. Usselinx to Oxenstierna, July 11, 1625, July 19, 1628, Oct. 13, 1628. *Ox. Saml.*

⁴⁵Located south (a little to the west) of Stockholm, on Motalaström, a short distance from the Baltic coast. At present an important manufacturing center. Rosenberg, *Handl.*, II. 258 ff.

completion of the ropewalk so that rope-making could soon be begun, requesting him to report what progress he had made and in June he was told to continue with his work.

It is probable that ropes were manufactured during the summer at least in Norrköping. The ropewalk was continued after the joining of the South and the Ship Companies and one Bartolomeus Jansson made the ropes at a salary of 1 R.D. a day.⁴⁶ His services apparently came to an end in July or August, 1637, and it is likely that the ropewalk was discontinued at that time.

The directors also determined to establish a linen mill, and it appears that something was done in the matter, for in July, 1628, one of the directors "requested advice from the council whether he ought not to continue the linen manufactory, instead of sending ships to the Indies." Shipbuilding was likewise planned at this time and a shipyard was finally established as we shall see.⁴⁷

As we may expect, Usselinx did not take great delight in finding these side activities engaging the attention of the company on his return. He found that the management was poor and that the original designs had been lost sight of. To remedy the matter he formulated a number of complaints in a letter to Oxenstierna and he had still hopes of success. The directors, he said, paid more attention to insignificant details than to great principles; they seldom met for consultation (the principal stockholders having ceased coming together entirely); one of the directors collected money, disposed of it and made contracts without the knowledge of the others;⁴⁸ Per Andersson had been made a burggraf at Norrköping and consequently had little time for other things; the director appointed by the bishops lived at Upsala, away from the activity of the company and hence he was unable to be of much service; another director was at Norr-

⁴⁶ Thus he worked 312 days in 1635 and was paid 312 R.D.; 168 days in 1637, being paid 168 R.D., etc.

⁴⁷ *Gen. Hand. och Skepsk.*, III. 1630-6(7) (K.A.); "Copia von Janssons Reeps. Überg. Reck," etc., *Skepsk.*, 1629-50 (R.A.); Usselinx to Oxenstierna, July 19, 1628, *Ox. Saml.*; R.R. April 24, 1628, fol. 290 ff.; May 12, 1628, fol. 624; *Rådspr.*, I. pp. xxx, 69, 79, 97. Cf. Jameson, 132.

⁴⁸ Per Andersson is meant. See Usselinx to Oxenstierna, Oct. 13, 1628.

köping in charge of the ropewalk; Valentin Nilsson was incapable and paid little attention to his duties; Christian Welshuisen understood his business, but he could not do much alone. We may also assume that Usselinx did not neglect to bring the matter before the Council of State and that this body took it into consideration, causing new efforts to be made for the raising of money.⁴⁹

Even at the beginning of the year efforts had been made to collect the subscriptions. On January 11, the King ordered all subscribers to pay in the first instalment on or before May 1 on penalty of indemnity to the government for all losses and one per cent. a month on the capital subscribed from the above date until paid,⁵⁰ the King promising to pay his share. Oxenstierna, who took a lively interest in this company, as he did in the New Sweden Company, not knowing that Usselinx had returned, appointed "honest and wise Anthon Graphaeus" to collect subscriptions in Sweden, "in order that such a useful and important work may not be neglected at this place," and gave him a commission to that effect on April 28.⁵¹

Something had also been done towards sending ships to the West Indies. The King had assigned a small vessel for the purpose and the company bought or hired a pinnace to accompany the former. A skipper, said by Usselinx to be an experienced man, well acquainted in the West Indies and on the coast of Africa, was engaged at a high wage,⁵² and other preparations were made, but funds were lacking and progress was slow.

On May 29 Usselinx and Valentin Nilsson were called into the Council Chamber to report about the South Company. The former was to translate "his demonstration" into Swedish so that the common people might understand it. It was decided

⁴⁹ Usselinx to Oxenstierna, July 19, 1628. *Ox. Saml.* (R.A.).

⁵⁰ "Såsom och pro cento till en daler om månan," *Mandat*, etc., Jan. 11, 1628, R.R.

⁵¹ Dated Elbing, April 28, 1628. *Ox. Saml.* Jan. 11, 1628, R. R.; Stiernman, I. 958.

⁵² Usselinx to Oxenstierna, July 19, 1628. Letter to Oxenstierna, July 14, 1628, R.R., fol. 709.

to write to Livonia and Ingermanland to the effect that the subscribers there must pay their shares. Per Andersson, and perhaps the other directors, were called to Stockholm to confer about the company and it is quite certain that many meetings were held, at which Usselinx presented his views.⁵³

About the end of June a paper (supplication?) from the directors and Usselinx (?) was read in the council and about a week later Per Andersson was called upon to make a report. On July 5 it was again decided to request the cities and governors of the kingdom to assist in the new work and to pay their subscriptions, and three days later letters were sent to Eric Jöransson and Holger Scheiding and perhaps to other governors, instructing them "to aid the directors and to enjoin upon the participants in their districts and especially those in the cities to pay their shares." But the efforts had little effect and the citizens of Stockholm reported that they were unable to pay their share and asked for grace until 1629. Further meetings and discussions seem to have been held, but with small result.

The journey to the West Indies was not dropped, however, and Andersson was appointed to consult with the council about it. He went before that body on July 10, and requested assistance for the continuation of the South Company, but he especially desired advice "about the ship and yacht [which] H[is] R[oyal] Maj[esty] had appointed for the voyage, whether it should be sent to the West Indies or not." No definite advice was given, as the councillors, fearing the dangers of such a voyage, desired to know the opinion of Oxenstierna and the King, before they could decide on so important a matter. Accordingly letters were written to the former, requesting him to ascertain the views of His Royal Majesty, as the principal stockholder, and to report as soon as possible. The answer is not known, but no expedition was prepared, for in the autumn the skipper returned to Holland, after having drawn a salary for several months. The first West Indian venture thus caused

⁵³ *Rådspr.*, I. 75, 96-97.

the company considerable expense, and came to an end without bringing any results.⁵⁴

As we have already stated, Usselinx was not pleased with the management and development of the company he had started. He wished to be relieved from his services, unless something more to the point were soon done. There was, however, still some hope in his mind, that the undertaking might be placed on a prosperous basis and develop into great significance, and for this reason he made new suggestions. New letters were to be sent to the governors in Finland and agents were to be sent there and to Norrland to collect additional funds; able and experienced commissioners were to be sent to Germany, France and Venice to solicit subscriptions; the directors were to be compelled to follow the charter and to live where the chamber was located; a new director was to be appointed at Gothenburg by His Majesty (and as such Usselinx recommended Antony Monnier); and finally a royal privilege or commission was to be issued to the company, granting it liberty to buy and export grain. But the suggestions failed to breathe new life into the frozen body. Things grew worse instead of better. Usselinx feared that the company would not be a very large affair and in the end it would probably dwindle down to a ropewalk and a shipyard. He knew little about the building of ships and the making of ropes, which could be better superintended by others, and he therefore decided to leave the country.⁵⁵ In December he obtained his release and Gustavus Adolphus gave him letters to the States General and to Prince Henry. In the beginning of 1629 he left Stockholm. His connection with the South Company now practically came to an end⁵⁶ and the company was soon about to enter upon another stage and to be combined with another organization under a different name.

⁵⁴ R.R. July 8, 1628, fol. 697 (Jameson Mss.); Usselinx to Oxenstierna, July 19, October 13, 1628, *Ox. Saml.*; *Rådspr.*, I. 81, 88, 90, 92, 96-7.

⁵⁵ Letter to Oxenstierna, Oct. 13, 1628; cf. Jameson, p. 138.

⁵⁶ Van Rees, II. 466; *Mercu. Ger.*, p. 38. For Usselinx's travels from 1629 until 1632, see Jameson, p. 139.



Gustavus Adolphus. From a painting at Skokloster. (H.)

CHAPTER IX.

THE UNITED SOUTH-SHIP COMPANY, 1629-1642.

The increase of the Swedish navy and merchant marine was an object of great care to Gustavus Adolphus. Capital was hard to raise and the state treasury was drawn upon to the utmost for other purposes. The King therefore took recourse to the formation of a company, and, at a meeting of representatives from various Swedish towns at the capital in the beginning of 1629, he proposed the founding of a Ship Company by the cities of the kingdom. The project was favorably received. Towards the end of January the representatives transmitted "an explanation and decision" to His Royal Majesty, presenting their views on the subject and plans for the preparation of ships. At the same time the privileges for the company were issued. Sixteen ships were to be furnished in all, of which Stockholm was to prepare four, Gothenburg two, and the other cities, arranged in groups, the remaining ten.¹ The ships were to be used for commercial voyages, either by the cities themselves or by the Crown at a certain rate of freight money, as well as in the case of war for the aid and protection of the country against the enemy (in the latter case without pay however). Separate directors were to be chosen by the different groups of cities to manage the capital supplied by each group. The ships were to be ready in the spring of 1629 and, in order to encourage and increase Swedish shipping, it was ordered that they should be built in the kingdom, but, as the time was too limited for the building of so large a number, the cities requested permission to hire or buy vessels abroad with the privilege of selling them when their own ships were ready.

Arrangements were then made for the raising of money.

¹ See R.R. Jan. 26, 1629. Cf. *Rådspr.*, I. 161 ff. and 162, note 1, where a list of the cities is given with the number of ships each group was to furnish. See also *Skepsk.*, 1629-50 (R.A.).

The citizens were strongly urged to participate in the company according to their means. Directors were elected to carry out the plans of the company and soon contracts were signed for the delivery of several ships. The directors of the Upsala and Örebro divisions contracted with Cornelius Speckt, a Hollander, for their ships to be ready in the summer; the Gefle and Stockholm divisions contracted with Welshuisen for their vessels, the Västerås division made arrangements with Spens and the Nyköping division with Voss.² Agents were sent by the other cities to Holland to buy or rent ships.

But the money was slow in coming, due to the lack of funds and quarrels between the cities, and consequently the ships were not on hand at the appointed time. At Jönköping and Stockholm there was especially great difficulty in raising the shares to be contributed by each district. The Council of State instructed the inhabitants of the latter place to furnish the stipulated sums, but the year 1629 passed and the full amount was not collected,³ only 74,438 Daler having been furnished by the beginning of 1630, for which two vessels were bought.⁴

In order to increase the capital the King presented the needs of the Ship Company at the diet in the summer of 1629 to the representatives of the estates, requesting the Nobility and Priesthood to contribute to it and aid in preparing a large number of ships. In answer to these propositions the two estates suggested that the money, which had been collected for the South Company should be used for the needs of the Ship Company "and in this manner to found a complete society and trading company until opportunity and capital will allow the South Company to be continued and established." In addition to this

² *Rådspr.*, I. 162-3, 168 ff., 193 ff.

³ The question was brought before the Council of State for adjustment and this body presented its judgment on December 12, 1630. "Förstaden" in Stockholm should pay 10,000 D. and on December 29, 1629, the Council of State commanded the city to prepare the ships. See *Skepsk.*, 1629-50 (R.A.), and *Stockholms Stads tänkebok*, 1629, fol. 135. Cf. *Rådspr.*, I. 185, note 1.

⁴ The citizens maintained that they had made large contributions to the war fund, which had not been repaid them. The plague was also an obstacle and many were unable to pay. Cf. letter to "R. Råd., etc., på sampt. Direct. öfwer skepsk. uti Stock. Inlef. d. 1 July, 1630." *Skepsk.*, 1629-50 (R.A.).

the nobility promised to contribute 50 D. for each trooper, expressing the hope that those who were able would make private contributions as well.⁵ The suggestions were favorably received by the King and about a year later (in May, 1630), he authorized and legalized the union of the two companies, but no privileges were granted to this new concern.⁶ The South Company as Usselinx organized it now came to an end, but the new company,⁷ for such it really was, made preparations to execute the main objects of Usselinx's plan, namely, the sending out trading expeditions. Abraham Cabeliau, Valentin Nilsson (and perhaps one or two others) were appointed general directors, Johan Larsson was made secretary with a salary of 1,000 D., and Hans Gall (a German) was engaged as bookkeeper. Stockholm was made the head office, but factors were appointed in Gothenburg, Amsterdam, Stralsund and perhaps other places.⁸ The cities in Finland gradually joined the Company and the capital was soon quite considerable. It is given as follows in the official journal in 1636:

	Daler.
His Royal Majesty	14,102
Johan Casimir	8,000
The House of Knights	6,368
The Royal Council	14,980
The Nobility and Knighthood	13,014
The Priesthood ⁹	61,953
The Combined Cities ¹⁰	373,579
	<u>7,648</u>
Total	499,644 ¹

⁵ "50 Daler för hvarje rusttjensthäst." R.R. May 29, 1630, fol. 270; *Rådspr.*, I. 54, note; II. 71.

⁶ Stiernman, *Riksdagsf.*; *Kung. bref*, etc., I. p. 989; R.R. May 29, 1630; *Rådspr.*, I. 54, 155-66; II. 117; *Ridd. och Adels Riksdagspr.*, Vol. I.

⁷ The United Ship and South Company was called by various names. Cf. the names of the South Company above, Chap. VIII. In the official journal of the New Sweden Company the South-Ship Company is called "The Old Ship Company."

⁸ *Gen. Hand. och Skepsk.*, III., 1630-6(7) (K.A.).

⁹ The various ecclesiastical districts or *stift* supplied certain sums. Thus Åbo *stift* supplied 9,972 D., Wiborg, 8,570 D., etc. *Gen. Hand. och Skepsk.*, III. 1630-36(7) (K.A.).

¹⁰ The capital of the various cities was as follows in 1636:

The outlook was now brighter. In the autumn of 1630 the sixteen ships were ready, although all the shares had not been paid.¹² The ships were fitted out for trading journeys and some had already been sent to Stralsund in November. A longer journey was also planned and one of the Stockholm ships was sent to Archangel the same year with freight. It returned safely to the North Sea and went to Holland. From there the skipper was engaged to sail to Malaga in Spain on a false passport and the ship was seized.¹³ One or two other ships were later seized, causing the company expense and financial difficulties.¹⁴ Several ships sailed to Amsterdam and other cities, carrying freight for private merchants and for the government, and 20,000 R.D. were due from the Crown in the

	Daler.
Norrlands District	22,941:1:2:
Västergötland	23,220:1:1 $\frac{2}{3}$
Vasa Stad	
Stockholm	126,000
Gefle	25,211:2:1.
Norrköping	17,731:2:3.
Nyköping	30,897:3:4
Västerås	22,450
Tellie	33,885:2:7 $\frac{1}{4}$
Arboga	15,969:
Kalmar	19,518:3:2
Västervik	14,000
The Cities of Finland.....	21,753:14.
Total	373,579:2:6 $\frac{1}{2}$

This means that the cities included in the district were to furnish the above sums, *Gen. Hand. och Skepsk.*, III. 1630-36 (K.A.).

¹¹ I have omitted the fractions of a Daler making the total sum one D. less than that given in the journal.

¹² In the summer of 1630, Welshuisen threatened that he would break the contract unless he was paid by July 1. The ships were all delivered, however, but as late as March, 1631, all the money had not been paid to him. See letter to *R. Råd.*, etc., July 1, 1630. *Letter to A. Oxenstierna from the directors*, Oct. 6, 1630, and the *letter from the directors*, March 16, 1631. *Skepsk.*, 1638-50 (R.A.). *Gen. Hand. och Skepsk.*, III. 1630-36(7) (K.A.). *Rådspr.*, II. 46 90 ff. In 1630 the king resolved that each citizen should contribute, etc., *Rådspr.*, II. 71.

¹³ The skipper was forbidden to sail to Spain. On his return he was examined by Cabeliau and Nilsson and put into prison. *Rådspr.*, II. 91-92.

¹⁴ "De 2 skeppen som blefne ähre." "En deel af Comp. skep. ähre sin kooss." *Rådspr.*, II. 119, 154, 17, 20-46, 116-19, 249, etc.

autumn of 1631 as freight money, while several thousand D. were earned through the freight handled for private merchants between 1630 and 1632.¹⁵

In the autumn of 1631 plans were projected for "the continuation and success of the company." Klas Fleming proposed that "wealthy Hollanders ought to be imported for directors, so as to place the undertaking on a business basis." The feasibility of sending ships to Spain and France was considered and other ideas were also broached. It was even suggested that the ships of the company should be used for preying on Spanish commerce, it being thought that greater gains could be realized from that source than from the trading expeditions that were contemplated.

The treasury of the company, however, would not permit the sending out of trading expeditions, unless the subscriptions could be collected and the freight money from the government paid. To make the expeditions possible the members of the council contributed large sums,¹⁶ and other means were provided.

About this time a certain Frenchman was in Stockholm, willing to participate in the company if he could arrive at some agreement with the directors. As a consequence arrangements were made for trade with France, and some time in 1632 a ship was sent thither with a cargo of ropes from the company's ropewalk, and copper and cannon, which were sold for 5,055 D. (s.m.). A large cargo of salt was taken back to Sweden and some 2,000 barrels were sold in Stockholm.¹⁷

In the meantime the discussions about "the Spanish trade" had been continued and definite arrangements were about to be made. Director Valentin Nilsson warned the council against

¹⁵ The Nyköping-ship made 7,351 D. in 1632.

The Upland-ship made 7,084 D. in the same year.

The Norrköping-ship made 3,854 D. in the same year.

The Norrland-ship made 6,032 D. in the same year.

Gen. Hand. och Skepsk., III. 1630-36 (K.A.).

¹⁶ Carl Carlsson contributed 2,000 R.D.; G. Gustafsson 2,000 R.D., etc. *Rådspr.*, II. 118; III. 249, 267, 293.

¹⁷ *Gen. Hand. och Skepsk.*, III. 1630-36(7) (K.A.); *Rådspr.*, II. 116-19.

sending ships to Spain. In 1606, while he was there it was rumored, he said, that a decree had been published by the King of Spain, commanding the confiscation of all Swedish ships and merchandise found in a Spanish port. But Fleming was of the opinion that Spain would not make herself an enemy of Sweden for the sake of a couple of ships, and Cabeliau presented letters from the Duca de Medina and others, stating that it was perfectly safe to send ships to Spain, and to further insure the safety of the ships Cabeliau's factor would be instructed to send a bark to meet the vessels and warn them in case of danger.¹⁸ An expedition was therefore fitted out in the autumn of 1631 and four vessels were prepared.¹⁹ A cargo of masts and some copper and tar was obtained²⁰ and loaded into the ships. The entire cost of the expedition was 43,712 D. Thomas Loeff,²¹ a Catholic merchant, was appointed commissary and commander of the expedition,²² Cornelis van Vliet, of whom we shall hear more in connection with the second journey to New Sweden, being captain on the *Stockholm's Crown*. The ships were ready in November, and on the sixteenth they left the Swedish capital for their destination, touching at Helsingör, the English coast and the Isle of Wight, where the vessels remained for seventeen days. The little fleet left the island on February 21 (n.s.). On March 13 the vessels were separated in a severe storm, but on the eighteenth Loeff arrived with the *Gilded Lion* at San Lucar, Spain. Two days later *Norrlandskeppet* arrived, and in the next few days the other ships made their appearance in good condition. Passports were immediately delivered. Loeff then informed the merchants at

¹⁸ The relation with Spain was not very friendly at this time. Spain had attacked Swedish ships and the council considered the possibility of beginning a war with that country. *Rådspr.*, II. 245 ff. Cf. above, Ch. II.

¹⁹ *Rådspr.*, II. 90 ff.; III. 98; 249 ff. *Loeff's Journal*.

²⁰ Johan Casimir supplied masts for the value of 8,752 D.

²¹ It is written *Thomas Lop* in *Rådspr.*, IV. 112. But he wrote it *Loeff* himself. See also R.R. 1634, fol. 376, Dutch f> Swedish, p.

²² He went on the ship called *Förgyllda Lejonet*. *Stockholms Krona* (Törness Eliasson, skipper), *Norrlandskeppet* (Stephen Grönenberg, skipper), and *Gefleskeppet* (Cornelius Tyss, skipper) were the other vessels on the expedition. *Loeff's Journal*, *Skepsk.*, 1629-50 (R.A.); *Rådspr.*, III. 94.

Seville of the presence of his ships and offered his cargo for sale, but he was answered that the country was well supplied with masts and that no money would be on hand until the "Silver Fleet" should arrive from the West Indies. Looft also wrote to Cadiz²³ and tried hard to sell his cargo at San Lucar, but only six weeks before his arrival great quantities of masts had come from Gothenburg and other places and he was unsuccessful in his attempt.

On April 2 (n.s.) a ship brought news that the Silver Fleet was approaching. All foreign vessels in Spanish harbors were now put under arrest and compelled to remain in port until the fleet was safely anchored, when the arrest was removed.²⁴ In the meantime Looft tried to exchange his cargo for salt but without success, some lumber from the *Crown of Stockholm* being the only thing he was able to sell. Later he also made a journey to Seville with one of his men and finally succeeded in finding buyers. But on April 21, 1632, King Philip ordered that six Swedish ships should be put under arrest with all their contents, cannon and other arms, "for the Spanish ships and cannon which were [arrested] at Wismar." Between April 27 and 29 the order was executed and a bail of 40,000 ducats was demanded for the release of the ships.²⁵ The bond was secured, Looft finally succeeded in selling his masts, spars and other cargo and brought them ashore, and on June 8 the ships were free of their cargoes. Salt was then to be loaded into them, but for certain reasons the vessels were again put under arrest in accordance with a royal order of June 29 and their

²³ Looft's *Journal* has "Cales" and in *Rådspr.*, III. 99, it is also written "Cales," but it is clear that *Cadiz* is meant. Cf. *Het Licht der Zeevaart door W. Janssoon*, Amst., 1630; *Rådspr.*, III, index, p. 317.

²⁴ The Silver Fleet arrived about April 20, 45 sails strong. Looft's *Journal*.

²⁵ Looft's *Journal*. Cf. also *Rådspr.*, III. 295. Other Swedish ships besides the four belonging to the company were seized, but how many is not known. Probably more than six, however, for in the journal of the council we read: "They [the Spaniards] have taken *de facto* the ships of the company, as well as other ships from Stralsund, Stettin, Norrköping and Gothenburg." *Rådspr.*, II.

Concerning the "Spanish ships and cannon" said to have been put under arrest at Wismar, I know nothing. Dr. Westrin of the Royal Archives, Stockholm, also informed me in a letter that he has no information about them.

rudders were removed.²⁶ Loeff tried his utmost to get the ships released. In August he went to Madrid to lay the case before the King and presented memorials and documents to the government, assisted greatly by the Dutch Consul General Aug. Brodinus, who spared no pains in bringing the matter to the notice of His Royal Majesty. But it was all to no avail. The King gave orders that the ships should be sent to Lisbon with ammunition and other materials. The skippers and sailors, however, refused to go, but towards the end of September the ships were manned by Spanish crews and taken to Cadiz, and in May, 1633, they were sent to the West Indies in the service of the Crown.²⁷

The masts and other goods were sold by Loeff for 39,089 D., which were turned over to the state. The bondsmen, De Gylle(?) and others, were arrested and "commanded to pay the bond," but they were later released. They paid large sums to the King and certain expenses of the sailors, which amounted to more than the value of the cargoes, and presented bills of these expenditures to the director of the company, who promised that they should be reimbursed for all bills that could be satisfactorily verified. Whether or no this was ever done is not known—it is hardly probable. From Madrid Loeff informed the directors at Stockholm of the situation,²⁸ and in June, 1633, he was instructed by them to return to Sweden with or without the ships. In December, 1633, he set out for the Netherlands, after leaving the case in the hands of Consul Brodinus; in January he touched at an English port and on the eleventh he landed in Amsterdam. After a short stay in this city, during which time translations were made of all Spanish documents into Dutch and Swedish, he took passage for Stockholm, where

²⁶ Some of the officers and sailors were unruly, drank heavily, showed their passports to every one and often bragged that they had fought in the wars against the Catholics. They were also mutinous. *Loeff's Journal*.

²⁷ It was said that the King would give up the ships for 42,000 gulden. *Rådspr.*, III. 98-9.

²⁸ Loeff made two journeys to Madrid, one in August, 1632 (remaining in the city until October 24), one in November the same year. *Loeff's Journal*.

he arrived on June 15 (o.s.).²⁹ He was now accused by several sailors and skippers of negligence and even of treachery, and the value of the ships (18,240 D.) together with the value of the cargos (39,089 D.) was placed to his account. A court was held, where a journal,³⁰ copies of the memorials presented to the King of Spain and other documents were exhibited, and Bonnell among others was called upon to testify. As a result Loeff was exonerated from blame.³¹ The sailors were in turn accused by Loeff of drunkenness and disobedience. The directors were also accused both by Loeff and the shareholders, and they were prosecuted by the latter before the Supreme Court. Valentin Nilsson placed the blame on Cabeliau, since it was largely on his assurances that the ships were sent to Spain. The directors also maintained that the expedition had been determined upon in the council and that therefore the councillors were partly to blame.³² The evidence was examined in the autumn of 1633 and in the spring and summer of 1634. The directors were condemned and imprisoned, but they appealed; new documents were presented and in May, 1635, the directors and their commissioner Loeff were acquitted and pronounced innocent in the loss of the ships.³³ Thus ended the first large trading expedition of the united South-Ship Company.

It was understood that when a ship was lost, a new one should be furnished in its stead by the city or group of cities to which the lost vessel belonged, so that the number should always

²⁹ The skippers and most of the sailors also returned to Sweden. The statement in the *Papers of the Am. Hist. Asso.*, II. 164, note 1, that "the men were imprisoned in Spain more than six weeks" is incorrect. See *Rådspr.*, III. 98. "Dhe bleffve där [in Spain] väl undfångne, lågo och der 6-1/2 vecka, som ingen gjorde dem något emot."

³⁰ The journal (in Dutch) is now preserved in *Skepsk.*, 1629-50, R.A. in good condition. A Swedish translation follows it.

³¹ *Loeff's Journal*; signed statement by Bonnell and others; a large number of Spanish documents with Swedish and Dutch transl. *Skepsk.*, 1629-50 (R.A.); *Rådspr.*, III. 94-95, 129, 138-9, etc.; IV. 112; Revisions Dom, etc.; Stock., April 23, 1635, and other documents in *Skepsk.*, 1629-50 (R.A.).

³² This we know was partly true. *Rådspr.*, II. 118.

³³ *Rådspr.*, III. 94, 95, 249, 250 ff.; IV. 32, 35, 81-82, 104-5, 114, 235, 237, 238, 241; V. 44, 52, 54, 58-60; cf. Odhner, *Sw. in. hist.*, 300-301, note 1; Jameson, *W. Usselinx*, p. 164.

remain the same. In 1632 *Kalmar Nyckel* was purchased for 27,098 D. and plans were projected for the purchasing of other ships, to replace those that had been captured.³⁴ As early as 1628 the directors were discussing means for the establishment of a ship-building plant. "Some propose," says Usselinx in that year, "that ships should be built for the Spanish trade." Between the years 1630 to 1632 a beginning was made at Norrköping. Two ships (one of 180 lasts) were ordered to be built there, and somewhat later Valentin Nilsson requested money for a third vessel, so that the "ship-building plant might be saved" and kept going.³⁵ It is not likely that the Council of State granted the money for a third ship, but in May, 1634, that body resolved "that the two ships at Norrköping must be made ready and carpenters should be hired for that purpose."³⁶

Commercial ventures were not neglected for this "secondary purpose," however. We have already seen that trade with Russia was begun in 1628. Again in 1633 it was planned to send an expedition there, since five fully equipped ships were riding at anchor in the harbor of Stockholm. After some debate in the council concerning the best use that could be made of these vessels, "it was found good to let them sail to Archangel." The ships were probably prepared in the summer, and "they got a splendid freight," but on their return from the north in the early part of 1634 they were seized in Amsterdam for some unknown reason.³⁷ The directors were again blamed for the mishap. The ships were finally released, however, and set sail for Stockholm, where they arrived in the autumn. Four of them were put into winter quarters, "but the fifth ship, which could carry the largest cargo, was allowed to sail and seek its freight and its profit, wherever this could most easily and readily be found."³⁸

³⁴ *Gen. Hand. och Skepsk.*, III. 1630-6(7) (K.A.).

³⁵ This shipyard is not mentioned by Zettersten in his *Sv. fl. hist.*

³⁶ Usselinx to Oxenstierna, July 19, Oct. 13, 1628, *Ox. Saml.* (R.A.); *Rådspr.*, IV. 63, 113.

³⁷ Erik Larsson and De Geer were instructed to try to secure the release of the ships. *Rådspr.* IV. 112.

³⁸ *Gen. Hand. och Skepsk.*, III. 1630-6(7) (K.A.); *Rådspr.*, III. 77, 94, 95; IV. 82, 112, 238.

In 1634 several ships were lying in the harbor at Stockholm. Some were in bad condition, but some of them were new, as we have seen, and in the spring the citizens at the capital sought advice as to the sailing of one of their new vessels. The ships as a rule were badly taken care of and some allowed to go to ruin. The directors were charged with inability and mismanagement, and it was said that they had often bought poor ships and paid twice their value. A committee was appointed to audit their accounts and look through their books.³⁹ In the summer of 1635 there was no money for carrying on the company and the council sought ways and means out of the difficulty. Things grew worse the following year.⁴⁰ In February, 1636, Fleming was ordered to appoint two good men, who should reestablish the company. The priesthood, the citizens and other shareholders wished to have the business of the company straightened out. At the meeting of the diet in the summer of 1636⁴¹ it was brought up for discussion and a committee of the estates was appointed to confer with representatives of the council. In June and July the council again considered the matter. Klas Fleming, who became the principal supporter of the New Sweden Company, took a leading interest in the maritime adventures of Sweden and in the South Company and he with Eric Ryning was appointed to meet a committee of the estates at eight o'clock on June 30, 1636. Various propositions were made. Some suggested that the ships should be sold and the money divided among the shareholders, but this was found to be impracticable as some of these ships were old and of little value. Others thought the ships should be assigned to the different cities for their disposal. Fleming proposed that

³⁹ *Rådspr.*, IV. pp. 60-62. Representatives were to be sent to Stockholm in May, 1635, by the priesthood and estates to look through the account. *Rådspr.*, V. 60.

⁴⁰ In January, 1636, it seems that the council considered the company practically dead. "Ty befructandes ähr, att detta compagniet [the copper company] går under, som medh dedt förre skepscompagniedt hende och vederfors." *Rådspr.*, VI. 9 (Jan. 13), "Dedt förre skepscompagniedt" might, however, refer to the South Company.

⁴¹ Concerning this diet, see *Rådspr.*, VI. 350; Geijer, III.

the capital of the company should be put into the copper company and an idea was also put forth that the original plan of the King should be carried out and the subscribed capital paid up and increased. As a result of these discussions and meetings, it was decided by the diet that the company should be kept going. But little was done, practically no capital was on hand for expeditions, and some of the ships were soon to be used in the service of the New Sweden Company.

In December, 1637, the government appointed Klas Fleming to meet the directors, and "with the assistance of others" examine the business of the company, and the directors were ordered to prepare a complete account and inventory, to be presented on January 2. Later it was decided "that the ships which were still preserved and good for something should be sold to the Crown and brought to the *Skeppsholm* and the others, which were useless, should be sold to private persons for as good a price as possible," and in March, 1640, an order was sent to Fleming to this effect.⁴² The last large expedition of the company was that to Archangel in 1633-1634. But individual ships were still used for carrying freight and the *Old King David*⁴³ made numerous voyages to foreign ports until it was sold in 1641.⁴⁴

⁴² Till Direct. aff dhet Söder Comp., etc., Dec. 22, 1637; Till C. Fleming ang. det Söd. Comp., Dec. 22, 1637; Till C. Fleming att han låter leggja Comp. Skep till Cr:s Skeppsholma, March 29, 1640, R.R.; Stiernman, *Riks. Beslut*, II. 974, 994, 1035-6; *Rådspr.*, VI. 350 ff., 664.

⁴³ One Cornelius de Voss was skipper on *The Old King David* for several years. Later Hopp was made skipper.

⁴⁴ The ship was sold by P. Trotzig in February, 1641, for 8,100 florins; but a new vessel was bought in its stead. *Journal; Gen. Hand. och Skepsk.*, III. 1630-6(7) (K.A.). "P. Trotzigs Rech.," etc., February 13, 1641, N. S., I. (K.A.). See also documents in *Skepskomp.* 1629-50 (R.A.); and *Rådspr.*, various volumes.

CHAPTER X.

THE NEW SOUTH COMPANY, 1632-1634.

Meanwhile Usselinx had been busy stirring up half of Europe with his schemes and propositions. He obtained new commissions, and visited Stralsund, Stettin and other cities in Germany and Holland. At last, seeing the futility of founding a company in Sweden, as extensive and important as he desired, he proposed a new plan or rather emphasized a former one,¹ far in advance of his age, of forming an international mercantile company. The territorial restrictions of the old charter were to be removed and the entire world was to be its field of activity. An amplification or extension of the charter was drawn up in 1632² with the sanction and approval of Gustavus Adolphus. The King took interest in the project, but he did not live to see its execution. Oxenstierna, however, endeavored to carry out the wishes of his King and on May 1, 1633, he signed a commission 'for Willem Usselinx, as general director of the *New South Company*.'³ Memorials and relations now followed in rapid succession and a large book was prepared which was to help the cause. Oxenstierna, the Swedish representative in Germany and the head of the Protestant League, gave his support to the new company, and a splendid opportunity for advancing its interests soon presented itself. During the convention at Heilbronn in the spring of 1633, the matter was laid before the assembled nobles of Protestant Germany by Hector Mithobius. Usselinx presented a new memorial,⁴ and in June the famous *Argonautica Gustaviana* and *Mercurius*

¹ The idea of "inclusion" is present in his earlier proposals (but cf. Jameson, 157). Cf. above.

² For these changes see Jameson, 160-1. The limits of the former charter were entirely removed.

³ See *Argo. Gust.*, p. 49; cf. Jameson, 168.

⁴ Jameson, 168.

Germanica was published at Frankfort-on-Main.⁵ All the arguments which Usselinx had presented in his previous memorials were embodied in this work and many of the documents of an earlier date were reprinted.⁶ The company was again considered at the convention held in the autumn at Frankfort, and some interest in the same was shown by that city. But Usselinx was discouraged by the slow progress and asked for his dismissal from the service. He soon, however, regained his former confidence in ultimate success, and in 1634 the subject was brought before the allies of Sweden at the second Convention of Frankfort.⁷ Usselinx spoke to the members about it and distributed his *Argonautica* and other documents. The great idea at last promised to assume more definite form. The diet took an interest in it, some changes were suggested in the charter, and it now seemed that the matter would be taken up in earnest by forces capable of carrying it to success. The undaunted organizer saw the prize within reach for which he had labored for so many years. The next day, however, came news that the armies of Fieldmarshal Horn and Duke Bernhard had been defeated and thus came to an end the hopes and labors for the *Second* or *New South Company*, which might have become of great importance and produced far-reaching results in the colonizing of North America.

⁵ Money for the printing was probably supplied by Axel Oxenstierna. See Jameson, p. 170.

⁶ Some of the arguments he uses to further his project may be summed up as follows:

- (a) There is nothing more honorable for a people than to plant colonies.
- (b) The Swedes had a right to possess land in America.
- (c) There was a great advantage in having the King of Sweden as the leader and protector of the company.
- (d) The company could bring a larger number of people to America than the Spaniards had brought there.
- (e) By kind treatment the good will of the natives could be won and thus bloodshed would be averted.
- (f) Slaves were unprofitable, but if the company should wish to make use of them they could be secured cheaply and easily.
- (g) The company would increase the prosperity of all Europe and of the participants especially; it would spread the gospel among heathen people, redound to the honor of God and it was sure to become "a noble jewel" of Sweden and of the German land.—*Argo. and Mercu.*

⁷ See *Introduction*, above, Chap. II. and below, XI.

ARGONAUTICA GVSTAVIANA,

Das ist:

Nothwendige Nachricht

Von der Newen Seefahrt vnd
Kauffhandlung;

So von dem Weilandt Allerdurchleuchtigsten / Großmäch-
tigsten vnd Siegreichsten Fürsten vnnnd Herrn / Herrn GVSTAVO
ADOLPHO MAGNO, der Schweden / Bothen vnd Wendes König / Groß-
Fürsten in Finnlandt / Herzogen zu Ehesten vnd Carlen / Herrn zu Inger-
manlandt / etc. Allerhöchwürdigsten Seligsten Andenkens /
durch anrichtung einer

General-Handel-COMPAGNIE,

Societät oder Gesellschaft /

In dero Reich vnd Landen / zu derselben sonderbahrem Auf-
nehmen vnd Flor / auß hohem Verstande vnd Rath / vor wenig Jahren
zu stiftten angefangen:

Anteigo aber der Teutschen Evangelischen Nation / insonder-
heit den jenigen welche sich in E. R. M. Freundschaft / devotion, oder Ver-
bindnuß begeben / vnd sich dieses grossen Vortheils / bey so statlicher Gelegenheit gebrauchten
wollen / zu vnermesslichem Nutz vnd Frommen / auß Königlichem Willgehalt / zuneigung vnd Gnade /
unterstützet worden: vnd mit dem förderlichsten / vntermittelst gnädigster Verleihung des
Allerhöchsten / fortgesetzt vnd völlig zu Werck gebracht
werden soll.

Daraus denn ein jedweder claren / gründlichen / vnd zu seinem Behuff satzamen
Denck vnd Wissenschaft dieses Hochwichtigen Wercks einnehmen / vnd wie dasselbe nicht als
ledig an sich selbst sondern auch dieses erhelbt / Ehrlustlich / hochwürdiglich / vnd höchnützlich /
auch practisch vnd ohne greifflich dithalieren sey / zur gantz verstanden /

Dabey auch zugleich vernünftig crachten vnd erkennen mag: Ob seine vnd den seinigen / weß
Standes oder Conditiones / wann er sich in dero Reich / durch ein solches seinre Namen vnd name gewillten Post
Selbst / so viel es wolle / sich theilhaftig in machen wil / vnd dardurch
er / auch werden möchte.

Was aber für allerhandt vnterschiedene Schrifftten diese Sache betreffend /
allhier bey samen vorhanden / solches wird die nächst folgende Seite zeigen.

1. Regum 9.

Vnd Salomo machte auch Schiffe zu Ecken Gebet / die bey Elothligam Afir des Schiff-
Meers im Lande der Edomiter: Vnd Hiram der König zu Tyro sandte seine Knechte im
Schiff / die gute Schiffleute vnd auff dem Meer erführen waren / mit den Knechten Salomo /
vnd kamen gen Ophir / vnd holten dafelbst Vierhundert vnd zwanzig Talent Goldes / vnd
brauchts dem Könige Salomo.



Gedruckt zu Franckfurt am Mayn bey Caspar Rödelnu

Im Jahr Christi 1633. Menck Junio.

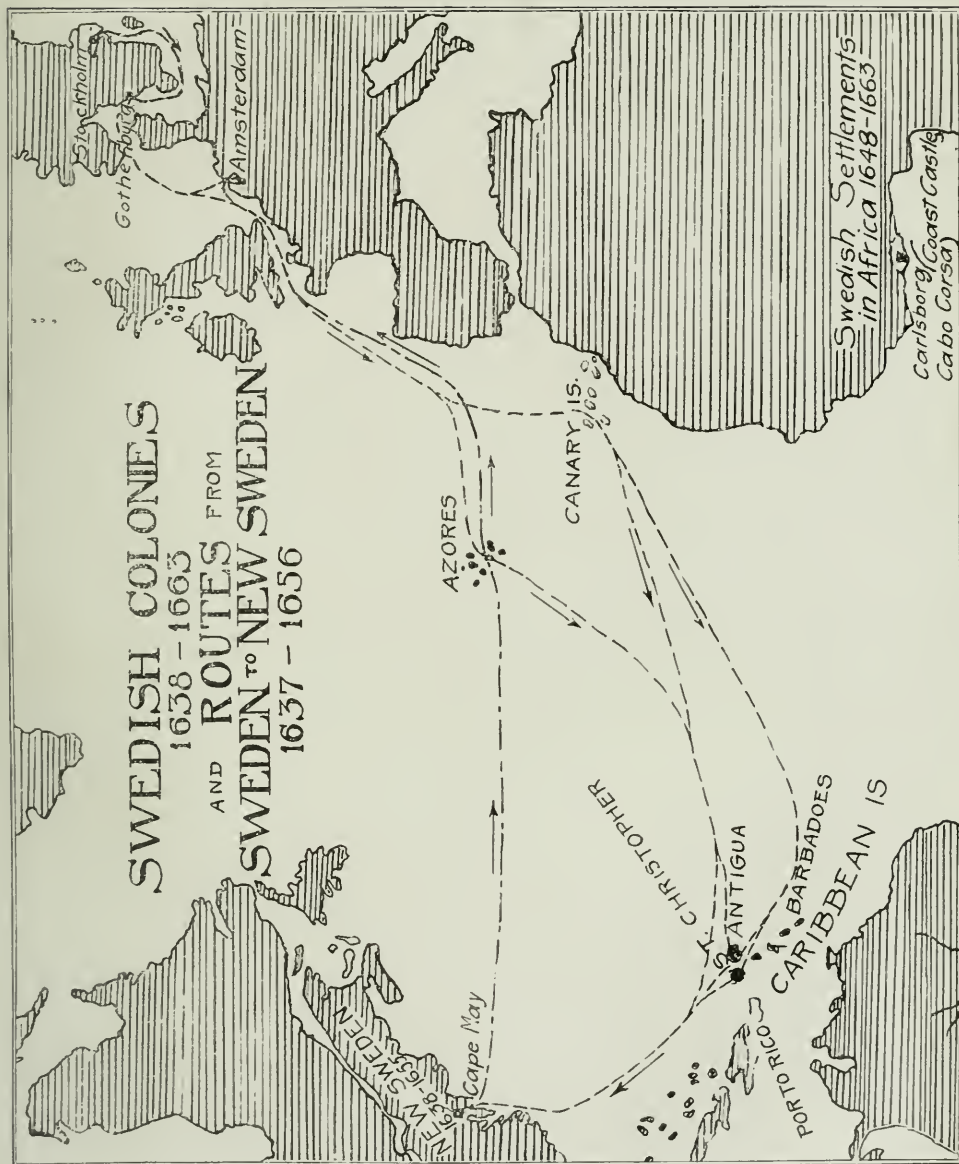
Mit des Eren Schwaben Freyheit

But Usselinx did not lose heart. He went to Paris and presented his plans there; then he made proposals for the founding of a *New South Company in Holland* in combination with Sweden and finally he came forth with a project for a *General Commercial Company*, which should include nearly all European countries, approaching the English and French ambassadors on the subject and presenting new memorials and papers.⁸ He was engaged in a futile cause, however, and his many schemes mainly tended to fill the city archives of Europe with "short memorials" and arguments, and to keep the idea of Swedish trade and colonization before the mind of Oxenstierna. In the meantime other proposals were presented to the chancellor, which led to more definite results, and we are now ready to trace the development of the activities that led to the founding of *New Sweden* on the Delaware.

⁸ Copies of *Mss. in Penn. Hist. So.*; Jameson, *Usselinx*, p. 182 ff.; Odhner, *Sv. in. hist.*, pp. 299-300 (transl. in *Penn. Mag.*, VII. 268 ff.).

BOOK II.

The Founding of the New Sweden Company and
the Colony, 1635-1643.



PART I.
ACTIVITIES IN EUROPE, 1635-1642.

CHAPTER XI.

SAMUEL BLOMMAERT AND THE COPPER TRADE TO THE
WEST INDIES.

The South Company, founded through the efforts of Usse-
linx for the purpose of making settlements in the New World
and conducting extensive commercial enterprises, was turned
away from its original purpose and failed, and the other pro-
jects that occupied his energies for years had even less success.
As time went on, however, the idea of Usselinx assumed shape
through a different channel and finally materialized, but on a
smaller scale.

It was the commercial ambition of Swedish statesmen and
their endeavors to interest Dutch merchants in the copper trade
that led to the founding of New Sweden. Copper mining was
one of the most important industries in Sweden during the first
half of the seventeenth century and the copper trade was of
great significance and a source of large income to the Swedish
government. The Crown borrowed millions with copper as
security and many of its debts to Dutch merchants were paid
by this metal,¹ large quantities being always kept in the store
houses of Tripp and Company in Amsterdam. But the price
fell occasionally and the Crown became a heavy loser. The
Copper Company was not a success and the trade was at times
poor.² Considering the importance of the article and the con-
dition of the Swedish treasury at the time, when the little king-
dom was taking a leading part in one of the greatest wars in

¹ See *A. Oxenstiernas Skrifter*, 2, XI. Odhner, *Sv. in. hist.*, p. 241.

² Cf. Chap. VII. above.

history, it is not surprising to find that Swedish statesmen should pay particular attention to the copper trade. They were always seeking new markets for the red metal and their plans were not limited to Europe; Conrad von Falkenberg³ and perhaps others were looking to America for consumers. In the year 1628 Von Falkenberg writes to the chancellor about the East and West India copper trade and gives articles of copper sent to these regions.⁴ The copper trade to the West Indies was again referred to in one of Falkenberg's letters to the chancellor in 1632 and means for beginning such a trade were suggested. Falkenberg had had an interview with a man, who was well acquainted with West Indian conditions. He writes:

Here is, gracious lord, an important man, one of the directors [of the D. W. India Company], who has himself been in the Indies⁵ and carried on a large trade there. As he is disgusted with the [Dutch West] India Company, he has spoken to me and expressed the wish that he may have an interview with His Royal Majesty or with Your Excellency, saying that he well knew the way to [the places], where the copper formerly had its best market. Among other things he said that formerly a great deal of copper went to Genea⁶ and that then about 100 m. lbs.⁷ of copper were given for as much gold as is worth 70 g.g.⁸ here but that now the [Dutch] West India Company has advanced the prices so much that they give less than 20 m. lbs. for the same amount of gold [as was formerly given for 100 m. lbs.]. [He] is of opinion therefore, that if a ship should be sent to Ginea with copper wares and a little more copper should be given for gold than the [Dutch] West

³ Conrad von Falkenberg was Swedish commissioner in Holland for many years, governor of Kalmarlän (1637); member of the Royal Council in 1651, etc. Some of his letters (1626-1633) are published in *A. Oxenstiernas Skrifter*, 2, XI.

⁴ *Dett [Hollenska] Vestindianiske Compagnie förskickar några kapparkiätlar och några messingsvaror till Vestindigen, dock ingen quantitet*, Oct. 28, 1628. *A. Oxenstiernas Skrifter*, 2, XI. 560.

⁵ East Indies.

⁶ Guinea.

⁷ *m. lb.* would generally mean to indicate so many thousand pounds, but 100 lbs. must be understood. 100,000 lbs. of copper could not be given for 70 g.g., for in 1631 Von der Linde writes that 100 lbs. were worth from 40 to 42 florins or gulden, *A. Oxenstiernas Skrifter*, 2, XI. 455. Cf. also p. 460, "*Man hafver hållet koparn på 44fl. 100lb.*"

⁸ g.g. = *guldgüllen* (Gold gulden or florins).



The research room in the Royal Archives, showing some of the volumes relating to New Sweden preserved in the Royal Archives and in the Archives of the Exchequer (The Kammararkiv). Stockholm.



The reading room in the Royal Library (Stockholm), showing ms. volumes relating to the colony.

India Company does, we would get the advantage of them and secure the greatest amount of gold."

This man, Falkenberg goes on to say, was well acquainted with the West Indian trade, but he requested that his name be withheld for a while so that "it might not leak out" who he was.⁹ This "förnäm[d] man"¹⁰ was none other than Samuel Blommaert. He had spent several years in the East Indies and was well acquainted with conditions there and with the best methods for conducting trade to these regions. He had for years been interested in the Swedish copper trade, in the capacity of Erik Larsson's factor and had also had other dealings with the Swedish Crown.¹¹ Together with "Bugeslac Blommaert,"¹² Gerard Thiens and Mattheus Hoeufft" and perhaps others he had erected a brass factory at Nacka.¹³ In the autumn of 1632 he sought to have the royal privileges extended for six years, and in the same year he wrote to Johan Casimir¹⁴ requesting his aid in securing the privileges.¹⁵ About the same time he had several conferences with Falkenberg concerning the Swedish copper trade and Swedish commerce, and also presented some written articles in the matter, suggesting means for bringing the metal into higher price. Falkenberg reported the result of these conferences to Oxenstierna in January, 1633,

⁹ Falkenberg to A. Oxenstierna, March 30, 1632. *A. Oxenstiernas Skrifter*, 2, XI. 601-2.

¹⁰ *Noble man, important man.*

¹¹ See *A. Oxenstiernas Skrifter*, 2, XI. pp. 436-7, 451, 470, 594, 595, 633, 641 (index, p. 840). In *Kam. Reg.* are several references to S. Blommaert. On September 10, 1636, a letter was sent "to Johan le Thor concerning the grain bills of Blommaert," and on the same date a letter was written to Blommaert requesting him to send in the grain bills for 1630 and 1631. See *Kam. Reg.*, September 10, 1636. Cf. *A. Oxenstiernas Skrifter*, I. 716, 725 and 2, XI.

¹² Bugeslac B. might possibly be a mistake in the document for Samuel B.

¹³ Nacka, located a short distance southeast of Stockholm. Cf. Rosenberg, *Geog. Stat. Handlex.*, II. 224.

¹⁴ Johan Casimir of Pfalz-Zweibrücken, the brother-in-law of Gustavus Adolphus.

¹⁵ *Kam. Kol. Reg.*, October 6, 1632 (K.A.); letter from Blommaert to Oxenstierna, July 4, 1635; letter to Johan Casimir, Dec. 2, 1632. Casimir had requested Blommaert to come to Sweden to confer about various things, but he never visited that country.

and on February 6 he writes "that Samuel Blommaert was authority for the statement that there are copper-works in the west Indies and [also] good copper." "The West Indian traders," he continues, "do not cary as much copper now [to the Indies] as they [formerly] did," although the metal was in better price now than it used to be.¹⁶ Blommaert continued to interest himself in Swedish commerce. In 1634 he had again a number of communications and perhaps conferences with Falkenberg. He was requested to go to Sweden to give an oral relation and he was promised large remunerations, but he did not think it advisable to leave his posts at Amsterdam for an uncertain position. He seems to have offered his services to the Crown, however, and made several proposals for the increase of Swedish trade. That Falkenberg reported the matter to Oxenstierna is probable.¹⁷

About the middle of July the same year he had interviews with Le Blon, another Hollander, who stood in close connection with Swedish diplomats and statesmen. The same subject was discussed. Offers for serving the Swedish Crown were made and the value of these services was dwelt upon. On July 18 (n.s.?), Le Blon reported these conferences to Peter Spiring and went into some detail about Blommaert and his offers. The letter was, perhaps, as Professor Kernkamp suggests, sent to Spiring and by him it was forwarded to Oxenstierna.¹⁸ Blommaert had thus for years stood in close connection with Swedish statesmen and Swedish trade and Falkenberg and Le Blon were instrumental in bringing Oxenstierna's attention to him and to his offers of service and commercial views.

The Swedish arms in Germany were soon to experience vary-

¹⁶ *Oxenstiernas Skrifter*, 2, XI. 633, 641.

¹⁷ See letter from Le Blon to Spiring(?), July 18, 1634, "Extranea Holland, Le Blons Avisor," No. 18 (R.A.). Lately printed by Professor Kernkamp, *Zweed. Arch.*, p. 29 ff. There is only one letter preserved for this year from Falkenberg to A. Oxenstierna, written at Stockholm, April 6, 1634, *Ox. Saml.* (R.A.).

¹⁸ Kernkamp, *Zweed. Arch.*, p. 29 ff.; *Skand. Arch.*, p. 93 ff. This section of the book was ready in the spring of 1908 before I had seen Professor Kernkamp's *Zweed. Arch.* The references have been filled in later.



ing fortunes. On the twenty-seventh of August 1634,¹⁹ the imperial forces won a decisive victory at Nördlingen over the army commanded by Duke Bernhard and Gustaf Horn and the Catholics were now masters in southwestern Germany. The Heilbronn League was practically dissolved and the Elector of Saxony made peace with the Emperor at Prague. The Swedish forces were in danger of being driven entirely out of Germany; money was lacking and the allies of Sweden were falling off. But Axel Oxenstierna did not lose courage. He was determined that Sweden should not withdraw from the field before an honorable peace could be obtained. To complicate matters the six years' truce with Poland drew to an end and danger from this direction was imminent. A new truce was made, however, which was to last for twenty-six years. Johan Oxenstierna²⁰ was sent to England to gain the support of King Charles, but the "hollow promises" of the King presented to the chancellor by Anstruther were treated with disdain and there was no "choice now, but to accept Richelieu's predominance." Accordingly, Oxenstierna went to France in 1635 to effect an agreement with that nation. On his return in April he visited the Hague and in May he spent some time at Amsterdam.²¹ During his stay here he came in contact with some of the principal merchants of Holland and had interviews with some of them. He was especially desirous of improving the copper and iron trade and naturally called on Samuel Blommaert among the first, as being best acquainted with the subject. Oxenstierna's interview with him had large results: it became the starting point for the founding of a colony. Markets for the principal metals of Sweden at this time were the main subjects for discussion. Oxenstierna's thoughts were again directed westward by Blommaert and here we have the germ of the *New Sweden Com-*

¹⁹ The battle began in the evening of August 26, and lasted until August 27. Cf. Chemnitz, II. 521.

²⁰ A son of Axel Oxenstierna.

²¹ See Pufendorf, *Sechs und Zwant. Bücher der Schwed. und Deut. Kriegs-Geschichte*, etc., p. 259 ff. Chemnitz, *Schwed. K.*, II. 696. Gardiner, *The Per. Hist. of Charles I.*, Vol. I. 260 ff.; II. 63 ff., 85 ff.

pany. At these interviews²² Blommaert presented "three points" for the increase of the Swedish copper and iron trade. "The third point" was the trade to Guinea. He was of the opinion that good markets could be found there for Swedish copper and iron wares and he proposed that the Crown of Sweden should give octroy to a company to trade in those parts and on the coast of Africa, as the States General had done to the Dutch West India Company. Before Oxenstierna left Amsterdam, Blommaert promised to send regular reports to the chancellor and he in turn was made promises of reward and a permanent position. On June 3 (n.s.), 1635, shortly after Oxenstierna's departure, Blommaert sent a letter to him presenting in writing, what he had already reported orally.²³

Six days later he reported that the copper had advanced one gulden on "the hundred," and on June 23 (n.s.), he informed the chancellor that copper articles were sought after in Guinea.²⁴ Again, on July 4, he refers to "the navigation to Guinea," and on August 22 he speaks of the trade to the same place "of which enough has already been said."²⁵

²² There were probably more than one.

²³ Letters to Oxenstierna, June 3 and July 4, 1635. *Ox. Saml.* "Ick hebbe aen U. Ex. mondelinge verthoont de meddelen, waerdoor het koper, sijnde een van de principaelste domeynen van Sweden, in reputation en prijs soude cannon gebracht worden en doertoe aangewesen *dry middelen*. . . . Als het Rijck Sweden nu ooch octroy gaven om naer Guinea en de cust van Aphrica te vaeren, soo soude het bynaer op den ouden voet comen, dat 3 à 400 vaeten koperwerck, elck vat van 1,000 à 1,200 pont gewicht, derwaerts gesonden worden, dat groot vertier in de coperen soude brengen . . . en de croon Sweden soude, de navigatie in hun lant crygen om van trap tot trap voorder daerin te gaen en behandelen de ganse cust van Aphrica, dat jaerlijcx meer dan 25,000 staven yser trect, en souden door experientie het yser soo bequaem in Sweden maecken, dat het in plaets van Naems yser gebruyct soude connon worden." Letter to Oxenstierna, June 3, 1635. Kernkamp, *Zweed. Arch.*, p. 72, 73, 74.

²⁴ Letters, June 9, June 23, 1635, to A. Oxenstierna. *Ox. Saml.* (R.A.); Kernkamp, pp. 75-7.

²⁵ Letters to A. Oxenstierna, July 4, August 22, 1635. *Ox. Saml.* (R.A.); Kernkamp, pp. 78, 81, 85.

maecten om goud en zilver te gelyken met penning
 aduissien
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 facit den boeck der wasschequiers in die myn van
 aerde Gaen in Ryt gelykmanne een soep die was
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Amsterdam Juni Anno 1635.

CHAPTER XII.

PETER MINUIT AND THE PLANS FOR THE FOUNDING OF A NEW SWEDEN COMPANY.

In the autumn a new element was brought into the plans of Swedish transatlantic trade: Peter Minuit had a meeting with Blommaert.¹ Minuit had been governor of New Netherland for a number of years. In 1629 the directors of the Dutch West India Company voted to institute a so-called "*Patronat*," but it soon became very unpopular and the right of patronage was withdrawn in less than two years. Peter Minuit, who had faithfully followed the instructions of the directors, was suspected by the new party in power of being in too much sympathy with the *Patronat* idea and this led to his recall. He left New Amsterdam in the beginning of 1632 and arrived in Holland early in the summer.² He was a man of great energy and could not be idle in Holland. His home country was harassed with war, making it impossible for him to find suitable employment there, and consequently he offered his services to Blommaert. Blommaert had claims on the South River and had bought land there together with some other Hollanders during Minuit's governorship. It is possible that Minuit offered to make another trial at trading and settling in the Delaware region, where the success was so poor in 1631-33.³ Minuit's offers came at an opportune time. The Swedish statesmen were in-

¹ Blommaert writes: "Noch een ander persoon is hier, die op een ander oort [than the coast of Africa] seer ervaeren is, die int lant van Cleeff woont; en alsoot daer vol oorloghs is, heeft my synen dienst gepresenteert en soude wel genegen wesen U. Ex. te comen en mondelinge openinge van dingen te doen. . . ." Blommaert to Oxenstierna, Dec. 26, 1635; Kernkamp, pp. 85-92.

² See *Sybel's Hist. Zeit.*, XV. p. 23 ff.; Brodhead, I. p. 162 ff.; O'Callaghan, I. 100-4. On the "*Patronat*" government see O'Callaghan, *Hist. of New Netherland*, I. 112 ff.

³ Blommaert to Oxenstierna, Dec. 26, 1635, *Ox. Saml.* (R.A.); cf. below, chap. XX.

terested in "the West Indian trade," Blommaert had hopes of securing permanent employment from the Swedish government, being dissatisfied with the management of the XIX., and Minit had just cause for complaints against that body. Why not found a Dutch-Swedish opposition company under Swedish protection and send trading expeditions to the Delaware under the Swedish flag?

On December 26 Blommaert reported the interview to the chancellor, stating that Minit was willing to make a personal call on Oxenstierna and lay his plans before him. Some time before Peter Spiring instructed Blommaert to send all letters to him, having been requested to do so by the chancellor, and from August 23 until December 23 there are no Blommaert letters in the *Oxenstiernska Collection* in Riksarkivet, as they were probably sent to Spiring during this time by whom their contents were reported to Oxenstierna. It is likely that Blommaert gave fuller accounts of Minit's propositions in these letters than he did in his missive of December 26.

Thus Spiring, one of the most interested promoters of the *New Sweden Company*, from the first became acquainted with the plan of Minit and the ideas of establishing Swedish trade in the new world on different lines from those proposed by Usselinx.⁴

No more mention is made of the West Indian trade in Blommaert's letters to the chancellor until April the following year,⁵ when another step forward had been taken, but it is probable that the matter was referred to in the letters sent to Spiring. In March, 1636, Spiring was sent to Holland to ascertain whether the Dutch subsidies could be obtained or not and he was given a commission "to find out if some service could be done for the Crown . . . in commercial matters."⁶

⁴ Blommaert to Oxenstierna, December 26, 1635. Cf. Kernkamp, *Zweed. Arch.*, pp. 83-85; Söndén, *Riksk. A. Oxenstiernas brev.*, p. 21.

⁵ The letters from January 23, 1635, until April 30, 1636, contain reference to the copper trade, Blommaert's commission, political events and general news.

⁶ "Så hafver jag sendt Peter Spiring dijt öfver att förweta mig om ded [the subsidies] ähr till att nåå eller icke. . . . Hafver honom och gifvet dessföruthan j commission att sij till om icke Crohnan wedh denne tijdernes concurrence

It is likely that he was also requested to confer with Blommaert about his "West Indian plans:" that Blommaert was directed to consult with Spiring about it can be inferred from the former's letters to the chancellor. Spiring arrived in Amsterdam on March 18 (n.s.), but Blommaert did not meet him because he had not been informed of the date of his coming, and Spiring remained in the city but a single day.⁷ Spiring's arrival in Holland gave new life to the commercial plans of Blommaert and Minuit. He corresponded with Oxenstierna and Blommaert about the affair, informing the latter that he would make another visit to Amsterdam towards the end of April.⁸ On April 30 (n.s.), 1636, Blommaert again refers in a letter to Oxenstierna to the coast of Africa and Guinea as good markets for copper and it is very probable that he wrote at length to Spiring about these matters.⁹ The latter, having been deterred for about three weeks from making his proposed journey to Amsterdam, finally came to the city on May 18 (n.s.) and arranged an interview with Blommaert before his return to the Hague. At the same time or a little later he also had an interview with Minuit.¹⁰

On May 24 Spiring writes to the chancellor that he had discussed the Guinean trade with certain people. They desired special privileges and Spiring gave them good promises of success.¹¹ He was requested to visit Oxenstierna at Stralsund

någon tjänst kan skee i commercierne heller manufacturerne." *Hand. rör. Skan. Hist.*, XXXVIII, pp. 289-90. The States General promised Oxenstierna three months' subsidies in 1635 and he was given a written assurance to that effect. But he tried in vain to secure them through Ambassador Camerarius. Hence Spiring was sent there to endeavor to obtain the money.

⁷ Blommaert to A. Oxenstierna, March 26, 1636; Spiring to Oxenstierna, March 8/18, 1636, *Ox. Saml.*

⁸ "Op den 8 en deser Moent hebbe jongst aen V. Ex. geschreven. Sedert hebbe [ik] met devotie naer d'Heer Spierinck gewacht, die tot nochtie niet en is gecomen." Letter to A. Oxenstierna, April 30, 1636. *Ox. Saml.* This letter is not printed in full by Kernkamp.

⁹ Blommaert to Oxenstierna, April 30, 1636; Kernkamp, p. 101. There is no letter in the collection from April 31 until August 21.

¹⁰ Minuit to Oxenstierna, June 15, 1636, N.S., I. (R.A.).

¹¹ Spiring to A. Oxenstierna, May 14/24, 1636, *Ox. Saml.* (copy in Penn. Hist. So.). "Wegen der Chynaesichen handlung habe ich unterschiedliche discours gehabt, vermeine auch dass solch werck woll gehen könne, allein es scheint dass sie einige freijheit begehren möchten, weswegen ich Ihnen gutte promes gethan."

before the latter returned to Sweden, and he wrote to the chancellor that he would bring along a man who could give further account about the affair.¹² Minuit is undoubtedly referred to and he had already in 1635 expressed a desire to present his views to the chancellor. He did not accompany Spiring to Stralsund, when the latter went there in June,¹³ but he sent a "memorial" to the chancellor (at Stralsund), setting forth his views in which we have the first written "project of New Sweden," and the name used for the first time.¹⁴ "The English, French and Dutch," he says, "have occupied large tracts of land in the New World. Sweden ought no longer to abstain from making her name known in foreign countries." He offered his services to the Crown for the beginning of an enterprise, which although small, would grow into great magnitude. The plan, as already presented to Peter Spiring, was to make a voyage to certain places well known to him, in the neighbor-

¹² "Werde auch einen mit mir bringen, welcher E. Exell. breiter von den sachen wirdt wissen zuberichten." Spiring to A. Oxenstierna, May 14/24, 1636. In my opinion this means that Minuit would be brought along to Stralsund and not to Sweden at this time as Odhner thinks. Odhner says: "Det var meningen att Minuit skulle följa med Spiring då denne på sommaren 1636 återvände till Sverige. . . . Men han blef hindrad och afgaf istället ett skriftligt betänkande i frågan, hvilket Spiring medförde till Sverige." (See the translation in *Penn. Mag.*, Vol. III. 269 ff., 395 ff.). I find no source for the last statement. There is nothing to show that Minuit was prevented from going to Sweden in June. On the contrary, he says that he was willing to go there to make an oral report if the gentlemen of the council should desire him to do so. "Hierby conde mondelinge aengewesen worden, wat nutticheeden de croon Sweden met der tijt daruyt soude connen trecken, tsy dat ick in Sweden ontboden worde om naerder contentement van alles te geven, ofte sulcx als de heeren van die regeeringe sullen goetvinden." I find it very improbable that Spiring brought the memorial to Sweden. It was dated June 15, and Oxenstierna did not leave Stralsund before July, hence there was time for it to reach the chancellor before he set out for Stockholm. That Minuit intended the letter to reach Oxenstierna before he quitted Stralsund is clear from the fact that he wished him "a happy journey." See Minuit's letter.

Peter Minuit had in mind, however, to accompany Spiring later in the summer, but he was hindered by "great inconveniences." Spiring to Oxenstierna, Jan. 31, 1637.

¹³ Spiring wrote from the Hague on June 11, 1636, to A. Oxenstierna at Stralsund. But on July 12 he writes from Stralsund to the chancellor, addressing it to Stockholm. Spiring remained at Stralsund for some time. His last letter from there in *Ox. Saml.* is dated July 12/22, 1636.

¹⁴ Lately printed by Kernkamp in his *Zweed. Arch.*, p. 43 ff.; translated in *Penn. Mag.*, VI. 453 ff.; Winsor, *Nar. and Crit. Hist.*, IV. p. 445, note 2.

[illegible]

hood of Virginia, New Netherland and other districts adjacent, which were to be occupied and called *New Sweden*. For such a voyage a ship of one hundred and twenty to two hundred tons¹⁵ would be necessary with an armament of twelve cannon¹⁶ and a crew of from twenty to twenty-five men. The cargo for trade with the Indians would cost between ten and twelve thousand florins and consist of "adzes, hatchets, kettles, duffels and other merchandise."¹⁷ The supplies needed for the journey for twelve months would cost about three thousand four hundred florins. He further proposed that the Swedish government should furnish twelve soldiers to garrison and guard the places to be occupied, in addition to the ammunition, and also to provide a bark or yacht, which could be used in the colony for the purpose of trading with the Indians. The whole expense of the expedition would come to about 16,000 florins¹⁸ half of which would be contributed by Minuit. Since the district to be occupied was adapted for growing tobacco and various kinds of grains he also proposed that suitable persons to cultivate these should be taken along. But it would be necessary, he thought, for the Crown of Sweden to give a charter to the participants, prohibiting other persons for twenty years¹⁹ to sail to these parts, on pain of confiscation of cargo and ship, also granting the company freedom from duty in Sweden on all incoming and outgoing goods for ten years.²⁰

Shortly after the arrival of this memorial Oxenstierna prepared to leave for Sweden. Peace negotiations were closed for the moment and his presence in Stockholm was now of importance. The government there wavered, the war was becoming more and more unpopular and the people were fairly tired of the many extra taxes and ever-recurring conscriptions.

¹⁵ The original has "60 à 70 à 100 lasten." Cf. above, Chap. VI.

¹⁶ Kernkamp reads "17 stucken." *Zweed. Arch.*, p. 44.

¹⁷ "bestaende in dissels, byllen, ketels, duffels en andere cremereij."

¹⁸ These two passages are mistranslated in Winsor, IV. 446. The original has 1,600 but this is clearly a mistake for 16,000.

¹⁹ Kernkamp, *Zweed. Arch.*, p. 45, has "voor den tijt van 70 jaeren," but the original clearly has "20 jaeren." See facsimile.

²⁰ Peter Minuit to A. Oxenstierna, Amsterdam, June 15, 1636, N.S., I. (R.A.).

Oxenstierna's enthusiasm was needed to encourage the drooping spirits, his influence and unquestioned authority were required to give force and emphasis to the orders and acts of the government.²¹ About July 4 he took ship at Stralsund²² and on the thirteenth he was in the Swedish capital.²³ With his arrival new life was put into the machinery of state. Almost immediately changes were noticed in every department. The many conflicting interests of the different estates were to some extent united; many branches of the government were reorganized and new departments were added, the finances were put on a firmer basis, commerce and trade were encouraged and steps were taken to improve and aid the industries.²⁴

When the most urgent matters of state had been looked after, Oxenstierna returned to the commercial plans of Blommaert and Minuit, and at a meeting of the Council of State on September 27, 1636, these plans were brought up for discussion. "The chancellor presented some propositions drawn up by Spiring concerning the Copper Company and another *Guinean Company*."²⁵ Spiring was now in Stockholm,²⁶ and "the propositions" read before the councillors were undoubtedly the result of interviews between him, Blommaert and Minuit, and they were probably drafted before he left Holland. It is likely that Minuit's letter to Oxenstierna was also read.²⁷

²¹ Odhner, *Sv. in. hist.*, p. 47 ff.; Geijer, III. 199.

²² A letter written by Oxenstierna to "Landtgreffen af Hessen," on July 4, 1636, "*am Schiff*," fixes the date approximately of his sailing for Sweden. For the above reference I am indebted to Dr. Sondén of the Royal Archives.

²³ Odhner, *Sv. in. hist.*, p. 60.

²⁴ Odhner, *Sv. in. hist.*, p. 63 ff.; Geijer, III. 248.

²⁵ "R. Cantzleren praesenterade och tedde några förslagz puncta, aff Petter Spiring opsatte, angående 1. kopparcompagniedt 2. om itt annat Guinerske compagniet, som formodeligen kunde anställas medh någre i Hollandh." *Rådspr.*, VI. 612.

²⁶ Spiring left Stralsund at the end of July or in the beginning of August. His last letter to the Chancellor (preserved) from Stralsund is dated July 22, 1636, and his first at Stockholm is dated August 29, 1636. See letters in *Ox. Saml.* (R.A.). Spiring had been ordered to return to Sweden in the spring, and as early as April 5 it was stated that he was expected at Stockholm. *Rådspr.*, VI. 165. Minuit had in mind to accompany Spiring to Sweden in the summer but he was detained.

²⁷ I find it improbable that Minuit's letter is especially referred to by the

What conclusion was arrived at or what was further done in the matter at this meeting is not known, but before Spiring left Sweden in the autumn he was instructed to confer with Blommaert and other Hollanders and try to organize a trading company.²⁸ In October Spiring left Sweden, November 8 (n.s.) he arrived at Amsterdam and from there he went at once to the Hague.²⁹ He had been authorized by the chancellor and the Council of State to engage Blommaert as a commercial agent of the Swedish Crown, and he brought along a commission for him, signed by the members of the government. Between the eighth (n.s.) and the sixteenth of November Blommaert was called to the Hague to confer with Spiring about the transatlantic trade and other matters as well as to receive his commission,³⁰ and on the seventeenth (n.s.) his instructions and other official papers confirming the appointment were delivered to him. His appointment seems to have been somewhat similar to that of a consul general of today.³¹ He was to have a yearly salary of 1,000 R.D. and for his travelling expenses he was allowed ten florins a day abroad and eight florins a day within the boundaries of Holland. His salary was to begin with the date of his official appointment, but he received 200 R.D. for time he served in 1636.³² A few days later Spiring

minutes of the council, as Professor Odhner seems to think. See his *Nya Sveriges Gr.*, p. 9. In that case there would be no reason for saying "*af Petter Spiring opsatte*" (drawn up by Petter Spiring). Furthermore Minuit's letter has no reference to a copper company. But as stated above it is likely that Minuit's letter was read or referred to.

²⁸ *Rådspr.*, VI. 612; Spiring to A. Oxenstierna, November 8/18, 1636, January 31, 1637.

²⁹ Letter to A. Oxenstierna, Hague, November 1/11, 1636, *Ox. Saml.* (R.A.).

³⁰ Blommaert to A. Oxenstierna, November 26, 1636. *Ox. Saml.* (R.A.). Kernkamp does not print the beginning of Blommaert's letter of November 26 in full, where these facts are related. "Sedert mynen lesten is d'Heer Spirinck in dem Haege gecomen. Heeft my daer bij hem ontboden en verthoont de commissie van E. Ex. en de heeren van de hoochste reger. underteechent om mij hier te gebruycken als commissaris van de croon Sweden."

³¹ Cf. Odhner, *N. S.*, p. 9.

³² "Sonsten auch, so bin ich gestern alhier mit Samuel Bloemaert veraccordiret das er vor sein Jährliches Tractament haben soll 1,000 R.D. undt das er solche gelder Jährlichs von mir zu empfangen haben möge. Vor dieses Jahr sollen Ihme R.D. 200 verehret werden. Item, wann Er etwa in der Crone Schweden Dienste innerhalb landes nohtttwendig reisen müste, so soll er vor seine reijse

went to Amsterdam to perform certain business transactions and look after the copper trade, and on the twenty-fourth of November he made a report to the chancellor. He remained in the city over two weeks.³³ During his stay, Minuit was called there and several conferences were held with him and Blommaert about voyages to the New World. The formation of a company was considered and Spiring seems to have laid the views of the Swedish government and of the chancellor before the two men. Minuit was requested to go to Sweden to make an oral report and he and Blommaert were asked to go to the Hague after the holidays to fully discuss the plans and present written memorials.³⁴

While these things were taking place, another plan was proposed to Axel Oxenstierna. One Joachim Stumpff of Hamburg seems to have become interested in the West India trade. He was acquainted with the efforts of Usselinx and may have received his ideas from him.³⁵ "The French," he says, "sail to New France, the English to Virginia and now the Dutch go to Brazil." The Spaniards have sailed to these parts for 144 years and have gained immense riches there. The greatest advantage has been derived by a large part of Europe from trade and territorial occupation in these parts, "for it is well known," he continues, "what Spain and the Netherlands were before they began to sail to these regions." Sweden ought to take part in this trade, found colonies and open up these places

gelder iedern tag acht holl. gülden habenn. Wann er aber ausserhalb landes notwendig reisen müste, Es seije nach Schweden oder wohin Ihme von der hochlöblichen Königl. Regierung oder von Ew. Excell:ce zu verreisen, anbefohlen werden möchte, dass er als dann auf aggratie der hochlöblich. Königl. Regierung vor iedem tag vor seine reijse gelder zehen gulden holl. haben solle." Spiring to Oxenstierna, November 8/18, 1636, *Ox. Saml.* (R.A.).

³³ For Spiring's labors at Amsterdam see his letters of November 24 and December 16, 1636, to the chancellor.

³⁴ Blommaert to A. Oxenstierna, November 26, 1636; P. Spiring to Oxenstierna, November 24, December 10, December 16, 1636. The first letter of Spiring to the chancellor written from Amsterdam, shortly after his arrival, is dated on November 24, and the last is dated December 10. He left for the Hague 9 P. M. of the same day. See letter, December 23, 1636, *Ox. Saml.*

³⁵ In a letter of August 26, 1637, he says that "many great men, among whom was Willem Usselinx, had for years labored in vain on the project." *Ox. Saml.*

to the merchants. With a few people Sweden could carry out this great undertaking, for merchants from other nations would take part in it and assume a large share of the cost. It would bring Sweden eventually a larger income than the entire revenues of the state; it would supply means for carrying on the war against the Papists, and it would give a base for attacking the enemy in their weakest spot, "for the King of Spain is nowhere so easily attacked [with advantage] as in [the West] Indies. That is his heart." He further proposed to go to Stockholm to explain the matter fully before the gentlemen of the government, and he could not for a moment believe that the "plan would not be accepted by the King (!) of Sweden." Oxenstierna seems to have answered his letters, but continually referred to the Crown as the final authority to act in the matter.³⁶

It is hardly probable that the plans of Stumpff had much influence on Oxenstierna. They were too wild and visionary for the statesman, who conducted the Thirty Years' War.³⁷ But the plans of Blommaert and Minuit were not allowed to rest. Spiring's report of the progress that had been made in the formation of a company in Holland was received by the chancellor about the middle of December and it was read in the council chamber, December 24, 1636, imparting new interest to the scheme in Sweden and giving rise to discussions and conferences. Fleming was appointed to correspond with Spiring about it and the affair entered a new stage,³⁸ Fleming's connection with the undertaking becoming of great importance for its future success.³⁹

³⁶ See letters from Stumpff to A. Oxenstierna, October 29, 1636, January 14, 1637, August 26, 1637; supplement to a letter dated July 15, 1636, May 23, 1638. All the letters are not preserved, see the one of August 26, 1637. *Ox. Saml.* In the collection are six letters, two memorials and a copy of a letter from A. Oxenstierna, the three latter not indicated by Sondén in his catalogue. See p. 230.

³⁷ Usselinx also continued to present memorials and plans for the establishment of new companies from 1634 until 1639 and he often wrote to the chancellor. See *Biblio.* in Jameson, 218-219.

³⁸ No letters from Spiring to Klas Fleming, or from him to Spiring, are known to exist.

³⁹ *Rådspr.*, VI. 780.

The work also went on in Holland. Blommaert and Minuit were invited, as we have seen, to appear at another conference at the Hague shortly after the first of the year. Minuit was in the city about the end of December, visiting with Spiring, and about ten or twelve days later (the first week in January, 1637) both he and Blommaert appeared at the Hague for further considering the plans of trade and colonization. During these conferences the ideas took more definite shape. There were now two distinct plans under consideration—Blommaert's original proposition of beginning a trade to the coast of Guinea and other places and Minuit's suggestion of founding a *New Sweden* and carrying on trade with the Indians. Spiring favored the former plan. He thought that the activities of the new company should be directed towards the *Gold Coast*, where copper would find a market and where big profits could be expected. It was found, however, that a large capital would be required for such an undertaking, and hence it was rejected. Furthermore neither Blommaert nor Minuit now seem to have been in sympathy with such a plan; they wanted to found a colony on the Delaware. Spiring called the New Sweden affair, as proposed by Minuit, a small undertaking and intimated that the profits would accordingly not be large, and how true were his apprehensions! He had desired to call in other merchants and experts to give their opinion on the subject, but Blommaert and Minuit would not allow this for fear that the project would become known to the Dutch West India Company. They advised that the undertaking be kept entirely secret until the places intended for colonization were occupied. Otherwise the Dutch company might destroy the whole project.

It was decided during the conferences to form a company which was to trade and plant colonies on the coast of North America "from Florida to Terra Nova."⁴⁰ Minuit undoubtedly presented charts and maps⁴¹ showing the Delaware region

⁴⁰ New Foundland.

⁴¹ It is suggested in Jameson's *Nar. of N. Nether.* that the map reproduced there was presented to the Swedish government at this time. But see below, Chap. XXI.

and explained the advantages to be gained here, and thither the first expedition was to be sent. The cost of this expedition was estimated at about 24,000 florins. Blommaert and his friends would furnish three eighths and Minuit one eighth of this sum. The other half of the capital would have to be raised in Sweden. Of the Swedish half, Spiring promised to take as much as was necessary up to one eighth of a share, after the Swedish participants had contributed their part, and he further proposed that the government should give octroy to the company, granting it the privilege of trade and colonization within a certain territory, denying this right to all others. Blommaert was to manage the company's affairs in Holland. He was to buy goods for the expeditions and make all necessary preparations in that country; he was to make out the programme of the company and draft the papers and privileges to be laid before the government, and he was to correspond with Fleming and inform him of the progress made. It was also decided to send Minuit to Sweden at the earliest opportunity to give an oral relation and to complete the arrangements necessary there for the first voyage, and he was to become the leader of the expedition.⁴²

When Blommaert returned to Amsterdam he set to work to draw up the necessary documents, and on January 14 (n.s.), 1637, he reported to the chancellor what had been accomplished so far. A few days later he also wrote to Fleming about it, while Spiring made a detailed report of the events on January 31. Blommaert's report reached the chancellor on the eleventh of February and Spiring's was received a little later. The matter of the proposed company and voyage was undoubtedly brought before the council soon after, although there is no mention of it in the minutes; but action was deferred until Minuit's expected arrival.⁴³

⁴² See Blommaert's letters to A. Oxenstierna, February 11, 18, March 31, May 6, 1637; *Ox. Saml.* (R.A.); Spiring to Oxenstierna, January 31, 1637, *Ox. Saml.* Cf. also letter of February 3, 1637, *Ox. Saml.*

⁴³ Blommaert to Oxenstierna, January 14, 1637; Spiring to Oxenstierna, January 31, February 3, 1637, and Oxenstierna's notes on the back of the letters. *Ox. Saml.* (R.A.).

CHAPTER XIII.

THE PRELIMINARY PREPARATIONS OF THE FIRST EXPEDITION AND THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE NEW SWEDEN COMPANY.

Minuit began to make preparations for his long journey shortly after the conferences at the Hague and on February 1 he left Amsterdam on his way to Sweden, having in his possession all the papers and documents, instructions, drafts of the charter and the like, that had been prepared in connection with the proposed company, as well as letters to Fleming and to the chancellor from Blommaert and Spiring and "a chart¹ of the whole of the West Indies and Florida."² He went by way of

¹ One, perhaps, similar to the *West-Indische Paskaert* reproduced in Doc. I. (dated 1621).

² Blommaert to Oxenstierna, February 11, 1637; Oxenstierna to Spiring (Conceptor), *Ox. Saml.* (R.A.).

The following papers were given to Minuit as he set out for Sweden, three of which (No. 3, 5, 14) are still extant:

"No. 1. Condiitiën, waerop de compag. geformeert sal worden.

No. 2. Concept van conditiën, wat de hoochloflijke regering van Sweeden aen de Compag. sullen gelieven te doen.

No. 3. Instructie, dienende op de reijse voor Peter Minuit [Preserved in N.S., I. (R.A.)].

No. 4. Scheepsraet-instructie op de reys.

No. 5. Rantsoenbrieff [Preserved in N.S., I. (K.A.)].

No. 6. Beraminge van victailleren.

No. 7. Lijste van natte en drooge vivres te behoeve van 36 man voor 15 maenden.

No. 8. Memorie hoe de commisen en andere officieren hun rapporten sullen instellen.

No. 9. Lijste van amunitie.

No. 10. Instructie voor P. Minuit op zijn reijse naar Sweden.

No. 11. Pascaert van gans West Indiën en Florida.

No. 12. Calculatie van alle fustagie, die men in en schip moet hebben tot een lange reise.

No. 13. Soutbrieff, die de bevrachte schepen mede gegeven wort.

No. 14. Artikelbrieff [Preserved in N.S., I. (R.A.)].

No. 15. Extract uit de commisen instructie.

No. 16. Formulier van een cargasoen."

This inventory is preserved with Bloomaert's letter of February 11, 1637. It has been printed by Kernkamp in *Zweed. Arch.*, p. 108. His copy, however, contains a few minor variations from the original.

Hamburg and Helsingör³ and arrived in Stockholm in the beginning of March.⁴ Here he became seriously ill and was confined to bed for some time.⁵ On account of Minit's illness the preparations in Sweden were somewhat delayed. The papers and detailed plans brought over by him were undoubtedly presented to Fleming and laid before the Council of State. The original plans called for a ship of about 160 to 200 tons burden and a small sloop, which were to be prepared by the Swedish government and placed at the disposal of the company. But the Council of State decided to furnish two vessels and a sloop and to prepare a larger expedition than the memorials called for.⁶

About the beginning of May Minit was again able to take charge of the work. Provisions were bought in Gothenburg and Stockholm, but most of the cargo had to be secured in Holland. The two ships for the voyage were at last selected, but progress was slow and the government did not give final orders in the matter till August. Fleming took great interest in the work. He advanced money to Minit and paid his bills during his illness. Through his efforts the Crown supplied over 3,000 pounds of powder and 30 muskets, and the admiralty furnished supplies for 1,711:34 R.D.

Blommaert was informed of the progress that was being made in Sweden from time to time. Meanwhile he was busy making preparations in Holland. As early as in March communications were sent to him by Oxenstierna and Fleming, stating that the government had decided to make preparations for the voyage and he was requested to buy goods and provisions for the journey. A draft of the charter of the company

³ From Hamburg he wrote to Blommaert under date of January 31 (o.s.) and on February 22 (n.s.) he wrote from Helsingör. Blommaert to Oxenstierna, February 18, March 31, 1637, *Ox. Saml.*

⁴ See Blommaert's letters to Oxenstierna, February 18, March 31, May 6, 1637; Kernkamp, *Zweed. Arch.*, pp. 111, 114.

⁵ Blommaert to Oxenstierna, May 6, 1637, *Journal*, no. 1. Minit was lodged with one Frans Weinschenck and 38 R.D. were paid by Fleming for his expenses. 10 R.D. were paid to the doctor and 8:40 R.D. were spent on medicine. *Journal*, no. 1.

⁶ Blommaert to Oxenstierna, August 22, 1637, *Ox. Saml.*

with the names of the participants in Sweden was forwarded to him and he was requested to raise the other half of the capital in Holland as was promised in former letters. This could not be done, however, before Minuit's return, who was to furnish one eighth of the capital and besides to bring complete reports from Sweden.⁷

But Minuit was detained in Sweden through his illness and otherwise, and it finally became necessary to secure the capital without him. No specified capital stock was agreed upon. An estimate of the cost of the first expedition was made and each member of the company was to furnish a certain part of that sum. Later, however, when it was found that the cost of the first expedition would be somewhat larger than was expected, it seems that the Swedish members wished to place the capital stock at 36,000 florins and according to this they subscribed as follows:

Axel Oxenstierna 1/8 part.....	1,800 R.D.
Gabriel Gustafsson Oxenstierna 1/8 part.....	1,800 R.D.
Gabriel Bengtsson Oxenstierna 1/16 part.....	900 R.D.
Klas Fleming 1/16 part	900 R.D.
Peter Spiring 1/8 part.....	1,800 R.D.
Total	7,200 R.D. ⁸
or 18,000 florins. ⁹	

The Dutch members likewise agreed to contribute a certain part of the cost of the first expedition and the following sums were supplied by each:

Adam Bessels ¹⁰ 1/16 part.....	900 R.D.
Isaac von dem Waeter 3/14 part.....	675 R.D.
Gillies von Brüggé 1/64 part.....	225 R.D.
Jaris Hoeffnaegell 1/16 part.....	900 R.D.
Huygens von Arnheim ¹¹ 1/16 part.....	900 R.D.
Samuel Blommaert 1/4 part.....	3,600 R.D.
Total	7,200 R.D.
or 18,000 florins.	

⁷ Blommaert to Oxenstierna, May 6, 1637, *Ox. Saml.*

⁸ See "Rechnung über Peter Minuits Reise nach West Indien 1637," *Ox. Saml.*; "Die H. H. Schwe. Part. in d. Viagio nach Florida oder Nova Svecia Anno, 1640," *Söderkomp.*, 1637-59 (R.A.).

⁹ *Journal*, no. 92. 7,200 R.D. = 18,000 florins.

¹⁰ "Koopman op Italië en de Levant, gehuwd met Magaretha Reynst, een zuster van Blommaerts vrouw," *Kernkamp, Zweed. Arch.*, pp. 19-20. Bessel also had a share in the colony of Rensselaerswyck in New Netherland. *Van Rensselaer B. Mss.*, pp. 175, 334; *Doc.*, I. 255.

¹¹ One *Gerrit van Arnhem* is referred to in *Van Rensselaer B. Mss.*, p. 424 ff.

Fleming was appointed director and he gave orders to Blommaert and others who served the company. Richard Clerk¹² acted as agent for the company in Sweden, and bills and papers were made out and presented by him. Johan Beier also became identified with the company shortly after its formation in the capacity of a servant of the same, but without a salary.

Certain privileges were granted by the government and a charter was given to the company, but none of these documents is now known to exist. That such papers were issued, however, can be seen from the fact that "Twenty-two Riksdaler were paid to the Secretary in the Chancery for the making of the privileges and other papers,"¹³ and it is thus clear that New Sweden was not founded under the charter of 1626, which did not include the American coast as far north as the Delaware nor under the charter of 1633, which had practically no territorial restrictions.¹⁴ The privileges were based on the suggestions of Blommaert and Minuit.¹⁵ Octroy and exclusive right for the company to trade on the Delaware for twenty years, was undoubtedly one of the rights granted; goods shipped from Holland for trade with the savages and for the use on the voyage were to be allowed to enter Sweden duty-free, and all articles coming from America were also to be free from duty, probably for a period of ten years, but goods shipped to Sweden from Holland to be sold by the company in the former

¹² Clerk, born in Scotland, in 1604. Entered Swedish service about 1628. He was major in the Swedish navy in 1640, made a nobleman in 1648. Brought Ambassador Whitelocke to Lübeck in 1654 as the latter returned to England. Clerk became a vice admiral in 1657. Died in Stockholm in 1668. *Rådspr.*, VI. 365, 837; Zettersten, *Sv. flot. hist.*, II. 598-9; Whitelocke, *Embassy*.

¹³ *Journal*, no. 1. "In der Cantzeleij dem Secretärij vor verfertigungh der Privilegien und andere documenten hat Ihr Gnaden zahlt R.D. 22." Cf. "Concept von conditiën," etc. In the charter given to Hooghkamer in 1640 it is stated that no encroachments must be made on the privileges of the *New Sweden Company*. Cf. below, Chap. XXIV. It is therefore clear that New Sweden was not founded under the old charter given to the South Company. Cf. above.

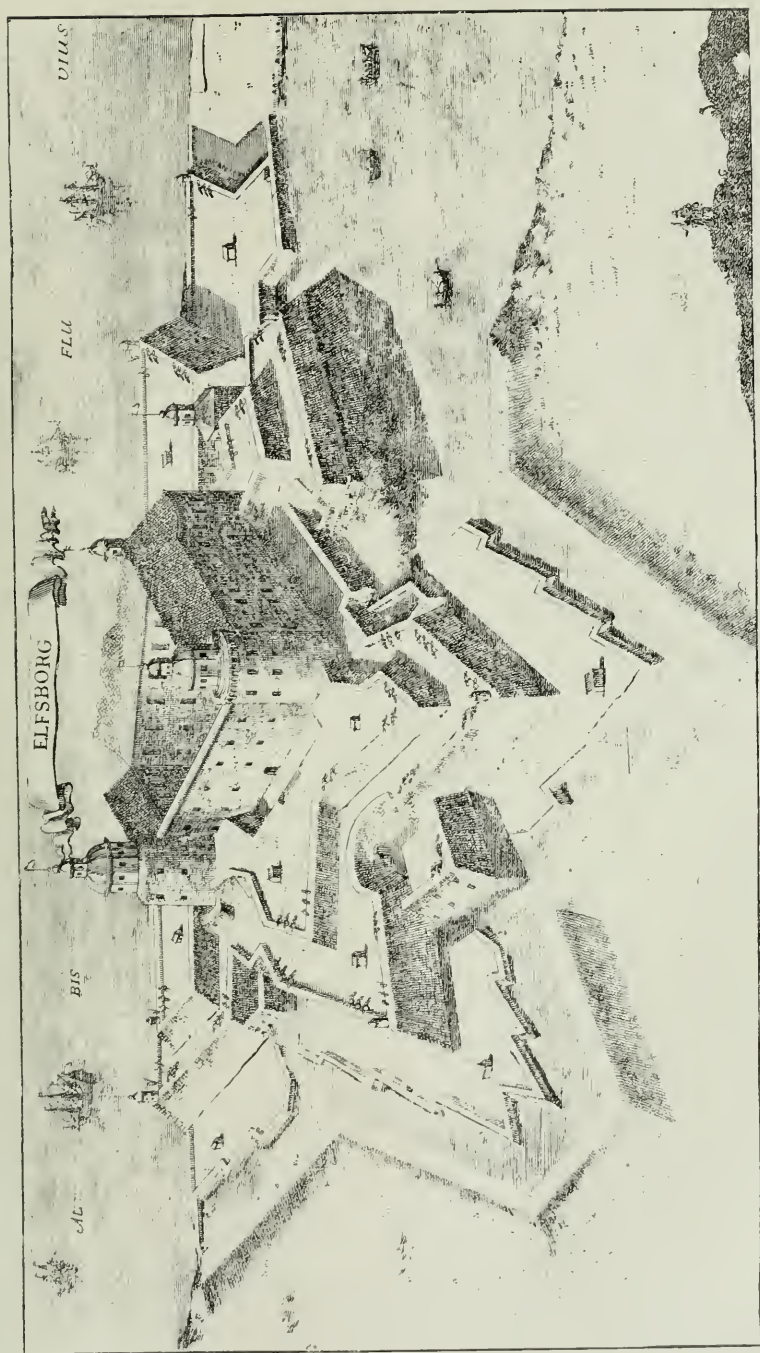
¹⁴ Cf. above, Chaps. XIII., XIV.

¹⁵ Minuit proposed that a charter be granted to the company giving it right to trade on the North American coast from Florida to Newfoundland, prohibiting all others from sailing there "on pain of confiscation of the vessel and cargo," and those were, perhaps, the privileges finally given.

country were subjected to duty.¹⁶ Profits and losses were to be equally divided between the Dutch and the Swedish members; the head office was to be at Stockholm, but the staple of the company should be at Gothenburg from whence the ships should sail, and all goods should be sent to the collector of customs at the latter port and placed under his care until they were loaded upon the vessels. "When these conditions arrived in Holland" and were accepted by the Dutch members the company may be looked upon as organized.¹⁷

¹⁶ Duty was paid on tobacco brought to Sweden for sale there. *Journal*, no. 127, 139, 141. But tobacco and skins from the colony were duty free. *Journal*, nos. 27, 40.

¹⁷ These facts can be inferred from later documents. Cf. below, Chap. XIX.



Castle and fort of Elfsborg in Sweden. (See pp. 109, 304.) From *Svevia Antiqua*.

CHAPTER XIV.

THE FINAL PREPARATIONS AND THE FIRST EXPEDITION, 1637-1639.

Blommaert could now buy goods and make final preparations in Holland. Some of the cloth for the Indian trade was made by special order at Kampen and Leyden, and already in February he had made arrangements for its weaving, on Spiring's assurance that the Crown would supply the vessels, although he had not received instruction to that effect from Sweden.

During April and May he did his utmost to procure the necessary cargo for the ships. He was at great disadvantage, however. The Swedish members were slow in paying their shares and the Dutch participants would not furnish their quota of the capital before the stipulated sum had been raised in Stockholm. He was therefore compelled to advance the necessary money out of his own means, so as not to delay the journey. In the beginning of May a large part of the cargo was ready to be shipped to Gothenburg. On the ninth (n.s.) of that month 2,748½ yds. of cloth were loaded upon the ship of Jan Cornelissen Cock and consigned to Lars Larsson, the commander of Elfsborg and Bengt Larsson, customs collector at Gothenburg, and on the last of May (n.s.?) a large quantity of cloth and other goods for the Indian trade and several hogsheads of distilled liquors were shipped to Sweden for the company. In the meantime Blommaert revised the instructions for Minuit and the other papers, so as to have them ready when the latter arrived to make final preparations.¹

It was difficult to obtain good sailors in Sweden during the first half of the seventeenth century and Hollanders were often employed on Swedish ships.² Fleming requested Blommaert to

¹ Blommaert to A. Oxenstierna, March 31, May 6, June 6, 1637, *Ox. Saml.*; "*Factura des Cargasons*" (1637), etc., *Söderk.*, 1637-59 (R.A.).

² See Zettersten, *Sv. flot. hist.*, I.-II.; above, Chap. VI.

hire "some 25 or 30 men, experienced on the sea" to be used on the voyage. The latter presented the matter to Spiring, requesting him to obtain the consent of the States General, that the above number of seamen might be hired in Amsterdam and sent to Sweden. The States General passed a resolution granting the request, and the sailors and officers were hired in July. The preparations in Holland were now practically completed. Blommaert desired a list of the articles that could be furnished in Sweden for victualling the ships, so that he would know definitely what to buy, since Minuit had mentioned only barrels and casks, saying that these could not be secured.³

Towards the end of July the officers and sailors, together with the rest of the cargo and some of the supplies, were sent to Gothenburg, as it was expected that the ships would be ready about that time. Blommaert was also requested by Fleming to go to Sweden to make an oral report, as soon as the preparations of the expedition were completed, but he found that it would require half of August before the vessels could sail and he therefore determined not to go.⁴

In August Minuit finally arrived in Amsterdam. Two barber-surgeons were hired, and Michel Symonsz[en] was engaged as mate, "a fine honest man," well acquainted with the coast of North America. Final arrangements were now speedily made and on August 22 Blommaert writes: "The rest of all [necessary supplies] are now being shipped . . . to Gothenburg . . . [and] Minuit with two barbers and other officers is going on the same vessel."

It was found that the cost of the expedition was considerably larger than the first estimates. The reason for this increase was the fact that two ships were prepared instead of one, and Blommaert complains that the expenses in shipping the cargo and supplies to Gothenburg were also very great, "but," he

³ "Indien ick een perfecte lijst hadde, wat fictuaille dat in Sweden gefurneert soude worden, soo cost ick hier voordere coopen wat dat manckeert. Minuit schrijft allen van fustage, dat die in Sweden niet wel te becomen soude wesen." Blommaert to A. Oxenstierna, June 6, 1637, *Ox. Saml.* (R.A.).

⁴ "Because," he says, "I have lived eight years in India. Being used to warm countries, I am afraid that the cold would be harmful to me." (!)

Anno: 1637: III

Gulden Munt

2. Viagio De fierida oder Noua Suecia die Exte ditto
Debet. An den founerierten Skellden do Im Konigreich
begrueden wie anes in holland deint founeriert
worden. R. 16743. 8/16

Wilt dat in holland is welke zu der Exten Regio. aus Noua Suecia
zu Equipage und Caragen veruorhet laut Samuel Blomart
vorige Jahr. Regunng. als Noueblis
zu Caragen is in holland erkannt worden, an duffel, Kupfer, Eisen
Bleien und allehand Kleinigkeiten betraget zusammen
laut der factura die Summa von R. 14832: 2: 8.

Welche is in holland dem volck veruorhet von 2 Monat
galt, also aus an allehand vires und anders erkannt
worden laut der Special Regunng. von N. 1 zu
N. 23. zusammen betraget die Summa von R. 10123: 14: -.

Von ein batien dard is gest worden R. 24: -.

Nach it an Majorien Reine vorgehen in holland an
gestalt laut Samuel Blomart Regunng. R. 311: 5: -.

von gewitt Conditien is von Lichterfeld in holland
betragt vermoge die Blomart Regunng. R. 38: -.

Nach it von 3000 tuch Kleider betragt R. 11: 5: -.

Welche nach dem darbeynd und fast von gottelubig
Zuergell Abgaben und ein Mouglt in der Nordst
gefuert wirt is in holland eingetommen also wieder
verpachtet von victuals und anders verpfen worden
ebenfalls also in holland is ausgeben vermoge den
Special Regunng. von N. 24. bis 36. betragt
sumplich in alle R. 2765: 14.

Fierren gest ab von wirt do von filian
van Renslaer is eingetommen worden R. 200: -.

Reffiert R. 2565: 14. R. 2565: 14 -

Summa R. 27906: - 8.

Dolgr. 27906. auch 8 R. hollandisch span 11162 R. 20 belbig.
betragen an dilon Munt a 6 R. gerechnet. R. 16743. 2/16

5. founerierte Skellden Debet. An Zween Creditores
R. 21919. 8/16

Wilt dat folgende Jahr an geld zu der Exten viagio founeriert
worden wendacht ausgaben hin genommen worden als Noueblis

7. Je peter Opierrings dilon Leon (edit. nach gest dusselbig wegen
die 11 dusselbigsten participanten von Samuel Blomart
zu ausstuden gelist. R. 18532. hollandisch belbig.
betragen an R. die Summa von R. 7412: 40.

8. Die hollandischen participanten haben dusselbig
zu der Exten viagio founeriert die Summa von
18000. hollandisch dolgr. betragen R. 7200: -.

Summa R. 14612: 40.

Dolgr. 14612 R. 40. betragen an dilon Munt a 6 R. R. 21919. 8/16

adds, "a good rich Spanish prize will be able to pay it all." The *cargo* and *supplies* cost about 28,000 gulden and several other bills were to be added unless the government would pay them. But Blommaert hoped that the Crown would assume these extra bills, as it would be a small item for the state treasury and it would encourage Dutch participants and others to place their capital in the company.⁵

We have seen that Fleming did his utmost to get the expedition under way. On June 30 the government issued an order "to the admirals" instructing them "to prepare two ships and man them with thirty-six boatsmen." "We are resolved," says the council in the name of the Queen, "to let one of our and the Crown's ships and one of the [South] Company's vessels sail to West India."⁶ Some time elapsed, of course, before these orders were executed. Additional provisions and ammunition were supplied and two months' pay was given to the people. About August 9⁷ the ships seem to have been ready to sail, for on that date a pass was given to Captain Anders Nilsson Krober on the *Kalmar Nyckel* and one of similar contents to Lieut. Jacob Barben, commander on the *Grip*.

But there was further delay, and it seems probable that the ships did not set sail from Stockholm before the middle or end of August. They touched at Öland on their way and some provisions were secured there.⁸ The date of the arrival of the two ships in Gothenburg is not known, nor can it now be ascertained, when Minuit returned from Holland, but on the sixth of September we find him at work making preparations for the voyage.⁹

As soon as the ships arrived, we may assume the cargo was brought on board and everything was made ready at the earliest opportunity. The cost of the *cargo* alone, including

⁵ Blommaert to Oxenstierna, July 23, August 22, 1637.

⁶ R.R., June 30, 1637 (R.A.).

⁷ *Am. Reg.*, Aug. 9, 1637 (Fl. Ar.). It seems that it was the intention at first to send one of the government's ships with the *Kalmar Nyckel*, but the South Company's ship *Gripen* was selected instead.

⁸ *Journal*, no. 1; *Til det Wäst. Ind. Skeps Com. d. 16 Juni, 1637*.

⁹ See facsimile *Bill*.

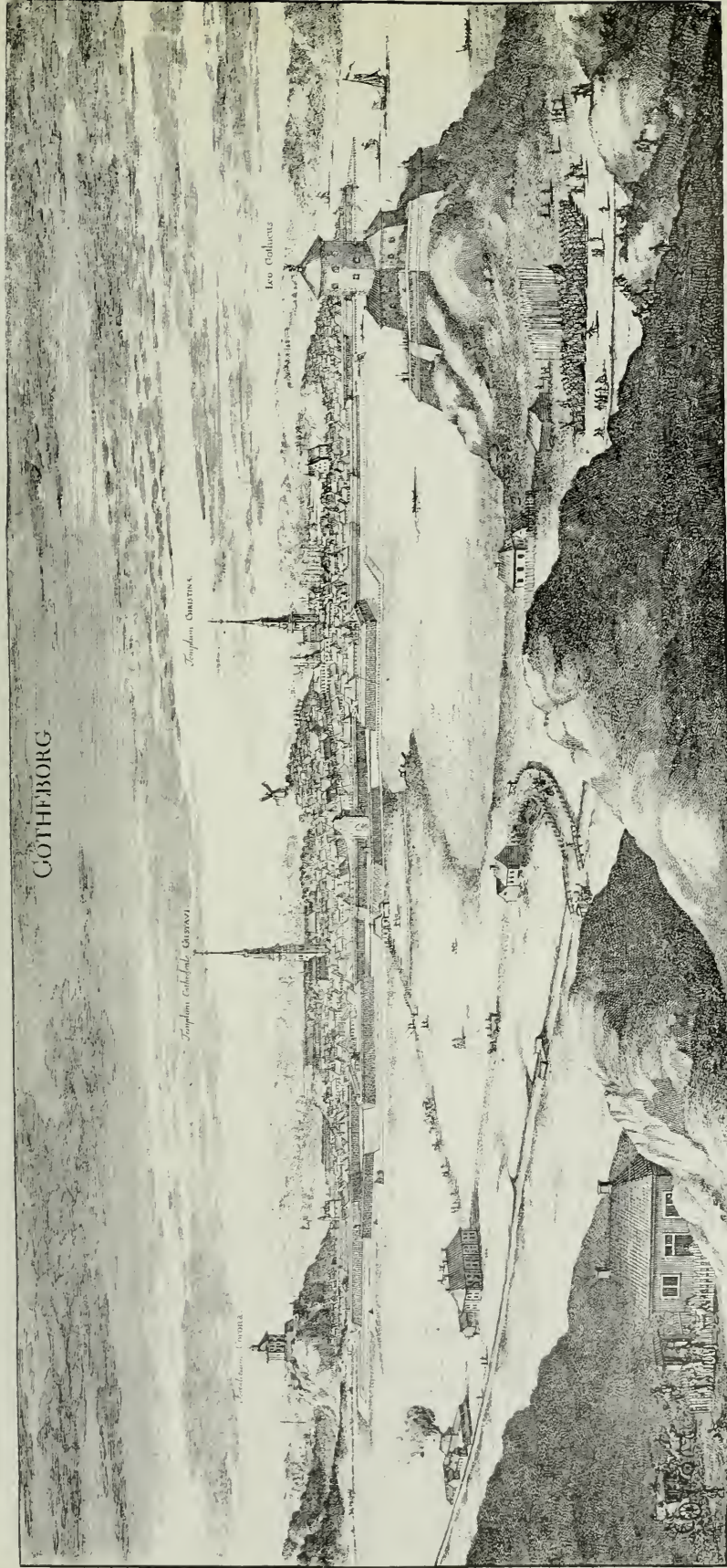
freight charges and other expenses, was 14,832 gulden. It consisted of several thousand yards of duffels and other cloth, several hundred axes, hatchets and adzes, several hundred knives, dozens of tobacco pipes, mirrors and looking-glasses, gilded chains and finger-rings, combs, ear-rings and other ornaments for the Indians. Spades, hoes and other implements were also loaded onto the ships for use in the country.¹⁰

Probably half of the sailors were Hollanders, the rest being Swedes. A number of the soldiers sent out to occupy the land were also Swedes and Måns Nilsson Kling went out as commander of these soldiers.¹¹ Jan Hindrickson van der Water was skipper on the *Kalmar Nyckel* and Michel Symonssen was first mate. In case that any mishap befell Minuit, making it impossible for him to perform his duties, Symonssen was to take his place. Andrian Jöransen was skipper on *Gripen* and Hendrick Huygen, a relative of Minuit, was appointed commissioner for the colony that was to be established. Memorials and instructions were given to the officers, but only two of these documents have been preserved. A secret instruction to Minuit has come down to us in a copy of the original draft by Blommaert. According to this document the expedition was to set sail in the summer, taking a course "behind England and Scotland" and crossing the ocean at about the forty-fourth degree. Its first destination was to be the *Isle de Sable*,¹² if such a course was possible. Soundings were to be taken around the shore and maps and sketches were to be made of the island, on which all the rivers, harbors and roads (for ships) were to be clearly indicated. While the carpenters "put up the sloop" Minuit was to inspect the island and acquaint himself with the conditions of the same. In case he found it suitable for colonization and for trade or if its position was such that its occupation by the Swedish government would give authority to collect

¹⁰ "Factura des cargasons." *Söderk.*, 1637-1659 (R.A.).

¹¹ See below, Chap. XXI.

¹² Sable Island west of Halifax, Nova Scotia. It was given on the early maps in this form. See Winsor's reproductions of maps by Molineaux and Champlain. See De Laet's map. It is also indicated on the West Ind. P. Cart of 1621. See reproduction in *Doc.*, I. Cf. Winsor, IV. 202, 377, 383 ff.



Gothenburg and its harbor during the seventeenth century. From *Svevia Antiqua*.

tribute from the fisheries on the banks of *Nova Terra* (Newfoundland), he should take possession of it for the Crown of Sweden, erecting the Swedish coat of arms, cut in stone, and taking an attestation from all the officers that no Christian people were there. The island should then be called *Christina* and the most suitable harbors were to be called by the names of great men in Sweden. "A setter" and other dogs were to be brought along for hunting the black foxes on the island. The sloop was to be stationed there with some men under the command of a skipper, supplied with provisions for about two or three months. Before Minuit departed he was to capture some calves or cattle¹³ which were to be taken to the *South River*. On his way thither he was to buy sewant¹⁴ from the Indians along the coast especially at Cromeguwge (?),¹⁵ and from there he was to proceed to the South River. In case, however, the wind was so westerly that the above course to the Isle de Sable could not be taken, he was to sail by way of the Caribbean Islands, between Cuba and Spaniola and thence to the South River.

Arriving there he was to sail up to the Manquas Kill and establish relations with the Indians, giving them gifts and informing them that he had come to trade with them. Later he was to explore the river and ascend twenty Dutch miles to Sankikan Kill, "seeing that his people did no harm to the Indians." The land on the west side of the Delaware between the Minquas Kill and the Sankikan Kill was to be bought from the savages and a certificate or declaration should be signed by all the officers of the ship, stating that no other European people were found there, Minuit being especially cautioned to avoid the limits of New Netherland. The Swedish coat of arms was then to be erected at the two rivers¹⁶ at the limits,

¹³ It seems that Blommaert had been informed that there were large herds of cattle on the island.

¹⁴ Wampum or Indian money. Cf. below, Chap. XXI., n. 47.

¹⁵ On the New England coast. Cf. Printz' Report, 1644.

¹⁶ If it means that he was to ascend the river 20 Dutch (65 English) miles from its mouth, Sankikan Kill must refer to the Schuylkill. If, however, Blommaert had a correct notion of the distance from Christina Kill up to the falls, Sankikan Kill probably refers to Assanpink Kill at Sankikan near Trenton Falls.

and the land was to be named *New Sweden*. Finally he was to build a house or fort either on the Minquas Kill or at some other place, which by nature was strong, and it was to be called *New Stockholm*, with the firing of cannon. After completing his business in the South River he was to proceed in the *Kalmar Nyckel* to the coast of Florida and, if he found convenient places there, he was to erect the Swedish coat of arms, taking possession of the land in the name of the Swedish government and calling the land New Sweden.

If the Indian trade was very successful and most of the cargo could be sold at an early date, Minuit was to station the sloop in the South River with only seven men and return to Europe at once, leaving "the discoveries" to be made on a second voyage. But if it so happened that war or other inconveniences prevented the selling of the cargo, twenty men should be placed in the fort with necessary provisions. In that case the sloop was to be sent to New Amsterdam for the buying of cattle, horses, sheep, goats and pigs, and the grain that was brought along should be sown.

The instructions were drafted by Blommaert and only one vessel was considered. If, however, the government furnished two ships the directions were to be changed somewhat, as the preparations would take longer time, delaying the sailing of the expedition. The two ships were to sail by way of the Caribbean Islands, St. Martin and Spaniola, where Minuit should trade and buy some cattle for his colony, and from there he was to go directly to the South River,¹⁷ following his instructions as given above. When the necessary arrangements had been completed there, he should proceed to the *Isle de Sable* and trade with the Indians along the coast. The *Grip* was to remain in the country for some time, but the *Kalmar Nyckel* with Minuit on board was to return to Gothenburg as soon as

¹⁷ He was also to look for Spanish prizes, but he should not spend too much time at this. Spaniards were to be attacked everywhere, but the English, Dutch and French were to be treated in a friendly manner.

possible, and Minuit was to go at once over-land to Stockholm to make a report, presenting his maps and journals.¹⁸

A letter in thirty-two articles, directed to the commander and the skippers as well as the sailors and soldiers, was also given to Minuit. The sailors and officers were in every instance to obey the commander; they should remain in the country as long as the ship's council saw fit, and they should without delay perform all duties decided by the council. In case of any disobedience they were to lose their monthly pay. The officers and men were to keep good watch day and night and they were always to be prepared for every emergency, having their arms in readiness to fight if necessary. Everyone was strictly forbidden to carry on a trade on his own account or to bring along goods belonging to private merchants. In case the sailors or soldiers lost any of their property by unforeseen causes, it should be restored to them; stealing would be severely punished; no fighting between the sailors was allowed and all drunkenness was strictly prohibited, breakers of this rule being put into irons for three days; playing at dice and other games of chance were also forbidden. Prayers were to be conducted morning and evening and anyone who was absent from these exercises without permission would be fined "six stývers."¹⁹

Towards the end of October the ships were ready to sail, and they probably left the harbor in the beginning of November. In the North Sea they were separated through heavy storms. After a month's cruising, *Kalmar Nyckel*, which was commanded by Minuit, finally arrived at Texel about the beginning of December, leaking badly, having lost its prow and mast. A week later the other vessel also badly used arrived at Texel; from thence she went to Medemblik for repairs. The two vessels were repaired as soon as possible, and new provisions for the journey were secured at the cost of several thousand florins.²⁰

¹⁸ "Instrucktie voor Den Directt. Peter Minuit." N.S., I. (R.A.). Two copies in Penn. Hist. So.

¹⁹ "Articul Bief," etc., N.S., I. (R.A.).

²⁰ The cost of the expedition was now 27,906:8 fl., including the salaries of the sailors for two months, but exclusive of the provisions and other articles

A new pilot was engaged and about December 20 everything was in readiness for the continuation of the voyage, but contrary winds delayed the ships for a number of days. In the meantime, Kiliaen van Rensselaer, a friend of Minuit, finding an opportunity for sending some goods and settlers to his colony in New Netherland, brought several cases of merchandise on board the *Kalmar Nyckel* and engaged passage for six persons,²¹ paying 220:10 florins to skipper Jan Hindrickson, for the expenses. Minuit was requested to cause the goods and people to reach the Manatans²² at the earliest opportunity that circumstances would allow.²³ Towards the end of the month the wind turned, and on December 31 (n.s.), 1637, the little expedition went to sea "together with a beautiful fleet of 150 ships."

On the sixth of January, 1637, Blommaert wrote to Oxenstierna and gave the details of the events so far. A great mistake was made, he said, in not hurrying on the preparations in Sweden so that the vessels could have started sooner. Blommaert sent the officers and men in the summer in the belief that the expedition would leave in August. Since the start was not made before late in the fall, the people had to be supported and paid while doing nothing. The great expenses discouraged the other Dutch participants and they were already dissatisfied with the project. They had calculated that the first expedition would cost only about 14,000 gulden, but before the ships left Europe the cost had reached almost 36,000 florins.²⁴ Their murmurs, however, were silenced by Minuit's assurance of a big profit and probably a rich Spanish prize.²⁵

We know nothing about the journey across the Atlantic, for supplied in Sweden which amounted to 3,395 D., making the total cost over 30,000 florins. Blommaert's letter to A. Oxenstierna, January 6, 1638. *Ox. Saml.* (R.A.); *Journal*, no. 2.

²¹ Only five persons are mentioned as sailing "from Texel" on the *Kalmar Nyckel*.

²² New Amsterdam.

²³ Van Rensselaer *Mss.*, p. 389 ff.

²⁴ More accurately, about 33,000 florins. *Journal*, no. 1, 2.

²⁵ Blommaert to Oxenstierna, January 6, September 4, November 13, 1638, January 28, 1640, *Ox. Saml.*

Minuit's journal, which would have given us this information, is lost. The ships reached the Delaware in good condition and sailed up the river about the middle of March, 1638.²⁶

When Minuit had made necessary arrangements he left New Sweden on board *Kalmar Nyckel*, some time in June,²⁷ with his cargo of wines and distilled liquors and sailed to the island of St. Christopher, where the goods were exchanged for tobacco. While in the harbor at the islands, Minuit together with his skipper was invited as a guest on board a ship from Rotterdam, called *Het Vliegende Hert*.²⁸ In the meantime a sudden storm arose, which drove the ship out to sea, and it was heard of no more. The *Kalmar Nyckel* was also driven out of the harbor, but she returned in company with other ships. After waiting for Minuit a few days the vessel set sail for Europe. She arrived in the North Sea in the beginning of October, 1638.²⁹ Not far from the coast of Holland a severe storm overtook the ship. The main mast had to be cut and the vessel suffered other damages, making it necessary to put into Vlie for repairs. The ship was repaired through Blommaert at a cost of 7,103:2 florins, and then it proceeded to Medemblik, where the skins were to be unloaded.

The ship brought along Minuit's journal, a map of the river drawn by him, giving the location of the colony³⁰ and a sketch

²⁶ See below, Chapter XXI.

²⁷ A letter was sent to Blommaert from the island of St. Christopher, stating that the *Grip* had left New Sweden on May 20 (n.s.?) on a cruise and that Minuit would leave three weeks later. "I reckon therefore," says Blommaert, "that the ship (*Kalmar Nyckel*) would leave the South River about the middle of June." Blommaert to Oxenstierna, September 4, 1638. *Ox. Saml.*, Kernkamp, *Zweed. Arch.*, p. 58.

²⁸ *The Flying Deer*.

²⁹ *Doc.*, I, 116, O'Callaghan, I, 192. Hence Odhner is mistaken in saying that the ship arrived in Holland in November. See his *N.S.*, p. 15.

³⁰ It has been stated that Måns Kling made the map. See Hazard's *Annals*, p. 48; Clay, p. 17; Winsor, *Nar. and Crit. Hist.*, IV, 437. But this is not very probable. The statement is taken from Acrelius, *Beskrif.* The map was drawn by Minuit, probably on the basis of already existing maps (published in *Doc.*, I, O'Callaghan's *Hist. of New Neth.*, I, etc.). Kling was a mere soldier, and there is no evidence that he ever made a map of New Sweden. If he had done so valuable services for the company it would most likely be mentioned in the official documents. Several bills were paid him, but in none of these are any services mentioned, besides those of the soldier and commissions of like nature.

of Fort Christina and the two houses. The journal with the map and sketches as well as deeds and other papers were sent to Klas Fleming, most of which are now lost.

In December Spiring caused four officers from the *Kalmar Nyckel* to appear before the notary, Peter Ruttens, in Amsterdam to give a report under oath of Minuit's proceedings in New Sweden and especially concerning the circumstances of the land-purchase. A document was drawn up in Dutch, setting forth the testimony of the four men "in the sight and presence of the honest Cornelius Vignois, and David Willet, called in for this purpose as creditable witnesses." A certified translation into German was made which was sent to Sweden.³¹

On arriving at Medemblik the ship was put under arrest by an officer of the Dutch West India Company and duty was demanded on the cargo, since the skipper would not show his commission.³² Word was sent to Spiring at the Hague and he presented a protest to the States General. On October 25 the States General sent an order to the officers at Enkhuizen to release the ship, but the letter was not received. About two months later a second letter³³ was sent with orders to remove the arrest from the Swedish ship. But the ship was then already free, having been liberated shortly after its seizure, as the skipper showed his papers, issued under the authority of the Swedish Crown.³⁴

The *Grip* left New Sweden towards the end of April, 1639, and arrived at Gothenburg about the beginning of June.³⁵ The

³¹ Chap. XXI, below.

³² *Doc.*, I. 116-117. O'Callaghan in his *History of New Netherland*, I. 192, says: "A Swedish vessel, loaded with tobacco, having put into the Zeyder Zee, on her return voyage from the 'West Indies,' was seized at Medenblick. It was not until the Swedish resident at the Hague called the attention of the States General to the circumstances, that the arrest was removed." This is not strictly correct. Cf. *Doc.*, I. 117.

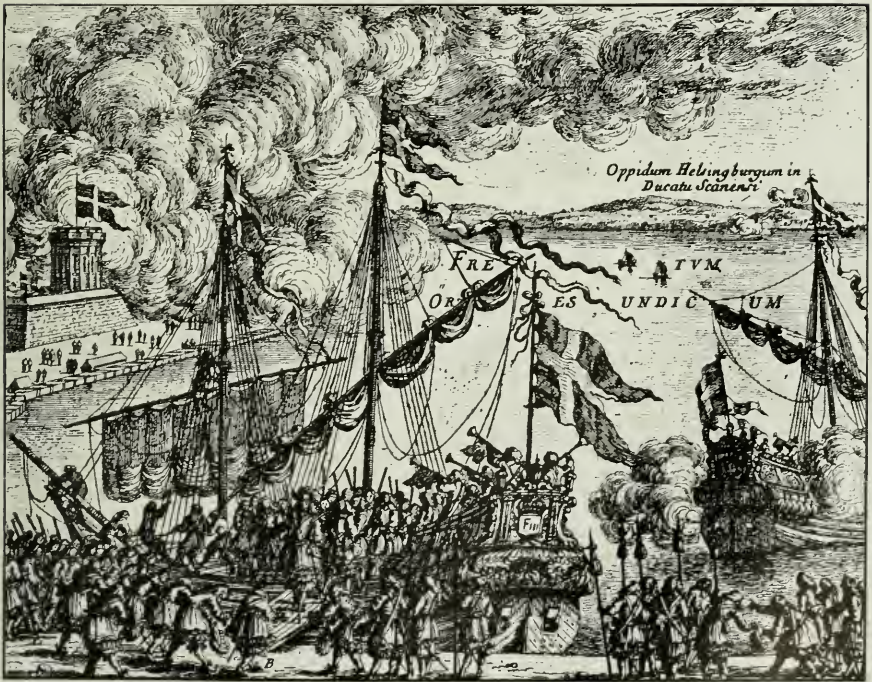
³³ Dated on December 31, 1638.

³⁴ *Doc.*, I. 116-117.

³⁵ Blommaert to Oxenstierna, January 28, 1640. "Das Jagt der Vogel Greiff ist, wie gestern bericht einkommen, vor 8 oder 10 Tagen zu Gottenburg glücklich arriveret, hat seine Reise . . . innerhall 5 wochen vollbracht." Extract Schr. von Fleming an Spiring d. 8 Juni, 1639, *Ox. Saml.*; loose sheets from an account book (1639), N.S., II. (R.A.).



The harbor of Amsterdam, where some of the Swedish ships on their way to and from New Sweden anchored. M. H.



The disembarking from a Swedish ship. From Pufendorf's *Hist. du Reg. de Charles Gustave*.

cost of the expedition had now reached the sum of about 46,000 florins.³⁶ The tobacco was to be sold in Sweden, but the skins brought over on the *Grip* were sent to Holland on Fleming's order to be sold there with those unloaded from the *Kalmar Nyckel*. The pelts from the cargo of the latter ship were sold by Blommaert as follows:

	Florins.
511 beaver skins for	4,505
157 otter skins for	700
42 bear skins for	712
	<u>5,917</u>

and the cargo of *Gripen* was also sold by him as follows:

	Florins.
1,258 beaver skins for	7,860:12
157 otter skins for	605
90 bear skins for	882
Various other kinds of skins for.....	162:1:8
	<u>9,509:13:8</u> ³⁷

or in all 15,426:13:8 florins.

There were several expenses connected with the sales and the net proceeds were 14,590:14:8 florins.³⁸ This sum was divided among the Dutch members of the company,³⁹ while the tobacco was to be the share of the Swedish participants. The result of the undertaking, however, did not come up to expectations, but Blommaert hoped that the second voyage would bring larger returns.⁴⁰

³⁶ The cost of the cargo and supplies (exclusive of the wages of the sailors) was 28,527:14 D. or about 42,800 florins. *Journal*, no. 8.

³⁷ In this is included 52:1:8 fl. which Blommaert had received on former occasions.

³⁸ Or 8,754:14 D. *Journal*, no. 16.

³⁹ Odhner says (N.S., 20, note 3): "We have not found it stated when and in what manner Blommaert was paid for his special expenses." But we see from this that part of the expenses of the first voyage were paid by the return cargo, and the capital stock owned by the Dutch was later bought by the Swedes.

⁴⁰ Blommaert's letters to Oxenstierna.

CHAPTER XV.

THE SECOND EXPEDITION, 1639-1640.

In the spring and summer of 1638 Fleming began to make preparations for another voyage,¹ and in the autumn, when some of the results of the first expedition were known, he proposed to the government that a ship called *Dufvan*² and some other vessels should be used for the expeditions. On September 7 the council resolved that the above-mentioned ship "and others which were suitable, should be employed for the benefit of the company." Fleming was also ordered to correspond with Johan le Thor³ and Blommaert about it, and request them to "work for the furtherance of the aforesaid shipping."⁴ About this time Fleming wrote to Willem Usselinx, requesting him to repair to Stockholm, as the members of the company there desired to confer with him about the journeys to New Sweden. But the great projector of companies was detained in Germany, it seems, and could not go. Besides he thought that the New Sweden colony would not be a great success, since, as far as he knew, there was not much to be obtained there except peltries and tobacco.⁵

When the papers, deeds and other documents from New Sweden arrived at Stockholm Fleming's enthusiasm was further kindled and the preparations for a new expedition, which had rested for some time, were at once renewed. The matter was

¹ About April orders were given that the *Fama* or the *Engel from Tellie* and *Christina* should be repaired so that they could make commercial voyages. J. Beier to Klas Fleming, Stockholm (before April), 1638. *Några K. Fleming papper* (R.A.).

² *The Dove, Dufva*. The *n* is the Swedish article.

³ Le Thor, factor and bookkeeper of De Geer, at times agent of the Swedish government. *Rådspr.*, IV., etc.

⁴ *Rådspr.*, VII. 305.

⁵ Tobacco, which is injurious to the health of the people, he says. But cf. his views in the *Argon*. Usselinx to Beier, March 16, 1639. *Söderk.*, 1624-45. Copy in Jameson *Mss.* Kernkamp, *Zweed. Arch.*, pp. 147-8.

also brought before the council. Plans for populating the colony were considered and it was decided to look for "a good manager" who could take charge of the work. Fleming proposed that the property of "the South Company" should either be sold or used for the benefit of the New Sweden Company.⁶ He had spoken with the magistrates in Stockholm about it and requested the chancellor to do the same with the magistrates in Gothenburg. The chancellor agreed to do this and some of the capital of the South Company was used the following year. It was also suggested by Fleming that the government should buy out the private members of the company so as to get it under the control of the Crown and it was undoubtedly considered in the council, but the plan fell through.⁷

The government was desirous to continue the work, however, and the intention was to have the new expedition ready in March. Captain Cornelis van Vliet was appointed commander of the expedition and ordered "to go to the West Indies on board the *Kalmar Nyckel* to find out the location of the country." Van Vliet had been in the Swedish service for about ten years and Fleming seems to have placed full confidence in him.⁸ "The Crown and Queen," says his instruction, "having made a serious resolution not only to continue the Virginian navigation, but to carry it on with more vigour than before" and desiring a more complete report of the situation of the new settlement, ordered Van Vliet to explore the territory occupied by Minuit and give a full account. He was also instructed to learn the condition of the inhabitants, their trade and occupations, what they used for clothing, and what articles they needed; he should also observe what fisheries there were and the best way to populate the country; and lastly he was to follow Blommaert's orders and receive further information from him about the journey.⁹ He was also ordered to hire some

⁶ Thus providing additional capital of about 60,000 or 70,000 R.D. "Extr. Schr. von Am. Fleming an Spiring," June 8, 1639, *Ox. Saml.*

⁷ *Rådspr.*, VII. 485, March 13, 1639; Oxenstierna to Fleming, March 15, 1639. *Ox. Saml.*

⁸ He was skipper on the *Looff expedition* in 1632-1633. Cf. Chap. IX, above.

⁹ "Till Capt. Cornelius van Flijt," January 26, 1639. *Am. Reg.*, fol. 18 (F.Ar.).

sailors and officers in Holland, who could be used on the journey.¹⁰ Shortly after these commissions were received he went to Holland on the ship the *Engel Gabriel*, being ordered to return as soon as possible.

Spiring had been requested to deliver more money to Blommaert and to inform Fleming of what progress was made. He desired a report of the expenses and other items, but it seems that Blommaert neglected to send it, causing Spiring to suspect that the former did not keep proper books. The matter was reported to the chancellor, but nothing was done about it. Money for the Swedish half of the expenses for a second expedition were gradually delivered to Blommaert through Spiring and orders were issued for the buying of supplies. Blommaert bought a new cargo for about 6,000 florins and supplies for about the same sum, having been instructed by Fleming to do so several times.¹¹

As the goods were about to be loaded on the *Kalmar Nyckel*, at the time of Vliet's arrival in Amsterdam, orders were received from Spiring that the ship was to try to capture "a [certain] person on his way to Denmark, who was in the employ of the Emperor."¹² This delayed the expedition for some time. The supplies were partly consumed before the vessel set sail and when the ship finally arrived in Gothenburg in July they were exhausted.¹³

In the meantime Fleming was busy making preparations in Sweden. His plan was to send a large expedition to the Dela-

¹⁰ Already on January 3, 1639, an order was issued "to Van Flijt to hire some ship captains and constables in Holland." *Am. Reg.*, January 3, 1639 (F.A.).

¹¹ *Journal*, no. 9. Blommaert to Oxenstierna, January 28, 1640.

¹² Jahan le Thor, a Swedish agent in Holland, also aided the preparations in various ways. Le Thor to Fleming, Oct. 4(?), 1638, July, 1638; August, 1639 (K.A.). Odhner says concerning "the person": "None other can hardly be meant than Count Kurtz, who, in the spring of 1639, intended to go by sea from Hamburg to Denmark and Poland in order to establish relations with these kingdoms. But Kurtz went on board a Danish man of war and hence the plan could not be accomplished." *N.S.*, 18-19.

¹³ Blommaert to A. Oxenstierna, January 28, 1640; Fleming to Oxenstierna, June 8, 1639; Spiring to Oxenstierna, January 28, 1639, *Ox. Saml.*

ware in the summer or in the autumn of 1639. He ordered a certain ship, bought by the city of Norrköping, to be rebuilt at Västervik, so that it could be put into a condition for bringing over "cattle and people" and he further proposed to the government that the old ship *Arken* should be rebuilt and repaired and used on the journey. He thought that the government ought to pay for the cost of repairing the ships and the company would then furnish the provisions and other necessary supplies. Some Dutch ought to be allowed to settle in New Sweden so that the land might be speedily peopled, but Swedish colonists ought to be secured as far as possible.

On February 28 a memorial was sent to Mårten Augustinsson, collector of customs at Gothenburg, giving instructions about the ships that were soon expected to return from New Sweden. Money should be supplied from the custom office and kept in readiness so that the sailors could be paid. A receipt should be given by Van Vliet and the sums would later be repaid by the company.¹⁴

A successor to Minuit was looked for and Spiring and Usselinx were requested to recommend a suitable person in Holland. Spiring did his best to find one, but in June, 1639, he wrote that he had been unsuccessful and Usselinx reported to Beier that he "knew of no one whom he could recommend."¹⁵ Fleming also wrote a number of times to Spiring that he "should secure . . . a capable person who would come to Gothenburg and manage the West Indian trade from there" as a factor.¹⁶ As a result of Fleming's efforts *Timon van Schotting* of Gothenburg

¹⁴ Memorial, etc., February 28, 1639; copy among letters from Fleming to Oxenstierna, *Ox. Saml.*

¹⁵ Fleming to Oxenstierna, June 8, 1639; Usselinx to J. Beier, March 16, 1639; Spiring to Oxenstierna, June 10, 1639, *Ox. Saml.* Van Vliet can, in some respects, be looked upon as a successor to Minuit before his removal from service, but that he was not considered as such by Fleming and the other members of the company is clear from the above letter, and on June 8, 1639, Fleming writes to Oxenstierna that he had "written a few times to Mr. Spiring to secure . . . a person who could be used in the place of Minuit in the West Indies." Van Vliet, as we have seen, was appointed already in February. Cf. Odhner, however, *N.S.*, p. 16-17.

¹⁶ Fleming to Oxenstierna, June 8, 1639, *Ox. Saml.*, "Extract Schr. von Am. Fleming an Spiring" d. 8. Juni, 1639, in *Ox. Saml.* among letters from P. Spiring.

was secured to look after the company's business at this place and from now on he is mentioned in connection with the bills and accounts coming from there. His salary was to begin on January 1, 1639, and in 1641 he was paid 150 R.D. for two years' service.¹⁷ Hans Weis¹⁸ was also engaged to help to prepare the expedition and he showed great interest in the work.

We have seen that Fleming planned to send over a large expedition at this time, but it could not be done, since Blommaert was unwilling to continue and the other Dutch participants at first refused to contribute to a second voyage.¹⁹ It was decided therefore to fit out the *Kalmar Nyckel* only and send her to the colony immediately upon her arrival at Gothenburg, but even this became impossible, as the ship returned without necessary supplies and was hardly able to reach the harbor.²⁰ During the preparations *Gripen* arrived from the Delaware and large sums of money had to be paid to the returning officers and men, draining the treasury of the company.

When Van Vliet arrived at Stockholm in June, he made a report of his work. Fleming "conferred carefully with him about everything that concerned New Sweden," and ordered him to go at once to Gothenburg to take charge of the preparations. On July 8 Fleming, in the name of the Admiralty, wrote to Governor Conrad von Falkenberg to collect 400 D. in his province²¹ for the use in preparing the ship,²² while Hans Weis and Timon van Schotting were now busy preparing the *Kalmar Nyckel* for the voyage. Weis hired several sailors and secured ammunition, some guns and other articles being taken from the

¹⁷ *Journal*, no. 86.

¹⁸ Hans Weis, captain in the Swedish navy. See *Rådspr.*, VIII. 103 (July 13, 1640); Weis' letter (no date) enclosed in one of Fleming's letters to Oxenstierna for 1639.

¹⁹ Fleming wrote on Le Thor's authority: "at Blomert ingen lust hafuer dett att foorsättja, antingen han intet törss för det Westindiske Compagniet, deröfver han Direktor är, eller han och af dhem öfnertaalt sin mening att förändra, kann iagh icke weta." To Oxenstierna, June 8, 1639; Spiring to Oxenstierna, July 29, 1639; Blommaert to Oxenstierna, January 28, 1640, *Ox. Saml.*

²⁰ Fleming to Oxenstierna, June 8, 1639.

²¹ Kalmarlän.

²² *Am. Reg.*, July 8, 1639 (F.A.).

Grip.²³ At three different times the custom officer, Michel Vischer, at Gothenburg, supplied 1500 R.D. to Schotting from the "large sea toll" with which provisions were purchased. The bailiff, Mats Andersson, furnished 152 D. in cash; about three barrels of butter, thirty barrels²⁴ of rye, and about 150 pounds of cheese. The bailiff, Jan Larsson,²⁵ likewise furnished some cash and provisions, and Governor Johan Hindricksson²⁶ contributed oats for the cattle and horses. Over 2,978:38 R.D. were spent in Gothenburg on supplies, wages for the men and other necessities before the ship was ready.²⁷

During the preparations a storm drove a Dutch convoy against the *Kalmar Nyckel*. The convoy was badly damaged, but the Swedish ship escaped without injury. She broke loose from her moorings, however, and went adrift and the expedition was somewhat delayed.²⁸ About the middle of August the ship was almost ready and Weis wrote that Van Vliet "did his best" in making final arrangements.

Great efforts to gather colonists were also made. As early as in February Mårten Augustinsson was instructed to look for people in Gothenburg, who were willing to go to New Sweden.²⁹ In July Fleming requested the chancellor to instruct Governor Hindricksson in Elfsborgs län³⁰ to secure about twenty-four young men to garrison the fort, as it was advisable that the fort be manned by Swedish people only and the others be sent home, since the Swedes and Dutch did not get along very well. Hindricksson was to be especially enjoined upon to engage some

²³ Weis to Fleming, July 8, 18, 1639. *Några Klas Fleming papper* (R.A.). *Journal*, nos. 12, 13, 14.

²⁴ Swedish barrels, see above, Chap. VI.

²⁵ Both Bailiffs were at Gothenburg.

²⁶ Hindricksson was governor of Gothenburg and *Elfsborgs län*.

²⁷ "Hennes Kong. Maj. och Cron. Reck. medh Söd. Com." (three different copies) *Söderk.*, 1637-59 (R.A.); *Journal*, nos. 9, 10, 11, 12, 13.

²⁸ Hans Weis to Fleming, August 19, 1639 (K.A.). *Gripen* drifted onto a sandbank, although it was secured by two anchors. The ballast and the cannon were brought off from the ship, but she could not be floated "before a west wind arose." Cf. appendix below.

²⁹ Memorial for M. Augustinsson, February 28, 1639, *Ox. Saml.*, among letters from Fleming.

³⁰ A district in Southwestern Sweden.

artisans, such as blacksmiths, shoemakers, carpenters, bricklayers and others, three or four of whom ought to be married, who should take their wives along to cook, make beer and wash for the people.³¹ Hindricksson tried to secure colonists, but he did not succeed. In a letter of July 24 to the government he laments the fact, but proposes a plan that was accepted by the Crown. Occasionally soldiers would desert the army and return home. Hindricksson thought a proper punishment for some of these deserters and others who had committed some slight misdemeanor would be to send them to America with their families. Accordingly the government instructed Hindricksson on August 7³² to capture any such soldiers that were found in his district and have them prepare to go to New Sweden. He was advised to do it as quietly as possible, so that no insurrection or tumult would arise. A similar letter was sent on the following day (August 8) to Olof Stake, governor of Värmland and Dal,³³ the two governors being further instructed to correspond with one another about the affair. The soldiers were to be sent immediately to Gothenburg to be in readiness for departure, as soon as possible. In addition to the suit of clothes they had already received from the government³⁴ each was to be supplied with ten Daler copper money, and in one or two years they were allowed to return, if they so desired.³⁵ Several new officers were also sent out to the colony on this expedition. Peter

³¹ "Om fördenskull E. Excell. täcktes skrifva Landzhöfdingen Johan Hindrichssen till, att man kunne bekomma antigen af landfolket eller Stadzsoldaterne der i Giötenborgh till tiugu fyra man til besettnigh i Skantzenn, som wore unge och friska kärer serdeles at man upsökte deribland någre embetsmänn [så] som smedh, skomakare, timmermän, muurmästare. . . . Wore och gott att deribland wore tree eller fyra som gifte wore och wille tagha sine hustrur med sig, the ther kunne bryggja, baka och twätta åt folket." Fleming to Oxenstierna, July 1, 1639, *Ox. Saml.* (R.A.).

³² There is some doubt in my mind whether my copy is correct or not. The date is, perhaps, August 8.

³³ *Värmland* and *Dal*, two ancient provinces in southwestern Sweden, bordering on Norway.

³⁴ They had received a suit of clothes from the government when they were drafted, it seems.

³⁵ Letter to Governor Hindricksson, August 7 (8?), 1639, and to Governor Olof Stake, August 8, 1639, R.R. The last letter is printed in *Hand. rör. Skan. Hist.*, XXIX. 210-212.

Hollender Ridder,³⁶ who had been in Swedish service for some years, was appointed commander of Fort Christina. An instruction was given to him by Fleming dated July 1, 1639. Before going to Gothenburg he was sent to Oxenstierna at the Tidö³⁷ to obtain further orders. "As he, on behalf of our most gracious Queen," says the instruction, "has been accepted and appointed commander of Fort Christina in New Sweden to rule the people which are gathered there and are yet to be brought over, he shall be under obligation, therefore, to work for the good and for the success of the company and the Crown, and it shall be his duty to try to the utmost of his ability to prevent any harm or calamity from befalling any of these parties." He should further conduct himself according to the special instruction which Captain Cornelis van Vliet would give him, as the latter left the country, and the people were commanded to obey all orders issued by him with the consent of the commissioner of the fort.³⁸ The Rev. Reorus Torkillus, went to the colony with this expedition, but nothing is known concerning his appointment.³⁹ Gregorius van Dyck, whose name will often be found in the following pages, was also among the passengers. He was instructed to keep a journal and make a report upon his arrival in the colony. Joost van Langdonk was sent out as factor to take the place of Hendrick Huygen.⁴⁰

Hindricksson and Stake were undoubtedly successful in their efforts to gather deserted soldiers and other emigrants, but we do not know to what extent as the exact number of colonists

³⁶ Cp. below, Ridder's biography and the index.

³⁷ A castle by that name built by Oxenstierna on a peninsula in Mälaren (Västmanlandslän) west of Stockholm.

³⁸ Ridder's letter to Oxenstierna (no date but after 1644). Inside of this is a copy of the instructions dated July 1, 1639, *Ox. Saml.*; Fleming to Oxenstierna, July 1, 1639, *Ox. Saml.* The instruction was given "unter des sehligen Hern Herren Claes Flemmings Hand undt Siegel." (Ridder.)

³⁹ That Torkillus came here with this expedition is certain. He died in 1643 and it was then stated that he had been in the colony for four years. He wrote to Sweden, when the *Kalmar Nyckel* returned and this letter was read in the council, July 21, 1640. *Rådshp.*, VIII. 130.

⁴⁰ Van Dyck to Fleming, May 23, 1640, N.S., I. (K.A.); bills in N.S., I. (K.A.), signed by Langdonk.

sent over on this expedition cannot be ascertained. It was at first planned to send over a large number of horses and cattle, but as the colonists had no fodder it was later on not thought advisable before the following spring. "Only four mares and two young horses and a number of farming implements are now sent over," says Fleming, "so that the colonists in the autumn can make a trial with seeding."⁴¹

Van Vliet did not do his duty in preparing the expedition, "but stayed continually in his lodgings" and much unnecessary time was consumed. In the beginning of September, however, the ship was at last ready and set sail "with people, horses, fodder and provisions."⁴² In the North Sea she sprang a leak and had to be brought to Medemblik for repairs. Again they went to sea, but it was soon found that the vessel was leaking and they were compelled to return. Spiring was informed of the circumstances and determined to go to Medemblik in person. The ship was unloaded and two master-carpenters employed to make necessary repairs.⁴³ A second time the ship left the harbor, but when she arrived at Texel she was leaking as before. She was now brought to Amsterdam, and again Spiring went in person to inspect her. It was found that the carpenters at Medemblik had not done their work properly. Repairs were again made and extra charges were incurred. The captain was accused of fraud and of disobeying his orders and the sailors declared "that they would go neither with the ship nor the captain." An examination was made and it was discovered that he had sent in a bill for two barrels of butter which were not in the ship. He had also charged the company for two barrels of herring, which were also not on board. Thirty-eight barrels of beer were reported as bought by him at Medemblik, but only thirty-one barrels were in the cargo. The supply was short of a great many other articles. Consequently

⁴¹ Fleming to Oxenstierna, July 1, 1639, *Ox. Saml.* "Sendes nu allenast fyra stodh och två unge hästar, samt någre redskap till åkerbrüük der medh the i höst kunna göra sin prof medh uthsäde."

⁴² Blommaert to Oxenstierna, January 28, 1640, *Ox. Saml.* (R.A.); Kernkamp, *Zweed. Arch.*, p. 179 ff.

⁴³ It was found that the old bolts or nails were rusted.

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My dear friend, I have received your letter of the 23rd of May, and I am very glad to hear from you. I am well and hope these few lines will find you the same. I have been thinking much of late about the state of the world and the future of our country. I feel that we are in a very critical position and that it is our duty to do all that we can to preserve our liberties and our independence. I am sure that you share these feelings and that you will do everything in your power to support the cause of freedom. I am sure that you will be successful in your efforts and that our country will remain a free and happy land for many years to come. I am sure that you will be successful in your efforts and that our country will remain a free and happy land for many years to come.

Handwritten note at the bottom left margin: "Handwritten note at the bottom left margin."

Handwritten signature: "Handwritten signature."

Superscription of Van Dyck's letter.

First page of Van Dyck's letter to Klas Fleming, May 23, 1640. Original preserved in N. S. I. (K. A.), Stockholm.

Spiring removed him from his service, appointing Pouwel Jansen to fill his place, and hired some new sailors, who were paid two months' wages in advance. Again the vessel was ready to sail. But other troubles were in store for the expedition. A great storm swept over the coast on December 27 (n.s.) and delayed the sailing for some time.⁴⁴ Thereby the expenses were further increased and the total cost of the expedition reached the sum of 15,840 D. before the ship went to sea.⁴⁵ On February 7, however, the sails were spread. The course was taken through the English Channel and from there probably direct across the ocean.⁴⁶

Fleming and Blommaert were unfortunate in the selection of the officers for this expedition. Joost van Langdonk⁴⁷ and the skipper were particularly complained of by Van Dyck. The factor cared little for the ship, and during her stay in Holland she was left to the care of Van Dyck and the lieutenant, who slept in the vessel. At Texel Van Langdonk intended to pawn a flag to raise money for buying some water, but Ridder would not allow this, and raised the money himself. The skipper and factor spent their time on the voyage in smoking and drinking and scolding the Swedes and Van Dyck.⁴⁸ They were especially bitter against the priest and the Lutheran religion, forbidding Van Dyck⁴⁹ to attend the Swedish service and when the Rev. Torkillus was ill in March, they refused him a little wine, treating him in the most disrespectful manner.⁵⁰ The skipper and the factor managed things to suit themselves and took no coun-

⁴⁴ Blommaert to Oxenstierna, January 28, 1640; *Ox. Saml.*; Greg. van Dyck to Fleming, May, 23, 1640, N.S., I (K.A.).

⁴⁵ *Journal*, no. 15.

⁴⁶ Van Dyck to Fleming, May 23 (n.s.), 1640, N.S., I. (K.A.).

⁴⁷ He wrote his name Joost, see facsimile.

⁴⁸ "Wat wider van Schipper ende Comijs gepasseert is, die alle avonts met brandewijn en toebacksmelcander geselschap deden, sal Harmen Willemse[n] I. E. G. breder mondelijnc seggen." Van Dyck, May 23 (n.s.), 1640, N.S., I. (K.A.), Ridder to Fleming, May 13, 1640, N.S., I (K.A.).

⁴⁹ He seems to have been a Lutheran.

⁵⁰ "Als unsen Predicant quam om het gebet te doen liep hij [the skipper] ende den comijs wech . . . offe sij den duivel sagen. . . . Als den 17 Martij een Jonge een wenich wijn begeerde voor den Prijster die sieck was . . . schame mij sijn antwoord te schriuen." Van Dyck to Fleming, May 23, 1640, N.S., I (K.A.).

sel with the other officers. The discipline was poor and drunkenness was common, the steward himself being intoxicated daily. The journey was rough and many of the people were sick, but the ship arrived safely in New Sweden on the seventeenth of April, 1640.

In May the ship was ready to return to Europe and on or shortly after May 14 she set sail with a large cargo. She arrived in Gothenburg about the beginning of July. Here she was taken under the command of Hans Weis, who made an inventory of the goods, placed them under lock and key and hired six of the Swedish sailors to watch the ship until further orders were received from Fleming.⁵¹

Several people returned from the colony on this ship, among whom were Hendrick Huygen and Måns Kling and these, together with the sailors and officers on the vessel, were paid their salaries by Van Schotting in Gothenburg, the entire sum 2,434:33 D., including some expenses on the ship, being raised through a draft on Johan le Thor, who in turn applied the money remaining from the sale of the ship, *Turturdufvan*.⁵² The beaver skins and other cargo were brought to Stockholm to be sold there.⁵³

⁵¹ Ridder to Fleming, May 13 (with "memorial," May 14), 1640, N.S., I (K.A.), Ridder to Oxenstierna, May 13, 1640, *Ox. Saml.*, Van Dyck to Fleming, May 23 (n.s.), 1640, N.S., I. (K.A.). Van Dyck's letter to Fleming was presented in Stockholm, July 12. Allowing about ten days for it to go from Gothenburg to Stockholm would bring us to the beginning of the month. H. Weis to Fleming, August 17, 1640, *Några K. Fleming papper* (R.A.).

⁵² This ship had been sold by Le Thor. It belonged to the South Company. The sum of the draft was 2,769:26 D. *Journal*, nos. 18-19. Some extra expenses for provisions, etc., are also recorded.

⁵³ *Journal*, nos. 17, 26, 27, 40.

CHAPTER XVI.

THE COMPANY BECOMES ENTIRELY SWEDISH.

The Dutch members would have withdrawn from the company even when the first expedition returned, if they could have secured their capital invested in the undertaking, and they had in mind to seize the cargoes of the returning ships, sell them and thus obtain their money. They at first refused to contribute to the second expedition. Later, however, they agreed to pay half of the provisions and cargo bought in Holland,¹ but they would not pay any of the expenses of the *Kalmar Nyckel*, incurred on the outward voyage in the winter of 1639-1640.² They were stockholders in the Dutch West India Company and their membership in the Swedish company was becoming uncomfortable for them.³ In 1640 an agreement was arrived at according to which the Swedish members should buy them out. The expenses for the first expedition were divided equally between the "Swedish and Dutch participants" and the Swedish members demanded one half of the proceeds from the peltries sold by Blommaert, but the Dutch stockholders insisted that the tobacco lying at Gothenburg would balance this.⁴ They had furnished 18,649 florins⁵ above the proceeds realized on the sale of the cargoes of the first voyage, but they agreed to be satisfied with 18,000 florins or 7,200 R.D., one half of the original capital. On the payment of this sum they would relinquish all claims, and withdraw from the company.⁶ In February, 1641, the matter was discussed in the treasury department at Stockholm. "His excellency, the

¹ The cost was 13,064 florins and the Dutch members furnished one half or 6,532 fl. *Journal*, no. 10.

² Cf. above, Chap. XV.

³ Spiring to Oxenstierna, July 29 (?), 1639, *Ox. Saml.* (R.A.).

⁴ "Die Schwed. Part. in d. Flor. Comp., 1640," *Söderk.*, 1637-59 (R.A.).

⁵ Exactly 18,649:13:8, *Journal*, no. 20.

⁶ *Journal*, nos. 20, 21 (1640), 20, 11, 41; R.R., Feb. 20, 1641 (L.).

treasurer (*skattmästaren*), said that the government had found it expedient to release the Dutch participants from the New Indian or Florida Company, since they are a hindrance to us."⁷ On the same day Spiring was instructed to pay the above sum to the Dutch members, which was done in the autumn of 1641, the money being drawn from the Dutch subsidies. In addition to the 18,000 florins Spiring was obliged to pay $2\frac{3}{4}$ per cent. exchange, making the entire sum 7,398 R.D. or 18,495 florins.⁸

The government was reimbursed for this outlay through the sale of a ship, *The Black Dog*, belonging to the South-Ship Company, although there seems to have been no formal decision in the matter.⁹ The company was now run by Swedish capital and it was entirely reorganized.

Blommaert, although no longer a stockholder, continued to aid the expeditions until he severed his connections with the Swedish Crown, and Spiring and other Swedish agents in Holland served the company, as before, in various capacities, while new officers were engaged by the company in Sweden. Some time in 1640 Johan Beier was appointed treasurer and a memorial was given to him by Fleming, defining some of his duties.¹⁰

In the late summer of the same year Benjamin Bonnell¹¹ was appointed factor of the company and a memorial was given to

⁷ *Kam. Prot.*, February 20, 1641 (K.A.). The minutes go on to say that "Spiring was written to this day" that the Crown should pay 6,000 R.D. "But the rest should be paid through orders from Claes Fleming . . . about which he was informed." But there is no letter in *Kam. Kol. Reg.* to Spiring for Feb. 20, or on the following dates, concerning this affair. The letter of Feb. 20, 1641, in *Kam. Kol. Reg.* has reference to certain goods he was to buy in Holland.

⁸ R.R., February 20, 1641; *Journal*, no. 91 ff.

⁹ The ship (*Svarte Hunden*) was sold October 10, 1640, to Daniel Schlegel in Stettin for 9,500 R.D. But the sails, anchor, etc., belonged to the government and these were valued at 3,197:20 R.D. Hence 6,302:28 R.D. was due to the South Company and the Crown was debited with that sum, leaving the company in debt to the government to the amount of 1095: R.D. "Kongl. Maj:s och Cron:s Rech. medh. Söd. Comp." (1640-52), *Söderk.*, 1637-59 (R.A.). In the official *Journal* of the company it is stated, however, that the ship was sold for 9,000 R.D. and that sails, etc., were valued at 3,000 R.D., leaving 6,000 R.D. as the part due the company.

¹⁰ "Memorial für den Secretar. Johan Beijer" (in eight articles), signed by Fleming. N.S., I. (R.A.).

¹¹ See biography below and index.

him in November, undoubtedly drawn up by Fleming.¹² He was to have a salary of 600 D. a year, besides traveling expenses, and his duties were to sell all cargoes brought from America and to manage the company's tobacco trade in Sweden.¹³ In January, the following year, Hans Kramer was engaged as bookkeeper at a salary of 400 D. a year, and now the company was placed on a business basis. Klas Fleming remained president or director.

About this time one Robert Smythe (an Englishman?) had a secret interview with Oxenstierna, during which he observed that the chancellor "was a lover of the foreign trade" that had been established in America. Smythe offered his services for the furtherance of this trade as well as its extension to Africa. He approached Fleming and De Geer on the subject and selected thirty Swedes, who were willing to go on an expedition, among whom were two students from Upsala and two noblemen. An old ship, the *Achillis*,¹⁴ was to be hired from the government, at the rate of one hundred R.D. a month and sent under the leadership of Smythe to Africa and America. A few months later he presented a *memorial* to the chancellor, relating the above facts and stating his plans. Fleming was in favor of the expedition, but on the condition that De Geer insure the ship. In passing Smythe also suggests that New Sweden could be settled by foreign people, if good privileges, freedom from duty for some years and religious liberty were granted, and if the chancellor thought him fit, he would gladly lead an expedition thither. He also laments the facts that he is in prison (probably on account of debt), making it difficult for him to get a hearing, and that he had had to wait for an answer for over four months. Nothing seems to have come out of the proposals, however, but one of his suggestions was soon to be carried out

¹² A draft or copy of the memorial in the R.A. is dated November 17, 1640, but it is not signed. It was undoubtedly sent by Fleming to the chancellor for his inspection. It is marked "Fr. Tidö-Saml." and once belonged to the *Ox. Saml.* Cf. *Journal*, no. 24 ff.

¹³ Chap. XIX., below; *Journal*, no. 100 ff.

¹⁴ The ship *Achillis*. Probably the *Akilles* mentioned by Zettersten, *Sv. flot. hist.*, II. 563. This was a ship of 200 lasts burden and carried 22 guns.

—a Dutch Colony was about to be planted in New Sweden under special privileges.¹⁵

¹⁵ Robert Smythe to A. Oxenstierna, no date, but between 1638 and 1643. *Ox. Saml.* Smythe was a merchant. There are three letters from him to Oxenstierna, two written from Danzig (1646, 1648) and one from Leipzig (1649). *Ox. Saml.* (R.A.). Robert Smythe was perhaps the same man as Robert Smith, who had business transactions with the New Sweden Company. Cf. below, pp. 235, 288, 642. Cf. also index.

CHAPTER XVII.

THE UTRECHT COLONY AND THE THIRD EXPEDITION, 1639-1641.

It was Minit's intention to bring over colonists to New Sweden from his home province, but the plan died with him. A similar plan, however, originated from another direction. "Certain people in Utrecht, seeing that the burdens fell heavier on the land for every year and that the farmer could hardly meet his expenses," determined to go to New Netherland, but satisfactory arrangements with the Dutch West India Company could not be made. It was then decided to apply for permission to settle in New Sweden. The parties were aided by several influential members of the above-mentioned company, among whom were "Godard van Reede, the Lord of Nederhorst"¹ and Hendrik Hooghkamer. In the beginning of 1639 Blommaert wrote to Fleming about it and sent a "project" (perhaps a sort of charter of privileges). Admiral Fleming was interested in the plan and seems to have been willing to grant the request. He wrote to Oxenstierna and desired him to express his opinion in the matter. It was brought before the council in March, but it was thought best not to give any definite promises at that time, as a Dutch migration to New Sweden might be a source of danger to the colony and the Swedish title, especially as they wished to settle under a commander of

¹ *Godard van Reede, Heer van der Nederhorst* (or his son, Gerard?) was one of the proprietors of a colony in New Netherland on the Hudson. *Doc.*, I. 190, 411; De Vries, *Korte Historiael*, 165 ff. Brodhead (partly following O'Callaghan) combines two names, wrongly speaking of van der Horst as *Myndert Myndertsen van der Horst*, which in turn has been followed in Winsor's *Nar. and Crit. Hist.*, IV., p. 450. The district *Nederhorst* was so named to distinguish it from *Hoogerhorst*, both in the province of Utrecht. Cf. *Van Rensselaer B. Mss.*, p. 527; Kernkamp, *Zweed. Arch.*, p. 191. For a biography of van Reede see *Biog. Woordenb. d. Neder.* Van Reede's portrait with his coat of arms is reproduced in *Arend*, III. 5, p. 793.

their own.² Certain articles were later drawn up by Van Reede and sent by Spiring to the chancellor in the early spring of the same year, but they remained unanswered for some time.

In July "Herr van der Horst³ with S. Blommaert" visited Spiring at the Hague and desired to know, if he had order or commission from the Swedish government, the Swedish members of the company or from the chancellor to conclude the articles which had been presented, for he wished to send a ship with people and cattle to plant a colony in New Sweden. He was informed that no resolution had been passed in the matter by the government and "it could not be resolved upon before the Royal Council assembled," but "Van der Horst with partners" demanded an answer in six weeks or they would have nothing to do with the affair, and on July 23 (o.s.?) van Reede appeared again before Spiring. On the same day Spiring wrote to the chancellor, requesting that a speedy answer be given, for otherwise the Dutch might withdraw their offers.

The question, however, was allowed to rest. In June Fleming wrote to Oxenstierna "that some parties in Holland ought to be allowed to settle in New Sweden so that the country would the sooner be occupied," but nothing was done in the matter for some time.⁴ Van Reede made further efforts to obtain an answer to his propositions. He requested Blommaert to write to Sweden about the undertaking, and the latter did so several times.⁵ This led to some result. Johan Beier was ap-

² Blommaert to Oxenstierna, January 28, 1640; Oxenstierna to Fleming, March 15, 1639. *Ox. Saml.* (Concepter). Cf. *Rådspr.*, VII. 485 (March 13, 1639).

³ Van Reede.

⁴ "Ist diesen Morgen der Herr von der Horst beij mich erschienen, fraegendt ob ich von der Hochlöblichen Königl. Regierung, oder Ihr Exell. die H.n. Schwedische Participanten ordre oder Commission hette mit ihm die getroffene Punkten zu schliesen, dan er willens wehre ein Schiff mit dem ehrsten mit Volck, Viehe, undt die Colonien zu pflantzen gehörige Sachen nacher New Schweden zu abzuschicken." Spiring to Oxenstierna, July 23, 1639, *Ox. Saml.*, Spiring to Oxenstierna, July 23, July 29 (?), 1639; Fleming to Oxenstierna, June 8, 1639, *Ox. Saml.* (R.A.).

⁵ Van Reede was told that since the plague was raging in the Swedish capital it was not possible for the council to meet and it was therefore necessary to have patience. Blommaert to Oxenstierna, January 28, 1640, *Ox. Saml.*

pointed to take charge of the negotiations. He should correspond with Blommaert and the other interested parties and inform them of the situation.⁶ The proposed charter was doubtless revised and returned to Spiring, and he in turn made other suggestions. But weeks passed and no arrangements were arrived at.

In the autumn the persons interested in the scheme determined to send an agent to Sweden to give complete information, and to try to come to a final decision. Joost van den Bogaert⁷ was selected for the mission. Spiring wrote to Johan Beier in his behalf and other letters were doubtless sent with him. He arrived at Stockholm towards the end of 1639, it seems, and from there he went to Köping⁸ to lay his commission and documents before Oxenstierna.⁹ He undoubtedly brought with him a charter and other papers which were presented to Fleming or Oxenstierna who in turn laid them before the council. Van Bogaert's presence in Sweden had the desired effect. The council, on Oxenstierna's and Fleming's initiative, took up the matter in earnest. The privileges that were requested and the different articles of the charter were discussed and several changes were made.

The charter was originally made out to Godard van Reede, Heer van der Nederhorst.¹⁰ But it was later stated that his name was used through mistake and Spiring was requested to inform the authorities in Sweden that his name should be with-

⁶ Cf. Blommaert to Oxenstierna, January 28, 1640; *Ox. Saml.*, "Memorie," etc. (1640), N.S., I. (R.A.).

⁷ Written Jost von Bogart in R.R. (Lat.), January 30, 1640, fol. 8, 9; but Joost van den Boogeardt in the Memorial, N.S., I. (R.A.). In a letter of 1640 he signs his name, *Joos van den Bogaert*. I have adopted this spelling with the addition of a *t* in Joost.

⁸ Köping (an old commercial city) almost directly west of Stockholm on the Köpingså, a little more than a mile above its entrance into Mälaren. The city is noted as the place where the great chemist Von Scheele lived and died.

⁹ Blommaert writes on January 28, 1640: "I have learned from Sec. Jan Beier that the man had arrived safely," and "since then I have heard nothing about it." Hence Beier's letter was received by Blommaert on or some time before January 28 (n.s.), 1640, and this makes it certain that Van den Bogaert arrived in Sweden before January, 1640.

¹⁰ See "Memorie" and Kernkamp, *Zweed. Arch.*, p. 191.

drawn and that of Hendrik Hooghkamer take its place.¹¹ About the same time a memorial was presented to Spiring by Hooghkamer, suggesting the above change and requesting a statement about the location of the colony. It was at first proposed that the settlement should be made about forty miles¹² above Fort Christina (or about ten miles above present Philadelphia).¹³ But in that case the ships of the colonists would have to pass Fort Nassau and the settlers could easily be cut off from the Swedish stronghold and be left to the mercy of the Dutch or English, who could come between them and Fort Christina, build a fortress there and destroy their plans. An answer or counter-memorial was drafted later. The author of these *Gegenbedencken*¹⁴ to the memorial (who was probably Spiring) saw no danger in placing the colony at such a distance from the Swedish fortress, but in order to insure its safety he proposed that "Hooghkamer and his consorts should be allowed to build a small fortress between their colony and Christina, to be garrisoned by soldiers, supported by the Swedish government."

A copy of the "memorial" and "counter-memorial" was sent to Oxenstierna,¹⁵ and its contents were probably discussed in the council. The change of names was made, but instead of the

¹¹ This was undoubtedly done in the late autumn of 1639, for on January 24, 1640, the change was known in Sweden. Van Reede probably withdrew for political reasons and on account of his connection with the Dutch West India Company.

¹² The original has ten miles.

¹³ That would have brought them to about present Fitchburg or Holmesburg Junction, about ten miles above Ft. Casimir. The "Memorie" is not clear, probably due to the mistakes of a copyist. It states: "dat indien de plaets van den participanten thein mylen aen de Noordzyde van de Suytrivier genomen moet werden." That this means ten miles above Fort Christina is clear from the fact that the colonists "would have to pass the fort of the [Dutch] West India Company in going up and down the said river" from their settlement—Fort Nassau lying 16 leagues from the mouth of the Delaware. It is further corroborated by the "Gegenbedencken," which says, "das weil sie wegen ro-meiliger Ablage von der Fort Christina ihre Einfahrt der Hollen. Fort gegenüber hetten und die allezeit pasziren musten," etc. "Memorie," N.S., I. (R.A.); Kernkamp, *Zweed. Arch.*, p. 189 ff.

¹⁴ Counter-considerations.

¹⁵ The copy in N.S., I. (R.A.), is marked "Fr. Tidö. Saml.," indicating that it once belonged to A. Oxenstierna's collection.

erection of a fortress the Dutch colonists were permitted to locate somewhat nearer Christina than was at first suggested. The charter was issued by the government on January 24, 1640. It was decided that the colony should be placed on the west side¹⁶ of the South River at least "four or five common German miles" (about twenty English miles), above Fort Christina.¹⁷ The "patrons" should be granted as much land as they needed for their settlement, on both sides of the river, on the condition that it be improved within ten years. If the lands chosen at first were not satisfactory, other places could be selected with the consent of the Swedish governor. The "patrons," their associates and their posterity should enjoy and possess "forever as an allodial or hereditary property" all fisheries, woods, minerals, springs and other natural resources, as well as "windmills and other such advantages and utilities, which are [already] found there or may be established." They were granted the right to establish all kinds of manufactories and trades; they could carry on commerce and, with ships built in New Sweden, they were free to trade in the West Indies, on the coasts of Africa and in the Mediterranean Sea. They were assured *religious liberty*, being admonished, however, to avoid all strife and unnecessary disputes, and they were under obligation to support as many ministers of the gospel and school-masters as the number of the inhabitants made necessary, especially such persons to be appointed, who had the conversion of the poor pagans to Christianity at heart. Their political rights as well as their relation to the Swedish government were also clearly defined in the charter. They were granted the authority to exercise "higher and lower justice in their district," to establish and issue statutes and ordinances, to appoint magistrates and officers and to "use the

¹⁶ "On the north side," *Charter*, § 1.

¹⁷ Hazard, p. 52 ff., has a poor translation of this charter (also in *Reg. of Penn.*, IV. 178 ff.). He states that the settlement was "*below Fort Christina*," p. 51. The mistake has been repeated by other historians—Winsor, *Nar. and Crit. Hist.*, IV. 450; O'Callaghan and others. Four or five German miles or 18 to 23 English miles would bring the settlement *about four to nine miles below Philadelphia*.

titles and coat of arms of their colony" in all official documents, but they were to acknowledge the jurisdiction and sovereignty of the Swedish Crown and of the governor of New Sweden and all statutes and laws passed by them were to be approved by the aforesaid governor. They were to be under the protection of the royal government, but they were to suffer no encroachment upon their liberties by the same. They were to pay a tax of three florins a year for each family, as an acknowledgment of Swedish authority, but they were to be free for ten years from duties, excises and all other contributions in the colony; all goods sent to Sweden (or shipped from there to the colony) or other parts of Europe, however, being subject to the usual duty. After the period of ten years a duty of five per cent. (or more if necessary) was to be collected on all imports and exports for the support of the government and the defense of the colony. The inhabitants and their descendants were never to be pressed into military service, but they were expected to aid in defending the colony against attacks. Finally, they were guaranteed exemption "from all confiscations of their property," and fines that were imposed for various reasons were never to exceed 100 florins or 40 R.D., but the government reserved the right to mete out "all other kinds of punishments (than fines) according to the nature of the offense."¹⁸

It was the intention of the "patrons" to send over "two or three ships with people, cattle and other things belonging to agriculture," so as to establish a firm settlement which was later to be augmented by a great number of people, and on January 24 a pass was issued for the ship *Freedenburgh* to sail to America under the command of skipper Jacob Powelsen, a similar pass being issued for two other vessels on the same date.¹⁹

¹⁸ "Octroij und Privilegium," etc., January 24, 1640, R.R. (Latin). The copy of the charter in R.R. is signed by G[abriel] O[xenstierna] G[ustafsson], J[acob] D[e] L[a] G[ardie], C[arl] C[arlsson] G[yllenhielm], A[xel] O[xenstierna] and G[abriel] O[xenstierna] B[engtsson].

¹⁹ January 24, 1640, *Octroy*, January 24, 1640, R.R. (R.A.).

Joost van Bogaert was engaged as agent in New Sweden and on January 30 a commission was given to him by the government. For his services he was promised 500 florins a year (or 200 R.D.), the salary to begin on the date of his appointment and to be paid yearly to Bogaert's representatives in Holland by Spiring or other servants of the Swedish government. If his services and devotion to the interest of the colony and the company warranted it, his salary would be raised to 1,000 florins or more.²⁰ On the same day he signed a bond or obligation promising to fulfill his duties to the best of his ability.²¹ A letter was also written to Peter Hollender Ridder, recommending the colonists to his favor and requesting him to receive them kindly, and on February 1 a letter was also written to Spiring about the matter. With these documents Bogaert left Sweden in the early spring of 1640 for Holland and proceeded to Spiring at the Hague, into whose hands the papers were delivered.²² All original letters and papers were also included and a draft of an obligation to be signed by the "patrons" was enclosed. Spiring was requested to go through the papers and make any corrections he saw fit, but he was advised not to delay the expedition on account of these changes or on account of any differences that may arise.²³ These instructions were undoubtedly carried out. The "obligation" and other papers were revised and signed and other necessary arrangements were made.

²⁰ R.R. (L.), January 30, 1640, "Dass wir ihm darauff für solche seine über-nommene mühehaltung zu einen jährlichen Tractament von dato dieses anzurechnen verordnet und bewilliget haben fünffhundert Keyssers Gulden oder zwijhundert Reichsthlr. welche 500 fl. oder 200 Rthlr. auch jährlich in Hollandt durch den Residenten Spiring oder andere unsere Bediente . . . an seine hirzu gevollmechtigte, richtig und unfehlbaht erleget werden sollen . . ." Hazard has a poor translation on p. 55 ff. He makes the increase only 100 florins. The original has "dass obbeschriebenes sein jährl. Salarium vermehret und auff tausend Keyssers gulden gerechnet." R.R. (L.), January 30, 1640, R.R., fol. 9.

²¹ Bogarts Revers, R.R., January 30, 1640, fol. 9 (R.A.).

²² He arrived in Holland about or a little before March 14 (n.s.), 1640, for the resolution "forbidding navigation in the Sound" was passed on that date and Bogaert says that as soon as the privileges were brought back by him this resolution was published. Aitzema, V. 81; Bogaert to Beier, July 20, 1640, N.S., I. (K.A.).

²³ "An Resid. Peter Spiring," etc., Feb. 1, 1640, R.R. (L.), fol. 13-14.

But the expedition was delayed. In the first place international difficulties arose. On March 14 (n.s.) a resolution was passed by the States General, forbidding Dutch vessels to sail to the Baltic ports and to Norway, except to certain harbors in Holstein and to Gothenburg. Hollanders were prohibited from engaging in the service of foreign powers and severe punishments were prescribed for the breaking of these orders.²⁴ This made it impossible for Bogaert to carry out his commission and other Hollanders, who were engaged to bring over the ship *Freedenburgh*, likewise hesitated to proceed. But Peter Spiring applied to the States General for permission to equip a ship in Holland for the Swedish Crown and he undoubtedly also endeavored to obtain permission for Hollanders to engage in Swedish service.²⁵ The relations between Denmark and the States General were becoming strained and the latter power made approaches to Sweden.²⁶ Spiring's memorials were therefore treated with much respect and his request seems to have been granted.

But there were other circumstances which occasioned delay. The Dutch West India Company, being informed of the Utrecht plan, endeavored to frustrate it without offending the Swedish government. A report was circulated that the garrison at Fort Christina had deserted the stronghold on account of want of sustenance and repaired to New Amsterdam. Later it was reported that the *Kalmar Nyckel* had been captured by the Turks on its second voyage. Finally letters arrived from

²⁴ This policy, if carried out, would have been a hard blow to Sweden, in whose service hundreds of Hollanders were employed and we find that the government took immediate steps to remedy the matter. A letter was written to Fleming, April 3, 1640, stating that the resolution of the States General had been received. Plans were to be made by which the Swedes could "secure their own ships and sailors, which in this case, will serve to continue the navigation." Fleming was further instructed to present the government's proposition to the magistrates of Stockholm and enjoin them to prepare ships which could be sent to "Holland and other foreign places." Letter to Fleming, April 3, 1640, R.R. (R.A.).

²⁵ Vriesland did not join in the resolution and it is therefore probable that persons from this province had a right to enter foreign service. See Aitzema, V. 81.

²⁶ See Arend, V. 3, p. 212 ff.

[illegible]

Governor Kieft stating that he had made an agreement with the Swedes that if no assistance arrived within two months from April 4, 1640, they would leave the fort and be transported to Holland on the ships of the Dutch West India Company.²⁷ Another obstacle was the charter of the Dutch West India Company. According to the first article of this document nobody was allowed to sail to or trade within the limits of New Holland on pain of confiscation of property and goods. Dutch skippers were therefore unwilling to let their ships for fear that they would be confiscated. The Dutch West India Company excepted the region surrounding Fort Christina, however, out of respect for Sweden, but "those who settled on other places of the South River outside of Minquas Kill should be treated as trespassers of the Octroy, and not only have their ships and goods confiscated, but they would also be prosecuted. . . ." These circumstances naturally caused delay and uneasiness. Bogaert proposed that Sweden should send a warship of 340 tons burden to the colony to guard the rights of Sweden. Certain knowledge had also been gained by the "patrons" that the English, who had been granted land on the South River by their king, might settle on "the south [east] side of the river;" therefore it was proposed that the Swedish government should build a fort on Cape Henlopen and that a few colonists be settled at the Horn Kill²⁸ and Swanendael, where there was a dilapidated fort. But it was necessary that Samuel Blommaert should know nothing about it, until the place had been occupied, so that the Dutch West India Company would not be informed.²⁹

The original plans were modified before final arrangements were made and only one ship was to be sent. The "patrons" incurred great expenses through the delay. A ship carrying 25 cannon had been prepared and about 50 colonists were to be sent over. These had to be fed and the salaries of the sailors

²⁷ Bogaert to Beier, July 20, 1640, N.S., I. (K.A.); cf. *Doc.*, I. 592-3; Hazard, p. 50 ff., and below, chap. XXII.

²⁸ Bogaert writes *Hoeren Kil*.

²⁹ Bogaert to Beier, July 20, 1640, N.S., I. (K.A.).

paid. On July 20 (n.s.?), 1640, however, Bogaert writes that he had in mind to leave in eight days or as soon as there was a favorable wind, and it is likely that he set sail towards the end of July or in the beginning of August. Of the voyage across the ocean we know nothing, but the ship arrived safely in New Sweden on the second of November the same year.³⁰ The ship left the colony about December 3.³¹ It carried 737 beaver skins, 29 bear skins and a small number of other skins, all belonging to the New Sweden Company.³² The skins were sold in Amsterdam by one Jacque de la Mijne for 5,360 florins. This money, after de la Mijne's commission (of 467:8 florins) had been deducted, was turned over to Peter Spiring and used for buying new supplies.³³ It is not known whether or not the ship brought back a cargo of tobacco or other goods for the "patrons."

³⁰ Bogaert to Beier, July 20, 1640, N.S., I. (K.A.); Ridder to Oxenstierna, December 3, 1640, *Ox. Saml.* (R.A.).

³¹ On December 3 Ridder wrote to Oxenstierna and the letter was undoubtedly sent to Europe with this ship.

³² I have not found it expressly stated in the documents that these skins were brought to Holland in the Dutch ships, but the journal says: "Umb das Nachstehende Pelltereijen sein in Ao. 1641 aus Nova Svecia in Holland angekommen" (*Journal*, no. 65) and no other ship came from New Sweden in 1641.

³³ *Journal*, no. 65. The net proceeds were 4,892:12 florins or 2,935:18 D. s.m.

CHAPTER XVIII.

THE FOURTH EXPEDITION, 1641-1642.

In the meantime activities were begun for a new voyage from Sweden. We have already seen that money belonging to the old South Company was used for the benefit of the New Sweden Company. A ship called the *Turturdufva*,¹ belonging to the South-Ship Company was sold in Holland by Le Thor. Later he was ordered by Fleming to use some of the proceeds for buying a cargo for a new expedition to the Delaware. Accordingly he bought several "cases of cloth" for 4,047:2:8 florins. Major Richard Clerk was also commissioned to buy goods for the journey and through his efforts merchandise for 3,299:2 florins was purchased. Hendrick Huygen, who decided to return to New Sweden, was sent to Holland at the company's expense, where he purchased large quantities of supplies and hired some of the crew for the ship. He was assisted by Le Thor and money, probably raised through the sale of tobacco and skins in Sweden, was furnished him by Spiring. Part of the cargo and supplies, being ready in November, were insured by Jacque de la Meijne and sent to Gothenburg.²

The government, taking a lively interest in the preparations, urged Fleming to make ready "two [ships] which could sail between Virginia or New Sweden and Gothenburg" and requested him to report the condition of the ships that were available for commercial voyages and trips to the South River. But it was found that most of the ships that had been mentioned

¹ "*The Turtle-dove*." Another ship, "*Neptunes*," belonging to the South-Ship Company was also sold in Holland in 1640 by Le Thor and Blommaert. Le Thor to Fleming, February 2, 1640 (K.A.).

² "Clerks Rechning," etc., 1640, *Söderkomp.*, 1637-59 (R.A.); *Journal*, nos. 22, 53, 54, 62, 84, 94, 96, 122, 123. "Der Dritte Viaggio," etc., *Söderkomp.*, 1637-59 (R.A.).

were old and unfit for a long sea voyage and it is doubtful that they could have been repaired in any case.³

The *Kalmar Nyckel* brought letters, journals and reports from New Sweden⁴ which arrived in Stockholm on July 12 and a few days later Huygen made an oral report of the conditions of the country. These things naturally tended to increase the interest in the work and hurry on the preparations for the new expedition. It is likely that the letters and reports of Ridder and Van Dyck, urging the necessity of sending colonists, cattle and new supplies to Christina at the earliest date, were read in the council chamber on the day after their arrival, for "it was ordered that a letter should be made to Johan Hindricksson, governor of Gothenburg, to the effect that, since the Crown's ship had returned from *Nova Svecia* in India with a safe voyage, and [since] H[er] R[oyal] Maj[esty] intended further to continue the same trade to India, the governor was to be commanded to endeavor to collect people, with wives and children, cattle and horses and all goods and prevail upon them to go to that country."⁵ The letter was written the same day

³ In a note on page 25 of his *Nya Sverige* Odhner says: "It is probable that the intended expedition, which is spoken of in the letters of the government to Fleming, April 13 and 28, 1640 ["the ships that go to New Sweden, which should be well preserved and commanded by Johan Dufva," "the 5 ships, which go to Virginia"], did not take place. As far as I can find there was no intention to send "five ships to Virginia or New Sweden under the command of Johan Dufva." The government decided to send "four . . . good ships to Gothenburg and . . . gave orders that they should be made entirely ready, as well as *two others which can go between Virginia or New Sweden and Gothenburg*." Fleming was ordered to prepare these ships and appoint some good captain, "of sense, boldness and courage who could command these *six ships*." The six ships should be sent to Holland to carry merchandise there. It seems that one Bielckenstjärna was at first proposed as commander of the expedition. But Johan Dufva was found to be "of better experience." One of the ships mentioned in the list was to go to Holland "on a trial journey." If it proved good it would be sent to New Sweden. See R.R., April 3, April 13, April 14, April 28, 1640, fol. 405 ff., fol. 423 ff., fol. 483 ff. Fleming's report was made on April 21, 1640.

⁴ Ridder's letters to Oxenstierna and to Fleming of May 13 and Van Dyck's of May 23 (n.s.), together with Van Dyck's *Journal* and other documents were sent over on the ship.

⁵ "Memorial," May 14, 1640, N.S., I. (K.A.); *Rådspr.*, VIII. 102 (July 13, 1640). The Swedish is condensed and difficult to translate "Befaltes Stathållaren att vinläggja sig ther om att sammanlocka folk med hester och alt bod, them disponera att the och ville till samme landzort sig begiffva."

(July 13), embodying the above instructions. The government had hopes that "New Sweden would in time redound to the service and honor of the Swedish Crown and to the prosperity and improvement of its citizens." Special privileges would be granted in the colony, if that would induce settlers to migrate and for the greater success of the plan Hindricksson was requested to consult with Timon Roloffsson in Gothenburg and get his views about it.⁶

But other measures were also taken to secure colonists. In the previous century, especially during and after the "club-war" of 1596-1597,⁷ a large number of Finns had migrated to northern and central Sweden. Prince Carl, later Charles IX., encouraged these migrations, giving the Finns many privileges in his province and Gustavus Adolphus was also well disposed towards them.⁸ These immigrants cleared the forests by burning the trees and sowed the grain in the ashes. They were encouraged by Prince Carl to do so, and for years this method was employed.⁹ But their promiscuous burning and destruction of the forests soon lost favor with the authorities and complaints were made against them, during the last years of the reign of Gustavus Adolphus.¹⁰ Their methods of hunting, also tended to bring them into disrepute with the government officials. In 1608 an ordinance was published concerning hunting, prescribing a fine of 40 marks (for the first offense) for the shooting of a deer or elk; for the second offense the fine was doubled and capital punishment was inflicted for the third offense.¹¹ But the Finns, living far from civilization, cared little for law and order and paid no attention to any of these

⁶ Letter to Johan Hindricksson, July 13, 1640, R.R., fol. 673 (R.A.).

⁷ Concerning this struggle, caused by Clas E. Fleming (not the admiral), see *Nordisk Familjebok*, VIII. pp. 902-3, and Yrjö Koskinen, *Finlands Historia*, I. 169 ff., especially 175 ff.

⁸ See Nordmann, p. 8 ff., 19 ff., and Almquist, *Uddeholmsverken*, p. 64 ff.

⁹ Nordmann, p. 41 ff. For this method of agriculture see below, Chap. XLII.

¹⁰ Nordmann, 44 ff.

¹¹ Nordmann, 64-65.

ordinances.¹² During the Thirty Years' War large numbers left their native country to escape conscription, and went to Sweden, where they continued the practise of their predecessors. They burned the forests, shot elks for their hides only, allowing the bodies to lie and rot, and committed other crimes against existing laws. They were difficult to reach, since they moved about and had no permanent home. As their numbers increased, the complaints against them became more numerous. From 1636 on, they were the subject of many ordinances and harsh treatment was often dealt out to them.¹³ In the autumn of 1636 an order was issued commanding all "Finnish vagrants" to leave Sweden and return to Finland before the Walpurgis night of 1637 on pain of being put in irons and kept to work on the government's castles and farms. Some of these Finns, who could give bonds and prove that they were honest and industrious, were given farms and allowed to settle in the country, "but the wanderers and unsettled ones must return home."¹⁴

In 1640 Governor Gustaf Lejonhufvud¹⁵ wrote to the government that there were a number of such vagrant Finns in his district¹⁶ that could not be entrusted with uncultivated farms,¹⁷

¹² "Ett stort misbruk skeer esomofftast medh Finnerne i Finnemarken . . . man må något skarpare med dem procedera än till penningeböter alena, ty penningar achta de föga. . . ." Gust. Lejonhufvud till A. Oxenstierna. *A. Oxenstiernas Skrifter*, 2, XI. 317.

¹³ Nordmann, 45 ff. There are instances on record when their homes were burnt and other uncivil treatment accorded them. There were even suggestions of killing them off entirely. The reasons for the migrations of the Finns to Sweden were many: (1) Economic, (2) political, (3) (Stiernman, II. 55 ff.), (4) desire to escape conscription, civil strife and the laying waste of parts of Finland by Russian bands. Cf. Nordmann, p. 1 ff.; Almquist, 64 ff. They lived in Sweden very much as they did in Finland and we may assume that they brought some of their customs with them to America. Cf. below, Chap. XXXIII.

For further literature concerning the Finns and their persecution in Sweden see Erik Fernow, *Beskr. öfver Värmland*, and Nordmann's references. As to the districts in Sweden where the Finns settled see Nordmann, Appendix II. and III.

¹⁴ Stiernman, *Kungl. br.*, etc., II. 55 ff.

¹⁵ He was governor of Örebro, an inland town west of Stockholm.

¹⁶ The district of Nerike, in south-central Sweden, over which Lejonhufund was also governor.

¹⁷ During this period a large number of "ödeshemman," as these farms were called, were found throughout Sweden. See Sillén, IV. p. 84 ff.



Type of a Finn. R.



Type of a Finnish woman dressed in national costume with birch bark shoes. R.

and he desired to know what to do with them. His letter arrived as the preparations for sending a new expedition to the Delaware were in progress and as efforts were made to secure colonists, and on the thirtieth of July the government answered his missive, instructing him to endeavor to persuade such Finns "to migrate to New Sweden with wives and children." He should explain to them the great advantages to be had in this country; that there was an abundance of forests, and wild animals, and that a large number of Swedes were already there.

In the same year four Finns, Eskil Larsson, Klement Jöransson, Jöns Påfvelsson and Bertil Eskelsson in Sundsocken,¹⁸ had been found guilty of burning the forests and breaking the mandates of the Crown. They were therefore ordered to the army and their property was confiscated. In July they applied to the government for permission to go to New Sweden and to be released from military service. The request was granted and Governor Stake was ordered to restore their property to them on the condition that they give bonds and promise to appear at Gothenburg, as soon as the government called them there.¹⁹ But these efforts were insufficient, and, although some Finns in Stockholm on their own accord presented themselves to the authorities, as willing to take passage on the *Kalmar Nyckel*,²⁰ yet it was found necessary to send a special solicitor to induce people to migrate. Måns Kling, who knew "what a splendid and productive country New Sweden was," accepted an appointment to perform this mission, receiving his usual salary besides his expenses from the company,²¹ and September 26 he was given an "instruction" or commission by the government. He should proceed to "Bergslagen"²² and some other

¹⁸ A district in southwestern Sweden, near the Norwegian boundary line.

¹⁹ Letter to Stake, July 9, 1640, R.R., fol. 707 (R.A.). *Hand. rör. Skan. Hist.*, XXIX. 213 ff. Letter to the governor in Örebro, G. Lejonhufund, July 30, 1640, R.R., 715 ff. If the Finns refused to go to New Sweden he was instructed to carry out the order published formerly (Sept. 4, 1636). Cf. above.

²⁰ *Hand. rör. Skan. Hist.*, XXIX. p. 215.

²¹ *Journal*, no. 25; Beier paid his salary 221:19 R.D. and 6 R.D. for expenses on this journey.

²² A district in Dalarne, a province northwest of Stockholm bordering on Norway. Dalarne was one of the ancient provinces of Sweden. The provinces

places in order to collect and hire²³ a multitude²⁴ of roving people . . . who nowhere have a steady residence and dwelling," and especially the Finns who were found there, and instruct them to proceed to Stockholm before the sailing of the ship.²⁵ He went to Kopparberget²⁶ and other places, and some of the colonists for this expedition were secured through him. In February the government again wrote to Governor Lejonhufvud, requesting him to prevail upon some inhabitants of his province to go to New Sweden for some years. If he was unsuccessful in his endeavor he should *capture* "all the forest-destroyers [Finns]" found in his district and keep them in readiness for the sailing of the ship. In the spring of 1641 Kling was sent out a second time to gather soldiers and colonists. He was given 189 D. 26 öre by Beier for which he hired fourteen men.²⁷ Johan Printz, later governor of the colony, was likewise requested by the chancellor to look for some skilled workmen and young people in Finland, who would be willing to go to America, and at least one colonist, the bookkeeper Karl Jansson, came from there.²⁸

But immigrants for New Sweden were slow in making their appearance, although the authorities continued to interest themselves in the matter. In April, 1641, a letter was sent to Governor Stake in answer to one of his inquiries, directing him to permit all Finns he had captured, who could not give bonds, to are no longer of importance from an administrative point of view and they are not indicated on all modern maps. The place of the old provinces has been taken by the *län*, in some cases corresponding in area to the old province. Thus Dalarne is now called *Kopparbergs län*, corresponding exactly with the ancient province of Dalarne.

²³ The original has "ahntaga," which may mean accept, but since we know that he really did hire some men, I give the word that meaning. R.R., Sept. 26, 1640.

²⁴ The original has "hop," not necessarily a large number in this connection.

²⁵ "Fullmacht för Måns Kling," etc., September 26, 1640, R.R., fol. 1,008-9. The governors in the districts he visited were requested to aid him in his work.

²⁶ Kopparberget in the province of Dalarne, west of Gefle, south-central Sweden.

²⁷ *Journal*, no. 39. Letter from the government to Governor Lejonhufvud, February 8, 1641, R.R.

²⁸ In a letter of 1641 (without date) he asks for a "schriftliche Befehl" for the "Werbung." *Ox. Saml.*

leave for the colony²⁹ and a young trooper, who had cut down and ruined six apple trees in the royal orchard at the cloister of Varnhem, was allowed to choose between hanging or going to America with wife and children.³⁰

During the winter preparations for the expedition had been made at Gothenburg and Stockholm. The *Kalmar Nyckel* was repaired at the former place and Van Schotting bought provisions there and large quantities of hay and oats for the cattle that were to be shipped over, while ammunition and various other articles were procured by Beier, Kramer and Fleming at Stockholm, where a second ship, the *Charitas* was being prepared.³¹ The colonists from the various districts of the northern provinces were instructed to assemble at the capital, before the sailing of the vessel and, May 3, 1631, she left Stockholm on her way to Gothenburg with thirty-five souls on board, destined for New Sweden. A list of these has been preserved. Being of considerable interest, as it describes each individual colonist and gives us an idea of the general character of the immigrants, it will be quoted in full:

List of the persons who sailed from here to Gothenburg on the ship *Charitas*,³² May 3, 1641, and from where they shall be brought over to Nova Svecia, namely:

(1). Ivert Hindricksson, hired to serve as a soldier. He is to have a suit of clothes and a salary of 20 R.D. a year of which he has received 20 D. cop. money here.

(2). Olof Pålsson³³

²⁹ If they refused to go they should be punished. He had captured a number of the Finns and kept them in prison awaiting the orders of the Government. *Hand. rör. Skan. Hist.*, XXIX. pp. 218-19.

³⁰ "Dy är vår nådige willie och befallningh, att I honom uthan uppehålldh tingföhra, och domb effter brått sino åtaga låthe, ställandes honom sådan i skön, antingen han will medh hustru och barn begiffwa sigh medh wårt Skepp ifrån Götheborgh öfwer till Nye Swerige, eller hängia." *Hand. rör. Skan. Hist.*, XXIX. 217-8; R.R., April 13, 1641, fol. 301 (R.A.).

³¹ "Dritte wiagio," etc., *Söderk.*, 1637-59 (R.A.).

³² "Flojtte *Charitas*." Flojt or "flöt" was a large freight vessel of from 240 to 400 tons burden and it commonly carried two cannon. It was introduced into Sweden from Holland in the beginning of the seventeenth century. See Zettersten, *Sv. flot. hist.*, I. 323.

³³ Where omissions have been made, indicated by dots, the original is simply a repetition of the foregoing. To print the entire would be a needless restatement of the same thing for each colonist or soldier.

- (3). Per Johansson (?)
 (4). Johan Erickson
 (5). Anders Hansson, the brother of the constaple (gunner)
 (6). Jacob Sprint
 (7). Paul Jöransson
 (8). Axel Stille³⁴
 (9). Henrick Matsson, a boy. He shall have a salary of 10 R.A. a year and he received 10 D. copper money on departing.

(10). Johan, a boy
 (11). Olof Erickson, a boy
 (12, 13, 14, 15, 16). Måns Svensson (Loom),³⁵ a tailor, who has also been a lieutenant. He intends to begin agriculture in the colony. He received 5 R.D. on departing but otherwise no salary or monthly wage. Goes with his wife, two almost grown up daughters and a little son.

(17, 18, 19, 20). Olof Stille, a mill-maker,³⁶ who will begin farming there. He received 50 R.D. copper money, but he seeks no pay. He will be paid, however, for what he does for the company or for what he supplies. He has a wife, and two children, one seven the other one and a half years of age.

(21). Mats Hansson, one of Fleming's servants.³⁷ He is to have no pay, but to be supplied only with necessary clothing [and food], because he has committed some offense, and must go along as a punishment.³⁸

(22). Per Kock, an imprisoned soldier from Smedjegården.³⁹ He must serve as a soldier for penalty, and is to receive necessary sustenance and clothing.

(23). Karl Johansson,⁴⁰ formerly bookkeeper at Kexholm,⁴¹ who

³⁴ These eight were all to serve as soldiers.

³⁵ The word is written above the name in the original, showing that it was omitted and put in later. Such "tillnamn" ("additional names") generally have some meaning, as Matts *skräddare* (tailor), etc., or they indicate the district whence the man came. *Lom* is a water-fowl (loon, diver). There is also a *Lomma* in southern Sweden.

³⁶ "Oloff Stille ein Muehlen Macher." The expression undoubtedly means that he was a mill-wright ("mill-builder"), perhaps a maker of mill-stones (?).

³⁷ The original has "knecht," and from the context it would appear to have the German meaning of servant; but in no. 1, 2 and 22 "knecht" seems to have its Swedish meaning of soldier.

³⁸ His crime is not mentioned, but it was not very grievous, it seems. Cf. above.

³⁹ Imprisoned soldiers in Stockholm were kept in Smedjegården.

⁴⁰ In the original the name is first written "Carl Jönsson," then above this "Johansson" has been inserted.

⁴¹ A little town in Finland on Lake Ladoga, almost directly north of St.

must go along for punishment and he shall also serve at times as a soldier.

(24). Eskel Larsson, a deserted soldier from the College of War at this place, sent over as a punishment.

(25). Herr Christoffer,⁴² a priest, goes along on the recommendation of the Royal Admiral,⁴³ who also gave him 100 D. copper money for this purpose from his own means. Otherwise he has demanded nothing besides his board, because he only wishes to gain some experience or try his luck through this journey.

(26). Gustaf Strahl, a young nobleman, goes along to try his luck (or gain experience) on the recommendation of the Royal Admiral, and he received nothing from the company except his board.

(27). Mickel Jonsson (Bolm),⁴⁴ son of the Mayor of Reval(?), is also an adventurer, seeks no pay, because he goes along to try his luck.

(28, 29, 30, 31). Måns [Nilsson] Kling, with his wife, a servant girl, and a little child. His quality and extra allowances have not yet been agreed upon. He is to serve as a lieutenant at a salary of 40 florins a month, to begin on May 1, 1641. Besides he was presented with 50 R.D. through Fleming in lieu of his time in waiting [for the expedition].

(32, 33). Mats Hansson, constaple at the new fort. He has received nothing on departing. His salary has not been fixed as yet. He also wishes to begin a farm or tobacco plantation together with his wife.

(34). Lars Markusson, hired as a servant⁴⁵ to work on the tobacco plantations. He shall have a salary of 20 R.D. and a suit, but he received nothing on departing.

(35). Päfvel Schal, a boy, the son of a baker, in Norrmalm,⁴⁶ receives no pay from the company."⁴⁷

The Charitas probably arrived at Gothenburg about the beginning of June, and a number of other colonists were undoubt-

Petersburg. Also a district in Finland by that name acquired by Sweden in 1617. Cf. above, Chap. I.

⁴² Mr. Christopher. In Beier's list the name is written "H. Christoffer N." But Kramer omitted the N.

⁴³ Carl Carlsson Gyllenhjelm.

⁴⁴ Cf. no. 12 above.

⁴⁵ "Knecht" in its German meaning. Cf. no. 1, 2 and 22, note.

⁴⁶ A quarter in Stockholm.

⁴⁷ The list is in Kramer's handwriting. It is found in N.S., II. (R.A.). In the same bundle is the first draft of the list by Johan Beier, but it contains only 33 persons. On the back of it is written in Kramer's handwriting: "Des Sec. Beijers Musterrull auf die Persohnen so mitt der Flöijten Charitas auf Gottenburgh sein gefahren. . . ."

edly in readiness there. The cargo and provisions were brought on board the two ships as soon as possible. It is probable the *Kalmar Nyckel* carried the majority of the settlers and that the horses, goats, sheep, cattle and farming implements were loaded into the *Charitas*. It seems that some arrangements were made for the cattle and passengers, perhaps partitions or cabins being built, but the nature of these is not known. The cost of the cargo and the expenses connected with the expedition were very high. In a bill "of the third voyage to Nova Svecia" we find the following items:⁴⁸

	Florins.
Some thousand yards of cloth and other goods bought by Johan Le Thor and Richard Clerk in Holland.	4,047:2:3
Expenses	158:15:3
H. Huygen was given for expenses on Fleming's order.	75
Goods bought in Holland including various expenses..	11,675:2
Supplies of various kinds secured by Schotting in Gothenburg	9,461:6
Provisions and ammunition furnished in Stockholm by the admiralty and Klas Fleming.....	6,793:4
Grain for seed	138:6:10
Total	35,647:16:12 ⁴⁹

The majority of the sailors and soldiers on the vessels were Swedes, but the officers, with one or two exceptions, were Dutchmen, and there was a sailor-boy from Dublin among the crew.⁵⁰ The ships probably left Gothenburg in July. They most likely first touched some point in Holland and from there they went to France.⁵¹

⁴⁸ See "Specific. uber [sic] der Dritte Viagie." *Söderk.*, 1637-59 (R.A.) and *Journal* (K.A.). I have not found who paid for the horses and cattle sent over. Perhaps they were sent by the government, or they may have belonged to the settlers who came here to plant, as Stille, etc.

⁴⁹ But this sum does not include the money paid to the people nor some other expenses, and the entire cost of the cargo and supplies alone was 21,765:1 D. or 36,275½ florins before the ships returned to Sweden. *Journal*, no. 229.

⁵⁰ Jacob Evertssen Sandelin, who was along on the first expedition, was mate on the *Charitas*. *Journal*, no. 46; *Monatgelder* von d. Volck an d. Sch. die *Charitas*. *Söderk.*, 1637-59 (R.A.).

⁵¹ It seems that they were ordered to go there to make arrangements for bringing salt to Sweden on the return voyage. Huygen's letter to Spiring (copy), November 28, 1642 [1641], N.S., I. (R.A.), and below. The copy of H. Huygen's letter to Spiring is dated November 28, 1642. But this must be a mistake, for the letter with which this copy was sent is dated April 10, 1642, and furthermore the back of the copy is marked "Pr. 21 Apr. 1642 Stockhl." Internal evidence also determines the year as 1641.

Admiral
général

Per Excell

Handwritten signature: *Handwritten signature*

St. Her. Spierius
bân nu b' Gellom.

Spiering's letter (April 1 (11), 1642) to Admiral Fleming, signed by "Petter Spiering van Noshollem." Original in N. S. I. (R. A.), Stockholm.

On August 19 (o.s.?), 1641,⁵² the two vessels left the shores of Europe. The voyage was a stormy one. Two of the colonists and some cattle died on the journey and when the expedition arrived at Fort Christina, November 7 (o.s.?), the people and animals were very weak and powerless.⁵³

Huygen tried his best to obtain a cargo for the ships, but he was unable to buy furs from the Indians, as the trade had been ruined by the English, and only a small quantity of tobacco could be obtained.⁵⁴

The ships undoubtedly left New Sweden about November 29, 1641,⁵⁵ and set course on Rochelle in France, where they arrived in the beginning of March or earlier. A quantity of salt was bought and loaded into the ships, whereupon they set sail for Holland and cast anchor in the harbor of Amsterdam between the twenty-eighth and thirty-first of March, 1642. As usual the provisions were almost exhausted and the men and officers clamored for pay. The two skippers and the commissioner Langdonk went to Spiring at the Hague and made a report, who wrote at once to S. Blommaert and P. Trotzig, requesting them to give every possible assistance to the ships, so that they could proceed at once to Sweden. Money was accordingly supplied to pay off some of the men and for buying necessary provisions. Trotzig hired two good mates, two cooks and other servants and made arrangements for paying the salt. In April certificates were issued for the ships to pass through the sound and in May or early in June they were in Stockholm,⁵⁶

⁵² New style is probably used in the letter, as Huygen was a Hollander, but he may also have employed the old style, since he was in Swedish service and wrote from New Sweden. When Van Dyck employed new style from New Sweden he distinctly says so. See letter to Fleming, May 23, 1640, N.S., I. (R.A.).

⁵³ "De resterende soo wel beesten als menschen waren seer swack hier comende . . . [en] seer machteloos." Huygen to Spiring, November 28, 1642 (1641).

⁵⁴ Huygen to Spiring, November 28, 1642 (1641), N.S., I. (R.A.).

⁵⁵ Huygen's letter dated November 28 was sent to Holland on one of the ships, and it was probably written shortly before they sailed.

⁵⁶ The letters, bills, reports and other documents were sent to the capital ahead of the ships, for Langdonk's bills were presented at Stockholm on April 20, 1641, and the copy of Huygen's letter on April 21. See bills and letter in N.S., I. (R.A. and K.A.).

having entered the harbor of Gothenburg about April 15. When the ships returned the company was compelled to borrow 3000 R.D. for six month at 10 per cent. interest.⁵⁷ Large sums were now paid to the returning men, and to the wives of those who were in New Sweden.⁵⁸

About this time references to Samuel Blommaert in connection with the company cease entirely⁵⁹ and it is evident that he severed his connection with the Swedish government in the autumn of 1642, for on the twenty-first of July the council decided to employ Trotzig and Appelbom in his place at Amsterdam, his salary being divided between the two, and October 7 the minutes of the council state that Blommaert's salary could be used for the paying of the two proposed commissaries, "since he *now* withdraws [from the service]."⁶⁰

⁵⁷ Spiring to Fleming, April 1/11, 1642; Spiring to Blommaert (copy), April 10, 1642 (in the text of this copy, however, Trotzig has been written by the copyist by mistake); Spiring to Trotzig (copy), April 10, 1642, N.S., I. (R.A.); *Journal*, no. 122, 143 (June 16, 1642).

⁵⁸ The entire sum thus paid by Beier was 11,172:18 florins or 6,703:24 D. *Journal*, no. 146.

⁵⁹ The last reference I have found to him in connection with the company is of April 10 (n.s.), 1642.

⁶⁰ *Rådsp. IX.* 334, 416. Cf. Blommaert's Biography below.

CHAPTER XIX.

THE TRADE OF THE COMPANY IN EUROPE, 1640-1643.

We have seen that the beaver skins of the first expedition were sold in Holland, as well as those carried over on the Dutch vessel in 1641, but it was thought that all the goods brought to Europe by the company ought to be sold in Sweden to encourage Swedish commerce, and arrangements were made accordingly as we have seen. When Bonnell was appointed factor in Stockholm, he was given instructions about the fur and tobacco trade.¹ He should keep the skins and the tobacco in good condition until they were sold. The beaver skins were to be sold to Anthony Bruyn² at the highest price possible, except 300 skins, which should be reserved until further orders. A large quantity of tobacco was on hand, of which he should try to sell 10,000 lbs. at the earliest opportunity and on the best terms obtainable.³ A storehouse was rented in Stockholm and the tobacco and skins were placed there under Bonnell's care. He undoubtedly advertised the skins or sent notices to fur-dealers about his supply, and the day after his appointment he sold a large quantity of furs (1,558 beaver skins) to Anthony Bruyn.⁴ In March, the following year, he sold 101 otter skins to Jacob Frische & Company and in June he sold 100 beaver skins and a fur coat to the same persons.⁵ A number of smaller sales were also made.⁶ But the company's peltry trade in Sweden was never large. The skins were hard to sell and Sweden was not the proper market for this kind of goods.⁷

¹ See above, Chap. XVI.

² Anthony Brown (?) was probably an English merchant in Stockholm.

³ "Memorial für B. Bonnell," etc., November 17, 1640, N.S., I. (R.A.).

⁴ The sale is entered in the *Journal* for November 21, 1641. The skins were sold for 6,297:2 D. They were brought over on the *Kalmar Nyckel* on the second expedition. *Journal*, no. 27.

⁵ *Journal*, nos. 40, 48. The 101 otter-skins were sold for 227:8 D. and the 100 beaver skins were sold for 450 D.

⁶ *Journal*, no. 133 ff.

⁷ Cf. below, Chap. XXIV.

The tobacco trade of the company, on the other hand, was of great importance and soon assumed large proportions. The tobacco habit had gradually made its way into Sweden, principally in the cities, before the New Sweden Company began the trade. It had undoubtedly been brought in by Dutch sailors and laborers, and the soldiers, who served in the Thitry Years' War, also helped to spread its use as they returned home. Books and pamphlets presenting the virtues of the herb were written and circulated in various European countries,⁸ and even in Sweden a dissertation was published in 1633 on the medicinal properties of tobacco.⁹ The Swedes soon acquired a liking for it and in 1629 smoking was a habit among the students at Upsala.¹⁰ It was imported without regulation and sold by druggists and other traders.¹¹

In June, 1639, tobacco pipes are given in an ordinance concerning dutiable articles, published by the government;¹² but the importation of tobacco could not have been very large before 1641, as it is not found in the lists of articles subject to duty issued by the state from time to time.¹³ In January, 1641, the government lamented the fact that "the country and kingdom was being filled with tobacco, . . . an article which some time ago was unknown here and which indeed in itself is not very useful, but which nevertheless has been bought, used to excess¹⁴ and abused by the common people, in many cases to their great injury and poverty."¹⁵ The ground was therefore prepared and a market was ready for tobacco, when the New Sweden Company began trading with this article. The first large cargo,

⁸ See Bragge, *Biblio. Nicoti.* and the works listed there for the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

⁹ "*De Praeclaris Herbae Nicotianae sive Tobaci Virtutibus*," by Joh. Franck, 1633.

¹⁰ *Nordisk Familjebok*, Vol. XVI. 419 ff. (old edition).

¹¹ Stiernman, *Kungl. br.*, etc., II. 305; R.R., January 12, 1641 (R.A.).

¹² Stiernman, *Kungl. br.*, etc., II. 234. The duty on "one dozen tobacco pipes [was] 6 p." "The Ordning" was published on May 31, 1639.

¹³ Stiernman, *Kungl. br.*, etc., II. 120 ff., 140 ff., 188 ff., 224 ff., 244 ff.

¹⁴ "Til missbrunk och öfverflöd."

¹⁵ Stiernman, *Kungl. br.*, etc., II. 305.

11,878 lbs.,¹⁶ brought into Sweden, came on the *Kalmar Nyckel* in the spring of 1640.¹⁷ It was placed in the care of Timon van Schotting and part of it was sold in Gothenburg.¹⁸ The rest was shipped to Stockholm to be sold there by Bonnell.¹⁹ The stalks were removed, whereupon the leaves were sorted, and packed away in the store-house. A special room was built in the magazine and there the tobacco, ready for sale, was hung upon hooks or rails and from there it was undoubtedly sold.²⁰

Soon after his appointment Bonnell began his activities in the tobacco trade. Already in November, 1640, he made several sales to merchants and others, who in turn sold it in small quantities either to other dealers or directly to the consumers. Thus Thomas Blommaert bought 435 lbs. in June, 1641, and in December the same year several hundred pounds were sold to George Garden,²¹ Jacob Lyell,²¹ Jurgen Petersson and others.²² The tobacco brought from America by the company was not sufficient to supply the demand, and in November and December Bonnell purchased about 6,000 lbs. from Dutch merchants.²³

It was found however that tobacco was brought in "by one and another without any distinction or order," and thus the company had no protection against competitors. Complaints were undoubtedly made to the Council of State, perhaps through Fleming, and on the twelfth of January, 1641, the New Sweden Company was given *sole right to import tobacco* into Sweden

¹⁶ Its estimated value was 7,423:15 florins. See "Copia af den Ext. som Sec. J. Beier togh medh," etc. *Söderk.*, 1637-59 (R.A.).

¹⁷ Cf. above, Chap. XIV.

¹⁸ See *Journal*, no. 2.

¹⁹ Total number of pounds sent to Bonnell was 9,936 (Swedish). *Journal*, no. 24.

²⁰ The expenses connected with the building of this room were: Boards, rails, hangers, and labor 11:34 R.D.; other expenses were: 3. R.D. 24½ st. *Journal*, no. 100, 119.

²¹ Probably an Englishman.

²² *Journal*, no. 46, 101.

²³ On November 18, 1640, he bought 583 lbs. for 84:24 R.D. and on the nineteenth of the same month 526 lbs. for 96:21 R.D. On December 9 he bought 1,928 lbs. for 369:25 D.; on the eleventh 716 lbs. for 143:9½ R.D.; on the same date another lot of 3,298 lbs. for 561:41½ R.D. *Journal*, nos. 26, 32.

and its dependencies. All who had shipped tobacco into the kingdom before this ordinance was published were to report the same at the custom's office and receive an excise-bill. Tobacco shipped into Sweden without the knowledge of the New Sweden Company and a bill of excise would be confiscated and a fine of forty marks would be imposed upon the perpetrator. The fine and the confiscated tobacco would be equally divided between the Crown, the company and the discoverer or the reporter of the crime. All importation of tobacco was now by special privileges in the hands of the company, and all merchants and dealers were compelled by law to buy their supply from Benjamin Bonnell.²⁴

For the regulation and control of *the retail trade* an ordinance in four articles was issued by the government, February 8, 1641.²⁵ "For the first," says the ordinance, "whoever wishes to buy some tobacco, little or much, from the factor of the . . . company, shall be obliged to present himself at the custom office and obtain a bill of excise there on as much tobacco as he desires to buy, and shall immediately pay the duty, namely two öre silver money for every pound."²⁶ This bill shall be delivered to the factor of the company, [and then] the factor may sell tobacco to the presenter of the bill, according to its contents." The first offense against this ordinance was punished by confiscation of the tobacco, and the second offense by confiscation and prosecution. The factor was strictly forbidden to sell any tobacco before such a bill had been presented and all bills of excise were to be delivered by him every month into the state-treasury.²⁷

"The Privilegium" forbidding importation by others than the New Sweden Company undoubtedly had good effect, but relatively large quantities of tobacco must have been shipped

²⁴ Stiernman, *Kungl. br.*, etc., II. 305-7. In the "Privileges" the company is called the "South Company."

²⁵ Stiernman, *Kungl. br.*, etc., II. 309-311.

²⁶ Cf. Chapter VI.

²⁷ "Statsens Räkne-Cammar." The merchants were obliged to give a bill to the retailers, stating the quantity sold, date and place of sale. These bills should be delivered to the custom officer whenever he demanded them. Stiernman, *Kungl. br.*, etc., II. 310, § 111.

into the country after its publication, for one third of the tobacco confiscated until March, 1642, was sold for 1,272:19 $\frac{3}{4}$ D. and it is natural that a great deal of the tobacco illegally brought into the kingdom escaped the notice of the officers and others.²⁸ The ordinance governing the retail trade was also evaded and numerous sales were made without the knowledge of Bonnell.

A sort of tobacco company was formed in the summer of 1641 for the retailing of tobacco. It consisted of Jacob Trotzig, Johan Fijrborn, Jacob Kallmeter and Thomas Johanson. On July 10, they purchased 14,197 lbs. from Bonnell, to be paid in three instalments.²⁹

In the late summer of 1641 Bonnell contracted with one Claes Cornelisson Meckpott(?) in Holland for the delivery of several thousand pounds of tobacco and in October 326 rolls³⁰ of "St. Christopher tobacco" were sent to Sweden. In June, 1642, another lot of 15,302 lbs. was shipped over; but it was returned, since Bonnell found that the quality was not as good as the contract called for.³¹ Another contract was made with Peter Cornelisson Möllnaer in the summer or autumn of 1642 and in November Peter Trotzig bought 963 lbs. from him and sent to Stockholm.³²

Until February 8, 1643, forty-three thousand, three hundred and sixty-six lbs. had been shipped to Stockholm and the total cost was 18,435 D. 16 $\frac{1}{4}$ öre. Three thousand, two hundred and seventy-nine lbs. had been stored in Gothenburg, and the cost of this was 1,062 D. 12 $\frac{1}{2}$ öre. Of this quantity Bonnell had sold 36,485 $\frac{1}{2}$ lbs. for 26,812 D. 7 $\frac{1}{3}$ öre up to the above date and Schotting had sold 943 $\frac{1}{2}$ lbs. for 830 D. 5 öre. Hendrick Huygen's sales on the journey to New Sweden and in

²⁸ *Journal*, no. 115 (March 14, 1642).

²⁹ *Journal*, no. 56. The activities of the company are unknown.

³⁰ 19,405 (Swedish) lbs.

³¹ *Journal*, nos. 98, 139. One reason for returning it might have been that the company had a large supply of unsold tobacco in their store-house in Stockholm in June, 1642. The company was compelled to pay duty on the tobacco however, even when they did not keep it. *Journal*, no. 139.

³² *Journal*, nos. 194-5.

the colony amounted to 61½ lbs. for 92 D. 8.³³ The expenses with the tobacco trade were relatively small. They consisted of duty on the tobacco shipped from Holland, various small charges occasioned in Stockholm and the salary of the factor. The freight from Holland was paid by the sender, it seems. But most of the tobacco had to be bought from Holland, as we have seen, and hence the profits were reduced. Had all of it been brought from America on the ships belonging to the company the result would have been more gratifying.³⁴ The

³³ "Extract der Gen. Hand. Comp., etc., ultimo February, 1643." *Tobaksk.*, 1643-59 (R.A.).

³⁴ I. *Tobacco sold in Sweden by the New Sweden Company, 1640-1643.*

A. By Benjamin Bonnell in Stockholm.

Nov., 1640	9,722.....lbs.	6,602 D.	10 öre
June, 1641	2,904....."	2,192 "	22 "
July, "	14,197....."	10,366 "	10 "
Oct., "	444....."	423 "	13 "
Nov., "	1,205....."	999 "	31½ "
Dec., "	2,345....."	1,801 "	14 "
Jan., 1642	363....."	277 "	28 "
Feb., "	88....."	69 "	13 "
March, "	2,604....."	1,887 "	29 "
May, "	1,136....."	696 "	31½ "
June, "	2,177....."	1,557 "	16½ "
July, "	1,887¾....."	1,506 "	8½ "
Aug., "	4,560½....."	3,247 "	15 "
Sept., "	772....."	544 "	9½ "
Oct., "	400....."	306 "	29½ "
Nov., "	421....."	301 "	17 "
Dec., "	280....."	216 "	3½ "

61 lbs. were sent to Schotting in August to be sold in Gothenburg, but it was later returned on the third voyage to be sold to the people. A few hundred pounds were sold by Schotting from December, 1641, to July, 1643.

One third of the confiscated tobacco was sold in March for 1,272:19⅔ D. The number of pounds are not given.

II. *Tobacco purchased by Bonnell for the Company, 1641-1643.*

Nov., 1640	1,175.....lbs.	271 D.	13 öre
Dec., "	5,942....."	1,611 "	28 "
July, 1641	2,187....."	601 "	13½ "
Aug., "	262....."	403 "	8 "
Oct., "	19,405....."	6,615 "	12 "
Oct., "	1,320....."	150 "	
April, 1642	450....."	490 "	
Nov., "	3,932....."	?	?

books of the company showed a loss in the beginning of 1643, but the tobacco had been sold with a good profit and a gain was reported on the salt brought to Finland,³⁵ but the heavy expenses of the expeditions overbalanced this, leaving a loss of over 32,000 D. In February the account was as follows:

DEBIT.

The entire debit accounts of the company until the
end of February, 1643, was.....D. 99,745:2

CREDIT.

The credit account of the company until the end of February, 1643, was.....D.	56,292:24 $\frac{1}{2}$
The profit on tobacco sold by Bonnell was.....D.	13,193:21 $\frac{1}{2}$
The profit on tobacco sold by Schotting was.....D.	1,402.25 $\frac{1}{2}$
Profit on tobacco sold by Huygen.....D.	30:24
Profit on the salt at Borgå.....D.	184:30 $\frac{1}{2}$
Profit on the French salt.....D.	2,168:17 $\frac{1}{2}$
Loss	32,472:2
	D. 99,745:2

We have come to the end of the first period of the company's life and we have traced its growth and activity in Europe. We are now to see what was done in America and how the colony planted here grew and developed.

³⁵ For the salt-trade see below, Chap. XXXI.; "Tobak unter B. Bonnell," February 28, 1643; *Tobaksk.*, 1643-1659 (R.A.).

Documents made use of in this part but not referred to are the following: "Reck. über P. Minuits Reise n. West Indien"; Hen. Kong. Maj. o. Kr. R. med S. Comp (several copies); "Par. in d. Viagio mit P. Minuit," etc.; "Die H. Schwed. Part. in d. Viagio n. Florida oder Nova Svecia," etc. (three copies); "Hr. Maj. R. Clercken seine überg. sp. Rech. . . . 1640"; "Rob. Smiths Rech. mitt d. Am. Comp." (two copies); *Gamla Skepsk. Rech. med N. S. Comp.*, 1634-1642; "Die Dritte Viagio," etc. All to be found in *Söderk.*, 1637-59 (R.A.). A. Oxenstiernas Conceptor. (R.A.), *Pro memo. ang. N.S., P. Saml.*, 322, p. 325 ff. (U.B.); *Kompanier*, I-II. (K.A.); *Gen. Hand. och Skepsk.*, 1620-30 (K.A.); documents concerning *Skepsk.*, 1630, "Förteckningsl. på Sve. handelsk. fr. 1635 till 1636," and other mss., *Gen. Hand. och Skepsk.*, 1620-32 (K.A.); "Om d. Afr. komp." (three copies), 1662, "Pro memo.," etc., "Westerw. Skepsk.," *Åtskilliga kolonier*, 1650-1808; unorganized mss., *Sjöfartsf.*, åtskil. sjöfartsakt., 1617-1711, *Strödda handl.*, I. (K.A.); *Strödda handl.*, II., III. (K.A.); *Inkomn. skr.*, 1637 ff. (K.A.); *Journal* (K.A.); *Rikshufvudb.* (K.A.).

PART II.
THE COLONY, 1638-1643.

CHAPTER XX.

THE EARLY HISTORY OF THE DELAWARE UNTIL 1638.

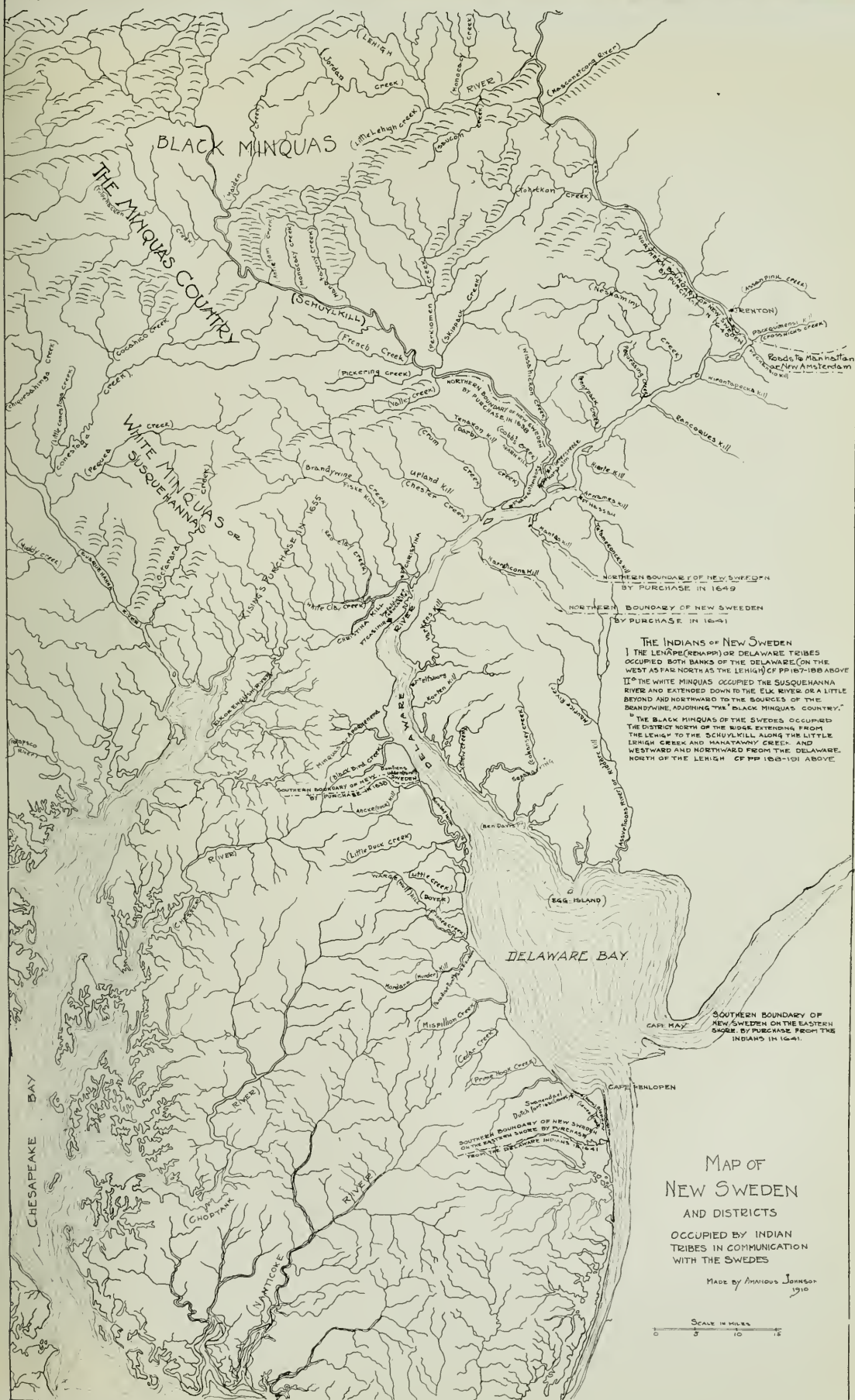
The material before us naturally falls into two main divisions—the outer and inner history, or *the political history* and *the social and economic life of the colony*.

The life of the colonists has hitherto been neglected or only sparingly treated, for the material at the disposal of former writers on the subject has been meager, contemporary accounts giving mere glimpses of these things. "One would gladly know how the founders of Quebec spent the long hours of their first winter," says Parkman, "but on this point the only man [Champlain] among them, perhaps, who could write, has not thought it necessary to enlarge."¹ In like manner Printz gives full accounts of the quarrels with the Dutch and the English, but how the people lived, the kind of houses they built, the clothes they wore and other things we should like to know, he does not mention. Lindeström, Campanius and Rising describe the country and the Indians and they give many facts of great interest and value for the historian of the settlement, but again we look almost in vain for "social facts."

From other sources, however, account-books, bills and memorials, we are able to draw some material, and from these, supplemented by our knowledge of conditions in Sweden and Finland, we shall endeavor to construct a picture of "social New Sweden," imperfect, it is true, but as satisfactory as the materials allow.² The government of the colony, the trade and

¹ *Pion. of Fr. in the New World*, p. 342.

² Most of these account books were unknown to Odhner, Sprinchorn and other writers on New Sweden.



THE INDIANS OF NEW SWEDEN
 1 THE LENAPE (REHAPPO) OR DELAWARE TRIBES
 OCCUPIED BOTH BANKS OF THE DELAWARE (ON THE
 WEST AS FAR NORTH AS THE LEHIGH) OF PP 187-188 ABOVE
 2 THE WHITE MINQUAS OCCUPIED THE SUSQUEHANNA
 RIVER AND EXTENDED DOWN TO THE ELK RIVER OR A LITTLE
 BEYOND AND NORTHWARD TO THE SOURCES OF THE
 BRANDYWINE, ADDING THE BLACK MINQUAS COUNTRY.
 3 THE BLACK MINQUAS OF THE SWEDES, OCCUPIED
 THE DISTRICT NORTH OF THE RIVER EXTENDING FROM
 THE LEHIGH TO THE SCHUYLKILL ALONG THE LITTLE
 LEHIGH CREEK AND HANATANNY CREEK AND
 WESTWARD AND NORTHWARD FROM THE DELAWARE
 NORTH OF THE LEHIGH OF PP 188-191 ABOVE

MAP OF NEW SWEDEN AND DISTRICTS

OCCUPIED BY INDIAN
 TRIBES IN COMMUNICATION
 WITH THE SWEDES

MADE BY AMBROSIOUS JOHNSON
 1910

SCALE IN MILES
 0 5 10 15

commerce with the neighbors and Indians, and the political relation with these will also be treated in their proper place. Before we proceed, however, it is necessary to present briefly the history of the Delaware prior to the landing of the Swedes on *Christina Rock* in 1638.

It is not now possible to determine who was the first European to visit the Delaware. Perhaps the Irish or Scotch saw its water in the early centuries of our era, if the legends of their American voyages be true. Perhaps some bold Viking in the eleventh century ventured as far south along the Vinland Coast as the thirty-ninth degree, when the Norsemen planted colonies on this continent and, according to tradition, established churches here. Possibly some lonely Frenchman or Portuguese, driven out of his course by accident, touched the "lordly Delaware" years before Columbus set sail from Cadiz, or it may be that some Norman, Briton or Basque, coasting along the North American shores on his way to the cod-fisheries of Newfoundland, saw the famous river long before Hudson made his memorable voyage.³ Cabot, the navigator, might have passed within sight of Cape Henlopen in 1497; that Verrazzano⁴ in 1524 sailed by the Delaware on his way up the coast is quite certain.⁵ It has been stated "that the coast of New York and the neighboring districts" were known to the Spaniards almost a century before Hudson came here. Estévan Gomes "is said to have visited the country at latitudes 40° and 41° north" in 1525⁶ and in 1526 Lucas Vasquez de Aillon and Matienzo made landings and explored the country south and east of *New York*.⁷ De Costa thinks that the French visited New York harbor prior to 1562,⁸ and it has been claimed that they had a

³ Cf. *Mémoires pour servir*, etc. (Parkman, 190, etc.). Stories of mariners blown out of their course and in this accidental manner discovering lands are plentiful. Cf. *Saga of Eric the Red*.

⁴ Verrazzano's voyage has been doubted, but the negative evidence adduced is not conclusive. It can be compared to the attempts of Aschbach to disprove the authenticity of Roswitha's plays or the Baconian theory of Shakespear's works.

⁵ It seems that he went ashore, probably on the New Jersey coast. *Sailor's Narratives* (Boston, 1905), p. 10.

⁶ Fernow gives the date as 1524 in Winsor's *Nar. and Crit. Hist.*, IV. 414.

⁷ Winsor, *Nar. and Crit. Hist.*, IV. 10, 414, 429.

⁸ De Costa, *Cabo de Baxos*, p. 5, quoting *Divers voyages*, 114.

fort upon Castle Island within the limits of Albany. If that be true may we not also suppose that they visited the Delaware? It has been asserted that the Dutch had forts and trading houses on the Hudson in 1598 and in 1627 Bradford wrote that "[the Dutch] have used trading there [on the Hudson] this six or seven and twenty years . . ."⁹ If this be true, may we not suppose that some Dutch trader, eager for gain, would search for new customers and on his way south find the "Mighty River"? All this merely goes to show how utterly impossible it is to determine who was really the first European to get a glimpse of the river,¹⁰ where Dutch, Swedes and English were later to contend for the mastery.

In 1609 we tread on firm and historic ground. Henry Hudson, an Englishman of London, entered the service of the Dutch East India Company and undertook to make a voyage for that body. To discover a short route to Asia was still the ambition of many a sailor. Hudson's one great idea, perhaps suggested by Sebastian Cabot, was to discover this route by the north, and, led on by his burning desire to see its accomplishment, he achieved lasting results—not as he had thought but in a greater way.¹¹

On Saturday, March 25, 1609,¹² he set sail in the *Half Moon*, Robert Juet being second(?) mate,¹³ and on August 28, at seven in the evening, he "anchored in eight fathoms water" in Delaware Bay, "weighing at the break of day" the

⁹ *Col. of Mass. Hist. So.*, III. 57; De Costa, *Cabo de Baxos*, p. 9. (The Greenland Company and others frequented the country in 1598, and built two forts, it was claimed on the North and South Rivers. *Doc.*, I. 149. Myth and history are of course mixed.)

Brodhead, a careful scholar, thought it needed confirmation. De Costa brought forth additional evidence but of a circumstantial kind, quoting Bradford's letter. See De Costa, *Cabo de Baxos*, p. 9.

¹⁰ Van Rensselaer says (I. 5), speaking of Hudson and his men, that they "tarried briefly in Delaware Bay which no white men had seen before."

¹¹ See Asher, *Henry Hudson* (Brooklyn, 1867); Henry C. Murphy, *Henry Hudson in Holland* (Hague, 1859; lately reprinted, Hague, 1909). See *Am. Hist. Rev.*, XV. 418-9.

¹² Brodhead uses new style for the beginning of the journey, but old style for Hudson's arrival at the Delaware.

¹³ A Dutchman seems to have been first mate. Cf. Van Meteren in *Nar. of N. Neth.*, p. 8.

next morning. In October he returned to Europe, and arrived at Dartmouth in November, from whence he sent a report to the Dutch East India Company.¹⁴

His report reached Holland in the spring of 1610, kindling the interest of Dutch merchants in the regions he had visited. Petitions were soon presented to the States General for permission to send out other ships, and in the same year "some merchants again sent a ship thither," says de Laet.

The English were also navigating these waters. In August, 1610, Capt. Samuel Argall anchored in the Delaware (probably) naming the southern point of the bay, "Cape de La Ware,"¹⁵ and, it has been said, though without foundation, that Lord Delaware touched at this bay in the same year.¹⁶ About the same time the English of Virginia began to call the bay in honor of their governor "Delaware Bay," and the name was soon applied by them to that river also.¹⁷

In the autumn of 1611, as a result of a voyage by Hendrick Christiaenzen and Adriaen Block, "divers merchants and inhabitants residing in the United Provinces" presented a petition to the States of Holland and Westvriesland "regarding certain new discovered navigation," and an expedition was prepared, which set sail for the Hudson and neighboring districts in 1612 under the command of Block and Christiaenzen.

About the same time or a little later another expedition was sent there, Cornelis Jacobsen May,¹⁸ being skipper on one of the vessels. Some of the traders remained at Manhattan, making voyages of discovery southward along the Jersey coast, probably half way to the Delaware and northward along the

¹⁴ For an account of Hudson's voyage see *Col. N. Y. Hist. So.*, 2d S., I. 320 ff.; Jameson, *Nar. of N. Neth.*, 1609-1664, p. 16 ff.; *Purchas His Pilgrimes*, XIII. 333 ff.

¹⁵ Argall himself in his journal talks about the cape as though it was already known by that name before he arrived there, but Strachey states that it was called "Cape De La Warr" by Argall on his voyage in 1610.

¹⁶ On the authority of Governor Harvey of Virginia.

¹⁷ *Purchas His Pilgrimes* (1906), XIX. p. 84; *Verginia Britannia*, p. 43; Brodhead, *Hist.*, I. 51, 754.

¹⁸ This form of the name is used by De Laet and others. It is adopted by Jameson. Since this form also corresponds to the English, it seems best to adopt it, rather than Mey.

New England coast to the forty-second or forty-third degree. When Block returned to Holland in the autumn of 1614 he brought with him sketches of the explored territory and made a report to his superiors. The proprietors of the expeditions now "formed themselves into an association called the *United New Netherland Company*," and a petition with a figurative map¹⁹ was presented to the States General, praying for an octroy or charter for a territory to be called New Netherland, lying between the fortieth and forty-fifth degree, according to the *Placaat* of March 27, 1614. The charter was granted and activities for new expeditions were begun and additional and more favorable reports were soon received from New Netherland. Cornelis Hendricksen, having been placed in command of the *Onrust*²⁰ when Block returned to Holland, was sent in the spring of 1616 to explore the country to the southward and partly to rescue three Dutchmen, captured by the Indians. He discovered "certain lands, a bay [the Delaware Bay] and three rivers," making it probable that he ascended the Delaware up to the Schuylkill or at least to the Minquas Kill. On his return to Holland in the autumn of the same year he presented a report and a *figurative map*, the first of the Delaware known to exist.²¹

¹⁹ I find it very improbable that the *Figurative map* published in the *New York Documents*, I. 10-11, is the one referred to in the grant of the States General of 1614, as Fernow states in Winsor, IV. 434, and as lately Van Rensselaer (I. 26) thinks "seems probable." The grant says: "the above lands . . . whereof the sea coasts lie between the fortieth and forty-fifth degree of Latitude, now named New Netherland, as can be seen by a *Figurative Map* hereunto annexed." Now this map extends from 37° 15' unto 42° 30' and *New Netherland is not written upon it*. (The map presented in 1616 agrees as well or better with the above sentence. This map extends from the 35th to the 50th degree and has *Nieu Nederlandt* written across it.) Fernow's statement that information obtained from the Dutchmen captured by the Mohawks might have been used or consulted by the draughtsman contradicts his other statement, for these Dutch captives were released by Hendricksen in 1616 and hence could not have given information about that journey in 1614, two years before it was made. The present writer is therefore inclined to believe that the *two figurative maps* (published in *Doc. I.*; O'Callaghan, I.) in their present form at least, date from 1616.

²⁰ *Restlessness or Trouble*.

²¹ It is distinctly stated that one of the maps published in *Doc.*, I. 12-13, was annexed to the memorial presented to the States General on the eighteenth of August, 1616, by the "Bewindhebers van Nieuw Nederlandt." It seems quite clear that the other map was presented by Cornelis Hendricksen with his report

The river was soon after called by the Dutch the South River²² of New Netherland to distinguish it from the North River, or the Hudson.

In 1620 Cornelis May of Hoorn in the ship *Blyde Bootschap*²³ sailed up the Delaware, where he discovered "some new and fruitful lands," and after him the mouth of the river was soon called *Nieuw Port May* by the Dutch.

1621 is an eventful year in the history of this region—the Dutch West India Company,²⁴ organized by Willem Usselinx was chartered in June, and the following year the States General ratified the charter in an amplified form, the organization not being complete, however, before 1623.

The same year in which the company was founded it appears that a vessel was sent direct to the South River by its permission.²⁵ A rich beaver trade is said to have been carried on in the river by English, French and Dutch traders during these early years, and in 1623 a French vessel sailed up the Delaware with the intention of taking possession of the same for the King of France, but this was frustrated by the Dutch of New Amsterdam. The same year Captain May of Hoorn was again sent to the Delaware with orders to build a fort there. He ex-

on August 18, the same year. His report stated that he had discovered "certain lands, a bay and *three rivers* situate between the 38 and 40 degrees." On this map there are also *three large rivers* and a bay. Then the interior is indicated for a great distance and Indian villages are located on the western river, which makes it probable that the Dutchmen who were rescued by Hendricksen (probably at the Schuylkill or the Minquas Kill) furnished this information, for they had been inland for a great many miles. Another thing in favor of this theory is the fact that Hendricksen says that he *discovered* three rivers and a bay. It is hardly possible to suppose that he could have made such a claim unchallenged had it been discovered and even mapped two years before he made his report. It is true that Cornelis May sailed up the Delaware in 1620 and reported that he had discovered *some new lands*, but he did not claim the discovery of any bay or river.

²² There was also a *North* and a *South River* in New England. See *Plym. Col. Rec., Court Orders*, I. 72, 163-5.

²³ *Glad Tidings*.

²⁴ The capital stock was 7,000,000 florins.

²⁵ *Doc.*, I. 1 ff.; *Penn. Ar.*, V. 11 ff.; De Laet in *Col. N. Y. Hist. So.*, 2d S., I. 301 ff.; *Proc. of the N. Y. Hist. So.*, 1847, p. 89 ff.; Brodhead, *Hist.*, I. 53 ff., 79 ff.; *Memorial Hist. of New York*, I. p. 55 ff., 52 ff.; Hazard, p. 1 ff.; Jameson, *Nar. of N. Neth.*, 1609-1664, p. 64-5; Motley, *Hist. of the U. Neth.*, IV. 298 ff.; Van Rensselaer, I. 3 ff.

plored the country, traded with the natives and, after selecting a suitable site, he erected a fortress, which was called Fort Nassau.²⁶ "Four couples, married at sea on their voyage from Holland, together with eight seamen, were later sent in a yacht to settle there" and some dwellings were built, probably within the palisades. In a few years, however, the fort was deserted.²⁷

In 1629 Samuel Godyn, president of the Amsterdam chamber of the Dutch West India Company, and one of the grantees of the charter of 1614, applied for privileges to found a colony on the South River under the Charter of Patronage.²⁸ As early as June a tract of land was purchased on the south corner of the Bay of the South River, "extending northwards about thirty miles from Cape Henlopen to the mouth of the said river and inland about two miles."

Minuit, who was director at New Amsterdam, was requested "to register this colony" and on June 19 (n.s.), the West India Company registered the same in Amsterdam. Godyn was later joined by Samuel Blommaert and in the patent for the territory signed at New Amsterdam on July 16 (n.s.), 1630, they are both included,²⁹ the Indians having appeared before the council at Manhattan on the previous day and ratified the purchase.³⁰ Several other members also joined the company the same year and preparations were made to send out an expedition. Two vessels were made ready. One of these was captured by the Dunkirkers, but the other ship, *The Walvis*, commanded by Capt. Peter Heyes,³¹ loaded with bricks, provisions, a large stock of cattle and twenty-eight colonists, said to have been Mennonites,³² arrived safely in the Delaware in the spring of 1631 and planted a colony on the bank of the Horn (or

²⁶ For location see map. For the meaning of Nassau cf. Putnam, *William the Silent*, I. 4.

²⁷ De Laet in *Col. of N. Y. Hist. So.*, 2d S., I. 301 ff.; *Doc.*, I. 587 ff.; *Penn. Arch.*, 2d S., V. 235 ff.; Brodhead, *Hist.*, I. p. 134 ff.

²⁸ For the Charter of Privileges for Patrons see Brodhead, *Hist.*, I. 187, 194 ff. It was signed by Peter Minuit and six others.

²⁹ *Doc.*, XII. 16 ff.

³⁰ *Doc.*, XII. 16 ff.; *Penn. Arch.*, 2d S., V. 4, 25 ff.

³¹ Not by Vries as stated by Hazard and others.

³² See *Maryland Hist. Mag.*, I. 344 (from *Journal of the Labadist Dankers*).

Hoere)³³ Kill, naming it Swanendael. "They engaged in whaling and farming and made suitable fortifications,³⁴ so that in July of the same year [1631] their cows calved and their lands were seeded and covered with a fine crop." Five additional colonists joined the settlement, probably from New Amsterdam, making the total number thirty-three. More land was purchased from the savages on behalf of Blommaert and Godyn, on the eastern shore of the Delaware, extending twelve miles northward and twelve miles inland,³⁵ and there seems to have been harmony between the aborigines and the little colony, "but by an error of their commiss, all the people and the animals were lamentably killed [except Theunis Willemsen]."³⁶

In the meantime another expedition was prepared. News arrived before it sailed of the destruction of the Swanendael colony, but the expedition was not detained. The vessel, commanded by De Vries, arrived before the ruined fort at Swanendael on December 6 (n.s.) and found the remains of the settlement and skeletons of the people and animals. He tarried

³³ The author of the *Beschr. van Virginia*, etc. (Amsterdam, 1651), p. 38, says: "waer dese naem [Hoere Kil] van gekomen is weten wij niet." The Dutch generally called it *Hoere Kil*. (De Vries, *Korte Historiae*, p. 165, 175, 184, etc.) In Swedish Documents it is almost *always* called *Horn Kil*. It has been suggested that the name *Hoere Kil* is a mistake for *Hoorn Kil* (named after Cornelis Jacobsen May of *Hoorn* in Holland), but it is difficult to explain why De Vries should call it *Hoere Kil* for it would seem that he had opportunity to know. It seems unlikely that Cornelis May should name an insignificant stream like the *Hoorn Kill* after his own name. If he wished to perpetuate his name he surely could have done so more effectively by naming some large river, say the Schuylkill, after himself. The writer has adopted the Swedish form of the word or name for the river (*Horn*), since this form is found in almost all the Swedish records, referring to the stream and since it agrees with the English form as well. That the name was well known and that questions concerning its origin arose as early as 1648 to 1651 can be seen from the above quotation. If *Hoere* was a mistake for *Horn* it would seem that the author of the *Beschr.* would have suggested this explanation. Horen Hook was a place near New York (*Watson's Annals*, I. 7). Concerning an explanation of the origin of the name *Hoere Kil* see Van Sweeringen, *Md. Arch.*, V. 411 ff.

³⁴ They built a brick house "inside of palisades." Cf. *Doc.*, II. 50; G. Thomas, *W. Jersey*, p. 14; Brodhead, *Hist.*, I. 206.

³⁵ The bay was called Godyn's Bay in honor of Samuel Godyn.

³⁶ "Who was left over in Swanendael." *Van Rensselaer B. Mss.*, p. 223. De Vries says that 32 men were killed. *Col. of N. Y. Hist. So.*, 2d S., III. 17. Hence there must have been 33 men in the colony.

on the river three months, visited Fort Nassau in January, 1633, which was occupied by Indians, and entered into communication with the savages. After a journey in his yacht to Virginia for corn he rejoined his ship at the Swanendael on March 29 and remained there for about two weeks.³⁷

While the Dutch were exploring the Hudson and the Delaware rivers and making settlements there, the English had planted colonies to the north and south of this territory, and the Delaware region had been granted to two English companies³⁸ in 1606.³⁹

Individual Englishmen also received grants and intended to make settlements on territory adjoining the Delaware. Lord Baltimore, finding it necessary to abandon his colony of Avalon in the north, applied to King James in August, 1629, for a grant of land farther south. After visiting Virginia he returned to England and was gratified to learn that the King was willing to accede to his request. He presented a more definite petition, defining the territory he wished to settle and a charter was about to be issued, entries concerning the subject being made in March and April in the Signet Office,⁴⁰ when he died on April 15, 1632. His rights, however, were transferred to his son Cecil, second Lord Baltimore, and on the twentieth of June the charter was issued, describing the territory to be planted in a rather obscure manner. It was to include "all that part of a peninsula lying in the parts of America between the ocean on the east, and the Bay of Chesapeake on the west, and divided from the other part thereof by a right line drawn from the promontory or cape of land called Watkin's Point (situate

³⁷ *Van Rensselaer B. Mss.*, ed. by Van Laer, p. 222 ff.; De Vries, *Korte Historiæ*, 165, 175, 184; *Col. N. Y. Hist. So.*, 2d S., III. 16 ff.; Jameson, *Nar. of N. Neth.*, 184 ff.; Brodhead, *Hist.*, I. 204 ff.; Pusey, *Hist. of Lewes, Del.*, *Del. Hist. So.*, 1903; Hazard, *Annals*.

³⁸ Really one company with two divisions.

³⁹ The London company was granted the district between the 34th and 41st degrees, that is between the mouth of the Hudson and the southern limit of North Carolina, and the Plymouth company was to establish a colony somewhere between the 38th and the 45th degrees of latitude, that is between the mouth of the Potomac and the Gulf of St. Lawrence.

⁴⁰ Grants to Lord Baltimore in America. Signet Office, March, April, June, August, 1632. *Pub. Rec. Office*.

in the aforesaid Bay, near the River Wighco), on the west, unto the main ocean on the east, and between that bound on the south, unto that part of the Delaware Bay on the north which lieth under the 40th degree of north latitude from the equinoctial, where New England ends; and all that tract of land between the bounds aforesaid, *i. e.*, passing from the aforesaid Bay called Delaware Bay, in a right line by the degrees aforesaid, unto the true meridian of the first fountain of the River of Potomac, and from thence towards the south unto the further bank of the aforesaid river and following the west and south side thereof, unto a certain place called Cinquack, situate near the mouth of said river, where it falls into the Bay of Chesapeake, and from thence by a straight line, unto the aforesaid promontory and place called Watkin's Point." That is to say it was limited on the north by the fortieth degree of latitude, on the east (beginning at the mouth of the Schuylkill) by the Delaware River and Bay and the ocean, on the south by a line drawn due east from a point called Cinquack at the mouth of the Potomac to Watkin's Point and thence to the ocean, on the west and southwest by the Potomac to its head and thence by a line drawn due north to the fortieth degree of latitude, hence including all of the present states of Delaware and Maryland, the southern counties of Pennsylvania bordering on Maryland and the eastern half of the District of Columbia.

The country was to be called Maryland in honor of Queen Henrietta Maria.⁴¹ The tract was of course carved from the original grant of Virginia Company,⁴² and in 1631 William Clayborne made a settlement on the island of Kent for the purpose of trade with the Indians, but Lord Baltimore's grant was always put forth by the English to the south of the Delaware as their strongest right to the territory of New Sweden.⁴³

⁴¹ The charter is published in Hazard, *Hist. Col.*, I. 327 ff.

⁴² There was much opposition to Lord Baltimore's grants. See Steiner, *Beg. of Mar.*, p. 9 ff., 15 ff.; Bozman, *Sketch of the Hist. of Mar.*, p. 264 ff. Cf. Hazard, *Hist. Col.*, I. 621 ff., 628 ff.; Thurloe's *State Papers*, V. 482 ff.

⁴³ Latané, John H., *The Early Rel. between Md. and Va.*, p. 8 ff.; Steiner, *Beg. of Md.*; Neill, *The Founders of Maryland*; Hart, *Am. Hist. Told by Contemp.*, I. 247 ff. See Bibliography. Cf. below, Chap. XXIII.

Lord Baltimore made a settlement on the grant in 1634, which became the nearest neighbor to New Sweden on the south.

Some time before July, 1632, Sir Edmund Plowden and eight other "adventurers" applied to Charles I. for a grant of a "convenient Isle . . . called Manite or Long Isle" and "30 miles square of the coast next adjoining," "some 150 miles northward from . . . James city⁴⁴ . . . near Delaware Bay." If this grant was made they would "plant and settle there 3,000 inhabitants for the making of wine, salt and iron, fishing of sturgeon and mullet, and for cattle and corn for the colony and for yearly building of shipping there." A document in twenty-nine articles was also drafted and probably sent with the petition to the King, giving a list of commodities and advantages to be found in the region, and also presenting suggestions for the government of the colony. The company was willing to maintain "ye governor and two men to wait on him" as well as twenty-five soldiers and the same number of "mariners to truck and traffic by turn with the savages."

Some time later another petition was presented to His Majesty in a modified form in accordance with which the King directed the Lord Justices of Ireland to issue a grant of the "Isle called the Isle of Plowden or Long Isle . . . and forty leagues square of the adjoining continent . . . [to be called] by the name of New Albion" with Ed. Plowden as the first governor. "Corn, cattle and such other necessities as they should have use of" in the colony were to be furnished out of Ireland and the planters had "power to carry artificers and laborers thence into said colony."⁴⁵ Some time elapsed before the authorities in Ireland acted on the matter, but on June 21, 1634, a charter was issued to Plowden and his associates granting to them Long Island, and a territory "forty leagues square,"⁴⁶ extending along shore southward to Cape May.

⁴⁴ Jamestown, Virginia.

⁴⁵ *Col. of N. Y. Hist. So. (1869), Pub. F. Se., II. 213 ff.; Penn. Mag., VII.; Penn. Mag., V. 206 ff., 424 ff.; Winsor, III. 457 ff.*

⁴⁶ "The Isle of Plowden, or Long Island, lying near or between the thirtieth and fortieth degrees of north latitude, together with part of the continent or Terra Firma aforesaid, near adjoining, described to begin from the point

from the cape on the east shore of the Delaware to the Schuylkill,⁴⁷ from there in a straight line due north forty leagues into the country (unto about Stroudsburg in Monroe County, Pennsylvania, or the Delaware Watergap), and from there across New Jersey unto Sand Bay at the mouth of Raritan River, hence including parts of the five eastern counties of Pennsylvania up to the forty-first degree and almost all of New Jersey.⁴⁸ Two of the petitioners having died and the others having surrendered their claims to Plowden, on December 20, 1634, he became sole proprietor of the district,⁴⁹ but some years elapsed before he made attempts at settlement.⁵⁰

It has been said that King Charles I. transferred his rights to the Delaware territory to Sweden about this time (1630-1634) and one of the arguments used by Rising to establish the Swedish title to the river was based on this supposition.⁵¹ The transaction was affected through Johan Oxenstierna, the Swedish Ambassador at London, says Rising, and it was repeated by Lindeström, Campanius Holm⁵² and Acrelius, who

of an angle of a certain promontory called Cape May, and from thence to the westward for a space of forty leagues, running by the river Delaware, and closely following its course by the north latitude into a certain rivulet there, arising from a spring of Lord Baltimore's in the lands of Maryland, and the summit aforesaid to the South, where its touches joins and determines in its breadth; from thence takes its course into a square, leading to the North by a right line, for a space of forty leagues; and from thence likewise by a square, inclining towards the East in a right line for a space of forty leagues, to the river and part of Reacher Cod, and descends to a savannah, touching and including the top of Sandbeey, where it determines, and from thence towards the south, by a square stretching to a savannah, which passes by, and washes the shore of the Island of Plowden aforesaid, to a point of the promontory of Cape May, above mentioned, and terminates where it began." Hazard, *Hist. Col.*, I. 161. The Latin original is published by Keen in *Penn. Mag.*, VII. 55 ff.

⁴⁷ A Certain rivulet there arising, etc., must mean the Schuylkill.

⁴⁸ Compare Winsor, *Nar. and Crit. Hist.*, III. 458, however.

⁴⁹ For his transactions at this time see Winsor, III. 458.

⁵⁰ See below, Chap. XXIII.

⁵¹ It was also said that the English king gave permission to the Dutch to put in at Manhattan Island for fresh water on their way to Brazil and also to build on the island. Cf. John Josselyn, *An Account of Two Voyages*, etc., extract in *Col. of N. Y. Hist. So.*, I. 383-4. It was also stated that King James granted Staten Island to the Dutch. See Hazard, *Hist. Col.*, I. 604-5.

⁵² Holm has the date 1631 found in Rising and Lindeström, but Johan Oxenstierna was not in London then. It is, however, not entirely necessary to suppose that Johan Oxenstierna performed the transaction.

stated that "it was confirmed by Von Stiernman out of the documents,"⁵³ and that the articles of cession were found in the Royal Archives before the burning of the palace in 1697.⁵⁴ In 1876 Dr. Sprinchorn made a search in the Royal Archives for further evidence and the present writer made a search among the diplomatic and other papers likely to contain any reference to the transaction in the Public Record Office at London and also in the Royal Archives at Stockholm, but without result.

In this connection, Rising makes another statement, also repeated by Lindeström and Holm.⁵⁵ He says that "we have a pretension to a *bono titolo* from the Hollanders, for it was bought for us through one called Minit from one called Samuel Blommaert in Amsterdam." Now it is a fact that Samuel Blommaert and the other Dutch members of the New Sweden Company actually did sell their interest in the Delaware territory, bought by Minit in 1638,⁵⁶ to the Swedish stockholders; but not the Swanendael tracts possessed by Blommaert and Godyn on both sides of the river, for these were sold to the Dutch West India Company some time before. Not knowing that the Dutch West India Company had bought the interest in the Delaware of Blommaert, Godyn and partners, Rising confused two different transactions and pushed the date of the one back to that of the other. In case Blommaert pretended to the tracts bought by Corsen in 1633⁵⁷ it is likely that Blommaert resigned this right to the Swedish company.

⁵³ That may simply mean, however, that Stiernman found the statement in Rising's Report. Acrelius, *Beskrif.*, p. 8 note (a).

⁵⁴ Acrelius, *Beskrif.*, p. 8.

⁵⁵ Cf. also Holm (transl.), 68-9. Holm takes his statement from Lindeström, which is less correct. He says the "Dutch also claimed a right to the country because they visited it before the Swedes. This claim was also purchased from the Hollanders." Acrelius wisely omits this statement. Rising says that he found a copy of an octroy from the D. W. India Company dated October 1, 1630, giving these West Indian lands to four prominent men in Amsterdam, S. Godyn, A. Conradus, Samuel Blommaert and Kilian van Rensselaer. He further states that the upper part of the river belonged to Blommaert and that this was sold to Sweden for a sum of money. The lower part belonged to Godyn, but he says nothing about the sale of this tract.

⁵⁶ Cf. below, Chap. XXI.

⁵⁷ Cf. below, pp. 178-179.

But the probability is that the sale of 1640⁵⁸ gave rise to the statement, in any case showing that it has some foundation in fact. The report of the transaction between Count Oxenstierna and Charles I. must likewise have had some basis of truth. As far as the author is aware there is no other transaction between the two governments that could give rise to such a rumor. It is true that in March, 1628, Gustavus Adolphus made a treaty with the Duke of Buckingham, concerning a district, where Walter Raleigh was supposed to have discovered a rich gold mine;⁵⁹ but there is nothing in the affair that could give rise to the supposition that King Charles ceded any territory to Sweden.

Circumstances were favorable for the transference of "English territorial rights" to Sweden, if an application was made. King Charles was very friendly to the latter nation and he would unquestionably have been anxious to give a donation that was so small a drain on his treasury, especially since he could or would not at that time comply with the more serious requests of the allies of allowing the recruiting of troops in his kingdom and the supplying of money for these enlistments, as well as subsidies for the expense of the war.⁶⁰

Usselinx was just now organizing the *New South Company*, one of whose objects was to found colonies.⁶¹ He knew that England pretended to the coast of North America, and she had protested against the settlement of New Netherland.⁶² The territorial restrictions of the old charter were removed and hence the Delaware was included in the field of operation of the *New South Company*.

Now it is conceivable that Oxenstierna, who took great interest in these maritime plans, at the suggestion of Usselinx instructed his son, Johan Oxenstierna, as he sent him to London

⁵⁸ Cf. Chap. XVI.

⁵⁹ Foothold was to be secured by the Duke on the Island of Jamaica and on the American continent under Swedish protection. Rydfors, *De dipl. för. mellan Sverige och Eng.*, p. 111 ff.; Cronholm, *Sv. hist.*, IV. 373-4, VII. 85; Lingard, *Hist. of Eng.*, IX. 392-3, note 68, quoting *Clarendon Papers*, I. 18.

⁶⁰ Cf. Heimer, *De dipl. för.*, etc., 13 ff.; Chemnitz, II. 2, § 19; Gardiner, *The Pers. Gov. of Charles I.*, I. 207 ff.

⁶¹ Cf. above, Chap. X.

⁶² *Doc.*, III. 6 ff. Usselinx must have known of these protests.

in the beginning of 1634, to request permission for Swedish ships to visit English territory in America or even to plant colonies unobstructed on some of the large unoccupied areas claimed by England on this continent. The Delaware region might especially have been designated as unoccupied, for no English settlement had as yet been made there and the various grants that included this territory were vague and not well defined.⁶³ A written promise from King Charles granting the above request might easily have given rise to the statement that the English king made a formal grant to the Swedish government.⁶⁴ The writer is strongly inclined to believe that some document from King Charles existed (dating from this time or earlier), either granting Swedish vessels the right to visit English colonies in America, or giving privileges to Sweden to erect trading posts on unoccupied territory, or both, for it is extremely improbable that Rising invented the statement. He used it in his report of 1656, only twenty-four years after the transaction was said to have taken place, and he sent the report to the government at Stockholm, where it could be scrutinized and where the exact facts could be obtained from the documents in the chancery. Is it conceivable then that he would dare invent the statement? Whether Sweden was granted the right to plant colonies on territory claimed by England or not, can not now be actually determined, but one thing is certain, if such permission was given it was not made use of. Sweden was yet to wait for some years before she planted a colony in America.

But to return to the Dutch on the Delaware. Fort Nassau, which had been deserted for some time, was reoccupied by the Dutch in the summer of 1633 and a house was built and other improvements were made. Several traders probably went there and Arent Corsen, the new commissioner, purchased a tract of

⁶³ Cf. above.

⁶⁴ Johan Oxenstierna "was outwardly treated by the King with respect, but an excuse was found in his want of a formal commission from his father for sending him back without the promise which he desired," says Gardiner. *The Pers. Gov. of Charles I.*, II. 64. This refers to aids of money, etc. Axel Oxenstierna treated Charles's message and offers with scorn. Gardiner, *The Pers. Gov.*, II. 87.

land⁶⁵ on the Schuylkill from several Indian chiefs and a small blockhouse seems to have been erected on a convenient place for trade with the savages.⁶⁶ The fort was again deserted in the autumn or winter of 1633-1634.

The English likewise visited the river from time to time and in 1632 seven or eight men from Virginia went to explore the Delaware, but they were killed by the Indians. In 1634 another English vessel arrived there. The idea of finding a passage through the continent to a great lake or even to the Pacific Ocean was common in this period, as we shall see. In 1633 Thomas Young, the son of a rich(?) London merchant, applied for permission to sail to America and take possession of lands not yet occupied by Christian people, his object being to discover "the Great Lake or Ocean." In accordance with this request a commission for Young was issued on September 23, the same year, granting him the power to establish trading posts and vesting him with great authority over the territory he might settle. Young arrived in the Delaware (which he called "Charles River," in honor of his King) about the end of July. He twice ascended the river up to the falls⁶⁷ in hope of finding its source, Evelin, one of his companions having made a draft or sketch of Delaware Bay, and he erected the coat of arms of England on a tree, taking the country into possession with usual ceremonies. It has been said that he built a fort and remained here for some time,⁶⁸ but this is very improbable.⁶⁹ The Dutch

⁶⁵ *Doc.*, I. 588; Hazard, *Annals*. Cf. below, Chap. XXXVII.

From a statement by Rising to the effect that Blommaert owned "the upper part of the said River," it might be argued that Blommaert furnished the means for this purchase and that it was made in his name, but since there is no other evidence on this point it cannot be decided. *Rising's Journal* (*Up. B.*).

⁶⁶ The location of the blockhouse is uncertain, but from a statement in a Dutch document it appears that it was located on the spot where *Ft. Korsholm* was later erected. See map; *Doc.*, XII. 37.

⁶⁷ Fort Nassau was deserted by the Dutch, but it is curious that Young does not mention Fort Nassau in his report.

⁶⁸ Rymer's *Faederæ*, September 23, 1633; *Col. of Mass. Hist. So.*, 4th S., IX. 81 ff.; *Penn. Mag.*, V. 208 ff.; Winsor, III. p. 457; *New Albion* (Force, *Repr.*), p. 22. A correct text of Young's report, from the original manuscript, appears in Albert Cook Myers's *Original Narratives of Early Pennsylvania*.

⁶⁹ In a protest handed to the Swedes in March, 1642, we read: "Queene Elizabeth of happy memory under the name of Virginea granted under her greate

at Manhattan, being informed by Indians of the English expedition, sent a vessel to the river twice during Young's sojourn there to inquire about his purpose.

Some time after Young's return to Virginia, probably as a result of his reports, preparations were made for sending a new expedition to the Delaware, and in 1635 some fifteen or sixteen Englishmen⁷⁰ from Point Comfort under the command of George Holmes sailed up to Fort Nassau. The fortress was deserted and they took it into possession. But a Dutch bark soon recaptured the fort and brought the English prisoners to New Amsterdam, whence they were sent with Capt. De Vries to Virginia in September. Another English bark with twenty men was about to join their comrades in the South River at this time, but finding that these returned as prisoners with De Vries, they gave up their design.⁷¹ This experience seems to have made it clear to the Dutch that they must either occupy the fort themselves or lose it to others, and it is probable that a small garrison and a commiss, perhaps Jan Jansen, were sent there in the spring of 1636.

The English continued to visit the river, however, and it seems that two prizes were taken from them there in the summer of 1636. In May De Vries was again within sight of the bay, but he did not enter the river.⁷²

The fur trade continued to be considerable; but the "Swanendael Company" was not a success, because it was composed

Seale unto Sir Walter Raleigh Knt. her Subiect all [t]his parte now called Virginea and these Land[s] called Maryland, new Albion, and New England and begann and planted Colonies, and one with 30 men and some greate peaces of ordinances in that river and Bay called by us Delaware Bay and by you called South river, which said plantaeon then and there begunn was againe continued by Sir Samuell Argoll and Sir Thomas Deale of Virginea Knights and by the direction of the Baron of Delaware the then Governor of Virginea and by his name called Delaware Bay about thirty-seven years since in y^e time and reigne of the most renowned King James, King of England and the same river and Bay possessed, planted and traded nyne years since by Captain Young, Lieft Euelin, Mr. Holmes and others. . . ." Copy of protest sent by Governor Berkeley to Commandant P. H. Ridder, dated March 18, 1642. N.S., I. (K.A.).

⁷⁰ De Vries says "veerthien a vyfthien," but one deserted.

⁷¹ De Vries, *Korte Historiae*, 143; *Col. of N. Y. Hist.*, 2d S., III. 76 ff.

⁷² De Vries, *Korte Historiae*, 145; *Col. of N. Y. Hist.*, 2d S., III. 78 ff.

of too many members. Differences arose between the Dutch West India Company and the patrons of the Swanendael concerning the beaver trade in the South River. It was brought into the Amsterdam courts and finally the company purchased the title and rights from the patrons (in February, 1635), for 15,600 gûlden to be paid in three equal instalments (on May 27, 1635, August 27, 1637, November 27, 1637), the last payment being made as the Swedish expedition was on its way to Holland.⁷³ The garrison at Fort Nassau was maintained, with a commiss (Jan Jansen) and an assistant commiss (Peter Mey) for the supervision of the trade.

⁷³ Van Rensselaer B. Mss., ed. by Van Laer, p. 316. Contract signed by Blommaert, etc., February 17, 1635 (transl. by O'Callaghan, *Hist. of N. Neth.*, I. 479-81; cf. also I. 365). *Doc.*, I.

CHAPTER XXI.

THE COMING OF THE SWEDES AND THEIR OCCUPATION OF THE COUNTRY, 1638-1640.

Such was the history of the Delaware before the *Kalmar Nyckel* and the *Fogel Grip* arrived in the spring of 1638. About the fifteenth of March the two little ships were in Delaware Bay. A sweet-smelling odor met the pioneers as they turned ashore, the beauty of the region impressed them as it has impressed every traveller who has passed up the fair river ever since the early days, and, if the legend be true, they gave the name of Paradisudden (Paradise Point) to a particularly charming spot and landed there.¹

Minuit undoubtedly proceeded with the first favorable wind, carrying out his instructions minutely.² When he arrived at Minquas Kill,³ he sailed up this river some distance and cast anchor, perhaps in front of the rock, where Fort Christina was later built. Indians had pitched their wigwams there and it was particularly suitable for a landing place.⁴ The Swedish salute⁵ was given and Minuit went ashore with some of his men. The sloop was then made ready for a journey up the river and the commander, in company with Jacob Evertssen Sandelin, Andres Lucassen⁶ and probably Måns Kling and other soldiers, sailed up Minquas Kill for several miles,⁷ to reconnoitre

¹ Perhaps Minuit wished to consult the Indians about the Dutch settlement on the river before he proceeded.

² See above, Chap. XIV.

³ Called so from the fact that the Kill "led into the Minquas country."

⁴ *Doc.*, I. 598. Cf. Ferris, p. 42 ff. Smith, *Hist. of Del. Co.*, p. 21.

⁵ A salute of two guns. Cf. Zettersten, *Hist. Tid.*, XX. 101, and below, Chap. —.

⁶ He was probably in the company, since he knew the Indian language and acted as interpreter.

⁷ From a statement in the document it would seem that Minuit sailed up the river with the *Kalmar Nyckel* ("and they also sailed up the same river [the Minquas Kill] a few miles"); but this is improbable for Jacob Evertssen Sandelin said "that he in company with the often mentioned Director went



The landing-place of the Swedes, showing the "wharf of stones."



Landing-place of the Swedes, showing the stone in the back-ground erected by the Delaware Society of Colonial Dames of America to mark the location of Fort Christina. The above pictures were taken in February, 1910.

and establish connection with the Indians. They also went some distance into the country but "saw no sign of Christian people." Soon Minuit returned to his ship with the sloop. His efforts and the roar of his cannon⁸ had the desired effect. Several Indian chiefs made their appearance, probably with a large following, and Minuit at once arranged a conference with them about the sale of land. Gifts were given and the Indians "were asked if they would sell the [Minquas] River and as many day's journey⁹ of the land lying about it as would be requested. This they [the chiefs] agreed to with common consent of the different [Indian] nations." The same or the following day,¹⁰ which was the twenty-ninth¹¹ of March, 1638, five sachems,¹² Mattahorn, MitotSchemingh,¹³ EruPacken,¹⁴ Mahomen and Chiton "appointed by the whole assembly" went on board the *Kalmar Nyckel*,¹⁵ and sold as much "of the

up the Minquas Kill for several miles." This last would indicate that the other witnesses who appeared before Ruttens were not along on the journey "some miles up the Minquas Kill" which of course they would have been, had the *Kalmar Nyckel* sailed up the river "several Dutch miles."

⁸ It was a common custom to call together the Indians by the report of cannon. So Petersen De Vries on his first journey up the Delaware.

⁹ The meaning is "and as much of the land in each direction as it would require a certain number of days to pass over."

¹⁰ From the document it is not possible to say just when the conference took place. "Daruff [after the conference] wahren am neunundzwanzigsten Marty dieses obbeschriebenen Jahrs. . . ." This might mean that the conference took place the same day (March 29), the previous day (March 28) or some days before the sale.

¹¹ It is not possible to know whether new or old style is meant, but old style is probably used in the document.

¹² Each totem of the Lenâpe recognized a chieftain called *sakima* (found in most Algonkin dialects). It is derived from the root *öki*, signifying above in space or power (Brinton). The Indian chiefs or sachems were of two kinds, the peace chiefs and the war chiefs. The office of the peace sachem was hereditary on the mother's side in the gens but elective among its members. The special duty of the peace chief was to preserve peace as long as possible and he could not on his own authority begin or declare war, but when the captains or war chiefs and the people decided for war he must yield to their wishes and his rule ended until peace was again made. The war chiefs or captains were not chosen nor did they come from a particular gens. Any brave young Indian of more than usual powers, who had been successful in war a number of times, was declared a captain or war chief. Peace was always made by the elected peace sachems and they conducted the sale of land.

¹³ Mitatsimint.

¹⁴ Probably Elupacken.

¹⁵ The transaction was made in the cabin of Minuit.

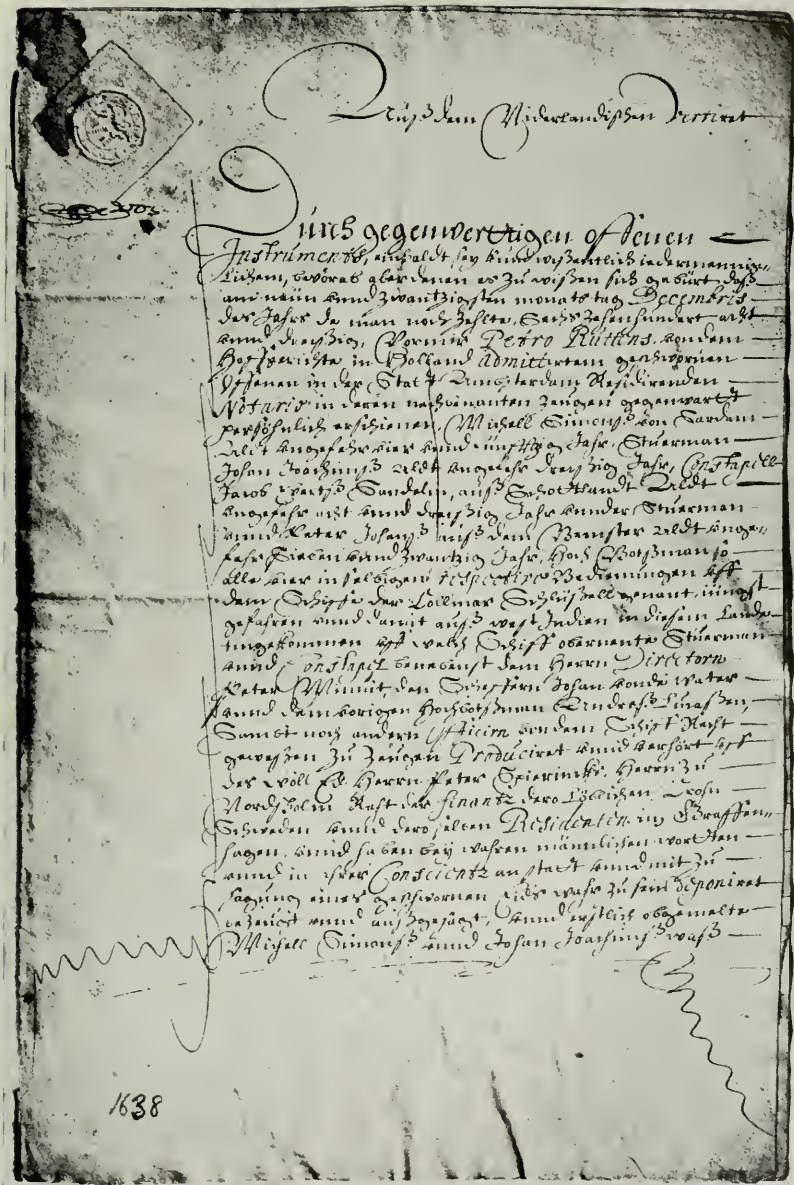
land on all parts and places of the river, up the river and on both sides, as Minuit requested." Andres Lucassen was the interpreter and he translated the land deeds, which were written in Dutch, and explained their contents to the Indians. "For value received in merchandise the Indians ceded and transferred the title of the land with all its jurisdiction and rights to the Swedish Florida [New Sweden] Company under the protection of the great princess, virgin, and elected Queen of the Swedes, Goths and Wends." The merchandise specified in the deeds were then given to them, the chiefs tracing their totem marks on the documents, and Peter Minuit and perhaps Måns Kling, Hendrick Huygen, Jacob Evertssen Sandelin and Andres Lucassen signed their names below. Two contracts seem to have been prepared. These are now lost, but from other documents it is possible to determine the limits of the purchase. Mitatsimint sold his land lying below the Minquas Kill to Bomtien's Point or Duck Creek, a distance of about forty miles¹⁶ and the other chiefs sold the districts above the river up to the Schuylkill, a distance of twenty-seven miles along the bank of the Delaware, in both cases stretching westward indefinitely. (For some reason Minuit neglected to buy the land up to Trenton Falls as his instructions commanded him to do.)

When the purchase was concluded the sachems and Minuit with his officers and soldiers went ashore. A pole was erected with the coat of arms of Sweden upon it, "and with the report of cannon followed by other solemn ceremonies the land was called New Sweden," and Minquas Kill was given the name of Elbe.¹⁷ Minuit undoubtedly had another conference with the Indians, distributed additional gifts and gained their good will and promise of a large beaver trade. The location for a fort was then selected and the men were set to work to prepare timber and other materials.

As soon as circumstances allowed Minuit made arrangement

¹⁶ See report of court, 1643.

¹⁷ Affidavit, etc., December 29, 1638, N.S., I. (K.A.). Cf. facsimile; Blommaert to Oxenstierna, November 13, 1638; January 28, 1640. *Ox. Saml.*, Kernkamp, p. 162 ff. The river probably called Elbe in honor of Minuit's home river.



First page of the deposition before Ruten concerning the first coming of the Swedes. Original preserved in N. S. I. (K. A.), Stockholm.

[illegible][illegible]

for the sale of his goods. Shortly after his arrival he sent the ship *Gripen*¹⁸ to Jamestown in Virginia with instructions to exchange its cargo for tobacco. The vessel arrived there about the middle of April,¹⁹ but the captain was denied the freedom of trade, since the English governor was not allowed to grant such liberty.²⁰ Governor Berkeley proposed, however, that the Swedish government should notify the King of England that a district had been occupied on the Delaware by the Swedes and apply for permission to trade with the Virginia colony, "for he thought that such [a request] from Her Majesty of Sweden would not be denied by" the English King.²¹ The ship remained at Jamestown "about ten days to refresh with wood and water," after which time she returned to the Christina River,²² unloaded her cargo, and set sail again on the twentieth of May to prey on Spanish vessels, for the purpose of increasing the profits of the stockholders of the New Sweden Company.²³

Minuit also endeavored to begin trade with the Indians and sent his sloop up the river for this purpose, probably also to examine the position and strength of the Dutch. It appears that the commander at Fort Nassau did not observe the sloop before it returned on its way down the Delaware. We may assume that the Dutch were somewhat surprised and at once set about to see what the newcomers were doing in the river. Shortly afterwards Minuit again prepared the sloop, went on board of it himself and tried to pass the Dutch stronghold. The garrison was now on the alert and when the Swedish vessel appeared "Peter Mey sailed down" to meet it. He demanded to know the reasons of its presence in the river, wished to see Minuit's commission, and warned him not to pass the fort. Minuit, refusing to exhibit his papers, requested permission to proceed

¹⁸ *en* is the definite article in Swedish, hence *Gripen* means the *Grip*.

¹⁹ The ship must have been at Jamestown not later than the middle of April, for it remained there ten days, returned to New Sweden and left there again on May 20. See above, Chap. XIV.

²⁰ *Cal. of State Papers*, Col. S. (1574-1660), pp. 273-274. Hazard, p. 42 ff.

²¹ Blommaert to Oxenstierna, November 13, 1638. *Ox. Saml.*, Kernkamp, *Zweed. Arch.*, p. 166.

²² The ship probably returned in the beginning of May.

²³ Blommaert to A. Oxenstierna, September 4, 1638. *Ox. Saml.*

on his journey, "saying . . . [that] his Queen had as much right there as the company." He was compelled to return to his camp, however, and he probably made no further attempts to sail above Fort Nassau.

The assistant commissary at the Dutch settlement (Jan Jansen was now at New Amsterdam) reported the occurrences to Governor Kieft, who ordered the commissary to return to his post and instructed him "to protest against Minuit in due form." It is probable that Jan Jansen arrived on the South River about the middle of April,²⁴ and immediately protested in writing against the Swedish occupation of the river. Minuit replied to the protest, styling himself "commander in the service of H. R. Majesty of Sweden," and the Indian trade and the work on the fort went on as before. When Kieft was informed of the situation and when he found that the protest of the commissary had no effect, he himself drew up a protest "against the landing and settling of the Swedes on the Delaware," "reminding Peter Minuit that the whole South River of New Netherland had been many years in their possession and secured by them above and below by forts and sealed with their blood," and informing him that the Dutch would not suffer him to intrude between their forts and that the blame for all future mishaps, damages, losses, disturbances and bloodshed," which might arise as a consequence of his actions, would fall upon him.²⁵ The protest was read to him, but he made no reply to it and continued the erection of the fort as well as necessary buildings. The Dutch were not strong enough to use more effective means than words and Minuit was allowed to go on with his work unmolested.

²⁴ On April 28, Kieft was expecting "news from there" (*Doc.*, I. 592) and allowing about ten or fifteen days for Jansen to acquaint himself with the situation, to protest against Minuit and send a report to Manhattan would bring us to April 15 or thereabout as the probable time of his arrival at Fort Nassau.

²⁵ The protest is found in the "Albany Documents," between May 6 (immediately preceding it) and May 17 (directly following it) according to Hazard (p. 44). O'Callaghan dates the document, "Thursday being the 6th. May, anno 1638" (*Doc.*, XII. p. 19), and this is undoubtedly the correct date. Jansen's report probably reached Governor Kieft the first days in May and it is not likely that he would defer the protest for about two weeks or until May 17. (Cf. *Doc.*, I. 592, Hazard, 44 ff.) The above dates are all new style.

Although he was prevented from passing up the river above Fort Nassau, he was successful in his endeavor to draw the native traders to his camp, and it is probable that the river Indians as well as those living at some distance brought their peltries to Christina in April and May.

The Indians with whom the Dutch and Swedes came in contact upon their arrival here belonged to two large families, the Algonquian²⁶ and the Iroquoian.²⁷ The Algonquian tribes were spread over a much larger area than any other family of North America, except the Athapascans in Alaska and western Canada. They occupied the eastern coast from Newfoundland and Nova Scotia down to the thirty-fifth degree in Carolina, and westward and northward to Hudson Bay, except a territory along the St. Lawrence River, Lake Ontario, Lake Erie and parts of Pennsylvania, New York, Ohio, and Maryland, which was inhabited by tribes of the Iroquoian family.

The Indians of the Delaware basin, New Jersey, Delaware and part of New York and Pennsylvania formed the most important confederacy of the Algonquian stock. They called themselves Lenâpe or Leni-lenâpe, which means "*real men*." "The Lenâpe or Delawares proper" who inhabited New Sweden were divided into three tribes—the Minsi,²⁸ or Munsee,²⁹ the Unami³⁰ and the Unalachtigo.³¹ The Swedes called them *Renappi*³² (Lenâpe), the *River Indians* and *Our Indians*.³³

They had their villages on both banks of the South River, the Munsee occupying the northern limits of New Sweden, "the headwaters of Delaware River in New York, New Jersey and

²⁶ Algonkin, meaning "at the place of spearing fish and eels."

²⁷ Iroquois, meaning "Real adders."

²⁸ Brinton's form, "be scattered + stone."

²⁹ Form used by Morgan, meaning "at the place where stones are gathered together" (according to Hewitt).

³⁰ Unami, according to Brinton, means "people down the river."

³¹ Unalachtigs means, according to Brinton, "people who live near the ocean."

³² The *R* is now extinct, says Brinton (*Lenâpe and their Leg.*, p. 96), but I have been told that the *r*-sound or something resembling it is to be met with in the Lenâpe dialects.

³³ Lindeström says that the Indians at the Hornkill and South to the Cape were called *Sironesack*, a powerful nation, rich in maize or corn and plantations. *Geogr.*

Pennsylvania south to Lehigh River." The Swedes bought most of their lands from the Lenâpe, and they supplied the settlers with large quantities of maize, fish³⁴ and venison, but their beaver and sewant trade was small "since they were poor and had nothing but corn to sell." West and north about seventy-five miles from the Swedish settlements, tribes of the Iroquoian stock had their villages and forts. The Delawares applied the name Mingwe³⁵ (in various forms) to the Iroquois and cognate tribes as we use Germanic to designate the Scandinavians, the Dutch, etc., and the Germans. This name in a modified form (Minquas) was adopted by the Dutch and applied by them for the first time, it seems, distinctively to the southeastern Iroquoian tribes with whom they came in contact on their trading expeditions to the South River. The Swedes recognized two distinct divisions, the *Black* and the *White Minquas*,³⁶ and Van der Donck, writing about 1653-1654, also mentions the Black Minquas. He says they were called the Black Minquas not because of their color but "because they carried a black badge on their breast."³⁷ It is not known why the White Minquas were so called, probably simply to distinguish them from the black or it may be that they wore a badge of a light color.

It is difficult to identify these two tribes. It seems probable that the White Minquas were the Susquehannas,³⁸ who came down to the Delaware along the Minquas (Christina) Kill (hence the name) to trade with the Dutch, Swedes and English. Having been at war with the Five Nations they were

³⁴ Lindeström says that they caught fish at the Falls of the Delaware which they sold to the Swedes. *Geogr.*

³⁵ Mingwe means "treacherous, stealthy," various forms being used by the settlers, as Mingo, Minquaas, Minqwe, Minquas, Minquesser, Mynkussar, etc. Southern Minquas are also found, *Doc.*, XIII. 25.

³⁶ A branch of the Creeks in Mexico was called *Black Muscogees*, and there was also a band of Indians called *White Indians* ("with beards"). Du Simitiere Mss. (965 Fyi., Phil. Lib. Co.); Hodge, *Handb.*, I. 153.

³⁷ "De swarte Minquaes, alsoo genaemt (niet om dat se in der daet swart zijn) maer een swarte Kuyte op de Bosst voeren." Van der Donck (*Beschry.*, p. 71).

³⁸ These Indians were called Minquas by the Dutch and Swedes. They were also called *Susquehannah Minquas*. Day, *Penn.*, 390 (cf. also *Hist. Mag.*, II.



An Indian Family according to Lindeström. From Lindeström's *Geographia Americae*. (Preserved in the Riksarkiv, Stockholm.)

greatly reduced in strength during the existence of New Sweden, but they seem to have been in alliance or at least on friendly terms with the Delawares at this time (1638-1655). At a treaty with the Swedes in 1655 four tribes of these Minquas are mentioned by Rising, the *Skonedidehoga*, the *Serasquacke*, the *Lower Quarter of the Minquas* and the *True Minquas*. The *Serasquacke* belonged to the Delawares, but whether the *Skonedidehogas* were Minquas or a Lenâpe tribe in league with them is not clear.

The Black Minquas are even as difficult to identify or more so. By Herrman's map (1670) we are informed that a tribe called the *Black Minquas* lived beyond the mountains "on the large Black Minquas Road," probably the Ohio River. Herman says that these Minquas came over as far as the Delaware to trade, and since he also says that "the Sassquahana and Sinnicus Indians went over and destroyed that very great nation," it has been suggested that these Black Minquas were the ancient Eries, who occupied a territory "at the end of Lake Erie west and to the west watershed of Lake Erie and Miami River to the Ohio River." The Jesuit Relation of 1653 says that at one time "Lake Erie was inhabited toward the south by certain people whom we call the Cat Nation [Eries], but they were forced to proceed farther inland in order to escape their enemies whom they have toward the west." This of course means that they went "inland" away from the shores of Lake Erie towards the southeast, hence in reality *not inland but towards the ocean*. This brought them closer to the Delaware region, and seems to corroborate the view that they were the Black Minquas mentioned by Herrman, but it does not go to prove that they were the Black Minquas generally referred to by the Swedes and Dutch. In 1662, when the Susquehannas were again preparing to make war upon the Senecas, five Minquas Chiefs (Susquehannas or White Minquas?) with their suites arrived at Altena (Fort Christina) and while there informed Beeckman "that they were expecting shortly for their assistance 800 *Black Minquas* and that 200 of this nation had

already come in, so that they were fully resolved to go to war with the Sinnecus."³⁹ These Black Minquas could not be the Eries, for the power of the Eries was broken about the close of 1656, "and the people were destroyed or dispersed or led into captivity." The only way out of the difficulty seems to be to suppose that there was an Indian tribe of Iroquoian stock in western Pennsylvania also called the Black Minquas, west of the Munsees and north and west of the Susquehannas, probably extending to the Ohio and Allegheny Rivers or beyond, adjoining the Eries.⁴⁰ This also agrees with Lindeström's statement that the Minquas lived at the Asinpinck (Trenton) Falls and above, that is westward. This is further corroborated by the fact that Indians still called Mingos, originally from western Pennsylvania, are found in Oklahoma, who are probably the descendants of these Black Minquas), while the Susquehannas and Eries are extinct or incorporated into other tribes, having lost their identity. These Indians of western Pennsylvania were probably called Black Minquas for the same reason as those mentioned by Herrman. The path of these Minquas (and that of the Eries?) was on the south bank of the Schuylkill into the country, and it is likely that the Minquas came down that river from the interior to barter, as a trading post was erected by the Dutch on the banks of the Schuylkill as early as 1633, a place "where the ships usually trade" being mentioned there in 1646.⁴¹ It seems likely that these Indians were the same as

³⁹ *Doc.*, XII. 419.

⁴⁰ It might also be suggested that the Black Minquas spoken of in 1662 were the Minsè (or Munsee), whose "dialect differed so much" from the other Delaware tribes "that they have frequently been regarded as a distinct tribe." But this is very improbable, for they seem to have been clearly distinguished from the Minquas by the early settlers.

⁴¹ For the above see Lindeström, *Geogr.*; Campanius Holm., *Beskrifning*; Acrelius, *Beskrifn.*, *Doc.*, I.-II., XII.-XIII.; *The Jesuit Relations*, ed. by Thwaites (see index for the Eries, etc.); *Minutes of the Provincial Council of Penn.*, III.; *Pennsylvania Archives*, XII.; *The Records of New Amsterdam*, I.-II.; Guss, *Early Hist. of the Susquehanna*, in *Hist. Reg.*, I. 38 ff., 114 ff., 161 ff., 251 ff.; Hodge, *Handbook of American Indians*, I.; Brinton, *The Lenâpe and Their Legends*; Shea, *The Identity of the Andastes*, etc., in *Hist. Mag.*, II. 294 ff.; Prince, *Notes on Mod. Minsè-Delaware Dialect*; Harrington, *Vest. of Material Culture among the Canadian Delawares*.

those called Conastogas⁴² at a later period,⁴³ for they were also called Minquas.⁴⁴

In his description of the Indians, Campanius Holm, largely using Lindeström, says that the Minquas lived "12 miles [80 English miles] from New Sweden and [they] were daily with the Swedes, bargaining with them. The way to their country was bad, stony, full of sharp granite rocks [gråstenar], among morasses, hilly and at some places [crossed] by streams (in-skrömmar!), so that the Swedes had to walk and march in water, so that it went up to the armpits on them, when they were to go there, which generally happened once or twice a year, with frieze, kettles, axes, hoes, knives, mirrors and corals, to trade for beavers and other valuable peltries. They lived on a high mountain which was hard to climb. They are strong and hardy, both young and old, a tall and brave people." This description seems to refer particularly to the White Minquas. About 1630-1636 they were at war with the Delawares, who were conquered by them, compelled to pay taxes and to recognize their sovereignty and supervision in matters of land treaties and the like with the whites.⁴⁵

When the Swedes and Dutch spoke of the Minquas country generally they seem to have thought of a district north and west of New Sweden inland about 50 to 100 miles. Some time before February, 1647, Governor Printz bought certain lands from the Black(?) Minquas of Pennsylvania for their trade only and he sent merchandise to them for about 145 miles northwestward in the same years. From the Minquas came most of the beaver skins and they were always the "special friends and protectors of the Swedes."⁴⁶

It is likely that bands of these different Indian tribes came to trade with Minuit shortly after his arrival, for news of the com-

⁴² Kanastoge means "at the place of the emersed pole."

⁴³ This view is contrary to the earlier authorities on the subject, who identify the Conestogas with the Susquehannas.

⁴⁴ "Present also the Chiefs and others of the *Conestogoe or Mingoe Indians*." *Minutes of the Pro. Council*, III. 19. Cf. also De Laet's map, *Proud, Penn.*, I. 428.

⁴⁵ Campanius Holm., *Beskrifn.*; Lindeström, *Geogr.*; Young's *Report*, *Col. of Mass. Hist. So.*

⁴⁶ *Geogr.*

ing of new expeditions spread rapidly among the savages. A large number of small presents were given to the chiefs as they arrived at the camp and cloth, sewant⁴⁷ and other goods were exchanged for skins, but the exact amount of this trade is unknown. Minuit was clearly monopolizing the trade in the river, however, and Governor Kieft complained bitterly that he "attracted all the peltries to himself by means of liberal gifts."⁴⁸

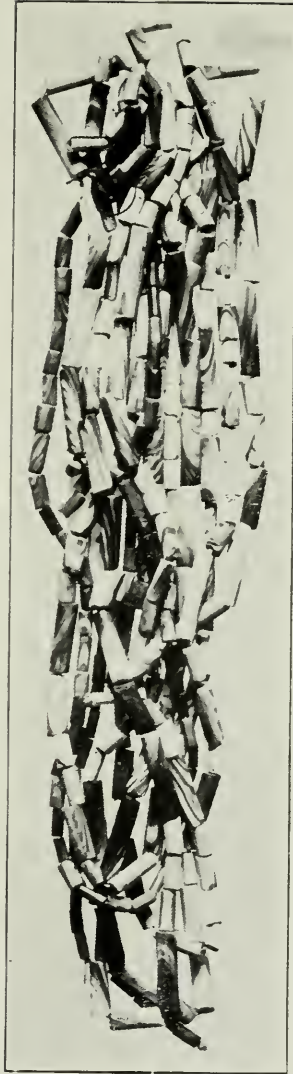
In the meantime every man had been busily at work on the new fort. It was built on a cape about two miles from the mouth of Christina Creek, where nature provided a "wharf of stone." It was "surrounded by marshy ground, except on the northwest side, where it could be approached by a narrow strip of land" and it was particularly well situated for defense against the Indians. On the south side flowed the river and the ships could be moored within a few steps of the wall, where a bridge was built for the convenience of passengers and freight. The fort was built in the form of a square, with sharp arrow-head-like corners,⁴⁹ three of which were mounted with artillery.⁵⁰ It was built with palisades and earth and was considered to be strong enough to withstand the attack of a very large number of Indians. Since it was two miles from the banks of the Delaware, it could not close that river and it seems that Minuit selected this spot so as to avoid a collision with the Dutch as much as possible, until the colony was strong enough to assert its authority. About May 10 the ramparts were com-

⁴⁷ The Indian money, or wampum, also called *roanoke* and *peag*. *Sewant* is from the Narraganset *siwân*, meaning "scattered." The shell that bore this name among the Indians was unstrung, but the Swedes (and Dutch) used it for the strung shells also. There were two kinds of sebant or wampum, the white and the black or dark purple. The black was twice as valuable as the white. It seems that sewant of the same color was of different price, for on April 20, 1644, some was sold for 4 florins a yard and some for 5½ florins a yard. *Acc. B.*, 1643-8.

⁴⁸ Schuldt Boeck, 1638-48, *R.S.*, II. (R.A.); *Doc.*, I. p. 592; Hazard, p. 44 ff.

⁴⁹ The general shape of the fort was a common one at this period. Broecke gives a fort very similar to Christina in his *Hist.*, and in several other works of the time we find forts represented which resemble the Swedish fortress. See Broecke, *Wonderlijck Hist.* (Amsterdam, 1648), fol. 2; *Beschr. van Virg., N. Nederland*, etc., p. 21; Van der Donck, De Laet and others.

⁵⁰ The two corners on the river side and the northeast side towards the land were protected with cannon.



Black and white *sewant* (wampum) of the Delawares on strings. From the Heye Collection, University of Pennsylvania Museum. Photograph used by the courtesy of Dr. Gordon.

pleted and a short time later the fort was entirely ready.⁵¹ Guns were now taken from the *Kalmar Nyckel* and mounted on the walls; the Swedish flag was raised on the flagpole and "with the report of cannon [the fort] was called Christina."⁵² Two houses were erected inside of the fortress, one of which was probably used for a magazine to store the merchandise in, the other for a dwelling house. They were built of logs, probably unhewn, and the dwelling had loopholes and probably two or more little windows. The roof was gabled and most likely covered with small timbers split in two. A fireplace and an oven were built in a corner of bricks carried over on the ships.⁵³ Rough benches, chairs and tables were probably constructed from split timber. It is also likely that beds of some sort were made and we may suppose that the bedroom and dining room were the same.

The country was not "an entire wilderness" when the Swedish settlers arrived. The Delaware Indians were largely agricultural (as were almost all the Algonquian tribes) and they had cleared large tracts near their villages where they planted corn. In 1654 Lindeström says that on the west side of the Delaware near Asinpinck (Trenton) Falls the savages had corn fields which had been cultivated so long that the soil was too poor to give good crops, and near the Schuylkill, at the Horn Kill and other places, there were large Indian cornfields. The settlers adopted many practices from the Indians. Their corn, especially, often proved a valuable article for the sustenance of the people and they learned how to cultivate and use it.⁵⁴

Minuit was expressly instructed to take along all kinds of grain for seed and he himself proposed that tobacco planters be

⁵¹ The ship *Grip* left the South River on May 10(20), and then "the fort and a house were made," for a letter written from the *Grip* on June 15, informed Blommaert of these facts. Blommaert to A. Oxenstierna, September 4, 1638; Kernkamp, *Zweed. Arch.*, pp. 157-8.

⁵² "Het fort volmaect sijnde, hebbent solemnelijcken met lossen vant canon genaempt Christina." Blommaert to A. Oxenstierna, November 13, 1638, January 28, 1640.

⁵³ Minuit purchased a quantity of bricks from Hans Macklier at Gothenburg before he sailed. See facsimile of bill.

⁵⁴ *Geogr.*

sent over and naturally also tobacco seed. It appears, however, that these instructions were not fully adhered to.⁵⁵ But "two barrels of wheat and two barrels of barley for seed corn" and perhaps other grains, such as oats and rye were loaded upon the ships at Gothenburg. Indian corn was obtained from the savages and plots of ground outside the fort and in the neighborhood of it were prepared and planted with corn and other grains to provide food for the men. Large quantities of fish, deer, turkeys, geese "and all sorts of such like provisions" were laid up in the storehouse. Måns Kling was given command of the fort and of the 23 men⁵⁶ who remained in the country, and an instruction was probably given to him by Minuit. The merchandise and provisions were left in the charge of Hendrick Huygen.⁵⁷

When all necessary arrangements had been made for the maintenance and security of the fort and the garrison, Minuit began to prepare for his return voyage. A few hundred skins and the cargo intended for the tobacco trade were loaded into the *Kalmar Nyckel*, and about June 15 he left his little settlement.⁵⁸ Hendrick Huygen continued the Indian trade after Minuit's departure, and a large number of skins and a quantity of corn were exchanged for merchandise and servant during the autumn, winter and spring of 1638-1639.⁵⁹

It seems that the *Grip* returned to Fort Christina early in 1639, having cruised about for months in the West Indian waters, looking for Spanish prizes. In June it was at St. Christopher; some time later "it had spied the Spanish Silver Fleet together with one Peter Verbruggen," and went to inform

⁵⁵ Blommaert says: "Minuit was expres belast allerhande saeycoren mede te nemen, maer het schijnt niet gedaen heeft." Letter to Oxenstierna, November 13, 1638; Kernkamp, *Zweed. Arch.*, p. 163.

⁵⁶ Kieft also reported to the Dutch West Indies Company that twenty-four men were stationed in the fort. *Doc.*, I. 592; Hazard, p. 48.

⁵⁷ Blommaert to A. Oxenstierna, September 4, November 13, 1638, January 28, 1640, *Ox. Saml.* (Kernkamp, p. 157 ff., 162 ff., 176 ff.); *Doc.*, I. 592; Hazard, 44 ff.; *Journal*, no. 1; *Schuldt Boeck*, 1638-48, N.S., I. (R.A.).

⁵⁸ Cf. above, Chap. XIV.

⁵⁹ The skins brought to Europe on the *Grip* were bought by Huygen from June 6, 1638, until April 10, 1639. *Schuldt Boeck*, 1638-48, N.S., II. (R.A.).

Aus des Anno 1637 den 6 Septembri:		Sch.	in	Sch.
Jann. Comendat. Ritter Minuit Debet.				
für das verguldetes so der G. durch sein Werk.				
Hans Mackler, d. d.				
	168. 100. Schillinge in 100. Sch.	252	—	—
Item 9.	200. 100. Schillinge in 100. Sch.	34	—	—
	10. 100. Schillinge in 100. Sch.	100	—	—
Item 13.	2. 100. Schillinge in 100. Sch.	—	—	2
Item 14.	100. 100. Schillinge in 100. Sch.	110	—	—
	8. 100. Schillinge in 100. Sch.	—	—	82
Item 27.	1. 100. Schillinge in 100. Sch.	—	—	1
Item 28.	100. 100. Schillinge in 100. Sch.	110	—	—
Item 30.	4 1/2. 100. Schillinge in 100. Sch.	—	—	4 24
	1. 100. Schillinge in 100. Sch.	—	—	1
October 7.	4. 100. Schillinge in 100. Sch.	210	—	—
	3. 100. Schillinge in 100. Sch.	6	—	—
	2. 100. Schillinge in 100. Sch.	3	—	—
Item 10.	54 1/2. 100. Schillinge in 100. Sch.	—	—	5
Item 17.	18. 100. Schillinge in 100. Sch.	18	—	—
	50. 100. Schillinge in 100. Sch.	—	—	24
Summe 388, 100. Schillinge in 100. Sch.		388	8	14 8
für das verguldetes so der G. durch sein Werk.		—	—	119 24
Summe 133, 100. Schillinge in 100. Sch.		—	—	133 32

Bill of goods bought by Minuit from Hans Mackler, showing that at least 450 bricks were brought to the South River on the first expedition. Original preserved in N. S. I. (K. A.), Stockholm. See pp. 111, 193.

Admiral Jol⁶⁰ about it (while Verbruggen followed the fleet to observe its course). After some sailing it went to Havana and from there to the South River.⁶¹ We know little about this expedition of the *Grip*. Years afterwards the skipper was accused of doing it all for his own benefit,⁶² and the only addition it brought to the colony's wealth, that we have discovered, was a negro slave.⁶³ In April the ship took on board the skins purchased at Christina and preparations were made for its return to Sweden. The vessel seems to have been ready to sail on April 10, but contrary winds delayed the departure until the end of the month.⁶⁴

The colony was now left to itself, awaiting supplies and reinforcements. Trade with the Indians continued and Kieft reported to his superiors that the trade of the Dutch had "fallen short full 30,000 [florins] because the Swedes, by underselling [the Dutch] depressed the market."⁶⁵

A new ship was expected towards the end of 1639, but the little garrison waited in vain. The autumn and winter of 1640 seem to have passed without disturbance and the good relations with the Indians were maintained. The Dutch were too weak and Governor Kieft had no orders to oppose the Swedes by force, but it appears that he tried to persuade them to abandon their fortress and leave the country. According to his own statements he was successful in his endeavor and "the Swedes . . . were resolved to move off" and go to Manhattan, but "on the day before their departure a ship arrived with reinforcements."⁶⁶ About one year elapsed after the sailing of

⁶⁰ Admiral Jol was watching the Spanish Silver Fleet at this time. Cf. Kernkamp, *Zweed. Arch.*, p. 181.

⁶¹ Blommaert to A. Oxenstierna, September 4, 1638, January 28, 1640. *Ox. Saml.* (R.A.).

⁶² *Report, 1644 P. S.*; Odhner, *N.S.*, p. 36.

⁶³ "Rulla der Völcker . . . 1648," *N.S.*, II. (R.A.). See below, Chap. XLIII.

⁶⁴ *Schuldt Boeck*, 1638-48, *N.S.*, II. (R.A.). Cf. above, Chap. XIV.

⁶⁵ *Doc.*, I. 592. Hazard states that "the Swedes appear . . . to have been very successful in their beaver trade, as it is said they exported 30,000 skins in the first year after their arrival" (page 50). He probably based the statement on Kieft's report that the trade had "fallen short full 30,000." Hazard's statement is entirely incorrect and Kieft's figures are much overestimated.

⁶⁶ *Doc.*, I. 593. Cf. above, Chap. XVII.

the *Grip* and nearly two after Minuit's departure before the next ship again arrived from Sweden, and the colonists had some cause for alarm; but it is hardly probable that they decided to leave the settlement and repair to New Amsterdam.⁶⁷ So important a fact would have been mentioned by Ridder or Van Dyck in their letters to the chancellor and the vice admiral.²⁸ At any rate, a new expedition arrived at Christina on April 17, 1640, with settlers, a few domestic animals, large supplies for the Indian trade and for the continuation of the colony, additional soldiers, a new commander and a minister of the Gospel.

⁶⁷ Odhner rightly points out that the several statements of Gov. Kieft hardly coincide. If the Swedes had drawn "30,000 [flor.] in trade" from the Dutch until October 2, 1639, and had "caused the company great injury" to the extent that "the [Dutch] trade was entirely ruined" on the last of May, 1640, it shows that the little settlement was in a thriving condition. We may remark, however, that the first statement refers to a period before and shortly after the departure of the ship, the *Grip*, and the second refers to the time after the arrival of Ridder. *Doc.*, I. 592-3; Hazard, pp. 50, 56-7; Odhner, *N.S.*, p. 22.

²⁸ Cf. letters from Ridder to Oxenstierna. *Ox. Saml.* (R.A.) and from Ridder and Van Dyck to Fleming, *N.S.*, I (K.A.).

CHAPTER XXII.

THE COLONY UNDER RIDDER, 1640-1643.

When Ridder arrived in New Sweden in the spring of 1640, he found the settlement well preserved. Måns Kling surrendered his command of the fort to its new master and Huygen prepared an inventory of the goods on hand, delivering the keys of the store-house and the books into the keeping of Joost van Langdonk. As soon as the horses, goods and people were brought ashore and the most urgent duties attended to, Ridder inspected the country for a few miles around the fort. He found that it was well suited for agriculture and cattle raising, but the seed had been spoilt on the journey and little new ground could be planted or sown before other supplies were received. The fort was in poor condition, the walls being ready "to fall down in three places," but the skipper forbade him to do any extensive repairs, and he had no orders from Sweden. He mended the breaks and improved the ramparts, however, where necessary, reporting that the wall "on the land side ought to be lengthened and the wall on the water-edge should be raised."¹ He found that the fort was not in a location where it could command the river and he proposed that a new stronghold be built near the Delaware, "so that the Crown's fort would be the key to New Sweden."² More cannon, powder and bullets were needed for the defense of the fort in case of an attack. Ridder further asked that the coat of arms of Sweden be sent over, which should be placed above the gates of the fort.³ Inside the fort three new houses were built to

¹ This could not be done before he received orders from Sweden. Ridder to A. Oxenstierna, May 13, June 8, 1640, *Ox. Saml.* (R.A.), to Fleming, May 13, 1640, N.S., I. (K.A.).

² "So die Herren beliefen ein neues Fort zu machen lassen, beneden in nauste van die Revier op das die Kronens Fordt die Schlüssel von Neu Schweden ist, so als wir nun ligen können [wir] nimant bezwingen. . . ." Ridder to A. Oxenstierna, Dec. 3, 1640. *Ox. Saml.* (R.A.).

³ They could be made of either wood or stone.

make room for the people and the two old ones were moved to the east side. A new storehouse was also erected and a barn was built for the horses.

"Two horses and a colt, which were now in the colony, fared well," but there was need of three more mares for work and breeding. Since there were enough meadows and pasture for at least 200 cows, Ridder requested the company to ship over several of these animals, and as oxen were the best for work on the plantations, he informs the chancellor that "two pair of strong oxen ought to be sent" here on the next expedition. The colony lacked skilled workmen. Ridder complained that he did not have a man who could build a common peasant's house, or saw a board of lumber,⁴ and it was highly necessary that some "carpenters and other workmen be sent over," for the general condition of the colonists was such that "it would be impossible to find more stupid people in all Sweden." Ridder's complaints are overestimated, for we know that he did build some houses; but they give a fair idea of the class of settlers that came here before 1641. Besides the sawing of lumber Ridder also proposed to make bricks "for there was good clay to be had." Various articles were needed for the use of the colony which were enumerated in Ridder's letters, including some barrels of tar, "glass windows," a quantity of steel, hemp, salt, brandy, provisions for a year, grain for seed, such as rye, barley, beans, peas, cabbage, turnips and parsnip seed.⁵

English and Dutch merchants began to trade with the Swedes at an early date, probably already in 1638. They brought all kinds of supplies to the settlers, but the price asked for them was always very high. The English in Virginia and Maryland(?) offered to sell cattle and commercial relations were established with them.

⁴ "Wier haben niet ennen man so en hanten baur Haus weiss auf zu setzen od ein Bret zu sagen . . . in alles ist es schlecht bestellt mit diss Folck, man sol kein dumber gemenner Folk in gantz Schweden finden alss die, so nur hier sein." Ridder to A. Oxenstierna, December 3, 1640, *Ox. Saml.*

⁵ See letters from Ridder to A. Oxenstierna, May 13, June 8, December 3, 1640 (*Ox. Saml.*), and to Fleming, May 14 ("memorial"), N.S. I. (K.A.). Cf. above, Chap. XV., XVIII.

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John S. Willard

Last page of Ridder's letter with Peter H. Ridder's signature.

The friendly relations with the Indians begun by Minuit were continued by Ridder. When the latter arrived he distributed gifts among the chiefs and assured them of his good will and kindly intentions, which was reciprocated by the savages in their usual way. Shortly after the arrival of the *Kalmar Nyckel* the trade was renewed (in May), causing great injury to the Dutch, and a big cargo of furs for the return voyage of the ship was bought from the savages, largely through the efforts of Huygen.⁶ The ship was quickly despatched on its homeward journey with reports, journals, memorials and lists by Van Dyck, the commander and others. Huygen, who had been very successful in his dealings with the Indians and who had shown himself to be an honest and faithful servant of the Swedish Crown and Company, returned to Sweden, to make an oral report. Måns Kling also left the settlement as well as a number of the soldiers, but the colony was somewhat augmented by the late arrivals, to what extent is unknown. On May 14, 1640, the little colony was again left to itself. The *Kalmar Nyckel* spread its sails and pointed its prow towards Europe, bearing the blessings and hopes of the lonely pioneers for a safe voyage and speedy return with new supplies and new settlers.⁷

The harmony between the Dutch and the Swedish soldiers and officers was not the best before 1640, and it did not improve after Ridder's arrival. Van Langdonk lacked the qualities necessary for a commissary in New Sweden. He was not in sympathy with the Swedes nor was he on friendly terms with the commander. Quarrels and strifes were common and the general discipline was bad. Under such conditions little could be done. Provisions were low in the summer and autumn of 1640 and the Indian trade was poor.⁸

⁶ A quantity of skins was undoubtedly bought before the *Kalmar Nyckel* arrived the second time.

⁷ Instruction for Prinz, August 15, 1642; Ridder to Oxenstierna, May 13, 1640 (*Ox. Saml.*) to Fleming, May 13, 14, 1640, N.S., I. (K.A.); Van Dyck to Fleming, May 23, 1640, N.S., I. (K.A.). Above, Chap. XIV-XVIII.

⁸ Over four German miles above the fort. A German mile equals 25,000 ft. "Das Landt angelangende ist schon Grundt umb Colonien zu stellen, es ligt von uns 4 gute Meihl." Ridder to Oxenstierna, December 3, 1640. *Ox. Saml.* (R.A.).

On November 2 the Dutch settlers from Utrecht arrived at Fort Christina and this probably improved the condition somewhat. Van Bogaert delivered his commissions and papers to Ridder and the Dutch were settled "on beautiful land" about eighteen or twenty miles above Christina.⁹ They undoubtedly brought with them some cattle and various supplies and, as soon as land was allotted to the individual colonists, they erected houses and other necessary farm buildings, being lodged in the meantime in the fort and in the dwellings of the Swedes. The ship which carried these settlers to New Sweden was prepared for its return voyage about the beginning of December. Some of the skins bought by the Swedish commissioner during the summer were loaded into the vessel and on December 2 or 3 she set sail for Europe.¹⁰

The limits of New Sweden were greatly extended in the spring and summer of 1640. It seems that Van Langdonk had instructions to buy the land above the Schuylkill from the Indians as soon as possible, and on April 18, the day after his arrival, he prepared the sloop and sailed up the river in company with the skipper Roelof Peterssen, without informing Ridder about his intentions, however. Arriving before Fort Nassau they were refused permission to pass by, and returned to Christina. They now had in mind to sail up the river on board the *Kalmar Nyckel*, but Ridder objected to this, saying that he desired to follow the instructions they had received in Sweden, which required them to begin no hostilities with the Dutch, and on April 21 he prepared the sloop himself and sailed up the river past Fort Nassau, not heeding the warnings of the Dutch. Perhaps on the following day he had a conference with the Indians and bought the land from them lying on the west bank of the Delaware from the Schuylkill up to the falls at Trenton or "about 36 or 40 miles" above Fort Nassau.¹¹ Merchandise was given to the savages for the land and

⁹ Ridder to Oxenstierna; Van Dyck to Fleming, May 23, 1640, N.S., I. (K.A.).

¹⁰ Cf. above, Chap. XVII.

¹¹ In my opinion Odhner is mistaken in saying that Hollender placed the "limit poles 8-9 German miles above Christina." Fort Nassau is undoubtedly meant.

gifts were also distributed among them. The usual ceremonies followed and four limit-poles were erected, one a short distance below the Dutch fort and the other three at the upper limits of the newly purchased land.¹² It is also probable that the land lying south of Duck Creek down to Cape Henlopen was purchased by Ridder about the same time or somewhat later from an Indian chief called Wickusi, who claimed to be the rightful owner.¹³ But little could be effected in the way of improvements before the next ship arrived.

The winter of 1640-1641 passed and the summer came and went, but no ship made its appearance. The colony suffered another drawback in the spring and summer of 1641, as the English from New Haven came into the river and ruined the Indian trade. Ridder protested against them but to no avail. They continued their traffic and paid no heed to either Swedish or Dutch complaints.¹⁴ In the spring Ridder secured a title to the land lying on the east side of the river from Narraticons or Racoon Creek southward to Cape May. An Indian chief by the name of Mekopemus, who seems to have ruled over the district on the east bank of the Delaware from Narraticons Kill northward, came to Christina and reported that the sachem who sold the land to the English at Varkens Kill was not the owner of these tracts, for the land belonged to Wickusi, the former owner of the district on the west side of the river. Ridder then prepared his sloop and, in company with Mekopemus, he sailed down the Delaware and landed at a certain kill in the neighborhood of Wickusi's wigwams. Wickusi was called, "a bargain was made with him" and he was given "good remuneration" for the land. A pole with the arms of Sweden upon it was then put into the ground in the presence of Wickusi and Mekopemus, and the Swedish salute was fired from the sloop.¹⁵ It seems, however, that the full amount,

¹² Ridder to Oxenstierna, May 13, 1640, *Ox. Saml.*

¹³ Report of court 1643; Certificate 1654, N.S., I. (R.A.).

¹⁴ Huygen to Spiring, November 28, 1642 (copy), N.S., I. (R.A.).

¹⁵ Certificate, July 26, 1654, signed by S. Schute, Greg. van Dyck, Jacob Swensson, and Per Gunnarsson Rambo, N.S., I. (R.A.). Cf. also below, Chap. XXXVI.

stipulated in the deed, was not paid at the time, for in 1647 claims were presented to Printz.

In October, 1641, the long-expected succor was approaching. In the first week of November the *Kalmar Nyckel* and the *Charitas* sailed up the Delaware, and on the seventh (n.s.?) they anchored in front of Christina. The first few days were occupied with nursing the sick people, caring for the animals and unloading goods. Most of the articles asked for by Ridder were on the ships. A better class of colonists had arrived and a new period of prosperity was in sight. Only six beaver skins were in the storehouse, and Huygen was not able to buy furs from the Indians. Consequently the ships returned almost empty.¹⁶ On the fifteenth of November an inventory was made and Langdonk delivered the goods under his charge into the hands of his successor. The store was very small, only a few hundred bushels of corn, some 4,000 fishhooks, about 600 axes and a few other small wares were on hand.¹⁷ But large supplies were now stored in the fort.

The garrison was strengthened by several soldiers, and Måns Kling arrived in the capacity of lieutenant. Freeman, who intended to begin new plantations, came on the ships, besides a preacher, a tailor, a millwright, and perhaps a blacksmith and other skilled workmen. New dwellings were built outside the fort, plots for settlements were selected by the free-men, and new land was cleared and prepared during the winter for farms and tobacco plantations.

Five horses, eight cows, five sheep and two goats were landed alive,¹⁸ but two horses and one cow died soon after the arrival of the ships. The pigs which had been taken over on previous voyages or bought from New Amsterdam increased rapidly, and many of them ran wild. They were shot in the autumn and the pork was smoked and salted and preserved for winter food.¹⁹ Hunting was one of the means of obtaining provisions,

¹⁶ Cf. above, Chap. XVIII.

¹⁷ See "Invent. . . . op t' Fort Christina," November 15, 1641, N.S., I. (K.A.).

¹⁸ Cf. above, Chap. XVIII.

¹⁹ Ridder himself shot a pig two German miles from the fort and eight pigs were captured alive on the same place. Ridder to Oxenstierna, December 3, 1640. *Ox. Saml.*



Castle at Viborg, Finland, over which Peter H. Ridder was made commander in 1669. See p. 692. (Photographed by the author in July, 1909.)

especially in the autumn and winter, and the settlers always carried their guns with them. Fishing was likewise an important means of subsistence; but Ridder complained that they lacked some necessary fishing implements, hooks, nets (and probably speers), being the commonest fishing tools. A larger supply of fishing implements was shipped over later, and then the supply of fish became more plentiful. Great quantities of hooks were sold to the Indians and they, in turn, supplied fish to the freemen.

In the spring of 1642 new cottages could be seen in the neighborhood of Christina, new clearings were beginning to break the monotony of the forest, and grain was sprouting from the fresh furrows. Tobacco patches could be found here and there, and vegetables of various kinds were growing for the necessary supplies of the colony. We do not know how the crops of New Sweden turned out in 1642, but a windmill was built near the fort, perhaps within the walls, and the grain was ground in it in the autumn and winter.

"Sickness and mortality," says Governor Winthrop, "befell the Swedes in 1642,"²⁰ but there is no mention of it in the extant Swedish records, nor do the preserved documents give us any information about other internal events before Printz came here.

It is a curious fact that Joost van Bogaert, with the exception of a single reference in an English work,²¹ "disappears from history" with his settlement after 1642. It is therefore possible that Bogaert and some of his people died in that year. We may then assume that the surviving Dutch settlers gradually removed to their countrymen at Fort Nassau or in New Amsterdam, a few possibly settling among the Swedes, for Printz makes no mention of them in his letter in the spring of 1643, which he surely would have done, had they still remained.²²

²⁰ Winthrop, II.

²¹ He is mentioned as "one Bogot" in Plantagenet's *New Albion* (1648).

²² See Printz' *Instruction*; and letters to Oxenstierna and Brahe, April 12, 14, 1643. *Ox. Saml.*, *Skokl. Saml.* (R.A.). Had Bogaert lived it is more than likely that he would have been one of the members of the court held July 10, 1643. See below.

"The houses which the Swedes erected for themselves, when they first came here, were very poor," says Kalm, "... a little cottage [built out of round logs], with a door so low that it was necessary to bend down when entering. As they had no windows with them, small loopholes served the purpose, covered with a sliding-board which could be closed and opened. . . . Clay was plastered into the cracks between the logs on both sides of the walls. The fireplaces were made from granite [boulders] found on the hills or, in places where there were no stones, out of mere clay; the bake-oven was also made inside of the house."²³ This description, based on the report of an old settler, gives, I think, a fairly accurate picture of the dwellings used in New Sweden before the arrival of Governor Printz. As time went on more pretentious buildings were erected.²⁴

As to the administration of justice in the colony during this period we know nothing, but it is probable that courts were held at Christina from 1640 to 1643. Ridder, Huygen, Van Dyck and other officers were given written instructions and memorials before they left Sweden, but only that of Ridder is preserved.²⁵

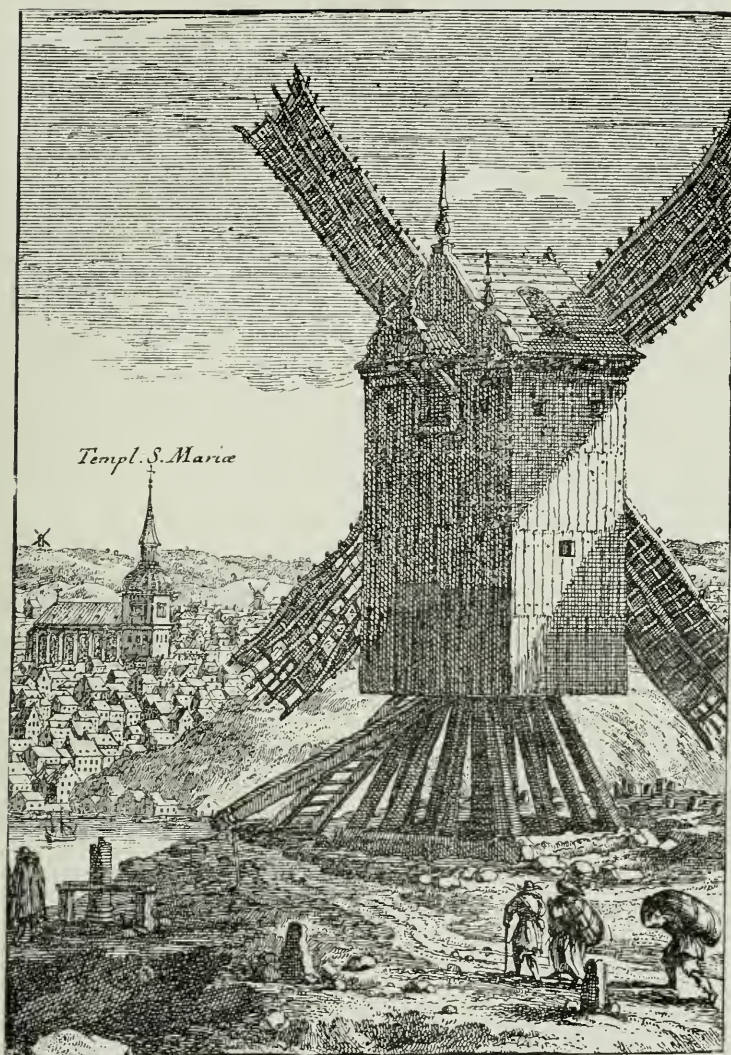
The commissioner had charge of the merchandise; he kept all the accounts, private and public in books which were sent to Sweden at intervals, where they were copied by Hans Kramer into the journals and account books of the company.²⁶

²³ Kalm, *Resa*, III. 70.

²⁴ Cf. below, Chaps. XXXIII., XLIII.

²⁵ Copy of Ridder's "Inst." in *Ox. Saml.*, Van Dyck to Fleming, May 13, 1640; Huygen to P. Spiring (copy), November 28, 1642 [1], N.S., I. (R.A.). Cf. above, Chaps. XV., XVIII.

²⁶ Cf. below, Chap. XXIV. Only a few loose sheets are preserved of an account book, which dates from 1638-1639, N.S., II. (R.A.). In a *Schuldt Boeck* which really covers the years 1643-1648, there are also a number of accounts in Huygen's handwriting from 1638-1639. The book begins in 1638, the last account for 1639 is in April, then follow some blank pages. It is again begun by Huygen in 1643 and continued until May 6, 1648. It was sent to Sweden on the *Swan* and presented to the bookkeeper of the company at Stockholm on June 30, the same year. It is now preserved in the R.A. in N.S., II. The book is defective, the left hand corners of the pages being moulded away and other parts unreadable. It is written in Dutch. Ohdner says that "the accounts are of the simplest kind and give no information of value," but the book contains several facts not found elsewhere and many interesting details concern-



Windmill near Stockholm in the seventeenth century. From *Svecia Antiqua*.
(See also p. 328.)

The facts about the religious life are very meager before 1643. Rev. Reorus Torkillus,²⁷ who arrived with Ridder in 1640, conducted services in the fort, at times prescribed by the Swedish church law. He was abused by some of the Dutch, who were of the Reformed faith, and in his letters to the council he complained of his troubles with "those who confessed the Calvinistic heresy," but harmony seems to have been restored after Langdonk's return to Europe. In November, 1641, Rev. Christopher arrived in the colony. He was not given a commission to serve here when he left Sweden, but it seems that Torkillus was unable to perform all the ministerial duties and Christopher remained here until 1643, doing the duties of a clergyman, and when he returned to Sweden he was paid by Beier for his labors.²⁸ It is probable that Torkillus was stationed in the fort and that he conducted services there, while Christopher looked after the religious needs of the colonists who were settled in the neighborhood of Christina. The first services were undoubtedly conducted by Torkillus in one of the houses built by Minuit; but it seems quite certain that a "meeting-house" or chapel was erected in the years 1641 to 1642, when a dwelling-house was too small for the accommodation of the colonists. It was an age when religion was taken with great seriousness and when duties of worship and piety were among the first requirements in any community, when generals began their reports and letters to their superiors in the name of God and ended them with blessings, when politicians would pray for success and pirates would start on their expeditions only after the grace of Heaven had been invoked to favor their intentions,

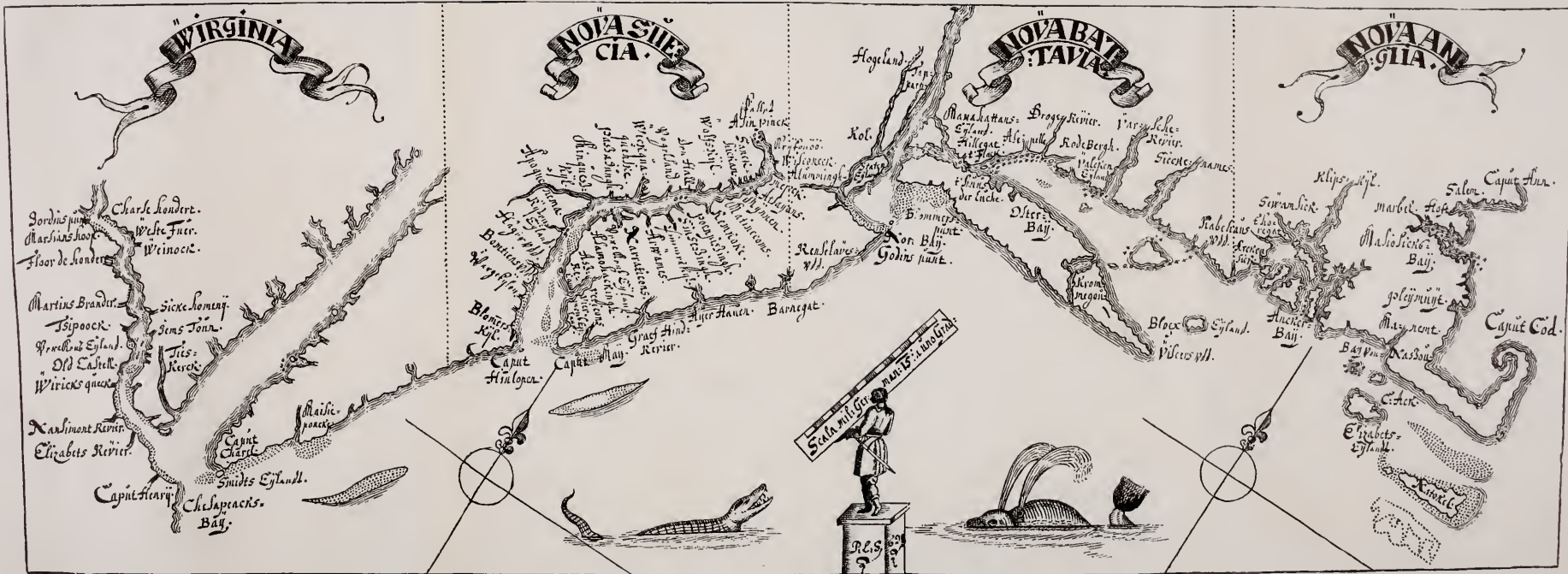
ing the trade of the colony. A number of Langdonk's bills are also preserved. They are all dated at Fort Christina, November 30, 1640, and were presented at Stockholm, April 20, 1641. Now in N.S., I. (K.A.). A copy of the book is in the Hist. So. of Penn.

²⁷ Torkillus is the first Lutheran minister of the Gospel to serve in America. The first Lutheran preacher to visit America was probably Rev. Rasmus Jensen, a Dane, who came here on Munck's expedition to Hudson Bay in 1619. He died in *Nova Dania* before Munck returned to Europe. Cf. Munck, *Navigatio Septentr.*; *Lutheran Church Review*, XVII. 55 ff.

²⁸ Van Dyck's letter to Fleming, May 23, 1640. N.S., I. (K.A.). *Rådsspr.*, VIII. 130 ff.; *Journal*, nos. 289, 336, 364. Christopher was paid 3:24 R.D. in August, 1643, and 91 R.D. in January, 1644.

and we may feel sure that the authorities in Sweden did not fail to instruct Ridder to erect a place of worship and that he obeyed the order, although we have no records of the same. We know that there was a church here in 1643, for Brahe, in answer to Printz's letter of April 12, admonished the governor to decorate their "little church in the Swedish custom." The church could hardly have been built in a month and a half, and besides it is not likely that Printz would begin the erection of a house of worship before the country was properly fortified.²⁹

²⁹ Brahe to Printz, November 9, 1643. *Skokl. Saml.* (R.A.). Cf. below, Chap. XXXIV.



Lindeström's Map of "Virginia, Nova Suecia (New Sweden), Nova Battavia (New Netherland) [and] Nova Anglia (New England)." From Lindeström's *Geographia*.

CHAPTER XXIII.

RELATIONS WITH THE NEIGHBORS, 1640-1643.

The Swedes were on the best terms with the Indians during the whole of this period, but immediately upon his arrival Ridder came into conflict with the Dutch, who informed the Swedes that they would not be allowed to sail up the river above the Dutch fort; indeed that they had no right in the river whatever.

A few days after his landing Ridder prepared the sloop and went up the stream with a favorable wind, the Swedish commissioner having been prevented from passing the Dutch stronghold some days previously. The fort fired three cannon shots and one musket ball at the vessel as it passed by, but Ridder continued his journey. On the twenty-fifth of April he went ashore at Fort Nassau, and delivered some letters to the Hollanders, written by Blommaert, but the Dutch commissioner was not favorably inclined. On May 2 the sloop was sent above the Dutch fort for the fourth time, "to see what they would do." Jan Jansen again pointed his cannon at the vessel, and sent some bullets after it. He also protested against "the intruders," and claimed that the whole river belonged to the Dutch West India company.¹ Fort Nassau was garrisoned by about 20 men, and Ridder could well have opposed any attempts of the Dutch to be masters in the river, but he preferred to follow his instruction and keep on as good terms with them as possible. From time to time Dutch vessels from New Amsterdam and probably some direct from Europe visited the Delaware for the purpose of trade, both with the Swedes and savages,² and friendly intercourse was continued for some years. Other events also intervened which tended to draw the Swedes and

¹ The protests were answered and counter-protests were made. Ridder to Oxenstierna, May 13, 1640. *Ox. Saml.* (R.A.).

² Cf. De Vries' *Korte Historiæ*, p. 163 and *Col. of N. Y. Hist. So.*, 2 S., III. 100.

Dutch closer together and unite forces for the preservation of their settlements against a common foe.

In 1641 a third nation, the English, becomes more definitely connected with the history of the Delaware. Merchants and planters of New Haven, finding that their colony was badly situated for trade with the Indians, looked for other places where they could settle and establish trading posts. Some of the principal merchants had sent ships to the Delaware for some years and, observing that this vast territory was sparsely settled and that the Swedish and Dutch forts and trading-stations there did not control the river nor the country, they determined, perhaps in the autumn of 1640, to extend their activities more systematically to this place.³ Theophilus Eaton, Stephen Goodyear, John Dane(?), Tho. Gregson, Richard Malbon, Matthew Gilbert, J[oh]n Tu[rner](?), Nathaniel Turner and Geo. Lamberton seem to have formed a *Delaware Company*⁴ for the purpose of colonizing and trading on the South River.⁵ Two agents, Lamberton and Turner, with assistants were sent "to view and purchase p[ar]t of the Delaware," in the spring of 1641. They were instructed not to interfere with the Swedes and Dutch, say the English records of a somewhat later date, but to buy land from Indians not yet occupied by any Christian nation.

The bark or sloop fitted out for the expedition arrived in the Bay about April 1. Turner and Lamberton "sailed up the [Delaware] River in order to select a convenient spot for erecting a stronghold and making a settlement and, when a suitable landing place was found, they endeavored to secure a title to the land." But the Indians refused to deal with them, says Gov. Winthrop. "It so fell out, [however], that a Pequod sachem

³ *N. H. Col. Rec.*, II. 56; *Col. of Mass. Hist. So.*, 2d S., VI. 439.

⁴ See the two protests presented by Lamberton to the Swedes, April 19, 1642(?), and June 22, 1643, N.S., I. (R.A.). *Plym. Col. Rec., Acts*, II. 13 ff. The evidence for the formation of the company is slight. I have found only one direct reference: "It was ordered . . . of the Delaware Co." *N. H. Col. Rec.*, I. 124. Cf. *The History of the Delaware Comp. of 1753(?)* and its attempts at settlement in this region. See *Hist. of Wyoming*, by C. Miner, p. 69 ff. and others.

⁵ The reasons for their purchase and plantations on the Delaware are given in *N. H. Col. Rec.*, I. 56-7.

(being fled his country in our war with them⁶ [the Indians] and having seated himself with his company upon that river ever since) was accidentally there at that time. He, taking notice of the English and their desire, persuaded the other sachem to deal with them, and told them that howsoever they had killed his countrymen and driven him out, yet they were honest men and had just cause to do as they did, for the Pequods had done them wrong, and refused to give such reasonable satisfaction as was demanded of them. Whereupon the sachem entertained them and let them have what land they desired."⁷ The accuracy of this statement cannot now be ascertained,⁸ nor is it clear whether Winthrop refers to the transactions at Varkens Kill or to a later purchase on the Schuylkill. At any rate, Lamberton and Turner, "in the presence of witnesses" managed to obtain a title by "several deeds of bargain and sale" to two large tracts of land "on both sides of the Delaware." The land was "purchased of Usquata Sachem or Prince of Narrattacus and of Wehensett (?) Sachem of Watt-sesinge."⁹ This is the purchase generally referred to in the English protests and letters to the Swedes and Dutch¹⁰ and comprised land extending on the eastern side of the Delaware "from a small river or creek called Chesumquesett¹¹ northward where the land of the said Usquata Sachem of Narratacus doth begin unto the sea-coast southward," and "from a river-[l]et called by the Indians Tomquncke unto another river[l]et called Papuq (. . .)"¹² on the west side of the great river called

⁶ For the trouble with the Pequods and their extermination by the English, see Mason, J. A., *A Brief Hist. of the Pequot*, etc.; Tyler, *Eng. in Am.*, 251 ff.

⁷ Winthrop, II. 62. He has this under March 27, 1642. Cf. also Hubbard's *New Eng., Col. of Mass. Hist. So.*, 2d S., VI. 438 ff.; Certif., July 26, 1654, N.S., I. (R.A.).

⁸ It is possible that Wickusi was approached by Lamberton, and that this chief, out of friendship for the Swedes, refused to sell land to the English.

⁹ In one document he is called "Printz Sachem" as "Mekapemus Sachem," etc.; in another he is called the "wilden prince." See Certif., July 26, 1654-*Court Rec.*, 1643, N.S., I. (R.A.). Sachem is written *Ságám* in the document.

¹⁰ *Plym. Col. Rec., Acts*, I. 181; II. 13 ff., etc.

¹¹ Probably Racoon Creek, also called *Narraticons Kil.*

¹² This tract was located south of Christina, but it is impossible to give the exact limits of the purchase.

by the English Delawa[re]."¹³ The English claimed that neither of these tracts had been purchased by either the Swedes or the Dutch. But the land on the western bank had been purchased by the Swedes, as we have seen, before Lamberton and Turner arrived in 1641, and the district on the eastern bank below Racoon Creek was bought by Ridder "from the rightful owner" about the same time or (probably) "three days before" the English purchase.¹⁴ As soon as Ridder was aware of the intentions of the English, he sailed down to Varkens Kill and presented a protest to them, but to no avail. When Ridder had planted the limit poles of the purchase around Varkens Kill and fired the Swedish salute, Van Dyck was sent to Captain Turner, "with the information that the land had been purchased by the Swedes, and that that was the reason why the shots were fired." But Turner and Lamberton went on as before and a few days later the Indian chief who sold the land to them, removed the Swedish coat of arms, and carried it to Fort Christina. When Wickusi became aware of this, he sent a messenger to the Swedes, and requested them to "put up the coat of arms again" as they had bought the land from the rightful owner. In the meantime Turner and Lamberton built a blockhouse and made

¹³ Protest June 22, 1643 (copy), N.S., I. (R.A.). Trumbull says that the purchase was made by Capt. Turner, agent for New Haven. It cost about £30 sterling. (Trumbull, I. 116, note 1.) But he gives no authority for his statements.

¹⁴ There has been some uncertainty about the date of the English purchase. In the *Plym. Col. Rec.*, II. 13, it is stated that the transaction took place in 1640, but this document is of a later date and hence has not the value of an "original." Winthrop is not clear on the subject. He says under *Mo.* 1.27, 1642: "Those at New Haven intending a plantation at the Delaware sent some men to purchase a large portion of land of the Indians there" (II. 62). He most likely entered the fact in his journal when he received definite information about it, hence some months after the event took place. Under date of *Mo.* 6, 24, 1642, he says: "A plantation was begun *last year* at Delaware Bay" (II. 76). 1640 has been accepted by all writers as the correct date of the purchase, but from Swedish documents it is clear that the English did not buy land nor settle on the river before the spring of 1641. Ridder's letters of 1640 are silent on this point, and it is not at all probable that he would have failed to mention so important a fact. See his letters to Oxenstierna, 1640, *Ox. Saml.* (R.A.), and his letter to Fleming, May 13, 1640, N.S., I. (K.A.). Besides Huygen says that the English came into the river "this summer" (1641). The same year is given in "Instruc." for Printz, August 15, 1642, § 6, and in *Certif.*, July 26, 1654, N.S., I. (R.A.), also in the Report of Court, July 10, 1643, N.S., I. (R.A.).

other arrangements for a settlement. It is not possible to know whether the English colonists who went to settle at Varkens Kill arrived with Lamberton and Turner or came some weeks later in a different ship. They numbered twenty families, consisting of about sixty persons. They were probably mostly traders, but some of them came there also for the purpose of agriculture and tobacco planting and it is likely that they laid out small gardens and farms round their log cabins, as soon as these were completed.¹⁵

Shortly after the purchase at Varkens Kill, Lamberton and Turner bought certain lands from Mattahorn¹⁶ at the Schuylkill. The transaction took place on or about April 19,¹⁷ and on the same day a notice of the purchase with a protest¹⁸ was sent to the Swedes (and Dutch?) describing the land and warning intruders from settling within its limits. The land was on the west side of the Delaware, extending from a river "Pestocomeco or Howskeshocken, that li[eth] next above the Swedish fort to a place called Ecoccym,¹⁹ th[at] lieth against

¹⁵ Instruct. to Printz, 1642, § 6; Winthrop, II. Robert Martin, J. Woollen and Roger Knapp are names of English settlers that have been preserved to us besides those given below, Appendix. See protest, April 19, 1642, N.S., I. (R.A.); *N. H. Col. Rec.*, I. 147.

¹⁶ The same chief who had sold land to Minuit. Cf. above, Chap. XVI.

¹⁷ In a protest sent, presumably, to the Swedes, it is stated that the lands on the Schuylkill were bought on April 19, 1642. But this could not be so, for in the court held July 10, 1643, Lamberton states that he bought this two years ago, hence in 1641. It is therefore probable that the copyist made a mistake in the protest, writing 1642 for 1641. It is not likely that the court records are wrong in the date, for it is hardly probable that Lamberton could have pushed the date back unchallenged, since several of the men present were in the country at the time of the purchase, and Jan Jansen sent protests to him soon after the sale was made. Neither is it likely that the clerk or copyist of the court records could have copied "two years" instead of one year ago; for it would have been more natural for Lamberton to have said "last year." Lamberton might have answered in English and it is then conceivable that a mistake could have occurred in the transcription. We may, however, I think, accept April 19 as the correct date for the nineteenth occurs twice in the document. We may therefore assume with a fair degree of certainty that the lands on the Schuylkill were bought on April 19, 1641. *Court Rec.*, July 10, 1643, N.S., I. (R.A.). Protest, April 19, 1642 (1641?). (We have only copies to judge from in every case, however.)

¹⁸ The protest was made in the presence of Robert Martin and John Woollen. See *Protest*, N.S., I. (R.A.).

¹⁹ Wickquacoingh (Wicaco)?

the uppermost part of an Island that li[eth] in the great river above the Dutch fort in the gr[eat] river called by the English Delaware Bay."²⁰ We may feel sure that the English protest was answered by Ridder and that he presented the Swedish claim to the district and cautioned "Lamberton and his men" not to build or settle there.

The English were very successful in their settlement and trade in the Delaware in 1641. Lamberton and Turner returned to New Haven in the late summer. They presented, as we may suppose, a favorable report of their labors and the prospects for future settlements. The matter was brought before the "General Court of New Haven" by the members of the Delaware Company and efforts were made to gain the cooperation of the town. At the court held on August 30, 1641, it was proposed that the "plantations should be settled in Delaware Bay in connection" with the town of New Haven. "Upon consideration and debate" the question was decided in the affirmative, "by the holding up of hands."²¹ Captain Turner was given "free liberty . . . to go to Delaware Bay for his own advantage and the public good in settling the affairs thereof," and preparations were made during the winter to send new settlers and supplies to the South River.²² It is probable that Turner and Lamberton in the early spring of 1642 again set sail for the Delaware. They found their settlement at Varkens Kill in good condition, but it was not favorably situated for the Indian trade, since the Dutch and Swedes had their trading posts above them and consequently were in closer touch with the savages. The Schuylkill region, where land was purchased the previous year, was yet unsettled and here was a good opportunity

²⁰ Protest, April 19, 1642(?), N.S., I. (R.A.). Hence the land bought by the English, north of Christina in 1641, extended from a certain river (Chester Creek?) some distance above Fort Christina northward unto Wickquacoingh (Wicaco), within Philadelphia. In Winsor, IV. 452, it is stated that the land extended from Crum Creek.

²¹ As indicated above, the origin and history of the "Delaware Company" are obscure and uncertain. This may be the origin of the company, although I am rather inclined to believe that it was formed in the spring of this year, as indicated above.

²² *N. H. Col. Rec.*, I. 56-7.

for the erection of a blockhouse and the planting of a settlement. Soon after his arrival here Lamberton selected a location for a trading post "at Manaiping²³ and built a blockhouse on a spot, where Fort Nya Korsholm was later erected by the Swedes."²⁴

In the meantime preparations had been completed at New Haven for the departure of a vessel with colonists and supplies. The bark or catch which was to be sent belonged to Lamberton, but it was commanded by Robert Coxwell, the planter and sailor from New Haven.²⁵ The number of colonists that went on the expedition is unknown, nor do we know the date when the vessel left New Haven.²⁶ For some unknown reason the ship touched at New Amsterdam. When Governor Kieft became aware that the passengers were on an expedition of settlement, he sent a protest²⁷ to the commander of the ship, warning him "not to build or plant on the South River, lying within the limits of New Netherland, nor on the lands extending along it, unless he would settle under the Lords the States and the Honble West India Company and swear allegiance and become subjects to them as other inhabitants do." Coxwell answered the protest on April 8 (n.s.?), affirming that he intended to settle on territory not already occupied by others, and if such could not be found he was willing to select land within the limits of the Dutch claims and swear allegiance to the States General.²⁸ On this assurance Coxwell was allowed to proceed,

²³ Certif., July 26, 1654, N.S., I. (R.A.). Hence this settlement was located within the present limits of Philadelphia. Cf. *Doc.*, XII, p. 29. Cf. below, Chap. XXXVI.

²⁴ If the statement in the document (Certif., July 26, 1654) is correct the blockhouse was erected on the island at the mouth of the Schuylkill, where Smith, *Hist. of Del. Co.*, locates "Ft. Manayunk."

²⁵ He had charge of a boat in 1640. Cf. *N. H. Col. Rec.*, I. 47, 92, etc.

²⁶ It must have been towards the end of March or in the beginning of April. Winthrop probably made the entry in his journal already referred to (March 27 [April 6], 1642) shortly after their departure.

²⁷ Dated April 7-8, 1642(?).

²⁸ Hazard, *Hist. Col.*, II. 213, 265; *Doc.*, II. 144. Authorities do not agree on the year of the expedition. The year given in *Doc.*, II. 144 (accepted by O'Callaghan, Hazard and others, Hazard, 58, etc.) is 1641. But the document referred to is only a copy, as well as the one printed in the *Hist. Col.* Probability is in favor of the date given in the *Hist. Col.*, for here the event is entered

and English documents of a somewhat later date state that Governor Kieft recommended the English to the favor of his commissary at the Delaware, by special letters.²⁹ It is likely that Coxwell sailed directly to Varkens Kill and from there to the Schuylkill.³⁰ The work begun by Lamberton and Turner at the latter place was finished and the foundations for some dwellings were laid.³¹ The lively Indian trade was continued and large damage was done to the traffic of the Swedes and Dutch. Jan Jansen and Peter Ridder protested against them but to no avail; they paid no attention to it and went on with their work as before. Jan Jansen then informed the authorities at New Amsterdam about their presence in the river and complained

with other occurrences of the same year (1642) and a mistake in the year would be less likely in such a case. The author, suspecting that a mistake had been made in the printed document (*Doc.*, II. 144), examined the manuscript in the archives at the Hague in the autumn of 1909 and found the year to be correctly printed as 1641. See *West Ind. Comp. L. K. L.*, 49. "Robbert Coghwel antwoort-niet van meeninge is onder eenich Gouvernement te sitten (ende) een plaets te verkiesen daer de Staten Generael geen commando te hebben, (ende) ingevalle soodanige plaets nieten is te vinden, is van meeninge wederom te keeren, offe soo inde Limiten van Staten sich nederstelt, sal hem onder deselve begeven ende aldan eedt doen. Actum inde Barckque von Mr. Lammerton leggende opde reede voort Eijlant Manhattans den 8 April Ao. 1641. Was undert. Robbert Coghwel, Cornelia van der Haijkens fiscael, Hendrick van Dijk als getuijgen," etc.

²⁹ *Plym. Col. Rec., Acts*, II. 13 ff., etc.

³⁰ Smith's statement that the settlement on the Schuylkill at this time was made by Marylanders needs no consideration. See Smith, *N. Y.*, I. 6, and Proud, *Hist. of Penn.*, I. 110 note; cf. Bozman, I.

³¹ There is some uncertainty as to the date of this settlement. I accept 1642 as the correct year for the following reasons. In the "*Instruction*" to Jan Jansen, May 22, 1642 (*Doc.*, XII. 23), it is stated that "the English *quite recently* have taken possession" of the Schuylkill, hence in the spring of 1642(?). There is nothing in Printz's *Instruction*, August 15, 1642, about this colony. § 6 refers to the English at Varkens Kill only. Ridder had not had time to report their presence when Printz left Sweden, and when Printz arrived on the Delaware they had already been expelled by the Dutch. This, in the opinion of the writer, is the reason why so little mention is made of this settlement. It is hardly possible to suppose that Ridder would have neglected to refer to this settlement or that a paragraph about it would not have been included in the *Instruction* to Printz, if the facts about it had been known in Sweden, August 15, 1642, for it was located on the same side of the river as Fort Christina and above this stronghold, and hence on a tract of land much more important to the Swedish colony than that at Varkens Kill. Furthermore, the date of the presence of Coxwell at New Amsterdam is given as April 9(8?), 1642, in Hazard, *Hist. Col.*, II. p. 265. Cf. note 28, above.

that they paid no heed to his protests. Accordingly the "council in Fort New Amsterdam" decided on May 15, (n.s.) to expel the English in the quietest manner possible, and on May 22 (n.s.), instructions were sent to the commissary at Fort Nassau with orders to remove the English, by force if necessary, and two sloops, the *Real* and *St. Martin*, were despatched to the South River and placed at his disposal.³² Jan Jansen obeyed his orders minutely. He went to the settlement at the Schuylkill with armed men, probably assisted by Ridder, and since the English could produce no commission and were not willing "to depart immediately in peace," he burnt their storehouse and dwellings, and sent the settlers as prisoners to Manhattan. Lamberton, however, was on his guard and escaped with his vessel. The damages sustained by the English were estimated at £1,000 and, if this is not too much exaggerated, the settlement must have been quite considerable.³³ Some private persons also suffered in the affair, but it is not quite clear how the loss was distributed.³⁴

We have seen that New Albion, including the eastern shore of the Delaware, was granted to Plowden in 1634.³⁵ It seems that he began making preparations to go there in 1641. He had been informed "of the entry and intrusions of certain

³² *Doc.*, XII. 23-4. Cf. Hazard, p. 61 ff. Jan Jansen was ordered "to repair with one or both of the sloops to the Schuylkill, demand the commission of the said Englishmen and by what authority they had assumed to take away the right, ground, and trade of the Dutch, and in case they had no commission 'or formal copy thereof' he should oblige them to depart immediately in peace so that no blood might be shed," and on refusing he should secure their persons and remove them on board the sloops, so that they might be brought to New Amsterdam. He should be careful, however, that the English were not injured in their personal effects, but after their departure he should lay waste the place.

³³ *Plym. Col. Rec., Acts*, I. 181, 189, 211, II. 13 ff., 19; *Col. of Mass. Hist. So.*, 2d S., VI. 439; Hazard, *Hist. Col.*, II. 164, 214; *Penn. Ar.*, 2d S., V. 4; *N. H. Col. Rec.*, I. 147; cf. Hazard, p. 62; Trumbull, I. 120, and others (see bibliogr.).

³⁴ One Roger Knapp, who seems to have been along on the first expedition to the Delaware in 1641, had "his arms burnt in the Delaware Bay" in 1642 (*N. H. Col. Rec.*, I. 147). As Lamberton in the same year passed New Amsterdam on his way to New Haven, he was compelled to pay "recognition or custom" for the beavers he bought at the South River. Protests were sent to Gov. Kieft but to no avail. See *Plym. Col. Rec., Acts*, I. 181, II. 14 ff.; Hazard, p. 62.

³⁵ Cf. above, Chap. XX.

aliens on His Majesty's dominions and province in Delaware Bay or South River," and, in order to clear the way for his settlement and gain the assistance of the English colonies, he informed Parliament of the above fact, and requested the House to write to Virginia on his behalf. Accordingly letters were sent "to the governor and council of Virginia," requiring them "to give speedy and real assistance" to Sir Edmond, who also wrote to Governor Berkeley about his intentions. On the eighteenth of March 1642, Gov. William Berkeley addressed a letter and protest to "The Right Worthy Governor of the Swedes and to Hendrick Huygen, in Charles or South River,"³⁶ giving a short account of the real and imaginary discoveries, settlements and occupations of the English on the Delaware and their rights there,³⁷ and admonishing the Swedes to submit to the authority of the English Crown and to "recognize the title and dominion" of Governor Plowden. The letter goes on to say that Plowden wished to establish "friendship and good and peaceable correspondence" with the Swedes and that he desired that they would "not sell or give to the native Indians there any arms or ammunition nor hinder the free trade, passage, residence or commerce of his Majesty's said subjects in the said South River."³⁸ Since news had also reached Gov. Plowden that some English subjects without "warrant and commission" had "unlawfully entered, builded and settled them[selves] within Delaware Bay or Charles River," he petitioned the king about it. Charles I. accordingly sent a document to Jamestown, stating that, as these English without "commission or warrant [have] taken upon them[selves] our Royal Power and Sovereignty within that our province and dominion" to make laws and establish a government, the statutes and provisions made by them would be void and the colonists would be removed and

³⁶ The full address is "To the right worthy, the Governor of Manatas and to Jno. Jackson, his commander in Ch. River and to the righte worthy the Governor[nor] of the Sweads and to Henrick Hugo in Charles or South River," and hence we may assume that a copy of the letter was sent to Governor Kieft also. March 18, 1642 (copy), N.S., I. (R.A. and K.A.).

³⁷ Cf. above, Chap. XX.

³⁸ Berkeley to Governor at Manatas, etc., March 18, 1642. N.S., I. (K.A.).

My Loving friend
William Bentley Governor

Copy of Governor Berkeley's protest to the Dutch and Swedes, March 18, 1642.
Original preserved in N. S. I. (K. A.), Stockholm.

"declared as [public] enemies." The document was addressed by the "King of England, Scotland [and] France to all his loving subjects, inhabitants and other Christians, Aliens and Indians within the province of New Albion,"³⁹ and a copy was sent to Ridder, and to the Dutch at Manhattan and the English at New Haven.⁴⁰ The effect of these papers is not known. They probably elicited a reply from Ridder, but they did not keep the New Englanders out of the Delaware.

The settlement at Varkens Kill was undisturbed. It was situated some distance from the Dutch and Swedish forts, far from the path of the fur trade, and it was probably too strong for the weak forces at the disposal of Ridder and Jansen. The English answered the protest of the former, however, by saying they would submit "to the one who was strongest and most able to give them protection," and when Printz arrived they were incorporated into the Swedish colony, as we shall see.⁴¹

³⁹ ". . . by the grace of God Kinge of England, Scotland, France, . . . and defender of the faith, etc., to all our loving subjects [in]habitants and other Christians, Aliens and Indians within the [provin]ce of New Albion, betweene Delaware Bay or South River, [Hu]dsons River being and dwellinge or within the Isles of the . . . province, health," etc. (Copy) N.S., I. (K.A.).

⁴⁰ From the salutation it seems clear that copies were sent to these parties. Copy (no date but towards the end of 1641, or early in 1642) N.S., I. (K.A.). The copy is defective.

⁴¹ Cf. Huygen to Spiring November 28, 1642[?], N.S., I. (R.A.), below, Chap. XXXVI.

BOOK III.

The Reorganized New Sweden Company and its Activity;
Social, Economic and Political Life in the Colony,
1642-1653.



Queen Christina.

PART I.

ACTIVITIES IN EUROPE, 1642-1653.

CHAPTER XXIV.

THE REORGANIZATION OF THE COMPANY, 1642.

After the second expedition, the New Sweden Company was entirely under Swedish control, and the stockholders were all Swedish citizens, born or naturalized.¹ But Swedish capitalists were unable to carry on so great an undertaking without aid from the Crown, and Von der Linde and De Geer were too cautious to enter upon so doubtful an adventure, and besides they were too busily engaged in other fields of activity to find time for colonizing schemes on the Delaware.

But something had to be done if the company was to continue its work. Fleming corresponded with Blommaert on the subject. Several plans were proposed and in a letter to Oxenstierna in the early part of 1639 Fleming made various suggestions as to the reorganization of the company, which were later carried out.² Fleming had consulted with the magistrates of Stockholm about the old South-Ship Company, proposing that its money be used in the New Sweden Company and later the chancellor at Fleming's request undoubtedly approached the magistrates of Gothenburg on the subject.

In the autumn of 1641 and the spring of 1642, it is likely that the stockholders and officers held meetings and discussed the situation, although there are no minutes nor records of this. Benjamin Bonnell, Johan Beier, Hans Kramer, Gustaf Oxenstierna, Gabriel Oxenstierna, Peter Spiring, Axel Oxen-

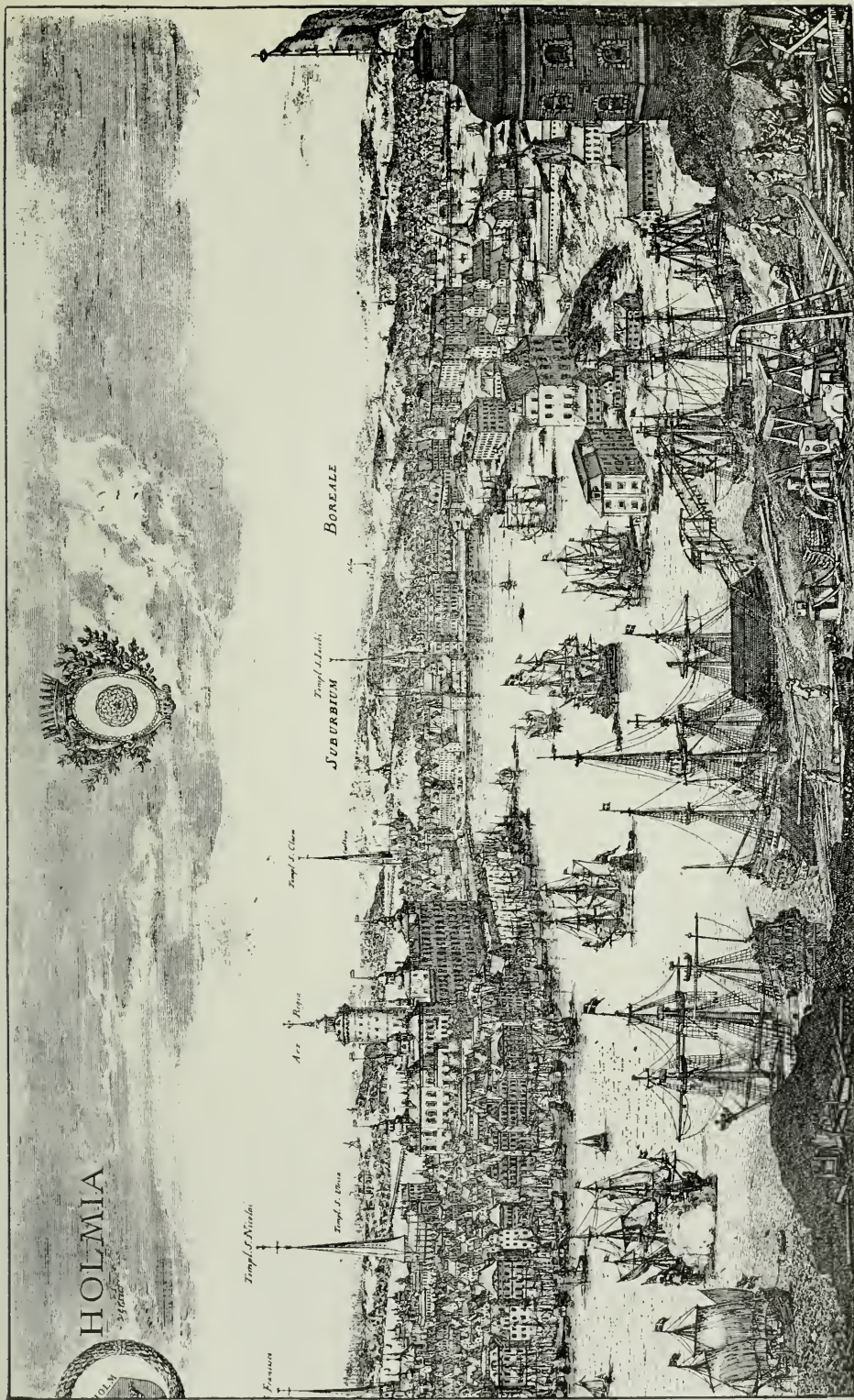
¹ Spiring was a Dutchman by birth, but had entered Swedish service.

² For the above see Oxenstierna's letter to Fleming, March 15, 1639. I found this letter in *Biographica* "F," but it is now in *Ox. Saml.* Conceper "F" placed there by Dr. Sondén in 1907.

stierna and perhaps representatives from the magistrates of Stockholm were present. Fleming would naturally preside. The money question, the needs of the colony, the fitting out of a new expedition, the problem of obtaining colonists and the means for sending them over to further establish the work begun in America—these things and many others were discussed and considered. It was the result of these conferences that Klas Fleming presented at the various meetings of the Council of State in the spring and summer of 1642. The colonial affair was frequently considered by this body and on the afternoon of July 27 the stockholders, including Peter Spiring and officers of the company and perhaps also directors and stockholders of the old South-Ship Company or representatives from the magistrates in Stockholm and Gothenburg,³ were present. Klas Fleming, Axel Oxenstierna and Gabriel Oxenstierna Bengtsson were the only members of the council in attendance. The entire meeting was given over to the consideration of the company, Fleming, Axel Oxenstierna and Spiring being the principal speakers. In the first place attention was given to the organization and management of the company. Fleming proposed that the capital should be raised to 60,000 R.D., of which the Crown should furnish one-fifth or 12,000 R.D., the Old South-Ship Company three-fifths or 36,000 R.D., and private stockholders the remainder or 12,000 R.D. A "good man" should be elected "to manage the affair"; the head office of the company and its staple should be in Gothenburg, to prevent the ships from going the long and dangerous journey through the Baltic to and from Stockholm; Johan Beier was to be appointed secretary of the company and one of his duties was to be to keep the council and government well informed of its activity;⁴

³ That the officers, Kramer, Beier and Bonnell, were also present seems quite certain. *Rådspr.*, IX, p. 339, says: "On July 27 in the afternoon assembled down in the *Räkne-cammaren*, the participants in the West India Company, the Chancellor, Mr. Claes Fleming, Mr. Peter Spiring and the Royal Treasurer." All these were also "participants" in the company. By "participanter," it seems to me can only be meant the other concillors and the officers. It might also include the then living directors and stockholders of the old South-Ship Company or representatives of the magistrates in Stockholm and Gothenburg.

⁴ This can be gathered from the minutes, but is not clearly stated.



Stockholm in the seventeenth century, showing the Royal Palace and the *Skopsholm* (the station of the Swedish navy). From *Svevia Antiqua*.

the ships of the old South-Ship Company were to be used on the expeditions, and a special vessel was to be kept in readiness at all times to bring provisions and goods from Holland to the colony.⁵ Secondly, the trade of the company in Europe was discussed. Spiring thought that the retail tobacco trade in Sweden should be given over to certain persons (forming a Tobacco Company), and taken from the New Sweden Company, for it was not expedient to allow the confiscated tobacco to be sold by those confiscating it.⁶ The fur trade did not go well in Sweden,⁷ and Fleming questioned if the skins brought over from the colony could not be sold to better advantage in Holland.⁸ In the third place came the colony and its management. Instructions and rules of conduct for the officers of the colony with Spiring's recommendations were read, and it was suggested that the salaries of the governor, the officers and the soldiers might be paid from the excise of the imported tobacco. Tobacco was to be planted in the colony, so as to eliminate the necessity of buying it from the Dutch and English. Colonists in large numbers were to be sent over for the development of the country and the month of October was considered the best time of the year for the ships to arrive in New Sweden.

With this conference the plans of reorganizing the company assumed more definite shape, and on the basis of the above discussion it was decided to recommend to the government the following propositions:

1. That the company be reorganized and a capital of 36,000 R.D. subscribed.
2. That the Crown contribute 6,000 R.D., the Old South-Ship Company 18,000 R.D. and a number of private people 3,000 R.D. each.

⁵ The meaning is not quite clear. The minutes read: "Thought [that] they should always have a ship which went out of Holland in time with a cargo." "Beställa i Hollandh ett skep, som lupe öfver [till Nya Sverige] med gargason." *Rådspr.*, IX. 339.

⁶ See below, Chap. XXXI.

⁷ See above, Chap. XIX.

⁸ To this Spiring took exception and thought that it would be to the advantage of Swedish commerce and trade to bring the colonial goods to Sweden and sell them there. *Rådspr.*, IX. p. 340.

3. That the main office of the company be located in Gothenburg and a bookkeeper employed there.

4. That the governor and officers be paid from the tobacco excise in Sweden.⁹

The council considered the matter at subsequent sessions, and the above principles were followed except that Stockholm instead of Gothenburg was made the head office with the staple under the charge of a commissary at the latter place.

"In August, 1642, the royal government and respective stockholders resolved to furnish a capital of 36,000 R.D. in the New Sweden Company," and on the twenty-eighth of August the accounts of the Crown and the other stockholders were entered into the Company's Journal, completing the organization of the "New Trading Society."¹⁰

According to the decisions arrived at, the government subscribed 6,000 R.D. As early as the beginning of 1638 Fleming proposed to Oxenstierna that the Crown should participate, and Blommaert and perhaps also Spiring had suggested the same thing before. In the council meetings of June 4 and 6 Fleming suggested the advisability of the Crown's participation and on June 11 he maintained that it was necessary for the Crown to participate, because private persons were not able to keep it up.¹¹ The Crown had assisted the company before, but with the reorganization it became a stockholder and as such, more intimately connected with its management and more directly interested in its welfare and success. In 1639 when the *Kalmar Nyckel* was being prepared for the second expedition, 1,500 R.D. were supplied in cash from the "large custom" treasury in Gothenburg and 8:43 R.D. in provisions through Governor Hindricksson.¹² This sum was now credited to the government's stock account. In the autumn of 1642, the Council of State ordered Spiring to turn over to Peter Trotzig 11,227:15 florins or 4,491:5 R.D. of the money coming from

⁹ See *Rådspr.*, IX. pp. 339-40.

¹⁰ "Hen. K. Maj:ts och Chr. Reck. med Söd. Com." *Söderk.*, 1637-59 (R.A.). See *Journal*, nos. 167-73, 482.

¹¹ *Rådspr.*, June 4, 6, 11, 1642 (IX. pp. 280, 283, 291).

¹² See above, Chap. XV. and "Reck. aff Faurn.," etc. *Söderk.*, 1637-59 (R.A.).

Portugal and this completed the Crown's subscription.¹³ The relation of the Crown and the reorganized New Sweden Company stands forth in a clearer light than did that of the "Old New Sweden Company" of 1637. The government now being a stockholder in the company had "a legal right" to interfere with its management and to suggest plans of procedure and methods of carrying on the work. Since the charter did not clearly define the principles to be followed, it is evident that many of the decisions of the Crown should seem quite arbitrary. Most of the expeditions to the colony were determined upon in the Council of State and the chancellor was the unappointed director of the company after Fleming's death. The ships to be used in the expeditions were also selected by the Crown, once at the request of the directors. But this was only natural. We need but remember that all the private stockholders were members of the council, except Spiring and he held a high office in the service of the government. The council meetings were the most convenient place to discuss the business of the company. It could there be considered in connection with other commercial affairs and relieve the stockholders from attending special meetings. Furthermore, the suggestions and ideas of the other members of the council might be of value, and they were entitled to be present since the Crown owned shares.¹⁴

Nothing shows more clearly the intimate and peculiar relation of the company and the Crown than the position of the officers and servants in their relation to each. In fact the company can almost be looked upon as a branch of the government. The officers who were paid directly by the government did not receive any remuneration from the company for their services. Thus Johan Beier was postmaster and "secretary" and his salary was paid him by the government.¹⁵ He was also treasurer for the company and was very active in its service, but he had no salary from the same. Likewise Spiring did much

¹³ "Hennes K. Maj. och Chrs. Reck. med. Söd. Comp."; "Reck. aff Faur.," etc. *Söderk.*, 1637-59 (R.A.); *Journal*, no. 219.

¹⁴ *Rådspr.*, IX. 141 ff.

¹⁵ On March 16, 1642, it was proposed that Johan Beier be put on "kansliestaten," to be used in the German correspondence. *Rådspr.*, IX. 505.

service for the company in negotiating the sales of ships, securing supplies and superintending the purchase of cargoes for the New Sweden trade, but did not receive any pay for the work. Again, Peter Trotzig did much and faithful work for the company without pay, and Anckarhjelm, Mårten Augustinsson, governors of the various provinces, and Fleming and Oxenstierna in like manner received no remuneration for their services. On the other hand, the officers who were given a salary by the company were called upon to do service for the Crown without pay. Thus Timon van Schotting, who was paid a salary by the company, was called upon to assist in fitting out the ships sent to Portugal in 1643. In the fall of 1643 Spiring sent a horse to Gothenburg for the Queen. Schotting paid 20 R.D. of the company's money for passage and 15:12 R.D. for other expenses. These were charged to the Crown's account, but Schotting was not paid for his trouble. The company also paid the wages and expenses of some ship-carpenters hired in Holland for the Old Shipbuilding Company in Västervik, which was really for the Crown.¹⁶

Some of the expeditions were financed by the Crown. The provisioning of these ships and the salary of the sailors and officers of the vessels were paid by the Admiralty. But the provisions of the colonists and special servants of the company were supplied by that body. The military budget in the colony was in reality paid by the Crown. All salaries and accounts were kept by Kramer in the books of the company, but half of Printz's salary was given him in rents in Österbotten¹⁷ and the other 2,619 R.D. were to come from the tobacco excise in Sweden. When the tobacco was put on the free list, in 1649, the sum to be derived from this source was annually charged to the Crown.¹⁸ Even Rev. Campanius seems to have been looked upon as a military preacher, for his salary was to come from the same source as that of the soldiers and officers. All servants in the colony and all extra officers not provided for by the

¹⁶ "Hennes Kon. Maj: och Cron. Reck. med. Söd. Comp.," 1640-47. *Söderk.*, 1637-59 (R.A.).

¹⁷ A district in Finland.

¹⁸ *Journal*, no. 176; R.R., August, 1642. See below, Chap. XXIV.

"budget of 1642" were paid by the company. Thus Israel Fluviander was paid 10 R.D. a month for his services in New Sweden; Johan Papegoja was likewise paid from the company's treasury, and when Campanius was sent to work at Upland his services were remunerated by the company.¹⁹

The exact capital of the South-Ship Company was not known at this time, as it was invested in ships whose value was problematic; but 18,000 R.D. to be raised by the selling of vessels, were now contributed to the stock of the Reorganized New Sweden Company and the two concerns were permanently merged.²⁰ As time went on, more of South-Ship Company's money was used and even in 1647 the original sum of 18,000 R.D. had been increased to 30,808:31 R.D.²¹ The majority of the ships were gradually either sold by the government or used in its service. But Captain Boender continued to sail the *New King David*, a ship purchased or built in Holland in 1641 to take the place of the *Old King David*, and considerable sums were added to the treasury of the company in this way.²² In January, 1645, the *New King David* was sold to L. de Geer and no new ship was purchased.²³ At this time nearly all of the contributors to the South-Ship Company were dead and in February, 1646, the Queen gave an open letter to Abraham Cabel-

¹⁹ See below, Chap. XXXIV., XXXVIII.

²⁰ Odhner thinks that Spiring was the first to suggest that the capital of the Old Ship Company be used in the New Sweden Company. I am not quite sure of this. At any rate Fleming proposed the scheme to Oxenstierna and also to Spiring early in the year 1639.

²¹ "Rechningh aff Faur. uthaf part. uthi Nya Sweriges Compagnie" (German), no date, but before 1644. Another (in Swedish), no date, but written in 1653. *Söderk.*, 1637-59 (R.A.). *Rådspr.*, VIII. 16, 38, 43, 502 ff.; IX. 141-2. "Gen. Balance Anno" 1647, *Söderk.*, 1637-59 (R.A.). In 1655 28,255:27 R.D. of the South-Ship Company's Capital was credited to the New Sweden Company.

²² Thus Capt. Boender made 3,705 florins on freight carried from Amsterdam to Stockholm from June 1, until November 1, 1642; from November 7 until June 1, 1643, he made 4,923 florins and from August 7 until June 1, 1644, he made 4,888 florins, sailing between Stockholm and Amsterdam. Several expenses were of course connected with the journeys and Boender owned one sixteenth of the vessel, giving him that share of the proceeds. *Journal*, nos. 190, 276, 388.

²³ The government owed De Geer some money and the ship was given to him as payment. *Journal*, no. 430. "Hennes K. Maj:ts. och Cr. Räck. med Söd. Com. 1640-53." *Söderk.*, 1637-59 (R.A.).

iau's widow and heirs, releasing them from all responsibility since "their fellow directors were dead."

The South-Ship Company was now practically dissolved. Its name is retained in the documents of the New Sweden Company and in 1647 it is mentioned in the minutes of the council. In 1655 it was proposed that the Crown should buy its capital stock from the New Sweden Company, but apparently nothing came out of it.²⁴

The five private stockholders subscribed 12,000 R.D. or one-third of the capital stock of the Reorganized New Sweden Company. Axel Oxenstierna, Gabriel Gustafsson Oxenstierna and Peter Spiring subscribed each 3,000 R.D., Klas Fleming and Gabriel Bengtsson Oxenstierna promised to furnish 1,500 R.D. each (these sums including what had already been subscribed in the New Sweden Company of 1637). Peter Spiring was the only one to pay up in full. Gabriel Gustafsson Oxenstierna paid 1,600 in two installments, 1,200 R.D. through Spiring in Holland and 400 R.D. through Lejonsköld; hence he was 1,400 R.D. short of his promised subscription. After his death his account was transferred to his heirs, but the deficit was never paid. Axel Oxenstierna also failed to pay up in full. He paid 2,453:10 R.D. in two installments, but the remaining 546:38 R.D. do not seem to have been furnished. Gabriel Bengtsson Oxenstierna furnished only 600 R.D. on his share and September 15, 1645, he withdrew this sum, thus severing all connection with the company. Klas Fleming furnished 1,348:10½ R.D. in various sums before his death and his account was therefore 151:37⅓ short of his promised share.²⁵

No new charter seems to have been given, and no laws or articles defining the manner of conducting the company, the duty of the officers and the like appear to have been formulated, at least the writer has found no trace of such documents. The

²⁴ *Journal*, nos. 190, 278, 388-9, 548; *Rådspr.*, XII. 175, 177. Cf. below, Chap. XLVIII. 625.

²⁵ For the above see "Rechning aff Faurn. uthaf participanterne uthi Nya Sweriges Compagnie" (Swedish, about 1653), and the German "Rechningh," etc., about the summer of 1644, *Söderk.*, 1637-59 (R.A.); *Journal*, nos. 169, 170, 171, 172, 173, 482.

company continued, however, to enjoy special privileges from the Crown. All goods sent from Holland to Gothenburg for the New Sweden trade or for victualling the ships were allowed to enter the port duty-free, and all goods such as pelts and tobacco coming from the colony or from any part of America on the ships of the company could be brought into Sweden free of duty; but all goods bought by the company in Holland or other European countries for trade in Sweden or its provinces were subject to the usual duty except by special permission.²⁶ Since these privileges were not now embodied in a special charter, some of them were forgotten by the royal officials and duty was sometimes demanded on goods that were free, giving rise to complaints.²⁷

The directorship was undetermined, it seems, both as to the duties connected with the office and as to who should act in that capacity, but Fleming continued to be the director. Ships were prepared at his command or through his initiative; he, in the "name of the other participants," ordered goods to be bought and he supervised the preparations. Documents, relations and other papers from the colony were sent to him through Spiring and he, in turn, sent them to Kramer or reported their contents to the latter. He probably called meetings of the officers and stockholders to consider the need of the colony and how to promote the interest of the company. No traces of such meetings have been found, however. If they were held, either no minutes were kept or the minutes have been lost.

Fleming was the connecting link between the company and the government. He kept himself well informed of the company's needs and of the condition of the colony and was its spokesman in the council chamber. As Vice-Admiral and reorganizer of the Swedish navy and governor or mayor²⁸ of Stockholm he was in a position to be of the greatest assistance to the company. He continued to issue the instructions for the officers in the employment of the company and made contracts for the

²⁶ In 1643, when the ship from the colony brought salt to Sweden, Fleming ordered M. Augustinsson to let the salt be shipped in without duty.

²⁷ Cf. below.

²⁸ Ståthållare.

same with other bodies. No salary, as already stated, was connected with the directorship; it seems to have been considered part of the duty of Fleming in the government service.

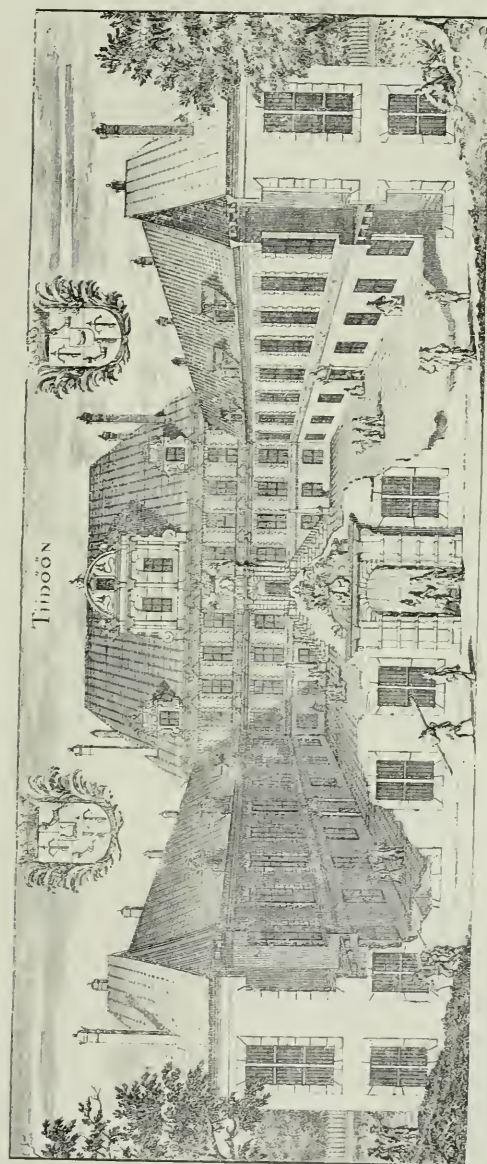
When Sweden was about to enter upon a war with Denmark, Fleming was the leading spirit in the naval preparations and he was forced to neglect the colony to some extent. He was killed in that struggle and in him the company and the colony lost their best friend and most enthusiastic promotor.²⁹

After Fleming's death A. Oxenstierna was his logical successor as head of the company, but he found little time to look after its business on account of the Danish war.²⁹ After the treaty of peace was signed with Denmark in 1645 the chancellor was more at liberty to think of commercial affairs and the New Sweden Company. The colonial matters were often brought up in the council meetings by him and discussed there. But he was now growing old. Besides private troubles and sorrows weighed heavily upon him. Queen Christina lost confidence in him and in the summer of 1647 he withdrew to his country seat Tidön, for rest, recreation and private business. "Age and sickness began to wear on his powers" and he was not as active as formerly. But he still continued to be the leading force in the company in Sweden. He settled all questions of salaries of officers and men who served in New Sweden and whose salaries and offices were not determined in the instructions and budget for the colony. Ships were bought by his orders and goods were purchased through his instructions. He was not, however, able to pay such close attention to these matters as Fleming had done, and in consequence the colony suffered neglect. In 1653 the directorship of the company was put into the hands of the Commercial College, and the history of the company enters into a new phase.³⁰

John Beier continued to act as treasurer. Most of the cash money went through his hands; the proceeds of the sales of tobacco and skins were gradually turned over to him; he transacted loans of money for the company, paid interests and per-

²⁹ See below, Chap. XXVII.

³⁰ See below, Chaps. XXX., XXXIX.



Tidö palace, Oxenstierna's country seat. From *Stacia Indigna*.

formed other duties of a treasurer. He sometimes bought goods for the colonial trade, and reports and documents were at times sent to him. Beier also informed Governor Printz of the safe arrival in Europe of ships from the colony and other matters pertaining to the welfare of the company and its commerce. He was occasionally called upon to give reports in the council about the colonial affairs and to correspond with parties interested in the colony.³¹

Hans Kramer remained as bookkeeper of the company until its dissolution.³² His salary 450 D. a year, was paid in installments for the first two years, but afterwards almost always at the end of each year. He took a lively interest in the company, and often bought goods for the colonial trade and was one of the leaders in the fitting out of some expeditions. In certain instances he also paid returning sailors and soldiers; he presented the case of needy supplicants, in the company's service, to the government and he was often called into the council to report on the condition of the colony. The journal in which he entered the company's business transactions is a large folio, bound in leather containing 1,615 entries.³³ It is in German and kept in a beautiful hand. Some of the entries give short accounts of the journeys to America. Itemized bills of all goods sent over are copied into the book and a great deal of other valuable information is often found in connection with the payments of salaries, the buying of goods and other transactions. Kramer also kept the monthly account books of the officers and soldiers and other servants in America. The verified salary-rolls and expense-accounts sent over from the colony were copied into these "Monatgelder" books by Kramer and they are now a great source of information.³⁴ A

³¹ Printz's Report, 1647, § 14.

³² *Journal*, nos. 213, 240, 319, 346, 398, 511, 580, 777, 882, 976, 1035, 1083, 1167, 1206, etc.

³³ It is well preserved. N.S., III. (K.A.).

³⁴ The *Monatgelder Buch* (1642-1656) in which the officers and servants to be paid by the Crown were entered is a large quarto bound in leather. It gives itemized bills of all articles and moneys received by the persons entered in the book, often the place where they came from, the time of their arrival in America and of their leaving the service, as well as other interesting information. It is now preserved in N.S., II. (R.A.).

great many of the documents, accounts, lists of colonists, officers, sailors and soldiers are written in his hand. In June, 1641, all books and documents were brought into a room in Kramer's dwelling, which was used as an office until July, 1644, when the office was removed to the Royal Palace. The office remained in the palace until January 30, 1645, and then again it was moved to Kramer's house. Here it remained until 1656. It was then transferred to the "home of Mr. Louis de Geer," where it was kept for two years or more.³⁵

The old factors were retained and commercial agents were at times employed to sell the company's goods in Holland. In Stockholm Benjamin Bonnell continued to be the salesman. He stood in closer relation to the company than the other factors, Trotzig and Schotting, and his salary was 600 D. a year, hence larger than that of any of the other officers.³⁶ He handled most of the tobacco which was brought into Sweden on behalf of the company and sold it in large and small quantities, until the Tobacco Company was organized in 1643. From that time until 1652 he sold only in wholesale to the members of the Tobacco Company. The peltries brought from America were also sold by him, except in cases where they were sent to Holland. He made contracts with Dutch merchants and large quantities of tobacco were brought to Sweden under these agreements. All expenses connected with the tobacco trade were paid by him, such as duty on the tobacco shipped from Holland to Sweden, freight, warehouse-rent and other items and charged to the company. In some cases he also paid out money directly to the company's creditors, from the proceeds of his sales, but he generally sent the money to Beier. There seem to have been no strict rules about it, and the most convenient way was perhaps adopted. His services for the company came to an end in 1652.³⁷ Timon van Schotting remained as factor in Gothen-

³⁵ Kramer charged the company 25 D. a year for rent; wood (about 5 cords) and light (about 2 lbs. of candles) averaged about 25 D. a year. Some years the total was only about 35 D., at others 75 D. a year. While the office was kept at De Geer's house 80 D. a year were paid for rent. *Journal*, no. 345, 443, 510, 670, 776, 881, 977, 1036, 1083, 1168, 1430, etc.

³⁶ *Journal*, nos. 209, 511, 580, 669, 777, 882, 976, 1035, etc.

³⁷ Cf. below, biography and *Journal*, nos. 209, 211, etc.

1000. - 1010.
 1010. - 1020.
 1020. - 1030.
 1030. - 1040.
 1040. - 1050.
 1050. - 1060.
 1060. - 1070.
 1070. - 1080.
 1080. - 1090.
 1090. - 1100.
 1100. - 1110.
 1110. - 1120.
 1120. - 1130.
 1130. - 1140.
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1897	Salvator	redif.	1897
1898	Salvator	redif.	1898
1899	Salvator	redif.	1899
1900	Salvator	redif.	1900

10. *Dict.* m. *Smor.* 50. 4. -

[illegible]

The account of the barber-surgeon, Hans Janeke and part of the account of the barber-surgeon Timon Studden with the New Sweden Company. (Monatgelderbuch kept by Hans Kramer.) Original preserved in N. S. I. (R. A.), Stockholm.



burg, and his salary was unchanged. He occupied a responsible position. The merchandise sent from Holland to Gothenburg for the colonial trade and for the victualling of the ships was placed in his care and he often settled the bills. He also made large purchases of goods in Gothenburg for some of the expeditions. The returning sailors were often paid by him, and Beier generally sent him the money used in fitting out the ships and in supplying the ready cash on the journey as well as the money paid to the sailors in advance on their monthly wages. He sold tobacco for the company at Gothenburg; he confiscated tobacco unlawfully shipped in; he collected the fines from the smugglers and brought a suit against Clas Hemming to compel him to disclose where a certain quantity of tobacco was concealed. He often looked after the repairing of ships and was very active in preparing the Fifth Expedition. But he does not seem to have performed his trust to entire satisfaction. He allowed some of the articles to go to ruin under his care and Kramer often found his accounts incorrect and incomplete. Printz complained about the ruined goods and probably Kramer also reported the inaccuracies he found in his bills. Perhaps as a result of this he was removed from his post. At any rate he must either have been removed from his service or voluntarily resigned towards the end of 1644.³⁸ Macklier was later appointed in his stead. He appears to have performed the same service as Schotting, but he does not seem to have been paid a salary.³⁹

Peter Trotzig acted as the company's factor in Holland throughout this period.⁴⁰ He received no salary, but all expenses which accrued in the company's service such as the cost of travelling, writing-paper, postage and the like were repaid him by the company.⁴¹ Most of the goods secured in Hol-

³⁸ *Journal*, nos. 287, 213, 214, 237, 393, 404, 239, 213, 214, 187 (law suit), 187, 213 ff., 237, 239, 393, 404, etc. "Extract," etc., *Söderk.*, 1637-59 (R.A.) and Bills in N.S., I. (K.A.), and in N.S., I. (R.A.).

³⁹ Macklier was a merchant at Gothenburg. He was at times sent as representative of Gothenburg to Stockholm. See below, Biography.

⁴⁰ See above, Chap. XVIII. and Biography.

⁴¹ *Journal*, nos. 219, 232, 586.

land for the New Sweden trade during this period was bought by him. He also bought large quantities of tobacco and sent it to Bonnell for the Swedish trade. He bought ships for the company and sold the copper sent to Holland by Beier in 1646. He often supplied provisions for the ships that touched Holland and at times paid sailors their salaries in advance. He paid people who returned from New Sweden and the passage of several returning colonists from Holland to Sweden. He was generally applied to in case of need by those who managed to reach Holland and he saved many people on the ship *the Katt* from distress and want.⁴² In 1644 and 1645 he did little or no business for the company, and it seems that he was absent from Holland or ill during this period.⁴³

Peter Spiring looked after the diplomatic business of the company in Holland. When ships were seized in 1644 he presented protests and memorials and succeeded in securing their release. He superintended the sale of the goods on the two ships, and ships of the Old South-Ship Company were sold through him. Money advanced by the Crown always went through his hands, and reports and account books from New Sweden were generally sent to him. His connection with the company, however, became less important as time went on, and in 1650 it was severed by his death.⁴⁴

The finances of the Reorganized New Sweden Company did not improve much over the old condition.⁴⁵ There was always

⁴² See below, Chap. XXIX.

⁴³ In September, 1643, a draft was sent to him by Beier, and in December, 1645, Lucas Anderson paid Trotzig 786:24 R.D. But between these dates he seems to have had very little to do with the company. *Journal*, nos. 308, 501.

⁴⁴ Cf. above, Chap. XIII. ff. and biography below.

⁴⁵ According to the balance made on the last of February, 1643, the finances of the company were as follows:

	Debit.		Credit.	
	D.	öre.	D.	öre.
Her Royal Majesty and the Crown of Sweden....	21,475		23,575	
Royal Admiralty.....	26,389	15¼	17,920	15½
His Grace Mr. Clas Fleming.....	7,866	5	7,573	30½
The Old [South] Ship Company.....	39,657	23	48,122	17¾
Peter Spiring Silfverkrona.....	32,131	30	32,055	31
His Excellency Mr. Gabriel Gustafsson Oxenstierna	4,500		2,400	
His Excellency the Royal Chancellor.....	4,500		5,679	26

1643 Anno 1643 Jun. 1. Bothenb.

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5 In p. 9. 28. 20. 21. Pl. gerichtet in 15. 16. 17. 18. 19. 20. 21. 22. 23. 24. 25. 26. 27. 28. 29. 30. 31. 32. 33. 34. 35. 36. 37. 38. 39. 40. 41. 42. 43. 44. 45. 46. 47. 48. 49. 50. 51. 52. 53. 54. 55. 56. 57. 58. 59. 60. 61. 62. 63. 64. 65. 66. 67. 68. 69. 70. 71. 72. 73. 74. 75. 76. 77. 78. 79. 80. 81. 82. 83. 84. 85. 86. 87. 88. 89. 90. 91. 92. 93. 94. 95. 96. 97. 98. 99. 100. 101. 102. 103. 104. 105. 106. 107. 108. 109. 110. 111. 112. 113. 114. 115. 116. 117. 118. 119. 120. 121. 122. 123. 124. 125. 126. 127. 128. 129. 130. 131. 132. 133. 134. 135. 136. 137. 138. 139. 140. 141. 142. 143. 144. 145. 146. 147. 148. 149. 150. 151. 152. 153. 154. 155. 156. 157. 158. 159. 160. 161. 162. 163. 164. 165. 166. 167. 168. 169. 170. 171. 172. 173. 174. 175. 176. 177. 178. 179. 180. 181. 182. 183. 184. 185. 186. 187. 188. 189. 190. 191. 192. 193. 194. 195. 196. 197. 198. 199. 200. 201. 202. 203. 204. 205. 206. 207. 208. 209. 210. 211. 212. 213. 214. 215. 216. 217. 218. 219. 220. 221. 222. 223. 224. 225. 226. 227. 228. 229. 230. 231. 232. 233. 234. 235. 236. 237. 238. 239. 240. 241. 242. 243. 244. 245. 246. 247. 248. 249. 250. 251. 252. 253. 254. 255. 256. 257. 258. 259. 260. 261. 262. 263. 264. 265. 266. 267. 268. 269. 270. 271. 272. 273. 274. 275. 276. 277. 278. 279. 280. 281. 282. 283. 284. 285. 286. 287. 288. 289. 290. 291. 292. 293. 294. 295. 296. 297. 298. 299. 300. 301. 302. 303. 304. 305. 306. 307. 308. 309. 310. 311. 312. 313. 314. 315. 316. 317. 318. 319. 320. 321. 322. 323. 324. 325. 326. 327. 328. 329. 330. 331. 332. 333. 334. 335. 336. 337. 338. 339. 340. 341. 342. 343. 344. 345. 346. 347. 348. 349. 350. 351. 352. 353. 354. 355. 356. 357. 358. 359. 360. 361. 362. 363. 364. 365. 366. 367. 368. 369. 370. 371. 372. 373. 374. 375. 376. 377. 378. 379. 380. 381. 382. 383. 384. 385. 386. 387. 388. 389. 390. 391. 392. 393. 394. 395. 396. 397. 398. 399. 400. 401. 402. 403. 404. 405. 406. 407. 408. 409. 410. 411. 412. 413. 414. 415. 416. 417. 418. 419. 420. 421. 422. 423. 424. 425. 426. 427. 428. 429. 430. 431. 432. 433. 434. 435. 436. 437. 438. 439. 440. 441. 442. 443. 444. 445. 446. 447. 448. 449. 450. 451. 452. 453. 454. 455. 456. 457. 458. 459. 460. 461. 462. 463. 464. 465. 466. 467. 468. 469. 470. 471. 472. 473. 474. 475. 476. 477. 478. 479. 480. 481. 482. 483. 484. 485. 486. 487. 488. 489. 490. 491. 492. 493. 494. 495. 496. 497. 498. 499. 500. 501. 502. 503. 504. 505. 506. 507. 508. 509. 510. 511. 512. 513. 514. 515. 516. 517. 518. 519. 520. 521. 522. 523. 524. 525. 526. 527. 528. 529. 530. 531. 532. 533. 534. 535. 536. 537. 538. 539. 540. 541. 542. 543. 544. 545. 546. 547. 548. 549. 550. 551. 552. 553. 554. 555. 556. 557. 558. 559. 560. 561. 562. 563. 564. 565. 566. 567. 568. 569. 570. 571. 572. 573. 574. 575. 576. 577. 578. 579. 580. 581. 582. 583. 584. 585. 586. 587. 588. 589. 590. 591. 592. 593. 594. 595. 596. 597. 598. 599. 600. 601. 602. 603. 604. 605. 606. 607. 608. 609. 610. 611. 612. 613. 614. 615. 616. 617. 618. 619. 620. 621. 622. 623. 624. 625. 626. 627. 628. 629. 630. 631. 632. 633. 634. 635. 636. 637. 638. 639. 640. 641. 642. 643. 644. 645. 646. 647. 648. 649. 650. 651. 652. 653. 654. 655. 656. 657. 658. 659. 660. 661. 662. 663. 664. 665. 666. 667. 668. 669. 670. 671. 672. 673. 674. 675. 676. 677. 678. 679. 680. 681. 682. 683. 684. 685. 686. 687. 688. 689. 690. 691. 692. 693. 694. 695. 696. 697. 698. 699. 700. 701. 702. 703. 704. 705. 706. 707. 708. 709. 710. 711. 712. 713. 714. 715. 716. 717. 718. 719. 720. 721. 722. 723. 724. 725. 726. 727. 728. 729. 730. 731. 732. 733. 734. 735. 736. 737. 738. 739. 740. 741. 742. 743. 744. 745. 746. 747. 748. 749. 750. 751. 752. 753. 754. 755. 756. 757. 758. 759. 760. 761. 762. 763. 764. 765. 766. 767. 768. 769. 770. 771. 772. 773. 774. 775. 776. 777. 778. 779. 780. 781. 782. 783. 784. 785. 786. 787. 788. 789. 790. 791. 792. 793. 794. 795. 796. 797. 798. 799. 800. 801. 802. 803. 804. 805. 806. 807. 808. 809. 810. 811. 812. 813. 814. 815. 816. 817. 818. 819. 820. 821. 822. 823. 824. 825. 826. 827. 828. 829. 830. 831. 832. 833. 834. 835. 836. 837. 838. 839. 840. 841. 842. 843. 844. 845.

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Sotukom, 1672-57

Timon van Schottingen's (Schotting's) bill of June, 1643, showing Kramer's corrections of 58 D. 4 öre. Original preserved in N. S. I. (R. A.), Stockholm.

a lack of money for paying the servants in the employ of the company and never adequate means for procuring and sending over the merchandise, necessary to keep up the trade established with the Indians and the neighboring colonies, and the things needed to make the settlement a real success. It was also due to the inability of the company to provide passage for the emi-

	Debit.		Credit.	
	D.	öre.	D.	öre.
His Excellency the Royal Treasurer.....	2,250		500	
Timon van Schottingen in Gothenburg.....	18,360	18	18,762	25
Tobacco under the care of Benjamin Bonnell,				
43,366 lbs.....			26,812	7 $\frac{1}{2}$
36,485 $\frac{1}{2}$ lbs.....	18,435	16 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Peter Trotzig in Amsterdam.....	22,574	13	22,397	3
Tobacco under Timon van Schottingen,				
3,279 lbs.....	1,062	1 $\frac{1}{2}$		
943 $\frac{1}{4}$ lbs.....			830	5
Skipper Clas Hindersson Bänder.....	14,624	11 $\frac{1}{2}$	14,969	28
Major Richard Clerk.....	112	16	28	24
The Shipbuilding at Vestervik.....	465	11 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Hans Neuman and Robert Smith.....	711	6 $\frac{1}{2}$		
Tobacco under the <i>Commiss</i> Hendrick Huygen,				
205 $\frac{1}{2}$ lbs.....	205	16		
61 $\frac{1}{2}$ lbs.....			92	8
French salt lying at Stockholm.....	3,007	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	5,175	19
Hans Kramer the bookkeeper of the company....	704	10	900	
Benjamin Bonnell.....	36,620	15 $\frac{3}{4}$	30,871	5 $\frac{1}{4}$
French salt lying in Borgå.....	1,440		792	
French salt lying in Åbo.....	924			
The Secretary Johan Beier.....			4,500	
The Tobacco Excise at Stockholm.....	3,928	18		
The budget of the servants of the Crown in New Sweden	1,514	7	3,928	18
The capital of the Crown in the Company.....			9,000	
The capital of the [South] Ship Company in the [N.S.] Company.....			27,000	
The capital of His Excellency the Riksdrotsen...			4,500	
The capital of His Excellency the Chancellor....			4,500	
The capital of His Excellency the Royal Treasurer			2,250	
The capital of His Grace Mr. Clas Fleming.....			2,250	
The capital of Peter Spiring Silfverkrone.....			4,500	
Returns coming from Borgå.....	805	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	990	
Cargo lying in Holland under the care of Peter Trotzig	6,777	8		
The Secretary Johan Beier.....	17,264	4 $\frac{1}{2}$	16,484	
The general trading accounts of the New Sweden Company	99,745	2	50,292	2
	388,052	6 $\frac{3}{4}$	388,052	6 $\frac{3}{4}$

grants that hundreds of prospective colonists were compelled to remain in Sweden. Better results could have been accomplished, however, with the means on hand, if Sweden had been governed by a ruler more interested in commercial enterprises and matters of state, and less given to pleasure-seeking and learned discussion than Christina.

Misfortune also played its part and some energy was wasted, but it can hardly be said that the results, measured by the efforts put forth, were less in this case than in similar colonizing schemes of other nations. We are now to see what these results were and what was done from 1642 until 1653 for the further establishment of the settlement.

CHAPTER XXV.

THE FIFTH EXPEDITION, 1642-1643.

It seems that Ridder's reports of the English settlements and of the condition of the country gave new life to the activities of the interested persons in Sweden and early in 1642 preparations were begun for an expedition. It was decided (after some discussion), to relieve Ridder from his post and the Council of State determined to request Johan Printz to become governor of New Sweden. He accepted the offer and began to make preparations for the long journey in the spring of the same year.¹ There was now a period of lively activity in the colony's behalf. From the end of April until the beginning of September the Council of State considered the matter at several of its sessions, which gave rise to discussions that culminated in the reorganization of the company, as we have seen. In June it was decided to despatch the returning ships to the colony, together with a third vessel at least by the beginning of August or as soon as preparations could be made. The government assumed all expenses connected with the journey, except the board and salary of the colonists and servants of the company.²

Great efforts were made to procure provisions. Spiring bought some foodstuffs in Holland, but most of the goods and provisions for the journey were secured by Schotting in Gothenburg and through the managers of the company in Stockholm. No cargo for the Indian trade was purchased, however, as that would have delayed the expedition; but a variety of articles for the needs of the colony such as wine, malt, grain, pease, nets, muskets, shoes, stockings, and other wearing apparel, and smaller articles, such as writing paper, sealing wax, and the like, as well as hay for the stock, were loaded into the vessels.

¹ *Rådspr.*, IX. 252 (April 25, 1642). He was knighted and received donations of land in the summer. *R.R.*, June 20, 1642, fol. 851 ff., 853 ff.

² These expenses were paid by the company.

Horses, cattle, sheep, and perhaps chickens, were to be brought over on this expedition.³

The preparations advanced slowly, however, and not until the autumn were the plans definitely settled. Only two vessels were to be sent, instead of three, as was originally intended. The instruction for Johan Printz was discussed and outlined in the Council of State, suggestions being made by Spiring and others, and on the fifteenth of August the instruction was signed by the members of the government.⁴ The commission of Printz as governor was signed the same day. A budget was made for the colony and the salaries of the officers and soldiers placed upon it were to be paid by the government. Four hundred R.D. were granted the governor for traveling expenses, and as a recompense for his lost time in waiting for the expedition to start. Christer Boije and the Rev. Campanius were also engaged to serve here, and Gregorius van Dyck returned to the colony on this expedition.⁵ A large number of Dutch soldiers and servants had been employed before 1642. This was now to be avoided and the Dutch soldiers in the colony were to be supplanted by Swedes as far as possible, since it was found that quarrels and dissensions arose among the people. Accordingly almost all of the soldiers hired at this time were Swedes.⁶

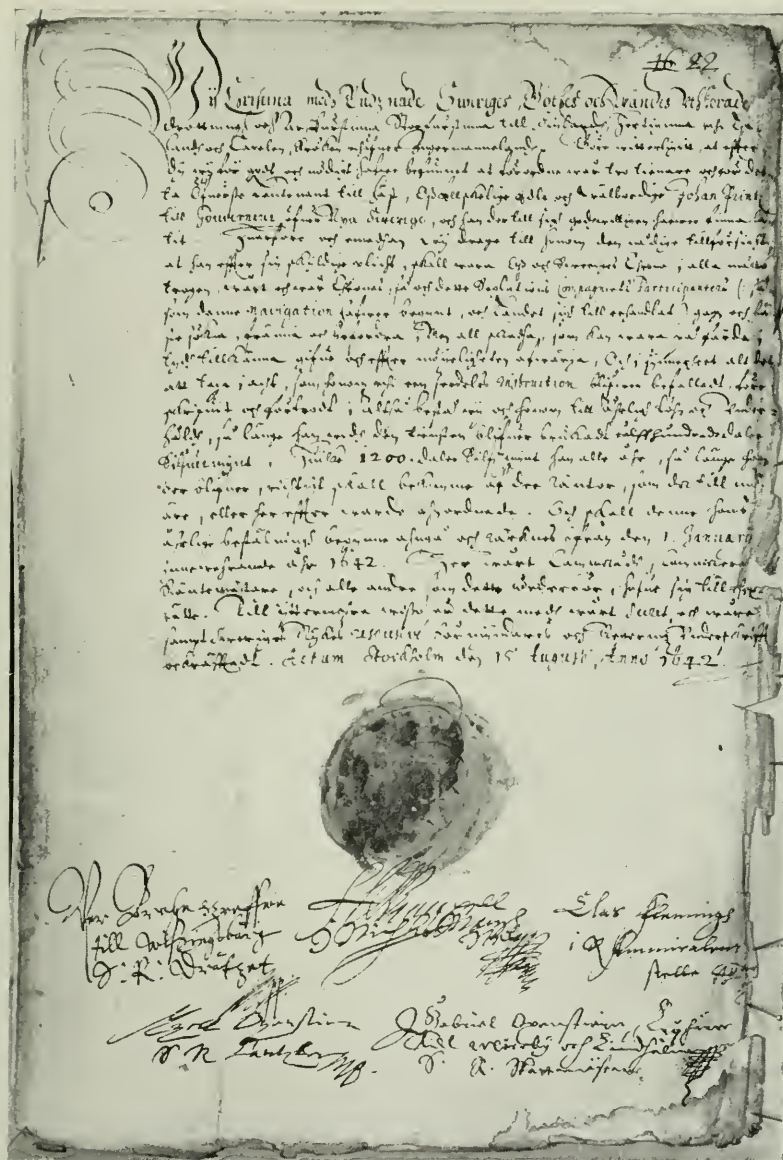
Efforts were also made to secure colonists, Ridder having sent earnest requests for more people. A certain blacksmith, Mickel Nilsson, was engaged by Beier, on the recommendation of Governor Berndes, to seek for minerals in New Sweden. He was sent to Värmland in June to hire laborers and 131:6 D. were given him for expenses. Letters were written by the council to several governors asking them to prevail upon people to emigrate and those of good repute might take their families

³ It seems that Printz brought over horses of his own. They were fed at public expense and Schotting delivered hay to him at Gothenburg to the value of 800:23 D., which were charged to his account. *Rådspr.*, IX. 252, R.R., 1642, *Journal*, N.S., III. (K.A.).

⁴ It contains 28 par. It was published by Acrelius in his *Beskr.*, pp. 16-32, and has been (poorly) translated by Reynolds. Cf. below, Chap. XXXII.

⁵ Sprinchorn is mistaken in stating that Måns Kling and Knut Liljehök went to the colony on this ship. See *Kol. N. Sve.*, p. 15. Cf. below, Chap. XXVI.

⁶ *Rådspr.*, IX. 363, 404.



Commission of Johan Printz as governor of New Sweden (original), August 15, 1642. Signed by Per Brahe, H[erman] Wrangel, Clas (Klas) Fleming, Axel Oxenstierna and Gabriel Oxenstierna Bengtson. Preserved in the Kammarsarkiv, Stockholm.

with them, in fact they were requested to do so. But few emigrants were willing to go, and more effective means than mere persuasion had to be employed. In the summer the council decided that poachers and deserted soldiers should be condemned to serve in the colony for a number of years. But even in this way the number found was insufficient, and in August several governors⁷ of the northern and central provinces of the kingdom were requested to capture such Finns in their territories as were known to be destroying the forests and doing damage to the woods at the mines.⁸ These people with their families were to be kept in readiness for transportation to Gothenburg within three weeks after August 1. Later it was decided that citizens also who could not pay their debts should be deported. It seems that at least three emigrants came from Finland. In June, 1643, the Royal Court at Åbo informed Fleming that certain inhabitants had committed crimes, for which they had been condemned to be deported, but the governors could not execute the sentence, as they did not know where to send them. Now the Court inquired if such criminals could not be sent to New Sweden. Fleming replied that if there were any persons in Finland, sentenced to banishment, who had not committed such crimes that other people shunned their company, they could be sent to Stockholm and placed on the ships, which were soon to sail for the Delaware. On the ninth of July the Court informed the Governor General of Finland that three inhabitants of the country should be sent to America. One was a bookkeeper, Johan Fransson, from Viborg, whose crime is not specified, "the other two were married men who had committed adultery three times and one of them had in addition shot some elks on Åland." The last two were to remain in America for six years.⁹ Some of the colonists assembled at Stockholm and awaited the sailing of the ships, which were to proceed to Gothenburg as soon as all preparations had been

⁷ The governors were Carl Bonde, Peter Kruse (governor of Dalarne), Johan Berndes (governor of Kopparberget and Saltberget) and Olaf Stake (governor of Värmland och Dal).

⁸ Cf. Chaps. XV., XVIII.

⁹ *Tid. utg. af et Sälsk. i Åbo.*

made and from there they were to go to America.¹⁰ The *Fama* and probably also the *Swan* finally set sail on the sixteenth of August with Campanius and other passengers on board and arrived at Gothenburg on the twelfth of September.

It seems that the ship *Fama* was in poor condition when she arrived and it was found necessary to paint her and make repairs. These and other things delayed the expedition for several weeks, causing the company much expense, as the soldiers, servants and settlers had to be fed and housed. Printz with his family went by land to meet the ships and he probably arrived at Gothenburg about the beginning of September where other passengers were awaiting the sailing of the vessels. Cash money was advanced by the company for the payment of the salaries. Campanius was given 40 D. on his salary; Beier furnished Printz 519:16 D. to be used in paying the officers three months of their wages and 105 Daler were given to the skippers of the vessels to be used in cases of emergency.

Finally all preparations were made, the colonists were reviewed and brought on board and on the first of November,¹¹ the two vessels *Fama* and *Swan* set sail for America. On the fourteenth of November they were in the Spanish Sea, and towards the end of December they arrived at the Island of Antigua, where the passengers spent the Christmas holidays and were refreshed and strengthened, the English governor of the place entertaining Governor Printz, Campanius and the other officers at his own house. They left the island in the beginning of January, "having as many oranges and lemons as they could take with them," and arrived at the Delaware Bay about the end of January, 1643. Here they experienced a fearful storm with snow, and the ships were badly used, *Fama* running ashore and losing her main mast, sprit sail and three large anchors. The other vessel also suffered damages and some of the goods

¹⁰ *Rådspr.*, IX. 256 ff.; *Am. Reg.*, December 3, 1642 (Fl. Ar.); *Journal*, no. 165 ff., R.R. August 1, 15 (several letters and entries), 30, 1642. R.R. 1642, fol. 94 (L. & Ger.). Beier's *Acct. B.*, June 30, 1642, N.S., II. (R.A.).

¹¹ *Journal*, no. 180 ff.; Campanius Holm (trans.), p. 70.

was ruined. After over two week's delay in the river the ships arrived at Fort Christina¹² on the fifteenth of February.

The ships were prepared for the return voyage in the spring, and they departed from the colony about April 14,¹³ with some returning people and large cargoes of beaver and otter skins. The ships went by way of Portugal, where a quantity of salt was loaded into the *Swan*, and perhaps into the *Fama* also. The homeward journey was a speedy one and the two ships were in Gothenburg about the end of July. The documents, letters and reports sent from the colony were received in Stockholm, August 1. Ridder, Rasmunsson, Johan Hansson, the sail-maker, and many others returned with the vessels and they were paid various sums by Schotting in Gothenburg and by Beier in Stockholm. The cargoes of skins and salt were brought to Stockholm to be sold there and the Council of State decided that the salt should be duty-free.¹⁴

¹² Campanius Holm (trans.), p. 71; *Journal*, no. 303, Ms. of Campanius in *Rålamb. Saml.*, fol. 201 (R.L.).

¹³ The letters sent on the vessels by Printz are dated on April 12 and 14, making it probable that the ships were ready to sail on April 12 (o.s.), but that contrary winds or calm prevailed for about two days.

¹⁴ *Rådspr.*, I. 265; *Am. Reg.*, October 10, 1643 (Fl. Ar.); *Journal*, no. 281 ff.

CHAPTER XXVI.

THE SIXTH EXPEDITION TO NEW SWEDEN AND THE TRADING VOYAGE TO THE CARIBBEAN ISLANDS, 1643-1647.

Before the *Fama* and the *Swan* left Europe in November, 1642, preparations were under way for a new expedition. Admiral Fleming was untiring in his activity for the company, and he was assisted by Beier, Kramer, Schotting, Trotzig and Spiring.¹ From August until December Trotzig bought goods in Holland to the amount of several thousand florins,² and in the spring and summer of 1643 he continued to purchase goods and supplies on the admiral's order. The merchandise was shipped to Gothenburg, and placed in the care of Schotting. About 1,700 D. in cash and goods were furnished in Gothenburg on Fleming's account by Per Bengtsson and Måns Andersson,³ and Schotting bought cloth, ready-made clothes, shoes, stockings and other things, while Beier and Kramer purchased axes, saws, mill stones, cloth, and the like in Stockholm.⁴ In the autumn 84,000 bricks,⁵ and 12,000 tiles were purchased for the company by Trotzig and sent to Sweden, and 6,000 of these bricks besides a ton of lime were loaded upon the *Fama*.⁶

In the autumn of 1643 the Council of State discussed the colonial enterprise at a number of meetings. The salt brought from Portugal was to be used for the benefit of the company and other provisions were made for the expenses of the expedi-

¹ Extr. fr. Queen's letter to Spiring, August 22, 1645. *Söderk.*, 1637-59 (R.A.). I could find no letter from the Queen to Spiring dated August 22 in the R.R. There is one, however, dated August 24, 1645 (Lat. and G., fol. 175-6).

² *Journal*, nos. 220, 238. "Carg. Rech. von P. Trotzig überg. ult. Dec. 1642." N.S., I. (R.A.). The entire bill including all expenses, was 10,004:18 fl.

³ "Flemings fogdar."

⁴ *Journal*, nos. 233 ff., 304 ff.; Beier's *Acc. Book*, 1643. The goods were paid for by drafts sent from Stockholm by Beier.

⁵ "84,000 moppen."

⁶ Beier's *Acc. Book*, October 1, 1643, N.S., I. (K.A.). Bills in *Söderk.*, 1637-59 (R.A.). Cf. below.

tion. On October 16 the question of collecting emigrants was considered, and at a later meeting it was decided that timber thieves and game poachers should be sent to New Sweden.⁷ A carpenter, Jacob Cornelisson (?), who had been in the employ of the government for some years, applied for permission to go to New Sweden and a passport was given to him by the Admiralty.⁸ Johan Papegoja prepared to return to America on the *Fama* and on the twenty-fifth of October 60 D. were given to him by the government for travelling expenses and a recommendation was issued for him by the Queen. He hired a number of soldiers for service in the settlement, and in the *Monthly Account Book* it is stated that Bengt Hindersson, Anders Andersson and Anders Jönsson were engaged by him in December, 1643.⁹ The barber Hans Janeke was hired to go to the colony on this expedition and Beier gave 60 D. for the preparations of his medicine chests. Knut and Per Liljehök and Johan Matsson were also among the passengers.¹⁰ It appears that two or three colonists came from Finland. On May 18, 1643, the Royal Court at Åbo¹¹ passed a resolution that a farmer from Nautila By, in Hvittis Socken, and another from Påmark in Ulfsby Socken should be sent to New Sweden for committing adultery. A discredited soldier from Cajana was likewise condemned to be transported to America and he was to remain there all his life.¹² Besides these I have found no traces of emigrants, who came here on this expedition. It is likely that a few more were on the ship, but the number must have been very small, for only 120 men are given in Governor Printz's list in June, 1644.¹³

The goods bought by Kramer and Beier were gradually loaded upon the *Fama* which lay at anchor in the harbor at

⁷ *Rådspr.*, X. 265, 280, 307, 354.

⁸ Am. Reg., Oct. 8, 1643. But he does not seem to be in the country in 1644, for Gov. Printz omits him in his list, unless he is mentioned by a different name. Cf. below, Appendix. See Odhner, *N.S.*, p. 37 ff.

⁹ R.R., October 25, 1643. Fol. 1151; *Monatg. B.*, 1642-56.

¹⁰ *Journal*, no. 325; *Monatg. B.*, 1642-56.

¹¹ A city in Finland, on the west coast, almost west of Helsingfors.

¹² *Tidningar*, etc., IX. p. 235.

¹³ *Rulla*, 1644, Appendix.

Stockholm. On September 1 the ship set sail for Gothenburg with a few colonists and soldiers on board, and probably arrived there towards the end of the month.¹⁴ The cargo stored in the city was put on board and soon the *Fama* was ready to sail, waiting for a favorable wind.

Along with the preparations of the *Fama* another ship, the well-known *Kalmar Nyckel*, was fitted out for a trading journey to the Caribbean Islands. Printz made suggestions for such a trade in his letters of 1643, but this expedition was undertaken according to the plans and proposals of Captain Berendt Hermansson Hopp, and he made reports to the officers of the company and presented lists of articles that would find a ready market on the islands. Large quantities of "wooden bottles," wooden spoons, wooden basins, lumber, tar and other products and manufactured articles were furnished for the voyage in Finland and Sweden. Captain Hopp was sent to Holland to buy supplies as well as to hire sailors, and through him merchandise "for the tobacco trade in the Caribbean Islands" to the value of 2,731 D. was obtained. Trotzig purchased brandy and wine¹⁵ and Schotting bought beer and provisions.¹⁶

Towards the end of October the two ships were ready to leave port, and on the thirty-first passes were issued for them by the government.¹⁷ The vessels left Gothenburg on December 29. It is probable that both kept the same course for some time, but they must have parted before arriving in American waters, for only the *Fama* went to New Sweden.¹⁸ On the

¹⁴ *Monatg. B.*, 1642-56; J. Matssons Acc.

¹⁵ Trotzig also hired some of the sailors.

¹⁶ *Journal*, nos. 299, 300, 304 ff. Schotting's bills from 1643 in *Söderk.*, 1637-59 (R.A.). For various expenses connected with the voyage, see "Spec. van . . . ungel. . . 1643," signed by Schotting, N.S., I. (K.A.).

¹⁷ Latin pass for *Kalmar Nyckel*, October 31, 1643, N.S., I. (R.A.).

¹⁸ The statement (in *Hist. Bibl.*, 1877, p. 178) that only *Fama* made the journey to New Sweden in 1643-4, is correct, but the supposition that only one ship was fitted out at this time is wrong. In a lead-pencil note in the copy found in the R.A. at Stockholm, it is stated that the two ships went to New Sweden. This is not correct, as can be seen from the above account. In several documents it is stated that *Kalmar Nyckel* and *Fama* sailed to New Sweden in 1643-4. See R.R., August 12, 1645; *Am. Reg.*, May 3, 1645, and other places.

twenty-seventh of February she was near the American coast, and on the eleventh of March she cast anchor in Christina Harbor.¹⁹ About the middle of June she was ready for her return voyage, but contrary winds or other circumstances delayed the sailing. On or shortly after July 20 she lifted anchor and set sail for Europe with a large cargo of tobacco and skins.

After a two months' voyage the ship arrived in Holland and put into Harlingen to revictual. From there it was to have sailed for Sweden, but the war with Denmark was now on, and it was decided to unload the ship, and not to take the cargo to Gothenburg.²⁰ Spiring promptly applied to the authorities at Amsterdam for a permit to unload, but it was refused and the matter was referred to the West India Company.²¹ About the same time the vessel was put under arrest and two guards were placed on board by order of the company. On the eighth of October (n.s.), 1644, Spiring sent a protest to the States General, expressing his surprise at their refusal to grant the permit, since the customs and duties were offered to be paid, and requesting that orders be given for the ship to unload. The protest had no effect, however, beyond an order that the directors of the Dutch West India Company should furnish the States General with full information about the ship and its cargo. A few days later Spiring seems to have sent a longer

In a letter written 1646 by M. Johansson he says that he was along on the *Kalmar Nyckel* on its journey to Virginia. In all such cases the term Virginia is used in a very broad sense, meaning really North America, or the term is used by such who had no accurate knowledge of the destination of the ships as in R.R., August 12, 1645. Sometimes the journey of *Kalmar Nyckel* is spoken of as to New Sweden in the Official Journal.

¹⁹ See Papegoja's letter, July 15, 1644; *Acc. B.*, 1642-56. Papegoja says "(We) were on the journey for two months; the twenty-ninth of December we set sail from Gothenburg and the twenty-seventh of February we saw Virginia." By Virginia they sometimes meant Virginia proper, sometimes the American coast in general and sometimes New Sweden. Cf. note above. In the *Acc. B.*, 1642-1656, it is stated that Liljehök landed here on March 12; in Printz' Report it is stated that the ship arrived on March 11. It is therefore probable that the ship arrived in the afternoon or evening of March 11, and that the passengers were landed in the morning or forenoon of March 12.

²⁰ Cf. below, Chap. XXVII.

²¹ The ship must have been in Holland towards the end of September or the first days of October, for some days before October 8 Spiring applied for a permit to unload. *Doc.*, I. 143.

and more vigorous "memorial" and he expected an answer as soon as possible, "so that the perishable goods in the ship might not be damaged." On October 15 the States General "resolved and concluded, that the cargo of the said ship the *Fama* shall be regulated as regards the duties in the same way as those of the French, English, Danish and other foreign nations, that bring and discharge such or similar cargoes here, to wit, the ordinary import duties and in addition eight per cent., both made over among other things to the West India Company of these ports in place of subsidies; all in conformity with the eighth Article of their High Mightinesses' regulation of the sixteenth of October, 1637, and their confirmatory resolution of the twenty-fourth of July, 1641, following thereupon." On the receipt of this document Spiring requested a conference with some of the deputies of the States General, and on October 26 the conference took place. It is likely that Spiring was requested to present his protests and arguments in writing, for on the same day Spiring presented another long memorial. He thought it strange that the Queen's ship should be treated like those of private individuals, and he could not agree to pay eight per cent. in addition to import duty, yet he asked "whether it had reference to the principal, the risk, the profit, the entire, or what else, also if the valuation of the goods was to apply to the place where they were procured, here where they were bought, or there where they would be consumed."²² The Dutch West India Company, he said, could not rightfully claim any duty on the goods, since "it had heretofore under grant of Her Royal Majesty a share in the Swedish company, having also acknowledged it for an absolute and free company, and, then, ships from the kingdom, from *New Sweden*, having sailed and been loaded and discharged here, off and on, never subjected to, much less paid such duties, and hence, so far from there being any right and equity for such imposition it ought, on the contrary, now to be considered in direct opposition to all

²² I am quoting from, as it would seem, a poor translation of the document in *Doc.*, I.; not finding time to compare it with the original at the Hague.

right, after the West India Company had surrendered its shares, and Her Royal Majesty had bought it out and exclusively acquired those shares herself; wherefore nothing similar could now be levied by virtue and in regard of said purchase, and still so much the less so inasmuch as this Her Royal Majesty's ship had traded and come from a country which *Her Royal Majesty had rightfully purchased and obtained possession of from the right[ful] owners.*" He also requested that the two guards be removed from the ship, and reminded the States General of the respectful treatment Hollanders had received in Sweden at various times, thinking it only proper that the courtesy should be returned. But weeks passed and no settlement was in sight.²³

In the meantime the *Kalmar Nyckel* also arrived in Holland. When the ship left the *Fama* westward bound, in the beginning of 1644, it proceeded directly to the Caribbean Islands, and remained in those parts for some weeks. In May it was at St. Christopher, and on the fifth of this month a quantity of tobacco was bought there. The whole cargo was finally exchanged for tobacco, and preparations made for the return voyage. It was the intention of the company to continue the trade, and Captain Hopp left 7,545 lbs. of tobacco on the island, which he had in mind to bring to Europe on the next journey; but when the cargo was sold in 1645 the proceeds of the expedition were small, and it was decided not to send another expedition thither. Hopp was therefore held responsible for the tobacco and some other goods which remained at St. Christopher, and their value was charged to his account.²⁴ It has been impossible to determine when the ship left the islands on its return journey, but it arrived in Holland later than the *Fama*. The ship touched at Dover, where supplies to the value of 619 D. were purchased by Captain Hopp on a draft, and from there she went to Harlingen. She was also put under arrest and new complications arose.²⁵

²³ *Doc.*, I. 143 ff., 146-7.

²⁴ See "Brief van den Koop," etc., of May 5, 1643, and another of May 15 of the same year. N.S., I. (R.A.).

²⁵ "Gen. Balance, 1650." *Söderk.*, 1637-59 (R.A.). *Journal*, no. 499 ff., *Doc.*, I. 156.

Spiring now sent new protests to the States General, and finally on the twenty-first of April (n.s.), 1645, that body ordered that no further difficulties should be made with regard to the unloading of the vessels, but that eight per cent. additional duty must be paid. But the end of the troubles was not yet in sight. On June 5 Spiring paid the import duty on the goods through his agent, Lucas Andersson,²⁶ at Amsterdam, but the Board of Admiralty at Harlingen demanded Spiring's factor at that place to pay the duty also. On the twenty-seventh of July (n.s.) Spiring complained to the States General and on the thirty-first of the same month he again called their attention to the fact and enclosed a copy of the receipt given by the Directors of the Chamber at Amsterdam to Lucas Andersson, July 5, 1645.²⁷

The troubles now seem to have come to an end. The cargoes on the two ships were sold by Andersson. The beaver skins in the *Fama* realized 15,000 fl. and the tobacco on that ship was sold for 6,728 fl. Seven hundred and eighty-three rolls or 50,824 lbs. of tobacco were on the *Kalmar Nyckel* and the lot was sold for 8,666 florins. But the net proceeds realized by the company were reduced by Andersson's commission, as well as by freight charges and other expenses. The expenses due to the arrest of the ships were considerable, and in the beginning of December Andersson paid more than 3,000 D. for supplies and other necessities. The returning colonists and soldiers were paid partly by Trotzig and Beier in Stockholm, and their passage from Holland to Sweden was also paid by the company.²⁸ The company was relieved of the expense of the victualling of the ships and the payment of the sailors, as this was undertaken by the government. When the ships arrived

²⁶ *Lucas Arentz in Doc.*, I. 159. That "Lucas Arentz" and Lucas Andersson is the same person can be seen from *Journal*, 499, 504.

²⁷ *Doc.*, I. p. 159 ff.; *Journal*, nos. 499, 504.

²⁸ Christer Boije, Timon Stidden and some others were paid by Trotzig in Holland. In Stockholm Beier paid E. Mortensson 52:15 D., Stidden 468:19 D., J. Mortensson 20 D., M. Eskelsson 20 D., Jöns Andersson 10 D., the skipper Peter Poulsson 375 D., who were paid by the company, but the others received their money from Beier on behalf of the Admiralty, through orders from the chancellor. *Journal*, 417 ff., 500 ff.

in Gothenburg, the sailors clamored for pay from the Admiralty, but it was refused. Beier called the attention of the Queen to the matter in a letter of July 19, 1645, and the sailors appealed to Her Majesty for redress. On August 12 the Queen ordered Admiral Carlsson to provide for the wages of the sailors out of the Admiralty's appropriations, and on August 20 the Council of State decided or rather "thought that the expedition ought to be paid by the Crown." But all the wages were not paid at the time, for a petition signed by thirteen sailors was sent to Oxenstierna in 1647(?),²⁹ asking for the outstanding pay and stating that the petitioners would be reduced to begging unless aid was given to them. It is probable that their endeavors were successful, for nothing further is said about the matter.³⁰

²⁹ No date but "för halft annat år sijn" referring to the Royal order of August 12, 1645, places the date about February, 1647.

³⁰ R.R., August 12, 1645. Letter from Queen (copy in N.S., I. (R.A.)). *Rådspr.*, XI. 165. Petition of Ambrosius Jöransson, Erick Ericksson Höök, etc. (13 boatmen), N.S., II. (R.A.). The Queen also on August 22, 1645, released the company from paying for the expedition. See R.R. under this date.

CHAPTER XXVII.

THE SEVENTH EXPEDITION, 1645-1647.

Printz and Papegoja were earnest in their requests for more colonists and additional supplies, when the *Fama* left the shores of New Sweden in 1644. But events in northern Europe of far greater importance to the welfare of Sweden than the little colony on the South River were occupying the minds of the statesmen in Stockholm at this time. Denmark had kept aloof from an active participation in the Thirty Years' War since 1629. It had seen the increasing influence and power of Sweden and its growing commercial interests and far-reaching plans with envious eyes. It was true that only one third of the Swedish export and import trade for the years 1637-1643 was carried on Swedish vessels, but Swedish ships had been sent to other continents, the Swedish flag was waving over possessions in the New World, and indications were that the supremacy in the Baltic would soon pass over to the power lying north of Oresund. King Christian IV. endeavored to sustain and assert Danish supremacy in the Baltic and Danish jurisdiction in the sound. A heavy toll, amounting to 616,000 R.D. in 1639, was collected from vessels passing through the strait.¹ This, of course, was a burden to Sweden. Besides, Swedish vessels were often confiscated and the Danish King conducted a regular warfare in everything but in name against his neighbor.² In the peace negotiations of Sweden, Denmark also played the false friend,³ but the opportunity for which Oxenstierna had been waiting was come. Denmark was to be attacked and the Swedish sword was to make an end of Danish interference.⁴

¹ Fridericia, *Danm. ydre pol. Hist.*, II. 220, note 2.

² Kernkamp, *De Sleutels van de Sont*, p. 2 ff.

³ In the peace negotiations at Osnabrück the Danish mediators or commissioners were instructed to work against all demands of Sweden. Cf. Fridericia, *Danm. ydre pol. Hist.*, II.

⁴ The causes of the war were deeper and lay further back than the present troubles in the sound. Concerning the events that led up to the war, see



Klas Fleming.



Scepter, the flagship of Admiral Klas Fleming on which he was killed. From G. Unger's *Il. sv. sjökrigsh. I.*

About the time the *Fama* and the *Swan* returned from New Sweden in the spring of 1643, the Council of State decided to begin the war. Great preparations were made, but the object of them remained secret, not even the Swedish representative at Copenhagen knowing of the intention of his government. Every ship that could be used was pressed into service and through Fleming's efforts Sweden had a navy that could cope with the enemy when the war began. Two of the ships that had made journeys to New Sweden took part in the battle of Fehmarn,⁵ and as the *Fama* and *Kalmar Nyckel* arrived at Gothenburg in the summer of 1645, they were fitted out for participation in the struggle. On the seventh of August *Kalmar Nyckel* fought a bitter battle with a Danish ship the *St. Peer* between Copenhagen and Malmö. Only twelve men on the Swedish ship survived the encounter and M. Johansson, who had made several trips to New Sweden and "Virginia" as a secretary, was badly wounded.⁶

Under such conditions no ships could be spared for journeys to America, and the war absorbed all the attention of the government. But the war not only hindered and delayed preparations for another expedition to New Sweden; it also removed the staunchest and the most interested supporter of the colony. Fleming was killed in July, 1644, by a stray bullet from a Danish battery.⁷

Fridericia, II. p. 178 ff. The conditions became such through the Danish interference, that the industries in Sweden were badly damaged. Cracau's secretary even relates that De Geer closed his factories and sent his laborers away until there should be a change. Fridericia, II. 291.

⁵ See "Diarium öfwer det som wedh Kong. Maj:t. sampt rykzens örlogzflotta uti denna förleeden sommarreesa . . . passerat ähr." *Am. Reg.*, May 22, 1644 (F.A.), where the *Swan* is given among the ships that took part, and "Sjöslaget vid Firmern d. 13 Okt. 1644." *Sv. Hist. och Polit. Visor* (p. 312 ff.), where the *Swan* (p. 314, strophe 10) and the *Charitas* (p. 314, strophe 11) are mentioned among the vessels that were engaged.

⁶ See M. Johansson to the Queen (two letters, no date, but from internal evidence, written in 1646), N.S., II. (R.A.).

⁷ For an account of the Swedish-Danish war of 1643-1645 and the relation between the two countries before and after the struggle see Fridericia, "*Danm. ydre pol.*," etc., II., and "*Danm. Riges Hist.*," 1588-1699, p. 237 ff. (the war, p. 256 ff.); Barfod, 935 ff.; Geijer, III. 262 ff.; Hildebrand, *Sv. hist.*, etc., V. p. 382 ff.; Kernkamp, *De Sleutels van de Sont*; Munthe, *Sv. sjöhjältar*, V.; Zettersten, *Sv. flot. hist.*, II.

The chancellor was now the unappointed director of the company, but he was too busy to think of the colony and its affairs. The Danish war occupied nearly all his attention and he was appointed peace commissioner in 1644 to the lengthy conferences, which lasted about a year and a half. He wrote most of the documents with his own hand, and he "had to fight not only against the enemy and the [peace] mediators, but also against . . . the opposition peace-party in the Swedish Council." In consequence the company was left more or less to itself. Affairs were "in great confusion" and to remedy matters Beier proposed that certain persons be appointed who should give advice about the work, otherwise he feared it would all go to pieces. All documents and reports from New Sweden were sent by Spiring to the chancellor. He was too busy to look after them or report to the other officers of the company in Sweden, and hence they were kept in the dark as to the condition of the colony.⁸

The papers and documents from Printz were finally sent to Kramer and Beier, and some efforts were made to comply with the requests of the governor. During the war it was not safe to send goods from a Swedish port to America, nor was it advisable to ship goods from Holland to Sweden for such an expedition. It was therefore planned to send supplies from Holland direct to New Sweden, and in January, 1645, Spiring and his secretary, Niepeisen, were instructed to execute these plans, but it could not be done, since "the goods [on the *Fama* and the *Kalmar Nyckel*] were arrested" and could not be sold before November "and there were no other means at hand."⁹

On the thirteenth of August, 1645, peace was made¹⁰ and now Sweden could spare her ships for commercial journeys and

⁸ Letter from A. Oxenstierna to Printz, September 7, 1647, *Ox. Saml.* (R.A.). Questions sent to Niepeisen by Kramer, July 11, August 19/29, 1645, N.S., I. (R.A.). Beier's letter to A. Oxenstierna, June 21, 1645. Geijer, III. 277.

⁹ Questions sent to Niepeisen by Kramer dated July 11, 1645, and answers to same August 19/29, N.S., I. (R.A.). The Queen to Printz, February 6, 1646, R.R.; Memorial to Oxenstierna (copy in Penn. Hist. So.).

¹⁰ Geijer, III. 276 ff.; Hildebrand, *Sw. hist.*, V. p. 396.

her statesmen had more time and opportunity to think of her settlement in the New World.¹¹

On the twentieth of August a letter from Spiring concerning the colony was read in the Council of State. It was decided that the government should pay for the expenses of a new voyage and soon afterwards preparations were begun, Kramer and Beier in Stockholm, Macklier in Gothenburg, and Spiring and Trotzig in Holland being, besides Oxenstierna, the chief promoters of this expedition.¹²

In his report of 1644 Printz made requests for a large number of soldiers and colonists, and it seems that plans were actually projected for compliance with this request. In the Royal Archives at Stockholm there is "an estimate of the provisions [necessary] for three months for a thousand persons, small and big," consisting of four hundred men, half of whom were to be soldiers, the other half colonists, four hundred women and two hundred children. It was estimated that the provisions would cost about 8,000 R.D., and we may assume that at least three or four vessels would have been required for the transportation of these people. So much capital could not be raised and the project appears to have received little attention.¹³

But preparations for an expedition on a smaller scale went on. In January, 1646, the matter was brought up for discussion in the council by the chancellor and at a later meeting Ryning "spoke about the ships which should go to West India, and it was considered advisable that the vessels after this sail from Gothenburg [directly to the colony] . . . and not by way of Holland."¹⁴

About the same time Lucas Andersson was ordered to transmit to Trotzig the proceeds, realized on the tobacco he had

¹¹ Oxenstierna to Printz, September 7, 1647. *Ox. Saml. (Conc.)*.

¹² *Journal*, nos. 524, 531, 580, 597, etc. *Rådspr.*, XI. 165. Timon von Schotting is not connected with this expedition and he is not mentioned in the records after this time.

¹³ "Verschlag der Vivres vor Tau. persohnen klein u. Gross Vor Dreij Monatt," etc., no date, but probably written between 1644-1646. N.S., I. (R.A.). It is possible that the document is from 1652, occasioned by Printz's report of the Dutch invasion of New Sweden. Cf. below.

¹⁴ *Rådspr.*, IX. 276 (January 7, 1646), 302.

sold,¹⁵ for the buying of a new cargo, as a ship was to be sent to New Sweden as soon as possible. But the vessel would not be ready to sail until the late spring or summer, and hence, since exceptional advantages for the increase of the Indian trade offered themselves to the Swedes on the Delaware at this time, the Dutch and English being at war with the savages, it was decided to charter a ship in Holland on which merchandise could be shipped direct to New Sweden.¹⁶ Orders were sent to Trotzig about it, who engaged a vessel and bought the necessary merchandise and the Queen wrote to Governor Printz of the plan, instructing him to sell the goods to the best advantage of the company. In February a "passport [for the vessel] to New Sweden" was sent to Trotzig at Amsterdam. About the middle of March the ship was ready and on the seventeenth of the month Trotzig wrote: "I together with . . . Peter Spiring will give Governor Printz good and necessary advice, [despatching all documents] with our ship, which is being sent off." The ship was either lost at sea or something prevented its sailing at the last moment, for it never reached New Sweden.¹⁷ But the preparations for a new journey from Sweden were continued. Two vessels were to be despatched and, as only one was on hand, the chancellor ordered Trotzig to acquire a new ship for the company to be used on this voyage. Shortly afterwards the *Gyllene Haj* "with full rigging" was purchased for the sum of 3,400 R.D. Large quantities of goods, costing 9,928 D. including all expenses, were also bought for the expedition and about the middle of March Trotzig went to the

¹⁵ Cf. above, Chap. XXIV.

¹⁶ In the beginning of 1646 three small ships, which had been trading in New Sweden the previous summer, were lying in the harbor at Amsterdam, ready to return to the South River, with cargoes for the Indian trade. They paid "recognition" to the Dutch West India Company. Trotzig to Oxenstierna, March 17, 1646. *Ox. Saml.*

¹⁷ Queen to J. Printz, February 6, 1646 (R.R.); "Memorial," etc., for Admiral Anckarhjelm, February 28, 1646, *Am. Reg.*, fol. 206 ff. (F.A.). Trotzig to Oxenstierna, March 17, 1646. *Ox. Saml.*

It is of course possible, but not probable, that the skipper never went to New Sweden but sold the cargo elsewhere for his own benefit. The Queen's letter of February 6, 1646, did not reach Printz at this time. He did not hear from Sweden before the arrival of the *Gyllene Haj*.

Hague to confer with Spiring about the loading of the vessel. Unfavorable winds delayed the ship at Amsterdam, but on March 17 (n.s.?) Trotzig wrote that the ship would be ready to set sail for Sweden in about ten days, if the weather was favorable. Further delays were occasioned, however, and the ship did not leave Holland until April.¹⁸ In the meantime cloth and other goods to the value of 138 D. were purchased by Kramer in Stockholm and sent overland to Gothenburg in a sledge, bought for that purpose by the company so as to save the expense of loading and unloading at every station, where horses had to be changed.¹⁹

As indicated above it was the intention of the managers of the company to send two ships to the colony on this expedition,²⁰ and on the twenty-eighth of February a "memorial" was despatched to Admiral Anckarhjelm at Gothenburg, instructing him to make the *Fama* ready for the journey,²¹ but for some reason the vessel was not prepared.²² The *Gyllene Haj* therefore made the voyage alone. The goods secured in Sweden were loaded into the ship and she was prepared for her long voyage with all speed by Macklier and Anckarhjelm. The total cost of the cargo was 10,075 D. and it consisted of 5,835 yds. of duffels, 200 adzes, over 100 lbs. of corals, 397 axes, 302 kettles, 774 knives, 432 thimbles, 29 tin mugs, 144 tin pots, 24 horn goblets, 504 horn combs, 264 sharp knives, 48 gilded brushes, 10,000 fish hooks, 408 tobacco boxes, 32

¹⁸ Trotzig to Oxenstierna, March 17, 1646, *Ox. Saml.*; Journal, nos. 531, 532, 583, etc.

¹⁹ Journal, nos. 493, 496, 524, 583, etc.

²⁰ In her letter to Printz of February 6, 1646, the Queen says, however, that a ship (one only) would be sent to the colony in the spring. Probably it was decided to despatch two vessels when it was found that goods could not be sent from Holland directly to New Sweden. Cf. above.

²¹ He was also to prepare four ships for an expedition to Portugal with cargoes of tar, masts, pitch, iron, etc. The original plans were to send six vessels on the expedition. Salt was the principal import to Sweden at this time and it was thought that the price of it could be reduced by large importations from Portugal. Sweden had a representative in Portugal at this time, and a Portuguese representative was stationed in Sweden. *Am. Reg.*, February 28, 1646, *Rådspr.*, XI. 276 ff., 302 ff., 433 ff. Cf. above, Chap. II.

²² "Memorial," etc., to M. T. Anckarhielm, February 28, 1646, *Am. Reg.*, fol. 206 ff.

musical boxes, 18 gilded mirrors, 96 plated chains, 648 tin mirrors, 144 frame mirrors, 72 silvered chains, 96 copper chains, 48 English caps, and a great variety of other articles.²³

No special efforts seem to have been made by the government to obtain colonists for this journey. In August, 1645, a certain soldier "Peer Olofsson was kept prisoner at Smedjegården in Stockholm." On the fourteenth of August Seved Båått proposed to send him to New Sweden, and on the twentieth the Queen ordered the governor, Knut Posse, to keep him in prison until the next ship sailed, when he should be released and sent to the colony.²⁴ Besides this single case, I have found no trace of colonists on this expedition, but that some came over on the *Gyllene Haj* can be inferred from the report of Governor Printz made in 1647.²⁵ In May, 1646, the *Haj* weighed anchor and set sail for Christina in New Sweden. She had a stormy voyage and did not arrive in the colony till October 1, having lost her sails, topmasts and several implements and being very severely used. "The master of the ship, the mate and all the crew, except one man, were sick, so that according to their report, they would have all been lost if they had not reached land when they did." The cargo was put into the keeping of the factor, but part of it was found to be ruined. The vessel was not repaired until December and the sailors were long in recovering. The return voyage was further delayed by the ice in the river and the departure was not made until the beginning of March. Printz supplied 394:8 fl. from his own means for the victualling of the ship; other bills were charged to the company, and twelve beaver skins were given to Johan Papegoja for his travelling expenses. One hundred and one casks of tobacco, containing 24,177 lbs. were shipped to Sweden on the *Haj*.²⁶

²³ *Journal*, no. 583 ff.; *Acc. B.*, 1643-8.

²⁴ R.R., August 20, 1645 (R.A.). Per Olofsson seems to have been condemned to death by the Council of War, but he was pardoned for special reasons. *Rådsp.*, XI. 159.

²⁵ See below, Chap. XXXII.

²⁶ Printz' *Report*, 1647; *Acc. B.*, 1643-8; *Journal*, nos. 583, 590, 603, etc. N.S., I. and III. (R.A., K.A.).

The circumstances of the return voyage are unknown. The ship was expected to arrive at Gothenburg in the early spring, for on March 29 eight hundred D. were provided for paying the salaries of the returning officers and sailors, but it seems that the *Haj* did not reach port until June, and the men were not paid until the end of the month.²⁷ The ship remained in the harbor for some weeks. One cask of tobacco was unloaded at Gothenburg, for the supply of the factor, but certain goods belonging to city merchants were put on the vessel for transportation to the capital.²⁸ In the autumn the *Gyllene Haj* sailed for Stockholm, and in November Bonnell paid 15 D. for the bringing of one hundred casks of tobacco from the harbor to the company's storehouse.²⁹ The returning sailors and servants were paid part of their wages, but difficulties arose about the payment of Rev. Fluviander and Papegoja, since they were not placed on the budget.³⁰

²⁷ *Journal*, nos. 590, 610 ff. Over 1,457 R.D. were paid to the sailors and officers on the *Haj* in the beginning of July.

²⁸ 60:25 D. were charged for freight money by the company. *Journal*, no. 659.

²⁹ *Journal*, no. 658.

³⁰ Cf. below. Beier to Oxenstierna, July 29, August 12, 1647.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

THE EIGHTH EXPEDITION, 1647-1648.

Printz prepared a list of articles needed in the colony when the *Haj* returned in 1647. But already in November the previous year Trotzig was instructed by the chancellor to order "150 pieces of broad frieze" to be made at Kampen¹ for the Indian trade and to buy kettles, axes, adzes and various other articles, and since the crops in New Sweden largely failed in 1646, he purchased a quantity of rye and had it ground into flour and packed into barrels for the need of the colony. Kramer bought goods in Stockholm for several hundred D. and Macklier in Gothenburg secured one hogshead of wine, 48 barrels of "ships-beer," 4 barrels of "good beer," and other necessary provisions for a new journey.

In the spring of 1647 it was proposed to fit out the *Fama* for this expedition, but the ship was found to be old and incapable of making the journey and the *Swan* was selected instead. In the early summer Beier and Kramer were busy in Stockholm preparing the ship and in July the former wrote to the chancellor that all diligence would be used, so that the ship could leave the capital at the end of July and set sail from Gothenburg at the latest in the beginning of September.

On August 12 Beier reported that the *Swan* had gone to sea. It probably arrived in Gothenburg towards the end of the month.² In the meantime the goods secured in Holland were taken to Sweden by skipper Harry Rinckes, and placed in the care of Hans Macklier. Among the articles mentioned on this expedition for the use of the colony and the trade with the

¹ A town on the Yssel near its mouth in the Zuyder Zee.

² Trotzig to Oxenstierna, January 26, 1647; Beier to Oxenstierna, July 14, August 12, 1647. *Ox. Saml.* Till Cap. Jan Jansson och Claes Corn. Loos, April 14, 1647. *Am. Reg.*, fol. 243-3 (Flot. Ar.). *Journal*, nos. 626, 633, 635, 637, 650-1. Bill sent in by Trotzig, May 11, 1647. *Söderk.*, 1637-59 (R.A.).

Indians are broad-axes, hatchets, adzes, door-locks; "a large copper brewing kettle" of four barrels capacity, weighing nine lispund³ valued at 133:12 D.s.m., 74 bars of iron, 600 lb. of steel, 2 casks of "dantziger window panes," a piece of lead weighing about 450 lbs., glass-blower's outfit, "a diamond point," several hundred yds. of wadmal, stockings, iron articles from Nürnberg, and a variety of other things, the entire cost of the cargo being 11,964 D.⁴

The government was to pay for the fitting out of the ship, the wages of the sailors and all other necessary expenses. But it seems that the Admiralty had no money in hand. Beier complained that the company had to borrow 1,500 R.D. for current expenses and 1,236 R.D. were paid to the sailors and 846 R.D. for provisions for the ship on behalf of the Admiralty.⁵

It seems that Papegoja was instructed to collect colonists and hire servants and soldiers, for in September the chancellor requested Governor Nils Andersson to aid him in securing some "men and women" for the journey,⁶ but little was done in the matter, for but few colonists came here on this expedition. The freemen fared well in the settlement and liked the country, and they perhaps wrote letters to friends and relatives at home, asking them to come over, but there was a dread of going to New Sweden,⁷ and it was not to be expected that a very large

³ A lispund = 18 lbs., 12 ozs. Hence the kettle weighed 168 lbs., 12 ozs. A "skålpund" or "svenskt pund" = 425 kg.; while a pound avoirdupois = 454 kg. Hence a Swedish pound is 425/454 of an English pound (or avoird.). See *Svensk-Eng. Ordbok*, by Björkman, p. 662, under lispund, and p. 986, under skålpund. It has been stated that a Swedish pound equals 20 English pounds. In a Mss. in the Hist. Society of Pa. pertaining to several unpublished documents the same mistake is made. See Mss. on New Sweden. A Swedish lispund equals 20 Swedish pounds and a Swedish pound is less than the English as stated above. Cf. above, Chap. VI.

⁴ See *Journal*, nos. 597, 636 (August 14, 1647), 679 (March 24, 1648), 575, 705. *Report*, 1647, February 20, N.S., I. (R.A.), translated in *Penn. Mag.*, VII. 271 ff.

⁵ Beier's letter to A. Oxenstierna, August 12, 1647. Statement fr. 1647, *Söderk.*, 1637-59 (R.A.), *Journal*, 626, 629, 633, 635, 637, 651. Kramer paid many of the sailors part of their wages and bought some of the goods.

⁶ Oxenstierna to Landsh. Nils Andersson, September 7, 1647 (concept.). *Ox. Saml.* (R.A.).

⁷ See letter from Lars Kagg to A. Oxenstierna, July 1, 1648. *Oxenstiernas Skrifter*, 2, XI. 684.

number of settlers would emigrate to the colony of their own free will in 1647. None (except Rev. Lock) are mentioned in the list of 1648 as coming on this ship, and those who arrived had perhaps been in the colony before.⁸ Johan Papegoja returned to Christina and Rev. Lars Karlsson Lock came here on the *Swan*.⁹ A barber-surgeon, Mr. Friedrick Hans Kock, was likewise engaged to go to New Sweden on this expedition and his medicine cases were fitted out and medicine was bought, on Hans Janeke's memorial, to the value of 83 R.D.¹⁰

This expedition was prepared in less time than usual and the ship was ready towards the end of September, and on the twenty-fifth she set sail.¹¹ Of the journey across the Atlantic little is known, but the vessel arrived safely at Fort Christina probably in the beginning of 1648¹² and its cargo was carried into the storehouse.

⁸ The following account goes to prove that some freemen and servants were on the ship in 1647-8.

"Die General Handels Conto der Compagnia De Nova Svecia vor folgende viures so zu denen *passagiers* ihre Notturft auff der Reysse ist genomen worden als,

6	thon Erbsen á 3½ R.D. betregdt.....	R.D. 21.
5	thon grütze á 4½ R.D.....	R.D. 22:24
1½	thon butter über 1 lis. lb. á 16 R.D.....	R.D. 25.
3	thon saltz Fisch á R.D.....	R.D. 15.
3	thon Fleisch á 7 R.D.....	R.D. 21.
1¼	Ähm fransch Brandtewein á 44 R.D. betregdt.....	R.D. 55.
1	Ähm Wein Essigh vor.....	R.D. 10.
	Vor leddige Brodt-thonnen.....	R.D. 2:24
	Vor Brodt zahl.....	D. 99.
20	thonnen Schifsbier á 4 D.....	D. 80.
	Accijs von dito Bier.....	D. 2:26 48:23
		R.D. 220:23"

Journal, no. 650.

⁹ Sprinchorn is mistaken in stating that Rev. Fluviander came here on this ship. Sprinchorn, p. 29. Cf. below.

¹⁰ Rev. Lock or Lök was paid 102 D. by Macklier before he left. Kock returned to Europe with the ship in 1648 and did not remain in New Sweden. *Journal*, nos. 632, 654, 711.

¹¹ On September 24, Papegoja received "several articles" before his departure. On October 4 Kramer writes that Rev. Lök "ist übergefahren." *Journal*, no. 654, 711.

¹² Under date of January 2, 1648, Kramer entered in the *Journal* that the ship had arrived in New Sweden. *Journal*, no. 671.

In the early spring preparations were made for the return of the ship and a valuable cargo of skins was sent to Sweden. The vessel left Fort Elfsborg on May 16; on the nineteenth she passed Cape Henlopen and made for the open sea. In less than a month she had crossed the Atlantic and on the thirteenth of June Plymouth was in sight. On the seventeenth of the same month the passengers could discern Jutland and the Scandinavian shores. The ship does not seem to have entered Gothenburg harbor, but proceeded to Stockholm, where she arrived on July 3.¹³ The Rev. Campanius, Måns Kling, the blacksmith Hans Rosback, Trumpeter Erick Andersson, the nobleman Knut Liljehök, four soldiers, at least a laborer and a freeman, who returned to Sweden on the ship, were paid the greater part of their wages by Johan Beier.¹⁴ Money was never sent to New Sweden, and hence the salaries of the officers and the wages of the garrison in the forts were not paid at regular intervals as the budget called for.

In 1648 Måns Kling brought over to Sweden the journals, account books and salary rolls, which were kept here from February, 1643, until March, 1648. They were delivered to the bookkeeper, Hans Kramer, who copied them into his official books and made a new inventory of the assets and liabilities of the company. From the balance sheets¹⁵ of the accounts of De-

¹³ *Acc. B.*, 1643-8. See "*De itinere*," etc., of Campanius, *Rål. Saml.*, fol. 201, Kung. Bib.; Holm, p. 72 (trans.). Sprinchorn says that "On May 16, 1648, the ship the *Swan* was again despatched from the colony, which after a wonderfully short journey of 30 days arrived at Helsingör," and quotes a letter to Beier of June 30, 1648, as his authority. He does not indicate where the letter is to be found and I have been unable to locate it. At any rate the statement about the 30 days is slightly inaccurate for the ship did not arrive at Helsingör before June 19. Cf. above.

¹⁴ *Journal*, nos. 717, 724, etc., and "Nachst. Person . . . mit dem Schwaen," etc., N.S., I. (R.A.).

¹⁵ GENERAL BALANCE, DECEMBER 31, 1647.

Debits.

	D.	8re.
The late Clas Fleming.....	227	21½
The late Riksdrots.....	2,100	
The Lord High Chancellor (A. Oxenstierna).....	820	6

cember 31, 1647, when the annual balance was made, it was found that the company had lost 9,288:18½ D., and the new statement or inventory was as follows:

LIABILITIES.		
	R.D.	st.
Loss according to the balance of the books in December, 1647....	6,192	18½
The cargo sent to New Sweden on the <i>Gyllene Haj</i> (1646).....	6,717	4
The cargo sent to New Sweden on the <i>Swan</i> (in 1647).....	7,964	13
Merchandise bought by Printz and paid for by a draft which Peter Trotzig accepted in Holland.....	1,000	
Governor Printz for moneys paid to the colonists and servants in New Sweden from his own means.....	8,724	23½
The servants of the company in New Sweden for their wages...	10,733	1
	41,331	12 ¹⁰

ASSETS.		
	R.D.	st.
Per inventory of merchandise in New Sweden according to the books sent over to Stockholm 16,000 florins		
Debts to several persons.....	5,336:1	florins
Balance	10,663:19	florins
Or in R.D.....	4,262	28
The servants and freemen in New Sweden are indebted to the company to the amount of.....	2,305	15
The cargo of the <i>Swan</i> was not entered into the books sent to Stockholm and is hence entered at the value for which it was bought.....	7,964	13
The One Hundred hogsheads of tobacco, which were shipped over on the <i>Gyllene Haj</i> are estimated at.....	4,000	
The cargo, brought to Sweden on the <i>Swan</i> , consisting of 1,232 beaver skins and 64 otter skins valued at.....	3,400	
The tobacco excise and one third of the confiscated tobacco which the Crown has appropriated for the paying of the salaries of the servants entered on the budget of the government.....	10,000	
Loss on the trade of the company until March 1, 1648.....	9,399	4
	41,331	12

It is thus clear that the finances of the company were not in the best condition. The tobacco excise had been set aside for

Major Richard Clerck.....	83	24
The Ship yard at Västervik.....	465	11½
Hans Neuman and Robert Smith.....	711	6½
Robert Smith.....	1,111	14½
Tobacco charged to Hendrick Huygen	144	
The Tobacco excise.....	15,156	31½
Cargo sent over on the ship <i>Gyllene Haj</i>	10,075	20
Capt. B. Hermansson Hopp.....	457	16

¹⁰ To reduce to D. multiply by 1½.

the paying of the soldiers and officers in the colony, but this amounted to only about half the budget for each year, and even most of this money was used by the government for the repair of the royal palace at Stockholm.¹⁷ The only payment made to the company's treasurer by the custom authorities before 1648 seems to have been on July 17, 1645, when the secretary, Johan Ericksson, paid 1,000 D. to Beier from the tobacco excise.¹⁸ Complaints were made, and in January, 1648, the Queen resolved that this excise money should be turned over to the New Sweden Company, and, since the sum was not suffi-

The Royal Admiralty.....	10,997	4½
Articles sent over for the need of the country.....	462	23
Jacob Heffner, mayor at Borgå.....	164	12½
Benjamin Bonnell on account of tobacco sold.....	24,390	29¾
Secretary Johan Beier.....	793	23
Governor Johan Printz.....	862	24
The ship <i>Gyllene Haj</i>	3,416	27
Cargo sent to New Sweden on the ship <i>Swan</i>	11,946	13
Lieut. Johan Papegoja.....	?	4
The extraordinary budget of those serving the Crown in New Sweden	1,680	
Lost until December 31, 1647.....	9,288	18½
	95,357	10¾

Credits.

	D.	öre.
Her Royal Majesty and the Crown.....	5,621	10
Peter Spiring Silfverkrona.....	118	14
Peter Trotzig in Amsterdam.....	934	22
The budget of the servants of the Crown in New Sweden.....	16,136	26
The capital of the Crown in the New Sweden Company.....	9,000	
The capital of the Old [South] Ship Company in the N. S. C....	27,000	
The capital of the late <i>Riksdrots</i>	4,500	
The capital of the Lord High Chancellor.....	4,500	
The capital of the late Clas Fleming.....	2,250	
The capital of Peter Spiring Silfverkrona.....	4,500	
The ammunition account of the Crown.....	1,583	3
The Old [South] Ship Company.....	19,212	31¾
	95,557	10¾

¹⁷ Fires damaged the Palace in 1642 and 1646. See Dalgren, *Stockholm*, II. 14; Uppmark, p. 96. "Most of the excise for the years 1641, 1642, 1643, 1644 and 1645 was used for other purposes and especially for "*Slottsbyggningarne här i Stockholm*," R.R., January 20, 1648. *Journal*, no. 672.

¹⁸ *Journal*, no. 513.

cient to balance the amount the budget called for, the Queen further ordered that the one third of the confiscated tobacco and fines, which by former ordinances were to be paid into the state treasury, should also be turned over to the company. From the beginning of 1643 until the end of 1647, one third of the confiscated tobacco and fines collected for the Crown amounted to 8,764 D. and this sum was now placed to the credit of the company.¹⁹ In case the amount derived from these three sources, the excise, the confiscated tobacco and the fines, was still insufficient to cover the amount of the budget, the deficit should be supplied by the state treasury and any surplus that might accrue should be handed over to the government according to the annual accounts presented by Hans Kramer, the company's bookkeeper.

In 1648 two thirds of the confiscated tobacco and fines (the Crown's and the company's parts) amounted to 4,097 D. exclusive of the excise, or 169 D. more than the budget called for, but in 1649 this sum had fallen to 802 D., which, including the excise on 21,623½ lbs. of tobacco, footed up to only 2,154 D., or 1,774 D. less than the amount specified in the budget. When the restrictions on the importation of tobacco were removed (in November, 1649) there were, of course, no fines nor confiscations and the budget was from then

¹⁹The itemized account is as follows:

In A°. 1643 und in der Partita 282 in diessem Buch ist die Crohne Creditiert vor ihr ⅓ part des Confiscirten Tobacks vor die Summa von	R.D. 1,083:19½
In A°. 1644 und in der Partita 373 vor den in Gothenburgh geconfiscirten Toback als.....	R.D. 115:32
Noch in der Partita 392 vor den alhie in Stockholm berechneten confiscirten Tobacks nemblick.....	R.D. 1,339: 5½
In A°. 1645 laut der Partita 425 vor.....	R.D. 550:43
Item laut der Partita 516 vor.....	R.D. 1,427:23
Noch laut der Partita 518 vor.....	R.D. 141:32½
In A°. 1646 und in der Partita 582 vor.....	R.D. 597:10½
In A°. 1647 und in der Partita 668 vor.....	R.D. 587:12
Summa	R.D. 5,842:34
Solche 5,842 R.D. 34 st. betragen an Silbermüntz 8,764 D. 2 öre. <i>Journal</i> , nos. 282, 373, 425, 582, 668, 672, etc.	

on annually charged to the Crown, "to be paid by other means" than the above, until 1654, when a new budget was made.²⁰

Some difficulty had been encountered by the company in the preparations of some of its expeditions. Duty was demanded on articles bought in Holland for New Sweden, on their arrival at Gothenburg, and the company could show no privileges or ordinances relieving it from paying the duty. To make the case clear the Queen repeated and amplified the principle, which had been adhered to, as we have seen, for some years, that all goods sent from Holland to Gothenburg for further transportation to the colony and skins and tobacco coming from New Sweden should be free of duty, but all tobacco imported from Holland should be subject to duty.²¹

²⁰ See *Journal*, nos. 739, 779, 782, 886-9, 980, 1037, 1084, 1169. The budget called for 4530 D., but 602 D. were provided for by rents in Österbotten, cf. below, Chap. XXXVIII.

²¹ R.R., January 20, 1648, fol. 60-2. The ordinance is not printed by Acrelius, as stated in Sprinchorn, p. 30, note 1.

CHAPTER XXIX.

THE NINTH EXPEDITION, 1649-1673.

I.

Letters from New Sweden were read in session of council on the sixth of April, 1648. Printz asked for more colonists and goods, and in the summer came a letter from Papegoja with *the Swan*, also suing for reinforcements and requesting that he be allowed to return to Sweden unless ships and people should be sent soon.¹ As a result of these reports and letters the "directors"² of the company seem to have had meetings and decided to send out another expedition. In the summer and autumn Trotzig was ordered, perhaps by Oxenstierna, to buy goods in Holland for provisions on the journey and for trade in the colony.³ Besides Trotzig, Macklier, Kramer, Bonnell and Vice-Admiral Anckarhjelm took an active part in the preparations. Early in 1649 the "directors" requested the government to fit out the *Kalmar Nyckel* for the voyage and on the twenty-fourth of March the Queen commanded the Admiralty to prepare the ship so that she could set sail for New Sweden at the earliest opportunity with the cargo which the company had in readiness at Gothenburg. The ship should be manned with soldiers and ten guns and supplied with provisions for ten months. The "directors" requested that the Admiralty should fit out the vessel and pay all the salaries of the sailors and officers of the ship, since this branch of the government was in arrears to the company for several thousand Daler in 1649. But the *Kalmar Nyckel* was now an old ship and the Admiralty

¹ *Rådspr. Mss.*, p. 80 (R.A.). Papegoja's letter to A. Oxenstierna, May 15, 1648. *Ox. Saml.* (R.A.).

² In the Queen's letter of April 13, 1649, the term "directors of the company" is used in a loose way. By directors must be meant the officers of the company, Kramer, Bonnell, Beier and perhaps Oxenstierna.

³ See *Journal*, no. 765. In December, 1648, goods to the value of 5,163:13 D. were sent by Trotzig to Gothenburg by skipper Jan Theiussen.

reported that she was not in condition to make such a voyage without great repairs. Accordingly the Queen ordered that another ship be prepared as soon as possible, either from among the vessels at Gothenburg or those at Stockholm.⁴ *Kattan*⁵ was at last selected for the journey, but it was found that she must also be repaired, and on May 18 Anckarhjelm was ordered to "careen" the ship and put her in sea-faring condition for "the journey to Virginia."⁶

A considerable number of colonists went with this expedition, and freemen that were desirous of trying their fortunes in America appear to have been numerous. In the Royal Archives are found two letters written by one "Mats Ericksson from Värmland"⁷ on behalf of 200 Finns who wished to go to New Sweden,⁸ and in the minutes of the council of June 12, 1649, it is stated that a petition had been presented by "300(?) Finns requesting Her Royal Majesty to send them to New Sweden for the cultivation of the country." The Queen thought it strange that they should ask for such permission "as there was enough land to be had in Sweden," and it is not known whether or not the permission was granted, but it is probable that some of them went on this expedition.⁹ It seems likely that one or two colonists from Finland went on this expedition. In the autumn of 1647 (but too late for the *Seventh Expedition*) the Royal Court at Åbo made inquiries concerning two men who had killed a number of elks. One, Israel Pedersson from Ödkarby, was a man without property and the Queen ordered him to be sent to America. The other, Anders Mickelson, a sailor from Åland, was to have his property confiscated. In case he had no property he was to be sent to the colony.¹⁰

⁴ R.R., March 24, April 13, 1649, fol. 735.

⁵ *Katt*, *The Cat*,—an is the Swedish definite article.

⁶ *Am. Reg.*, May 18, fol. 257-258, 1649 (F.A.). There is a mistake in the index to the Reg. The index has May 19 and page 263.

⁷ A province in southwestern Sweden, bordering on Norway.

⁸ Ericksson's Letters to A. Oxenstierna. (No date, but probably in the summer of 1649.) N.S., I. (R.A.). If they were not allowed to settle in New Sweden they would likely go over to Denmark, he thought.

⁹ *Rådspr. Mss.*, R.A. Cf. Carlson, *Hist.*, I. 390, note.

¹⁰ *Tidningar*, IX. 236 (September 15, 1647).

New Sweden, however, was still looked upon as an undesirable place for soldiers and officers in the employ of the Crown. In July, 1648, Lars Kagg writes to Chancellor Oxenstierna that 300 men of Skytte's regiment had remained at home out of stubbornness. They ought to be punished, he thought, in order to set an example to others, "and as one finds," he said, "that they have a great dread of New Sweden it would be profitable that a part [of them], when a ship sails over, be brought there."¹¹ It is likely that a number of these drafted soldiers were sent over. More than 70 colonists, including many women, seem to have been secured. Among the more prominent colonists were the Rev. Matthias Nertunius, the bookkeeper Joachimus Lycke (with family), the barber-surgeon Timon Stidden, Johan Rudberus, Hans Persson and Hans Amundsson (with family). Several of the emigrants were sent from Stockholm to Gothenburg on the ship *Gåsen*; the rest most likely assembled at Gothenburg. Hans Amundsson was sent to the colony in the capacity of a commander, Cornelius Lucifer was captain on the vessel and Jan Jansson Bockhorn was mate.

After, as it would seem, much unnecessary delay, the goods were finally loaded into the ship. In the list of articles bought by Trotzig in Holland and now put on the ship we find 4,948 yards of cloth; 224 copper kettles; 160 pairs of shoes; 300 axes and various other articles, the whole cargo being valued at 5,215.29 D. Cannon and large quantities of ammunition, according to the lists and specifications of Governor Printz, were also put on board. Provisions to the value of several thousand D., estimated for twelve months, were secured by Admiral Anckarhjelm, who also paid the six officers and twenty-four sailors on the ship some money in advance, while ten R.D. were given to each of 41 colonists for the expenses connected with the journey.¹² Several items of expense are mentioned in connec-

¹¹ Lars Kagg to A. Oxenstierna. *Oxenstierna Skrifter.*, 2, IX. 684.

¹² Receipt given by C. Lucifer; "Aufs. und Berech.," etc., 1649, N.S., I. (R.A.). *Journal*, nos. 811, 816, 827-34, 841-47, 869 ff. "Rulla," etc., July 3, 1649, N.S., II. (R.A.); "Räck. up. Ex. med. Kattan," etc., N.S., I. (R.A.); "Lista oppå thet siöfolk," etc., N.S., I. (R.A.).

tion with the loading of the ship and the delay in sailing caused further outlay of money.

The ship was ready to sail on Sunday, July 2, 1649, "but some hindrance occurred." On the following day, however, she set sail with a favorable northwest wind, after the people had been reviewed and their oath of allegiance taken. The course led close by England, through the Spanish Sea and "the Eastern Passage." When they were in the neighborhood of Antigua, the captain with his officers, fearing that their supply of water would not last until they arrived in New Sweden, decided to land at the island to get a fresh supply of water. No fresh water could be obtained, but the Swedes were treated very kindly by the English governor. From Antigua they proceeded to St. Christopher, where they arrived August 21. Here they secured water and other refreshments and were again received in a friendly manner by the governor of the island.¹³ It was now determined to go to the island of St. Martin to take some lasts of salt along to "Virginien" (New Sweden) and on the twenty-second of August they anchored in the harbor. On Saturday evening, August 26, the salt was loaded upon the ship and everything was ready. As soon as the captain came on board he commanded the sails to be hoisted, but one of the servants of the company was still on land and Amundsson and the other officers implored him not to leave port before all the people were on the ship. In the night, however, when Amundsson had gone to sleep, the captain weighed anchor and left the harbor. They seem to have sailed all that night and the next day with a favorable wind, all sails being set, and they made good time. But in the evening they came into dangerous waters. About two o'clock at night the ship received a shock from a cliff. Amundsson and the other officers anxiously requested the captain to lower the sails and bring the ship to a standstill, but he simply answered "It will all pass over." The ship received another shock, however, and again the officers clamorously

¹³ Rudberus says in his journal: "St. Christopher is a large country and on both ends of the land live Frenchmen."

demanded the captain to lower sail and proceed no further, but he said: "I am well acquainted here, it will all pass over." A third shock was felt and this time a cliff had penetrated the prow and the ship remained stationary on a rock. In the hope that she might loosen and float they threw overboard the ballast, the water and the salt secured at St. Martin, but she remained on the cliff. As day approached they could see land about two Swedish miles away.¹⁴ It was a small uninhabited island about 80 miles from Porto Rico. Thither they brought the women and children in the life boats as soon as possible, but the sailors still tarried on the ship. In the meantime a storm arose, and, to prevent the wind from breaking the ship in two, the masts were cut down and thrown into the sea. The sailors remained on the ship that day and the following night. The next morning it seems that the life boats returned from the island and all the men abandoned the vessel and joined the women on shore, after the provisions had also been removed from the ship. But they "could not find a drop of water" on the island. "We had to lick the stones with our tongues," says Rudberus, "but could not secure so much wet for eight days that we could quench our thirst."

"On Thursday following, which was August 31," a small bark passed within a mile or two of the island. The Swedes fired two distress signals for help, but instead of helping the sufferers the bark sailed to Porto Rico to relate the occurrence. Soon after two Spanish ships were sent to the Swedes. On arriving the Spaniards asked what people they were and where they came from. In response the Swedish pass was delivered. But the Spaniards pretended not to have heard of Sweden before, and challenged the unfortunate people, says Rudberus, to fight or surrender. Water and other refreshments were given them, however, and the Swedes were then brought on board of their foundered ship. The Spaniards promised Amundsson that the cargo and provisions would be undisturbed, but, as

¹⁴ A Swedish mile equaled 6.64 English miles. Hence the distance to the land was about 13 English miles. Cf. above, Chap. VI.

soon as they came on the Swedish ship, they took everything they could get at and brought it on board of their own vessels. Not being content with this, they pulled the clothes off their victims, men and women alike, to seek for money and other valuables.

On September 1 the ship was leaking and the Swedes were put to pumping out the water. Rev. Nertunius also took part in the pumping. He had on a pair of old trousers and carried some money in his stockings. In order to deceive the Spaniards and make them believe that he had no trousers on, he let his shirt fall outside of them and stood in this manner pumping water, causing merriment among the other Swedes. When the general found that he was a priest, however, he gave him some clothes and a cap, "but yet they called him *Papistam perro Lutheran*." On the third of September the shipwrecked people were brought to the city of Porto Rico on board the Spanish ships. On arriving in the city they were led to the market-place "with drums and pipes and great noise," where "a large fire was made" on which all the Swedish books were burnt. Amundsson, being brought to the governor, complained of the treatment they had received at the hands of his people. Governor de la Riva promised that the Swedes should be set free, but the goods taken by the soldiers could not be restored. He assured the Swedish commandant, however, that, had he been present personally, the goods would not have been taken and the treatment accorded the Swedes would have been of a different kind—a rather useless assurance. Amundsson also made application to the governor for aid and was given 24 R.D. a month, but the rest of the people were compelled to make their living by working or begging. Shortly afterwards the Swedes found opportunity, with the consent of the governor, to dispatch letters and two representatives, Rev. Nertunius and Joachimus Lycke, to Stockholm to report their condition and to request the government to send a vessel for their aid.

After some time a Dutch captain, Didrick Didricksen,¹⁵

¹⁵ "An old and entirely white man, who was very kind to us," says Rudberus.

arrived at Porto Rico with his ship the *Prophet Daniel*, loaded with slaves. The Swedes implored him to release them from their misery. He promised them passage on his vessel, either to America or to Holland, but, as he was about to leave, the governor "made a prize of him," took his money and decided to send his ship to the King of Spain as a gift. The Swedes then obtained permission to go on the vessel to Spain. A passport was prepared for them, and they were instructed to be in readiness for the sailing of the ship. On the governor's assurance the Swedes assembled on the shore and carried their possessions to the pier. But as they were ready to depart the governor was ill. He issued no orders and the city council decided to allow no one except Amundsson to go on board. They were glad to see him leave, it meant 24 R.D. less expense a month. In the case of the others, however, it meant additional expense and outlay if they should be permitted to go on the vessel to Spain, for they must be fed on the journey and the majority were destitute of means. Perhaps religious motives also influenced the council to detain the Swedes—there was some hope of converting them to Catholicism if they remained on the island, but if they returned home the chance of conversion to "the true faith" was slight. Amundsson would not leave, however, unless his people were allowed to go with him, but he was compelled to remain on the ship. Soldiers were ordered to bring his family on board, "and left us with great lamenting and cries standing on the shore," says Rudberus.

When Amundsson had gone the other Swedes were easier to manage. Some of them had already turned Catholics and now more followed their example. The converts were promised great things, "clothes, money and goods," but when they had changed their faith "all these things remained only promises." Among them was an old farmer from Gothenburg, who seems to have taken his conversion seriously. He was very happy after his baptism, being now sure that he had been truly baptized.

As time went on other colonists found means for leaving

the island, and in April, 1650, a happy opportunity offered itself for the rest to depart. The city captured a little bark,¹⁶ which, with the permission of the governor, was bought by Rudberus and Jöran Dufva.¹⁷ The other Swedes, still remaining, also obtained leave to go and Rudberus and Dufva readily gave them passage on their ship. The governor supplied some provisions and issued passports for them. The little vessel was soon ready to depart and towards the end of April or beginning of May¹⁸ the remnant of the shipwrecked Swedes set sail, in all twenty-four souls.¹⁹ Their object was to reach St. Christopher, whence they hoped to be able to go with some Hollanders, either to New Sweden or old Sweden. After sailing that day and the following night a French bark met them near the island of St. Cruz and the officers went on board the Swedish ship. The Swedes produced a copy of their pass from Queen Christina and the one given them by the Spanish governor. The Swedish pass was greeted with derision and with the words "Diaboli[ca?] Regina de Svedva"—the officer tore it into pieces. The Spanish pass was taken and preserved. The Swedes were then brought to land. Their property was divided among the French, "and they fought like dogs over it." If Rudberus' account be true, the Swedes were submitted to the most cruel torture at the hands of the French. They were all conducted to the governor, who searched their clothes for money and other valuables. In order to intimidate the unfortunate people and for his own amusement, the governor caused some of the Swedish soldiers to be bound to posts, and commanded his soldiers to discharge four shots by their sides. The

¹⁶ In Johan Jonsson Rudberus' letter to A. Oxenstierna (only a copy, however) it is stated that the bark had been made a prize. In his journal he says it belonged to the city. This of course can very well be the case, as it would belong to the city, if taken as a prize, but the peculiar part is that Rudberus does not mention this detail in his journal.

¹⁷ See above.

¹⁸ In the journal Rudberus says April 24, but in his letter he says May 1.

¹⁹ In Rudberus' letter it is stated that they left "Porto Rico with 18 men on the first of May." Sprinchorn says on the basis of this that there were "18 persons," but since the journal says "24 persons" it is probable that there were 18 men besides the women and children.

women, who were kept in a room by themselves, "cried out aloud and wept bitterly, fearing their men had been killed." Later the governor caused Rudberus, Jöran Dufva, one Andreas, and the mate to be bound with their hands on their back and suspended on hooks about a yard from the ground for two nights and two days, until "their bodies were blue and the blood pressed out of the fingers."

"Now, our women and boys had concealed some money and pearls down in the ground," says Rudberus, "which became known to the French, wherefore they tortured and tormented us fearfully, screwed off our fingers with pistol locks, burnt the feet of the women on red-hot iron plates, sold us all away in the country, the one here, the other there, . . . and forbade also that anyone should be allowed to speak to the other."²⁰ A certain woman, of whom the governor was enamored, was killed by his command, after he had illicit relations with her against her will, and other atrocities were committed.

In the meantime a Dutch bark arrived at St. Cruz to get a supply of fresh water. The bark was made a prize by the French; but later it was returned to the skipper who set sail for St. Christopher. At the time two brothers, Johan Classon from Rotterdam and Anders Classon from Amsterdam, were trading with tobacco at the island. The skipper related to them the miseries of the Swedes and their sufferings. They were touched by the story and requested permission from the governor to go to St. Cruz to bring away the imprisoned Swedes. The governor having received no report of the matter doubted the story, but he granted their request and gave them a passport together with an order for the release of the prisoners, if they should be found. One of the brothers provided the ship and the other supplied the provisions and sailors. When they arrived at St. Cruz only five of the twenty-four Swedes were still alive, Johan

²⁰ The facts are undoubtedly colored and the cruelties are likely exaggerated. It is indeed difficult to see where the Swedes obtained their "money and pearls" from. Perhaps the story is a fabrication. In 1654 Lindeström and Rising endeavored to find out the facts about the events, and Lindeström says that they were all true. *Geogr.*

Jonsson Rudberus, two women and two children. The two women and the children were at once put on board the ship, but Rudberus had been sold to a captain for 500 lbs. of tobacco. He managed to make his escape, however, through the aid of a German, who informed the Dutch captain of his whereabouts. Rudberus was brought on board the ship at night, but he was discovered by his master, who demanded and received his 500 lbs. of tobacco for the claim on "his slave." This same day they left the island. On the following day the two women and the oldest child died. The other child was given into the care of a French woman, but it did not live long. At St. Christopher "Captain Johan Classon put me on his ship and brought me safely to Holland and there showed me much kindness," says Rudberus, and here ends the journal.

We have gone into considerable detail at this place, since the misfortunes of the afflicted people could not be treated elsewhere. There are several small discrepancies between the facts given in Amundsson's letters and in the first part of Rudberus' journal as well as between the copy of Rudberus' letter and his own journal. Amundsson says that they struck the rock on August 26; Rudberus that it happened on August 27. Rudberus states in his letter that they left Porto Rico the first of May, while his journal says on the twenty-fourth of April. (The difference between the old style and the new style cannot account for it.) If the journal was written from notes kept on the voyage, we can suppose that these notes were not close at hand, when Rudberus wrote his letter and supplied the dates from memory. The journal as a whole bears all the earmarks of truth.²¹ Some things are undoubtedly exaggerated, but the main story with most of the details is true. Rudberus was among the last to reach Sweden. He arrived at Stockholm in the autumn of 1651 and on October 16 Kramer supplied him with 50 R.D. Amundsson was brought to Spain with his family. From there he went to Holland, where he was sup-

²¹ Cf. The letter of Amundsson to A. Oxenstierna, November 22, 1649, *Ox. Saml.*; letter or report of Rudberus probably to Kramer, April 13, 1651 (now preserved in a copy, Kramer's handwriting), *Ox. Saml.*

plied with 300 R.D. in July by Trotzig. He went to Stockholm on Captain Boender's vessel, and on September 30 Kramer gave him 50 R.D. Lycke and Nertunius also reached Sweden. Timon Stidden managed to get to Amsterdam with his wife and five children. He arrived in most miserable circumstances and was aided by Trotzig. From Holland Stidden was brought to Sweden by Boender. Per Larsson and a number of other soldiers and colonists also made their appearance in Stockholm, and made requests for money.²² In all only nineteen of the colonists besides some officers and soldiers returned to Sweden, forty-five or fifty finding their graves on the islands. Lycke and Nertunius made oral reports on their arrival in Sweden in 1650, and numerous others corroborated the doleful tales.

II.

Sweden had been at war with the Emperor, the brother of the King of Spain, and consequently not on good terms with the latter power. Swedish ships had been captured in Spanish ports and trading to Spain was considered dangerous in 1645.²³ In the Thirty Years' War Spain was of course an enemy of Sweden and it was rumored at times that a Spanish fleet was fitted out to attack Sweden, Lars Kagg being instructed in the spring of 1640 to keep Gothenburg in a state of preparation that he might not be taken unawares.²⁴ In 1648 peace indeed was made between the Protestant and Catholic powers, but no particular articles were included, referring to Sweden and Spain. Sweden had been the leader in the struggle just brought to a close, and the feeling between Protestants and Catholics ran very high. It was therefore natural that the Swedes should not receive the best kind of treatment at the hands of the Spaniards, who were Catholics. It was an age of intolerance and hatred and the Protestants were as guilty as the Catholics in this respect.

²² "Aufsatz," etc., N.S., I. (R.A.); *Monatg. B.*, 1642-56; *Journal*, nos. 927, 931, 944 ff.

²³ *Rådsp.*, XI. 250.

²⁴ *Rådsp.*, VIII. 61. See also p. 623. Cf. above, Chaps. II., XIV.

When the Thirty Years' War had been brought to a close, Sweden was anxious to gain the friendship of all nations and in the beginning of 1651 it was decided to send a representative to the King of Spain to congratulate him on the conclusion of peace, and establish a fast friendship between the two nations as well as to arrange trade relations. Mathias Palbitsky was selected for this mission. Before he departed, news arrived from the shipwrecked Swedes in Porto Rico, an inventory was made of the damages according to which the loss of the Crown was estimated at 4,670:43 R.D., and private accounts "of persons in the service of the Crown" at 397:24 R.D., making the whole sum 5,068:19 R.D. This bill was sent along with Palbitsky to be presented to the Spanish King, but the claims of the company were omitted.²⁵

The mission of Palbitsky seems to have been successful. The King took up the question almost at once, wrote to the governor of Porto Rico on March 25, 1651, also consulting with the "Indeanischen Estata Rathen" about the affair. On October 18 he again wrote to the governor, at the same time commanding his "Commercial House at Seville" that the ship be released and the prisoners set free, and that the treasurer of the Indian Council make a report about it the same year.²⁶ The King's letter had no immediate effect. The people had by that time left the island and as long as there was no one to demand the damages, the governor would not pay it.

The affair was allowed to rest for some time, but in 1653, when preparations were begun for a new expedition to the Delaware, it was decided that one of the ships should proceed to Porto Rico to claim damages for the *Katt*.²⁷ Hans Amundsson was appointed to collect the bills. Instructions as to his procedure were given to him and new estimates of the losses were made out. The claims of the Crown were increased

²⁵ *Memorial*, etc., Am. Reg. (F.A.), October 6, 1653, fol. cop. 536-9. Concerning Palbitsky's endeavors to secure satisfaction for the *Katt*, see *Palbitsky Beskick*, 1651, in *Hisp., Ströd. Handl.*, 1606-1813 (R.A.).

²⁶ "Cop. von d. Kön. in Hisp. Brieff.," October 18, 1651, N.S., I. (R.A.), and "Copia de la," etc. *Hisp., Ströd. Handl.*, 1606-1813 (R.A.).

²⁷ See below, Chap. XL.

to 10,540:19 R.D. due to the addition of the ship, valued at 4,000 R.D., "which could have been saved had not the governor commanded it to be burnt," and 1,472 R.D. on behalf of Jan Jansson Bockhorn. Bockhorn was in Holland when Palbitsky left Sweden, and hence his account could not be included in the first bill.²⁸ Estimates were also made of the loss of the cargo and of the expenses connected with the expedition. The Commercial College was at this time managing the company,²⁹ and under its direction the claims were prepared. On December 12, 1653, the college instructed Amundsson that "upon his arrival . . . at Porto Rico he should, on behalf of Her Royal Majesty . . . demand from the governor . . . in a proper way the restoring of the ship the *Katt* . . . with tackle and cables, cannon and ammunition," following the orders of the Admiralty. He was also to demand the cargo and other goods which were taken from the company and private persons, when the above-mentioned ship foundered, together with reasonable indemnities, according to the specifications, presenting to the governor Her Royal Majesty's letter of recommendation, the copy of the letter from the King of Spain and the letter of recommendation from the ambassador, Don Antony Pimentelli.³⁰

In February, 1654, the matter was further discussed in the Commercial College. John Beier was requested to prepare a written account of the unfortunate expedition, but as all papers and documents had been sent to the bookkeeper he was unable to do so, making an oral report instead. Kramer was thereupon instructed to appear before the college at Upsala with all the documents relating to the case, prepared to give a full account. Accordingly he made extracts from the journal of the company and drew up a statement of the private losses. The cargo was valued at 3,477:13 R.D., which was doubled as the merchandise was worth many times more in New Sweden; 2,400 R.D. had been paid to the officers and sailors;

²⁸ *Am. Reg.* (Fl. Ar.), October 6, 1653, fol. 536-9.

²⁹ See below, XXXIX.

³⁰ See *Com. Col. Reg.*, December 13, 1643, § 6 (R.A.).

money advanced to 41 colonists on their departure and 19 on their return amounted to 4,188 R.D., and provisions and the like for the sailors and colonists was valued at 1,876:36 R.D. The various bills reached the sum of 15,419:15 R.D. and the interest for five years brought it up to 23,129 R.D., which, increased by the Admiralty's bill of 10,540:19 R.D., amounted to 33,669:19 R.D.³¹

Amundsson was finally removed from his commission and all papers made out to him were transferred to Elswick, who in addition received new and more minute instructions. He was at first to present the claims of the government according to the instructions given to him by the Admiralty, then the claims of the company in accordance with the orders of the Commercial College. If any objections were raised he was to argue the case and show the reasonableness of the demands. If the Spaniards would not pay all, he should accept part of the amount and maintain that the rest was to be collected later. A secret instruction was given him, however, in which he was told to insist on the original sum, then strike off the interest and insist on 15,419 R.D. If this could not be secured, he should demand 11,000 R.D. as "ad ultimum," show his former instruction, and pretend that, if he could not secure the 11,000 R.D. besides the value of the ship, he must leave the island. If this had no effect, and if the governor insisted that he could pay no more than the list enclosed with the King's letter called for he should explain the difference in the two bills, and if a settlement could not be brought about on these terms, he should at last demand 6,954 R.D. on behalf of the company, besides the Admiralty's bill, below which he could not go. If cash could not be secured he should accept goods. If occasion offered itself, he was to report either to Palbitsky, the Swedish Minister at Madrid, or to the Commercial College.³²

³¹ See *Com. Col. R.*, February 23, 1654 (R.A.); "Aufsatz und Berechnung der Süder Comp.," etc., N.S., I. (R.A.); "Memorial," etc., Oct. 6, 1653, *Am. Reg.* (Fl. Ar.). Beier to Oxenstierna, June 7, 1650. *Ox. Saml.* (R.A.).

³² Kramer to the Com. Col., February 14, 1654, N.S., I. (R.A.). "Til Am. Anckerhjelm at taga ifrån Hans Amundson sin Instr.," etc., *Am. Reg.*, March, 1654. (The Index refers to fol. 868, but there is no entry in the Reg.)

Elswick arrived at Porto Rico on June 30, 1654, and was well received by the authorities. In the morning of July 1, being called into the presence of the governor for the second time, he delivered up his letters from the King of Spain, Ambassador Pimentelli and the Swedish Government. Pimentelli's letter had been opened by the Governor of St. Michael, but he had given an "attest," certifying that the seal was broken by him contrary to the wish of Elswick. Elswick worked for four days on his documents and accounts. Some more private claims, amounting to 18,536:29 R.D., were added to the original sum of 33,669:19 R.D., making the total claims presented by him 52,206 R.D.³³ This was a much larger sum than the King of Spain's letter showed and more than the governor could pay. He ordered his officers to examine the claims and they estimated them at 14,030 Spanish reals. On this basis a settlement could not be arrived at. The governor would not and could not pay the sum demanded by Elswick and Elswick would not accept the Spanish estimates. The governor wrote to the Spanish Ambassador at Stockholm, giving an account of the proceedings and on August 7 Elswick made a report to the chancellor. Elswick was very optimistic as to the final outcome of his mission and was happy in thinking that he had been very successful. He suggested that the best way to press the claims would be for him to go to Spain to present the documents in person to the King, and he was confident that the damages would be paid. On the fifteenth of August he left the island and other troubles were soon in store for him.³⁴ No further efforts seem to have been made, at least not for some time, and in 1673 the claim against Spain had not been collected.³⁵

³³ The former accounts of this expedition are very inaccurate and incomplete.

³⁴ Letters from Elswick to E. Oxenstierna, August 7, 1654, June 16, 1655, N.S., I. (R.A.).

³⁵ "Skrifvelser till K. Maj., July 19, 1673" (K.A.). . . . "Altsammans består uthi de af Holl. borttagne . . . fästningar, så och uthi . . . pretension, . . . hos Kon. i Spanien för skeppet Kattan. . . ."

CHAPTER XXX.

PREPARATIONS TO SEND OTHER EXPEDITIONS TO NEW SWEDEN, 1650-1653.

The expedition of 1649, which Printz was so anxiously expecting and which, had it arrived in New Sweden, might have had considerable influence on the history of the colony, was thus not only entirely useless, but tended to cripple the company and set back its activity. Had the ship arrived in New Sweden the events of 1651¹ might not have taken place; Ft. Casimir might not have been built and possibly Stuyvesant's expedition of 1655 would not have occurred, for then probably Rising would have had no fort to capture and Stuyvesant no capture to avenge.

As soon as news of the shipwreck reached Sweden it seems that the company made arrangements to send a cargo from Holland to the Delaware at the earliest date. Trotziz advised the authorities to pay more attention to the colony as it would in time become of great value to Sweden, and in the fall of 1650 7,419:13 florins "as a beginning" were sent to him by draft for procuring goods. In September "it was daily expected that a resolution would be made [by the Council of State] to send a cargo from Holland to New Sweden." But for some cause no such resolution was made and no cargo was prepared.²

Plans were also made for a new expedition from Sweden at the same time. There were 3 619:46½ R.D. in the treasury and the Tobacco Company owed 11,644:47 R.D. for tobacco, two-thirds of which was due. Hence over 15,000 R.D. were at the disposal of the company.³ Perhaps the money from the

¹ See below, p. Chap. XXXVII.

² "Gen. Bal., 1650," September 16, *Söderk.* (R.A.). Trotziz to Appelbom, April 11, 1650.

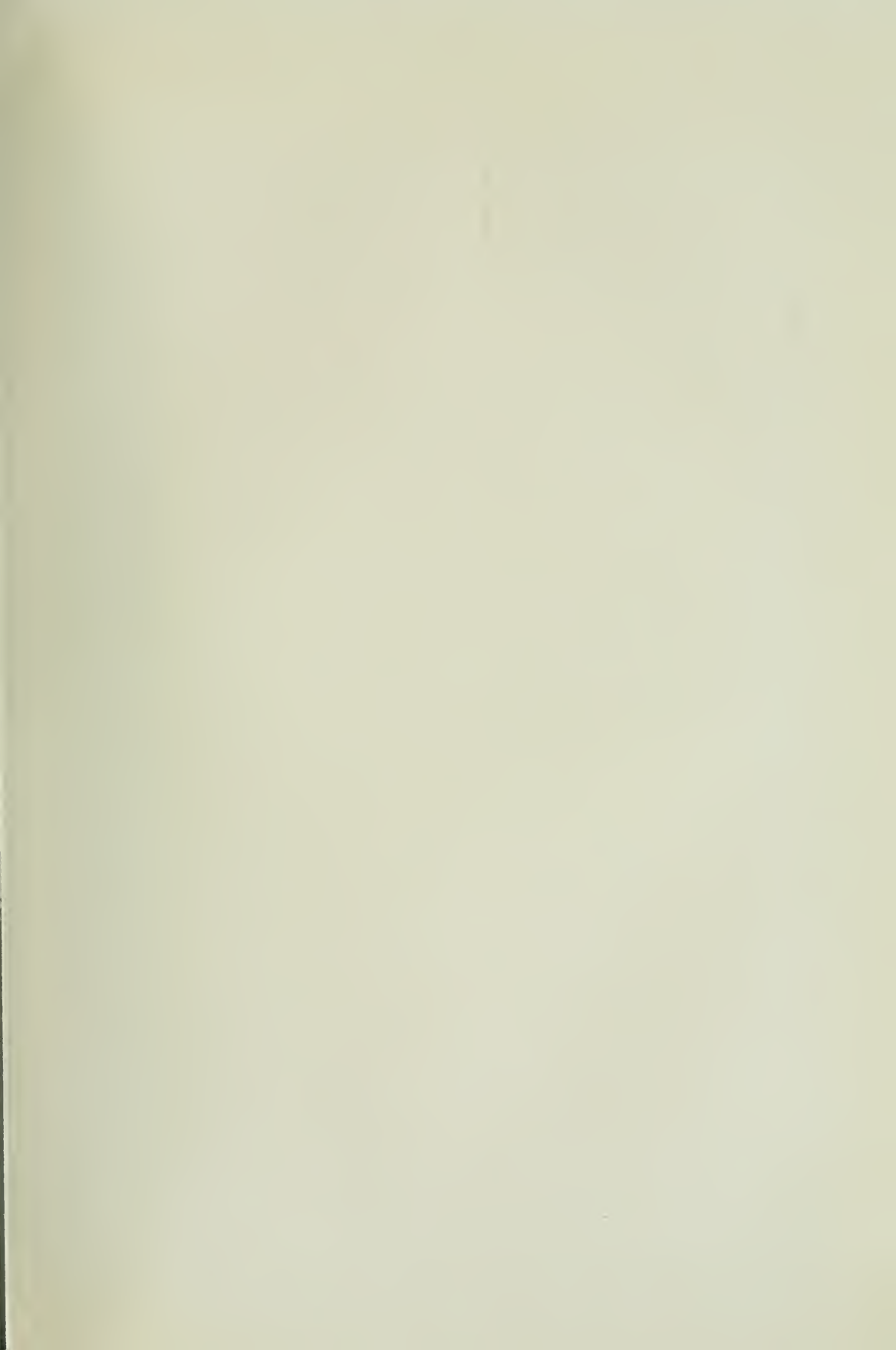
³ "Gen. Bal., 1650," September 16, *Söderk.* (R.A.).

Tobacco Company could not be collected, but even then there was money enough for a new expedition. The ship, the *Gyllene Haj*, had been riding at anchor since 1648, doing nothing but causing expense. In October, 1649, the ship had become leaky and "somewhat ruined" during its long anchorage in the harbor. It was repaired by one "Mr. Mickell, a carpenter from Munkläger" at the cost of 24 D.s.m. and in November Mickell received 60:26 D.s.m. for work on the *Haj*. Again in June, 1650, the *Haj* was blown ashore onto some poles during a storm and 35:19 D. was charged by Mickell for getting it loose and repairing it. A ship was thus at hand giving trouble, because not in use, and money seems to have been ready, but for some reason the preparations were not continued and the expedition was not sent. It is not clear why a new expedition was not fitted out in 1650. Perhaps it was due to the fact that there was no one to lead the work, who had authority to make arrangements. Axel Oxenstierna was old and lacked his former activity and power of work, and Queen Christina paid more attention to Court festivities, balls and pageants than to matters of state. The Admiralty owed the company 7,331:2½ R.D. for money paid to sailors and other people in the employ of the Crown, and it seems that the company required the Admiralty to fit out the vessel in lieu of this sum. Perhaps there was no money in the treasury of the Admiralty.⁴ At any rate, the ship was not sent and Printz was compelled to buy his goods at double prices from his neighbors and to neglect the Indian trade on account of having nothing to exchange with them.⁵

Four days after Printz was informed by Stuyvesant of the shipwreck of the *Katt* he wrote to Brahe, Oxenstierna, the Queen and perhaps others. He states that he had heard nothing from Sweden although he had written four times. The condition of the country was good, but again he asks for more people. Sven Skute returned to Sweden in the autumn of 1650,

⁴ Cf. "Gen. Bal., 1650," *Söderk.*, 1637-59 (R.A.); Hildebrand, *Sw. hist.*, V.

⁵ *Journal*, nos. 860 (October 2, 1649), 871 (November 7, 1649). It seems to have been the intention of the company to sell the *Gyllene Haj*. See "Gen. Bal., 1650," *Söderk.* (R.A.).



[illegible]

Upper

Ind. 100. 12. Marky. *Ind. 100. 12. Marky.*

with letters and reports. Skute was in Holland in October and in the beginning of November he arrived in Stockholm, but his presence does not seem to have given much impetus to the efforts that were being made in behalf of the colony, and almost a year passed before new preparations were begun.⁶

In the autumn of 1651 there was again some activity in the matter. Trotzig bought large quantities of goods which were sent to Gothenburg with skipper Jurgen Larsson to be placed in the care of Hans Macklier, and other preparations were begun.⁷ But months went by and no new expedition was in sight. In the spring of 1652 however, the government showed signs of interest in their little forsaken colony on the South River,⁸ but for what reason it is not known. It is probable that Kramer, Beier and perhaps Macklier and Trotzig wrote to the chancellor and the Queen in the beginning of 1652, stating that goods were in readiness for a new expedition. At any rate the colonial business now received the attention of the Council of State and on March 16 the Queen was present in the Council Chamber. Several people acquainted with the colony and the company had been ordered to be present. The treasurer, Johan Beier, was first called upon to give a report. He said that Bookkeeper Kramer had been working in the interest of the company; but since the death of Klas Fleming there had been no director, who had devoted his time to the managing of the company and its business. Since the last ship was lost nothing special had been heard from the colony. It was known, however, that the land supported the people without aid from Sweden; but there was no merchandise with which to carry on the Indian trade. Lieutenant Skute was then requested to "present his commission." He stated that the country was very

⁶ Letters, August 1, to Queen, "E. L. Regist. upå Riksark. Acter. gam. orient. Kat.", R.A.; to A. Oxenstierna; P. Brahe. *Ox. Saml.*; *Skokl. Saml.* R.A. *Journal*, nos. 1047, 1051.

⁷ *Monatg. B.*, 1642-56 fol.

⁸ Not as Sprinchorn states as a result of Printz' letters of August 1, 1651, for it is expressly said that "Sedan nu det sidsta skeppet kom på olycka haffwer man inthet synnerligt hört derifrån." *Rådspr.*, R.A. These letters were not received before March 17 or 18, 1652.

good and contained forests and minerals; there were four kinds of oaks and various other valuable trees, and the governor had built a ship from timber cut in the colony; metals were found in the country, but they could not be touched even if there were mountains of gold (presumably for lack of people); trade to the Caribbean Islands could be profitably carried on from the colony, but capital was lacking and ships were not at hand for such a trade. As a whole, however, the condition of the colony was prosperous; they had no enemies, but the colonists were too few, the male population numbering only 70. One Henrik Persson was also called in and questioned about the colony, but he informed the councillors that he had been in New Netherland and not in New Sweden.⁹ In New Netherland, he said, "they traded with tobacco and furs and ships may be built there if material is cut in time." When the reports had been heard, plans and proposals were formulated for aiding Governor Printz. The question of obtaining colonists could be easily settled, for many had expressed a desire to go to New Sweden; but the directorship and the best means for prosecuting the work successfully required more consideration. The Queen thought it would be best to let the Commercial College have charge and direction of the company, the Admiralty should fit out the ships and sufficient money should be provided. To these proposals the chancellor agreed. The Queen further suggested that the New Ship Company should be united with the New Sweden Company, but the chancellor objected and the idea was dropped. Some Dutch had also applied for permission to settle in the colony. The chancellor was of opinion that they should be allowed to do so, provided that their number was not too large. Finally the assessor in the Commercial College was called for. The Queen told him that "the care of the trade to New Sweden" was to be assumed by the college, and its members were to present plans for the development of the colony and the cultivation of the land. It was further decided that the

⁹ Many Swedes were settled in New Amsterdam, who have been called Dutch by the historians.

chancellor should consult with the college during the day about the affair, and the Queen was to command the admiral to prepare a ship. What was done in the Commercial College about it on March 16 is not known, but Oxenstierna was undoubtedly present in the chamber and ways and means for sending a new expedition were in all likelihood discussed.¹⁰

Two days later¹¹ or perhaps on the following day letters from Printz were received by Oxenstierna, Beier and the Queen, reporting that Stuyvesant had "invaded New Sweden, bought land from the Indians already purchased by the Swedes, erected a fort and obstructed the trade in the river." The governor complained bitterly against "the outrages" of the Dutch, saying that Stuyvesant disrespected Her Royal Majesty's authority, obstructed free traffic, demanded toll from strangers (the English), stirred up the Indians against the Swedes and personally incited the Swedish freemen to renounce their oath of allegiance and to join the Dutch on pain of being driven "from house and home." He therefore requested immediate relief and suggested that two warships be stationed in the Delaware for about two years together with some soldiers. Unless aid should be sent without delay he feared that the whole thing would have a miserable end. It seems that Governor Printz also reported his troubles to Peter Trotzig, requesting him to interest the government in the colony, for on March 12 (n.s.?) the latter wrote to secretary Beier that a report had reached him to the effect that Stuyvesant had built a fort in the colony and he thought that "they ought not let New Sweden take care of itself without assistance."¹² These things gave new impetus to the preparations. On the eighteenth of March the Queen was again present in the Council Chamber and it seems that the session was looked upon as of some importance, for nearly all the councillors were present. The first question con-

¹⁰ *Rådspr.*, March 16, 1652 (R.A.); also a copy in N.S., I. (R.A.).

¹¹ The letter to Beier is marked below the P. S.: "*Praes. 18, March, 1652.*"

¹² Printz to Beier and to A. Oxenstierna, August 1, 1651, *Ox. Saml.*; Printz to Brahe, August 1, 1651, *Skokl. Saml.* (R.A.); Trotzig to Beier, March 12, 1652, N.S., I. (R.A.).

sidered was the colony, and one of the letters of Printz was read. The point to receive most attention was, of course, the hostilities of the Dutch. We know nothing of what was said or proposed by the different councillors, but it seems likely that some one was of the opinion that a force should be sent there at once to drive the Dutch from the river, for the minutes of the council say: "Then Her Majesty's idea was that the States General should first be approached for a settlement." No immediate steps seem to have been taken, however, and the subject was dropped for the time being with the chancellor's remark "that the case was well worth considering."¹³

As may be inferred from the Queen's remark the matter led to some diplomatic correspondence and the Dutch Resident at Stockholm, Koenraad van Beuningen, was questioned about it. He was asked if the States General had permitted the building of the fort, but he answered that he knew nothing about it. He wrote to the Hague for information, but of course received no reply—at least none to communicate to the Swedish government. The Swedish Resident at the Hague was also instructed to present the case to the Dutch authorities and he seems to have been informed that Stuyvesant had no permission to erect a fort on Swedish territory. It also appears that the Dutch West India Company was addressed on the subject and that the same reply was received from them.¹⁴

A few days after the above conference (March 23) the Queen issued an order to the Admiralty requesting them to fit out the *Swan* for a "new journey to the West Indies." But for some reason the ship was not prepared—probably it was in poor condition—and instead it was planned to have the company put its own vessel, the *Gyllene Haj*, in readiness for the voyage. But preparations proceeded slowly and little was done, although there was some activity in the matter in the spring and summer.¹⁵

We have seen that Printz received no new cargo nor addi-

¹³ *Rådspr.*, March 18, 1652, *Mss.* (R.A.).

¹⁴ *Doc.*, I. 603 ff.; *Rising's Journal*, May 22, 1654.

¹⁵ The Commercial College did not take over the management, for A. Oxenstierna still issued the orders.

tions of settlers to his little colony. Not even an answer was sent him. On August 30, 1652, he again wrote to Brahe and Oxenstierna, complaining bitterly of the situation. The Dutch pressed hard upon him, having settled forty families on the Crown's territory and the English were threatening to appear in the river with great force. For five years the Swedes had had no merchandise to sell to the Indians, and besides the savages were becoming restless and dangerous. The colonists were dissatisfied and many had deserted. Water had damaged the grain and supplies had to be bought for double prices from the Dutch and English. The neighbors said openly that the colony was entirely neglected and forgotten by the home government. On top of it all Printz was ill and indisposed to remain any longer.¹⁶ These letters seem to have produced another period of activity at Stockholm in behalf of the colony.

In May Kramer made an inventory of the goods on hand at Gothenburg ready to be shipped over, and in June several expenses are recorded in connection with the preparations. About the same time the chancellor ordered Kramer to paint, rig and repair the *Gyllene Haj* and repairs for several hundred Swedish dollars were made. A watchman was also employed from July 28 until November 13. But the journey was not made and another period of inactivity ensued. Nothing further seems to have been done during the following winter, spring and summer. In the fall of 1653 new interest was manifested in the colony, but this belongs to another chapter.¹⁷

¹⁶ Letter fr. Printz to Oxenstierna, August 30, 1652, *Ox. Saml.*, and to Brahe (same date), *Skokl. Saml.*

¹⁷ *Journal*, nos. 1047, 1051, 1053, 1054, 1061 ff. Cf. below.

CHAPTER XXXI.

THE TRADE OF THE COMPANY, 1643-1653.

The company engaged in the trade of various articles during this period. John Beier bought a lot of copper in May, 1646, and again in July of the same year. It was sent to Holland on De Geer's ships, the *Charitas* and the *Foenix* and sold by Peter Trotzic in Amsterdam. 299 D. duty was paid on the shipment, the cost including all expenses was 4,812 D. 25 öre, and it was sold for 5,456 D. 33 öre s.m. The salt which had been sent to Borgå and Åbo¹ in Finland in June, 1642, to be sold there² was gradually paid for and a good profit was realized.³ The salt at Borgå was paid for mostly by merchandise, and in the summer of 1644 Jacob Heffner, the mayor of the city, sent some provisions such as butter and the like valued at 404 D. to apply to the account, leaving him 164 D. in arrears to the company. Robert Smith bought 1,278 barrels of the "French salt" brought to Sweden in the *Charitas* in 1642 and the salt imported by the company in 1643 was likewise sold, the entire proceeds being turned over to Johan Beier, the treasurer.⁴

The beaver trade was comparatively small also during this period. On some of the expeditions a considerable number of skins came from New Sweden, but other ships carried no furs. In 1643 Bonnell made about half a dozen sales, one of which (sold to the Russians in Stockholm)⁵ amounted to 5,558 D.

¹ The salt sent to Åbo was consigned to Plagman, as follows:

308 barrels	2,068:16
Expenses	134
	1,934:16 D.k.m.

or 773 D. 25½ öre s.m. *Journal*, no. 268.

² Cf. above, Chaps. XVIII., XIX.

³ The profit was 1,939 D. 5 öre. *Journal*, no. 403.

⁴ *Journal*, nos. 268, 396, etc.

⁵ Probably Demetriowitz and Davioff (see below). The Russian interpreter was paid 27 D. *Journal*, no. 314.

17 öre,⁶ and in 1644 several smaller sales were effected by him. No more peltries were sold in Sweden before 1647⁷ and no considerable quantities before 1648,⁸ when a large number of skins arrived on the *Swan*. With these sales the fur trade of the company was practically at an end. The skins were sold to private parties, such as Jacob Frische, Willem Momma⁹ and others, and in some instances to Russian merchants,¹⁰ two of these being mentioned, Maxim Demetriowitz and Stephen Davioff, who made one of the largest purchases in 1648.¹¹

The use of tobacco had increased enormously in Sweden from 1637 until 1643, and it was now a profitable business to smuggle tobacco into the kingdom. The ordinance of the government was not lived up to and tobacco, "in large quantities, was secretly brought in[to the country] by sea and land."¹² Bonnell complained that tobacco was supplied to the merchants by smugglers to such an extent that the company could not find buyers for its large stores. In the beginning of 1643 matters were getting impossible and something had to be done. Trotzig, Kallmeter, Wissman and Trost, who were the heaviest buyers from the company, complained that they could

⁶ We have seen that Lucas Andersson in Amsterdam sold the furs that were sent to Europe from the colony in 1644.

⁷ Only one sale was made in 1647, it seems, a single skin being sold for 4 R.D. 16. to Willem Momma. *Journal*, no. 585.

⁸ Bonnell sold 63 otter skins for 118 D. 4 öre on July 8, 1648, and 1,232 beaver skins for 5,287 D. 16 öre on July 10, 1648. On December 27, 1649, he sold the last lot, it seems, in the storehouse, 8 beaver skins for 31 D. 16 öre. *Journal*, nos. 715, 718, 774.

⁹ Willem Momma, probably a relative of Abraham and Jacob Momma, who presented a remarkable proposal to the Commercial College for the improvement of Lappland and Norrland in 1655. See Commercial College "skr. till K.M.," March 11, 1665 (R.A.).

¹⁰ Russians seem to have traded in furs to a great extent in Sweden at this time. Cf. also *De la Gard. Arch.*, V. 144.

¹¹ *Journal*, nos. 221, 264, 314, 333, 342, 366, 376, 447, 498, 585, 715, 718, 774.

¹² Tobacco was brought into Sweden from Norway and the Danish provinces south of Sweden. By sea most of the smuggled tobacco was brought in on the Crown's ships from Riga, Narva and Nyskants. These ships were not so well guarded or searched as other ships, and hence the opportunity of smuggling was greater on them than on the merchant vessels. See Trotzig (and associates) to Fleming. *Tobaksk.*, 1643-59 (R.A.). Blome to Oxenstierna, November 21, 1644, *Ox. Saml.*

not sell their tobacco, since it was brought in illegally and sold by everybody. In March, 1643, Fleming wrote to them, saying that he thought that the best way to control the inland trade and also all importation of the article would be to allow only certain persons in Stockholm and other cities to sell the tobacco, denying all others the privilege. In order that the best means might be employed and the most effective measures adopted, the above-mentioned people were requested to consider the matter and present their views about it. Some time later they sent an answer or memorial in twelve articles. They proposed that the Royal Ordinance be sharpened and the fine increased,¹³ that the tobacco trade of the entire kingdom be given into the hands of a company, which should buy its tobacco from the New Sweden Company, and sell it through their representatives in all cities and places in Sweden, Finland and other provinces of the kingdom. On the other hand, the New Sweden Company should be obliged to sell its tobacco only to the Tobacco Company.¹⁴

The tobacco trade was also discussed in the council and means proposed for its regulation. In April the government published a new ordinance, repeating and restricting some of the articles in the former mandates. The New Sweden Company was to continue to be the sole importer, and tobacco shipped in by others would be confiscated and a fine of four öre silver money on every pound would be imposed on the owner of the tobacco or on "the skipper on whose ship the tobacco

¹³ Since large quantities of tobacco were brought into Finland and Sweden from Lifland they proposed that a heavy duty be imposed on tobacco in that province. Accordingly Fleming suggested in the council of 1643 that the duty on tobacco in Lifland be increased. *Rådspr.*, IX.

¹⁴ Several other suggestions were made, some of which were incorporated into the ordinance issued by the government in April the same year. The price of the tobacco was to be regulated according to the pleasure of the company in connection with the factor of the New Sweden Company. A contract should be made for a certain number of years between the Tobacco Company and the New Sweden Company, stipulating the price, kind of money to be used in payments, and when and how payments were to be made. Letter from Klas Fleming to Mattias Trost, Jacob Kallmeter, Jacob Trotzig and Baltzar Wissman, March 13, 1643 (copy), and the answer of these gentlemen in twelve articles (orig.), no date. *Tobaksk.*, 1643-59 (R.A.).

was found," in case the owner could not be discovered. All tobacco was to be sold only by such as the company designated for this purpose and on the conditions made by them.¹⁵

In the meantime arrangements had been in progress for the formation of a Tobacco Company on the basis of the memorial presented by Jacob Trotzig and his associates. Fleming undoubtedly held conferences with them at which Beier, Bonnell and Kramer were present, and in June the company was organized. It consisted of the following members: Mattias Trost, Jacob Kallmeter, Jacob Trotzig, Thomas Johansson, Melcher Volger, Johan Fijrborn, Hindrick Ekehoff, Gabriel Delvendahl(?), Baltzar Wissman and Jacob Blome. A contract was signed on June 20, 1643, by the members of the new company and by Klas Fleming in the name of the New Sweden Company.¹⁶ The New Sweden Company had sole right to sell and import tobacco, states the contract, but it was found expedient to grant the privilege of distributing the same throughout the kingdom to a company. This company was given sole right for six years to sell tobacco in any part of Sweden or its dependencies, and during this period the New Sweden Company was to sell its tobacco to the Tobacco Company only. The Tobacco Company, on the other hand, promised to do its utmost in distributing the tobacco and see that no place was in want of the article, to buy all its tobacco from the New Sweden Company and to employ residing burgers in the different cities, except at Kopparberget, where the company had a right to send its own agent or salesmen and to erect one or more public stores. All kinds of tobacco were included under the contract, even powdered tobacco or snuff, but the New Sweden Company had a right to sell such tobacco to apothecaries, who in turn could sell it to the public.¹⁷

¹⁵ Stiernman, II. 373 ff. Cf. *Rådspr.*, IX. 239, 333, 339-40.

¹⁶ "Two originals" were made and signed first by Klas Fleming as the representative or director of the New Sweden Company, then by the ten members of the Tobacco Company. "Demnach Ihre Kön.," etc., June 20, 1643, "*Jacob Feif emot tobaksk.*, 1643-51": fol. 12-14, *Tobaksk.*, 1643-59 (R.A.).

¹⁷ Contract, "Jacob Feif emot Tob. Com., 1651," fol. 12-14, *Tobaksk.*, 1643-59 (R.A.).

A sort of a constitution¹⁸ or by-law of the Tobacco Company for the regulation of the trade and the defining of the rights and duties of its members was likewise drawn up and signed. The company was to rent as many stores in Stockholm as was necessary for the conducting of the business; there was to be a special storehouse where all the tobacco should be delivered as soon as bought. Strict rules were made for the conduct of the private members; in case any one absented himself without cause from the meetings of the company, he should be fined one R.D. for the first hour, two for the second, and four if he did not appear at all.¹⁹ Jacob Trotzig was made director,²⁰ Blome was appointed cashier and a special bookkeeper was employed.²¹ We may assume that the company at once set to work to organize its trade throughout the kingdom, for already on June 25—five days after the contract was signed—1,056½ pounds were sold to "William Classon, citizen and resident of Åbo," Finland, and soon afterwards "Isak Hansson from Eksjö," Johan Jöransson in Hedemora, Jacob Persson in Torshälla, Hans Macklier in Gothenburg, Hans Hansson in Falun and others were commissioned to sell tobacco in the market places²² and in the principal centers of population throughout the kingdom.²³ Merchants and others, who bought

¹⁸ This document is in Swedish, the former is in German. The copy in *Tobaksk.*, 1643-59, is not dated.

¹⁹ One third of this fine should go to the poor, the rest to the company.

²⁰ It is possible that the company had more than one director. The expression "Direktorerna" is often met with. It was denied that Trotzig was director. In a law-suit brought against Feif for the payment of a certain amount of tobacco, Carolstadius maintained that "the entire direction of the company was in the hands of Jacob Kalmäter and Jacob Blome." The facts seem to be that Trotzig was the first director, then after his death, which occurred in the summer of 1644, it seems (fol. 20-21), Jacob Kallmeter was appointed or elected director. See Salomon Petrij Carols[tadius]' letter in "Jacob Feif emot Tob. Comp. 1651 K.," fol. 17-18, *Tobaksk.*, 1643-59 (R.A.).

²¹ *Jacob Feif*, etc., fol. 25 ff. The bookkeeper was Herman Elswick, probably a relative of Hendrick von Elswick, the factor in New Sweden, 1654-5.

²² Classon's bond was signed by Jacob Feif and W. Starkman.

²³ Certain places in the country were designated as market-places, where the farmers and others came at stated times of the year to buy and sell their goods. The company also had agents at Stockholm, Norrköping, Kalmar, Västervik, Nyköping, Narva, etc. Blome to Oxenstierna, 1645.

tobacco from the Tobacco Company to sell again, were obliged to furnish bonds as well as to sign a contract to the effect that the ordinances of the government and of the companies would be lived up to.²⁴ In June Bonnell made two large sales to the Tobacco Company amounting to 22,709½ lbs., for which it was to pay 14,579 D. 23 öre in four installments, every three months from September 16, 1643. Bonnell continued to import large quantities of tobacco from Holland during the first part of this period. In May 14,937 lbs. were brought to Stockholm on the contract made with Cornelisson Möllnaer,²⁵ and in the autumn of 1643 a new contract was made with him for the delivery of 20,000 lbs., for 6,271 R.D., to be paid in four installments. The tobacco was shipped to Stockholm in October and November.²⁶ But complaints, however, were soon made that tobacco was imported and sold²⁷ against the mandates of the government by others than the New Sweden Company and the "tobacco-participants." Consequently another resolution was issued by the Crown in January, 1644, but the smuggling continued and tobacco was imported illegally "not only on particular merchant vessels, but also on ships of the Crown," filling the country with the article.²⁸ In some cases the governors and magistrates of the kingdom "played under cover with the transgressors,"²⁹ and it was often impossible for the representatives of the companies to bring the offenders to punishment, even though they had been caught openly violating the law. Accordingly a fourth ordinance was published by the government in the beginning of 1645, repeating all former commands in more vigorous terms.³⁰ But even this failed to

²⁴ "Feif emot Tob. Comp. 1651," etc., fol. 10 ff. *Tobaksk.* (R.A.).

²⁵ The contract called for 16,000 lbs. (Dutch weight). *Journal*, no. 249.

²⁶ *Journal*, nos. 324, 338, 260, 261.

²⁷ It was a general rule in this period that a merchant should handle only one kind of goods. But in the case of merchants in small places who could not make their living without trading in several articles, they were granted the privilege of handling tobacco besides other goods. Stiernman, II. 384.

²⁸ Blome to Oxenstierna, November 21, 1644. *Ox. Saml.*

²⁹ "Spela med thess öfwerträdare under täcket," "play into the hands of." Stiernman, II. 396.

³⁰ Dated January 18, 1645. Stiernman, II. 396 ff.

have the desired effect. New complaints were made³¹ and the Tobacco Company reported that the merchants in the various cities did not pay their bills on the dates "they had agreed upon." The government was very active in its endeavors to regulate the trade, and on the thirtieth of March, the same year, an edict was sent to all the governors of the kingdom, commanding them to observe that all the former ordinances were followed and "that no one except the South Company carried on a tobacco trade."³¹

The original number of members in the Tobacco Company was ten, but Trotzig died in 1644, and other members either died or withdrew from the association. In April, 1646, the contract made by Fleming with the company was renewed by Oxenstierna.³² But the trade throughout the kingdom remained as irregular and uncontrolled as before, and in November Blome repeated his former complaints, also adding that the New Sweden Company charged too big a price for the tobacco. On June 17, 1647, the Queen published another manifesto, increasing the penalty for smuggling tobacco to two silver marks a pound for the first offence, besides confiscation, and for a second offence imposing severe punishment upon the perpetrator without mercy. In case the mayors and magistrates in the cities did not keep close watch over the importation and trade they should be held responsible for the misdeeds of their citizens. It is probable that this order somewhat checked the illegal importation, for the complaints seem to have been less frequent and no further ordinances were issued before the contract with the Tobacco Company expired.³³

Only four persons remained in the company in 1647, Matias Trost, Jacob Kallmeter, Baltzar Wissmar and Jacob Blome. Blome continued to act as treasurer and Kallmeter was director. As time went on large quantities of tobacco were bought

³¹ Stiernman, II. 398-9.

³² Blome to A. Oxenstierna, November 26, 1646. *Ox. Saml.* (R.A.).

³³ Oxenstierna's contract, April, 1646, *Tobaksk.*, 1643-59 (R.A.), and in *Concept.*, *Ox. Saml.*; Blome to Oxenstierna, November 26, 1646, *Ox. Saml.*; Stiernman, II. 487-9; *Nord. Saml.*, 386 (U.B.).

from Bonnell, who imported it from Möllnaer and Company and others, often aided by Peter Trotzig.³⁴ But tobacco was smuggled into the kingdom in such quantities that the company could not sell its supplies so readily as expected. The tobacco habit had furthermore assumed various forms by this time, and chewing was becoming common, making it more difficult to sell leaves in the usual way.

In the spring of 1645 a new departure was made in the tobacco trade of the New Sweden Company. A tobacco spinner was engaged at Gothenburg and 1,261½ lbs. of the tobacco which came from New Sweden were "spun."³⁵ But the experiment was probably not a paying one, and it does not seem to have been repeated until 1648. Large quantities of unsold tobacco were then on hand in the company's storehouse in Stockholm. To make this supply more saleable it was decided to spin it and Peter Trotzig was ordered to hire a spinner and to buy a tobacco press and other necessary supplies, for the manufacture of "roll tobacco." Accordingly Trotzig engaged Thomas Schwartwout at a salary of 50 florins a month. A press and other instruments were made in Holland and shipped to Sweden. Schwartwout arrived in Stockholm on May 10, 1648, and began almost immediately to make preparations for the manufacture of roll tobacco. A storehouse and workshop were rented on Södermalm and towards the end of May 102 casks of tobacco were brought from the storehouse of the New Sweden Company and placed in the factory. October 18 the first sale (1,000 lbs.) of manufactured tobacco was made

³⁴ *July 8, 1645*, 2,890 lb. bt. for 1,083:24 D. were received by Bonnell; *September 20*, 5,731 lb. (cost 2,149:4 D.); *October 26*, 3,265 (cost 2,285:16 D.); *May 6, 1646*, 10,980 lb. bt. for 3,643:28 D.; *August 10*, 1,743½ lb. (cost 578:20 D.); *November 6*, 3,746½ lb. (cost 663:13 D.); *November 28*, 10,226½ lb. (cost 1,810 D.); *July 8, 1647*, 379 lb. bt. for 379 D.; *May 2, 1648*, 6,767½ lb. bt. for 2,245:28 D.; *June 13*, 3,616½ lb. (cost 1,356:6 D.); *August 2*, 8,066 lb. (cost 2,676:24 D.); *July 14, 1649*, 5,947 lb. bt. for 1,954:5 D.; *September 5*, 7,241 lb. (cost 2,403 D.); *October 1*, 7,648 lb. (cost 1,972:20 D.), etc. *Journal*, nos. 422, 423, 465, 469, 483, 486, 488, 490, 492, 494, 528, 538, 543, 544, 552, 568, 571, 591, 593, 598, 605, 618, 619, 643, 660, 662, 664, 687, 698, 725, 727, 837, 852, 857, 867, etc.

³⁵ *Journal*, no. 461.

and from now on practically all the tobacco sold by Bonnell had been treated at the factory. From the eighteenth of October, 1648, until the fifteenth of October, 1649, 15,650 lbs. were spun, valued at 2,347:16 D., and most of this lot was then already sold. The expenses connected with the spinning such as Schwartzwout's salary and lodgings (which were paid by the company), the purchase of syrup, wood and some other articles used in the manufacture, were relatively small, making the business very profitable, for the tobacco was greatly increased in price.³⁶

In March, 1649, the contract made with Schwartzwout was changed and instead of a salary he was to be paid 4 stivers a pound for the tobacco treated by him. For that sum he should pay all expenses, such as rent and necessary material used in the manufacture.³⁷

In the spring of 1649 the contract of the Tobacco Company expired, and in October the government withdrew the privileges given to the New Sweden Company, permitting a free importation and sale of tobacco by any person, whether Swede or foreigner, on the payment of duty.³⁸ For two years the free and unrestricted importation of tobacco was continued. Kallmeter and Wissman, members of the old Tobacco Company, were still heavy buyers from Bonnell,³⁹ and considerable quantities of tobacco were sold by him from the beginning of 1650 until the autumn of 1651.⁴⁰

When the Tobacco Company was disbanded in 1649 it owed the New Sweden Company large sums of money.⁴¹ Part of it was paid, but a considerable debt remained unsettled in 1653, which Jacob Blome and his associates refused to pay. Kramer

³⁶ *Journal*, nos. 684, 693-7, 737, 750 ff., 759-1, 766, 769, 770, 773, 783-5, 789, 795-803, 805, 807, 808, 813, 815, 817, 819, 833, 836, 841, etc.

³⁷ *Journal*, no. 797.

³⁸ Stiernman, II. 602-3.

³⁹ *Journal*, nos. 929, 937, 948, 1007, 1018.

⁴⁰ In April, 1650, the journal states that Bonnell sold several hundred pounds to the "Toback Contractanten." By "Toback Contr." is undoubtedly meant the members of the old company, as there was no company in existence at this time as far as is known. *Journal*, nos. 922, 923.

⁴¹ *Journal*, nos. 1060, 1066, 1145.

brought a suit against him and secured a judgment instructing Blome to pay the amount.⁴² But he still refused, maintaining that he had traded *bona fide*, that he would not pay twice for the same lots nor for tobacco he had not received. The case was then brought before the Commercial College and Kramer and Blome presented their bills and documents before that body in the spring of 1654. The college found that Kramer's bills and demands were just and correct and Blome was told to pay 10,000 D. at once. The other bills could be cleared up later, when he had time to try to disprove their validity. On closer examination it was found that the Tobacco Company had been charged for 436 D. by Bonnell more than had actually been delivered; but the rest of the debts were pronounced *bona fide* and they were gradually paid.⁴³

It soon became evident that unrestricted importation of tobacco was not practicable. Tobacco was smuggled into the country in larger quantities than ever and the excise was materially reduced. It was therefore decided to restore the old order of things, and on the twenty-second of September, 1651, a patent for the tobacco trade was issued by the Queen, granting to the New Sweden Company the sole right to import and sell tobacco under any pretext whatever, and transgressors would be punished according to the Ordinance of 1647.⁴⁴ All tobacco in the kingdom must be delivered to the company and a reason-

⁴² Rechn. och förslag efter kämbnare domen huru mycket Jacob Blomë och hans intressenter ännu skydlige ähre.

	<i>Debit.</i>	
Efter . . . Kramers . . . Reck . . . summa K. M.		D. 18,991:12
	<i>Credit.</i>	
Befriade från		D. 6,120:25
Pro Saldo förblifver J. Blome och hans intr. efter K. Domen skyldige till 10 Dec. Anno 1650.		K. M. 12,870:29
		K. M. D. 18,991:22

Kramer to A. Oxenstierna, December 15, 1653 (copy); "Ex. Prot. på Rättens Wegnar," etc., December 10, 1653, "Rech.," etc., *Ox. Saml.*

⁴³ "Förteckn. öfwer sum. i domen emot J. Blomë." Among letters from Kramer to A. Oxenstierna, *Ox. Saml. Com. Col. Prot.*, 1654, Mar. 2-7 (R.A.). Letter from J. Blome to Com. Col., February 25, 1654; two other letters from Blome to Com. Col. (no date), *Com. Col. Acta*, 1653-9 (K.A.); *Journal*, nos. 1145 ff., 1215 (December 31, 1654).

⁴⁴ See above.

able price should be paid for it.⁴⁵ A new Tobacco Company was also organized by "Johan Fischbeck, Daniel Junge, Johan Focke and consorts,"⁴⁶ and the trade was well systematized. The New Sweden Company had 21,558 lbs. in its storehouse and this was weighed and arrangements made to have it transferred to the Tobacco Company. But the stockholders refused to pay more than half a D. copper money per pound. An agreement could not be reached and the differences were referred to the government. It was finally ordered that three marks copper money should be paid for each pound or 6,467:12½ D. for the lot, to be delivered in several instalments from June until October, 1652. 6,777 lbs. of confiscated tobacco were also sold by Bonnell, but it was spoilt through its long storage and only 793 D. 19 öre were realized on it.⁴⁷

The new regulations did not improve matters. The mayors and magistrates of the cities interpreted the patent to suit their own interests.⁴⁸ In some cases the agents of the Tobacco Company and others sent to inquire into the condition of the trade and guard the interests of their employers were attacked and ill treated. The company complained and in 1652 another patent in five articles was published. But all efforts of the Crown and the company to regulate the trade and prevent smuggling were to no avail, and in April, 1653, the importation and trade of tobacco was again made free, the privileges granted the New Sweden Company being withdrawn. A duty of 3⅓ öre a pound was to be paid by the importer, when the herb was loaded on a mounted Swedish ship, while a somewhat higher duty was imposed if imported on other vessels. But illegal importation continued, and still another ordinance was issued in July of the same year.⁴⁹

⁴⁵ Stiernman, II. 678-9.

⁴⁶ *Journal*, no. 1048. The Co. was formed in the autumn, 1651, *Patent*, etc., Sept. 22, 1651.

⁴⁷ *Journal*, nos. 1048, 1055, 1059.

⁴⁸ In the spring the Mayor of Upsala wrote to the Commercial College on behalf of some citizens requesting permission to buy some tobacco direct from the company and not through their agents. But it was denied. Rising to the Mayor of Upsala, March 26, 1652. *Com. Col. Reg. (R.A.)*.

⁴⁹ Stiernman, II. 692 ff., 708 ff., 718 ff.

The sale of tobacco was now free for more than a year until privileges for the importation of the article were again granted to the new "American Company."⁵⁰

The tobacco trade of the New Sweden Company was discontinued in 1652 and it handled no more tobacco for about two years. The entire profits on the sales was 26,638:8 $\frac{1}{10}$ D., and a little more than one fourth of this sum was realized on the roll tobacco manufactured by Schwartzwout.⁵¹

Benjamin Bonnell's services for the company practically came to an end in the fall of 1651 when he was commissioned to go to England as a representative of the Trading Company⁵² to obtain the release of a ship which had been captured on her way from Portugal to Sweden with a cargo of salt.⁵³ An instruction in six articles was given to him by the government on August 30 and a passport and credentials were made out for him the same day.⁵⁴ In September, 1652, he was again sent to England by the government "in the position of a commissary, especially to observe there the things that concerned the commerce and navigation of the Swedish crown and its citizens" and to try to enter into some agreement with Parliament.⁵⁵ He was also commissioned to present the injuries done by the English to the New Ship Company and endeavor to obtain reasonable damages.⁵⁶

Bonnell's services for the New Sweden Company were now entirely ended. He owed the company a considerable sum of money, due to the fact that he had not turned over all the cash to Beier received from the Tobacco Company, and as he was unable to pay in cash he transferred his shares in the Shipbuilding Company at Västervik to the New Sweden Company.

⁵⁰ Cf. below, Chap. XLVIII.

⁵¹ *Journal*, no. 1087 ff.

⁵² "Handelscompagniet."

⁵³ He should sail there on the company's ship *Gotland*, R.R., August, 1651, fol. 968.

⁵⁴ R.R., August 30, 1651, fol. 968 ff., 970 ff., 971-2.

⁵⁵ Memorial för Com. B. Bonnell (in seven articles), September 30, 1652, R.R. fol. 1729 ff.

⁵⁶ Article 6, R.R., September 30, 1652, fol. 1734.

These shares were valued at 1,800 D.,⁵⁷ but his account was still 3,730 D. 18¼ öre short. This sum, however, was transferred to the account of the government and the Queen ordered it to be paid on Bonnell's behalf, since he had performed valuable services to the Crown.⁵⁸

⁵⁷ The market value of the shares was only 1,575 D. however. *Journal*, no. 1075.

⁵⁸ *Journal*, no. 1075-6: "Öpet tillgifts bref för Benjamin Bonnell," etc., November 15, 1652, R.R. fol. 2118-19; Beier to A. Oxenstierna, October 4, 1649, September 8, 1651. *Ox. Saml.* (R.A.). "B. Bonnells Reck. mitt d. lob. Söd. Comp." (no date but about the autumn of 1652) among letters from Bonnell to Oxenstierna, *Ox. Saml.*, "Aufs. über demj. w. B. Bonnell d. S. Comp. schul. ist," May 29, 1652, *Söderk.*, 1637-59 (R.A.). The entire bill is 15,643:13 D. copper money.



Johan Printz, Governor of New Sweden. From the portrait presented by King Gustaf V. to the Swedish Colonial Society.



PART II.

THE COLONY UNDER PRINTZ, 1643-1653.

CHAPTER XXXII.

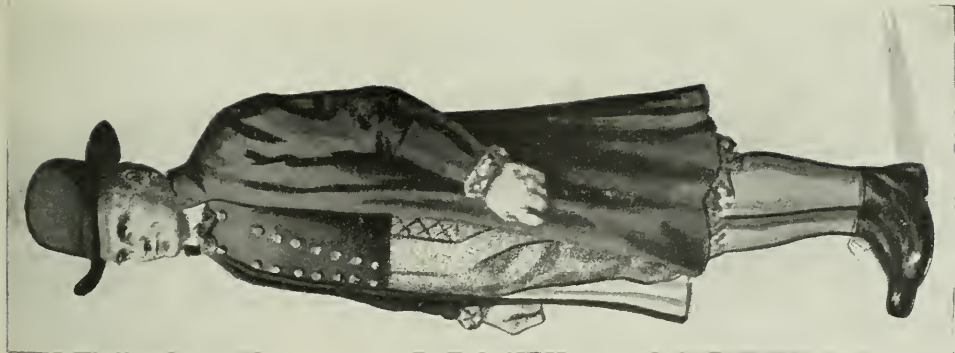
THE SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC LIFE IN THE COLONY.

I.

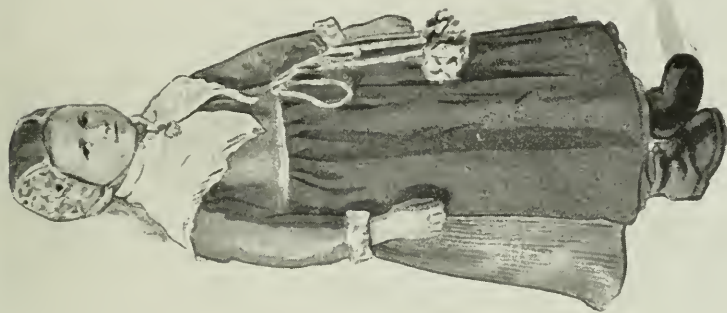
Governor Ridder, with his few soldiers and colonists, was quietly passing the winter of 1642-1643 at Fort Christina. The New Year's festivities were over. An occasional hunting expedition, the daily morning and evening prayers and now and then an Indian visit were almost the only diversions in the monotonous life. Storm and snow swept over the Delaware region on the sixth and seventh of February and the colonists were compelled to remain round their fire-places in the log cabins; but the sun appeared again, the snow melted and all was as before, half spring, half winter, for the climate of the Delaware is generally undecided at this time of year. About the beginning of February we may suppose that Indians brought news to the little settlement that ships had appeared in the river. Were they Swedish vessels or Dutch? Of course the Indians did not know. Hope revived the drooping spirits; the vessels might be from Gothenburg. Eager eyes spied the Delaware for days and about noon on February 15 two ships were seen slowly carried up the river by the slight breeze. Every man in the fort watched the sails. There was a bustle and a hurry everywhere. The news spread and the colonists came running in from their plantations. Sure enough the Swedish colors were waving from the top-masts! In an instant the gold-blue cross banner was flung to the breeze on the flag pole of Christina Fort and a shout of welcome greeted the *Swan* and the *Fama*, as they came sailing up Christina River. At two in

the afternoon the ships anchored in Christina Harbor and the passengers and sailors went ashore. Rev. Torkillus "with his entire flock" stood on the bridge to receive them and Governor Ridder, surrounded by his little staff of officers and soldiers, did homage to the arriving governor, while some Indian, lurking with his bow and arrow behind the pine trees on the island, was watching the scene. The passengers were greeted with tears of joy and the handshakings and questions seemed never to cease! But to work, to work! There were cargoes to be unloaded and horses and cattle to be brought ashore. Until evening came the work proceeded. Shelter was sought for the newcomers, but some were compelled to sleep in the ships, for there was not room enough for so many in the colony. The fires were supplied longer that evening than usual and the candles or fir-torches were kept burning till morning hours. News from Sweden, from relatives and friends was asked for, the progress of the war, the victories won by Swedish armies, what new decrees had been made, what new taxes levied, who among the relatives and acquaintances of the colonists had been drafted and sent to German battlefields—such and a hundred other questions we may be sure were asked. And when the settlers were told of the great victories at Glogau, at Schweidnitz and at Breitenfeld and the glorious exploits of Torstensson and Banér, their patriotism rose within them and they were proud of belonging to such a nation and of being its representatives in the new world. But the journey across the ocean was not forgotten. The sufferings on the way from Gothenburg to Godyn's Bay were related and the storms and mishaps at the Horn Kill were described. Gradually the night came on. The fires went out. Soon the tired travellers were fast asleep and all was quiet.

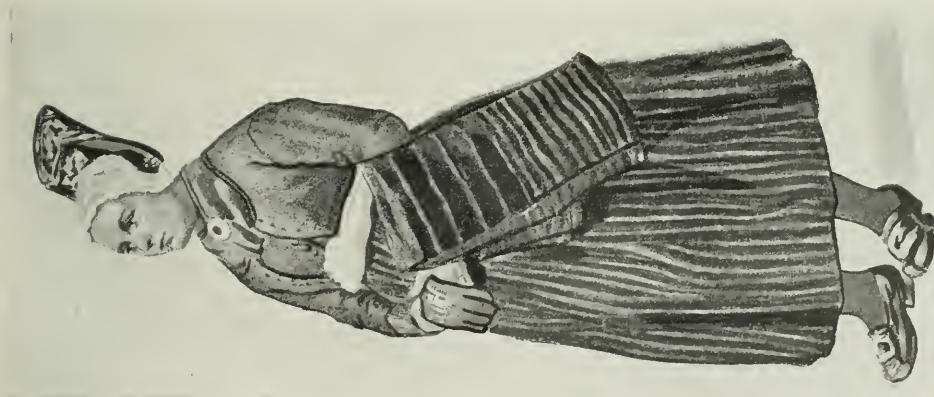
Early in the morning every one was at work again. In the afternoon the colonists were assembled in Fort Christina, Ridder delivered his authority to Printz and the instructions and orders of the government were read in the presence of the people. Within the next few days the commissioners were busy



A Swede in national ("church") costume (yellow elk-skin trousers, blue stockings, brown coat, vest and hat) from Dalarna. (W.)



A girl in national costume from Dalarna. (W.)



Swedish woman in national ("church") costume from Upland. (W.)

making an inventory of the merchandise in the storehouse and planning preparations for the return voyage of the ships.

Spring was rapidly approaching and every day was valuable. The newly arrived freemen were anxious to begin the erection of buildings and the clearing of forests and the governor desired to select the location for a new fort. For this reason as well as to be able to make a report, Printz, in company with Ridder, some soldiers and perhaps an Indian guide, "passed over the territory of New Sweden, first from Cape Henlopen unto Bomkin's Hook and then from there all the way up to Sankikan." This inspection gave the governor an idea of the possibilities of the country, which he found especially suitable for agriculture. He took notice of the parts most adapted for farms and as soon as possible the new colonists were assigned places for building homes and clearing ground.

But to look after the defence of the country and to safeguard it against attacks were the first duties of the governor and it is probable that he planned to begin the erection of "an additional bulwark against the enemies" shortly after his tour of inspection. In 1640 Ridder had proposed that a second fort should be built at a convenient point on the banks of the Delaware, as Christina was too far away from the latter river to be of real service. Johan Beier was requested to ascertain whether or not it would be necessary and practicable to do so,¹ and we may assume that he reported favorably on the suggestion, for Printz was instructed by the government to erect "a new stronghold either at Cape Henlopen or on Jacque's Island or at any other suitable place, so that the South River could be closed and guarded by it."²

He was also ordered to keep the Swedish title intact to the district at Varkens Kill on which the English were residing and to assert the authority of the Swedish government over them. To place a fortress there would be one of the most effective means of securing this authority and the fortifications could

¹ Ridder to Oxenstierna, *Ox. Saml.*; "Memorial for Beier, 1640," N.S., I. (R.A.).

² *Instruction*, 1642. Jacque's Island (Jacobs Ö), Chester Island.

serve the main and additional purpose of closing the river against all intruders.³ Accordingly a convenient spot was found and preparations for the laying of the foundation timbers were at once begun. We are not now able to determine the date on which the erection was commenced,⁴ but it must have been soon after Printz's arrival, for it is stated that Rev. Holg Fluviander served seven months at Fort Elfsborg prior to October 1, 1643, which would bring us to March 1, as about the date of the preliminary preparations.⁵ The work was rushed to such an extent that on June 13 the building is mentioned as "Fort Elfsborg" in one of the documents.⁶ It is also stated that an English bark arrived before Elfsborg on May 6 and that Måns Larsson died there July 3, 1643.⁷ When the walls on the water side were nearly finished most of the laborers were withdrawn and sent up to Tinicum Island, where still another fort was being built. The date of the completion of the stronghold is unknown. It was not ready in October,⁸ but it seems to have been able to serve its purpose of compelling foreign vessels to lower their flags as early as May 6, and the name of Fort Elfsborg was given to it about this time, when the cannon had been placed in position on the walls and the Swedish salute could be given.⁹ The fort was located on the east shore of the Delaware, a little south of Mill Creek, on an island of upland at "Elsingburg

³ Sprinchorn, mainly following Acrelius and Hazard, is mistaken in supposing that the erection of this fort gave the first occasion for collision with the rivals of the Swedes. See Sprinchorn, p. 17; Acrelius, p. 39; Hazard, p. 72.

⁴ Sprinchorn as well as Hazard rightly correct the date of the erection, given by Acrelius. Sprinchorn, p. 11, note 2; Hazard, p. 70, Acrelius, p. 39.

⁵ *Journal*, 648. "Und nach dem er vor obgedachte Zeit [October 1, 1643] in die 7 Monatt den Gottesdienst bey dennen Völckern in dem Fort Elfsborgh verrichtet hat, Laut sein Testimonium. . . ." It cannot of course mean that the fort was ready in March, for we know that it was not ready on October 13, 1643. Cf. below. Huddle says "[It] was ordered to be erected there by the aforesaid Johan Printz shortly after his arrival in the river." *Doc.*, XII. 29.

⁶ "Oncosten aen de Heer Gouver. Jan Printz voor 6 kannen Brandewijn de hoog. Compagnia verstreckt, so aen de soldaten door hem bij de Schans Elsborgh uijtgegeven . . . 2½ fl. de kan gerechent fl. 15," Junij 13, 1643, *Acc. B.*, 1643-8.

⁷ *Rulla*, 1644; Report, 1644; Odhner, *N.S.*, p. 38.

⁸ De Vries (transl.), p. 122-3. Cf. below.

⁹ The fort was called after Fort Elfsborg, at that time a strong fortress near Gothenburg.

Fort Point." It was an earthwork constructed "on the English plan with three angles close by the river" and "the carpenter made a beautiful portal" for it.¹⁰ The largest cannon in the colony were planted on its walls, consisting of "eight 12 lb. iron and brass guns and one mortar." It was the best garrisoned fort in the river, thirteen soldiers being quartered here in the summer of 1644 (New Gothenborg having only eight and Christina only three) and Sven Skute, at this time next in rank to Printz, was placed in command. Johan Matsson was gunner; the chief guard Gregorius van Dyck and the drummer Sven Andersson were stationed there.¹² Here De Vries had to strike his colors in 1643; at this fort Aspinwall was forced to lower his flag and even pay for the shot that compelled him to stop, and all Dutch vessels were required to anchor before its walls on their way up the river. At times they were rather roughly handled and Hudde bitterly complained that Printz by means of this fortress "held the river locked for himself."¹³

Printz had a right to choose his place of residence in the colony. He dwelt at Christina for some time after his arrival, but as soon as the work at Varkens Kill was under way, he selected a favorable location on Tinicum Island^{13a} for a dwell-

¹⁰ Hazard, p. 71; Ferris, pp. 68-70; Winsor, IV. 462; *Doc.* XII. 28, 29. "This island was most judiciously selected for the erection of a fort, being protected by the river on the west, on the north by Fishing Creek (Mill Creek), turning east and south, on the south by an immense expanse of wild marsh." Quoted from a letter of Col. R. G. Johnson, by Hazard, p. 71. That the fort was located on an island is further borne out by Printz's *Report*. Printz says that "the Indians set fire to the timber on the island" and from the *Account Book* of 1643-8 we are informed that this timber was at Elfsborg. *Report*, 1644, § 10; Odhner, *N.S.*, p. 34; *Acc. B.*, 1643-8 (June 30, 1643).

¹¹ De Vries, pp. 122-3. *Doc.*, XII. 29. The translation of Hudde's report in *Doc.*, XII. 29, is ambiguous on this point. "Four guns, iron and brass, of twelve pounds iron (balls)" can hardly mean that there were eight cannon. Hudde undoubtedly wanted to convey the idea that there were four brass and four iron guns.

¹² *Rulla*, 1644; *Odhner*, *N.S.*, p. 37. Cf. below. Hudde says that the fort was usually garrisoned by 12 men. *Doc.*, XII. 29.

¹³ De Vries, *Korte Historiae*; *Doc.*, XII. 29, cf. below.

^{13a} Tinicum Island "is about two miles long or a little more and a mile and a half wide." It "is separated from the west shore . . . by a small creek as wide as a ditch, running through a marsh." Sluyter's *Journal*, (1679), *Mem. of Long Isl. Hist. So.*, I.

ing and made provisions for the fortification and defence of the place. The foundations for a fort were laid in the spring or early summer, but here, as in the case of Fort Elfsborg, it is not possible to determine the date of its completion. It does not seem to have been ready in the beginning of July, 1643, for the court which tried Lamberton sat at Christina and it is likely that these transactions would have been conducted at Tinicum Island had the place been ready for them.

The work on the fort and on the dwellings around it was so far advanced in May that it is stated in the *Account Book* of 1642-1656 that "Anders Swensson Bonde was taken into the service of the Crown on May 1, 1643, and appointed gunner" at Tinicum.¹⁴ The stronghold was perhaps ready towards the end of July or the beginning of August and the name of New Gothenborg¹⁵ was given to it.¹⁶ It was "made of hemlock beams, laid one upon the other" and it was armed with "four small copper cannon." It was built near the water's edge on a high point of Tinicum Island and the guns, which were pointed towards the Delaware, commanded the river.¹⁷ There seem to have been two gunners, Sven Vass and Anders Bonde,¹⁸ besides whom there were eight soldiers in the fort. As it was not favorably located for protecting the settlement on the island in case of Indian attacks, it is probable that a large storehouse was built on the land side, in such a manner that the soldiers could hold the savages at bay from there and defend the settlers, if the war-cry should ever startle the peaceful community.¹⁹

¹⁴ *Monatg. B.*, 1642-56, fol. 41 and 87, N.S., II. (R.A.).

¹⁵ Nya Göteborg.

¹⁶ When De Vries visited the place on October 13, 1643, he found New Gothenborg ready. See *N. Y. Hist. Col.*, 2 S., III. 122-3. Cf. below.

¹⁷ *Doc.*, XII. 29; *Rulla*, 1644, N.S., II. (R.A.); Odhner, N.S., p. 38.

¹⁸ Vass is given in Printz's *Rulla* as "Constapelz . . . Swenn Waass" and in the *Monatg. B.* it is stated that "Anders Swenson Bonde [war] Constapell auff N. Gothenburg." *Monatg. B.*, fol. 41; *Rulla*, Odhner, N.S., p. 38.

¹⁹ *Doc.*, XII. 29. From Hudde's *Report* it is clear that two fortifications were built on the island and that one of these was merely a storehouse is more than likely. Cf. below.

A blockhouse was also built on an elevated place at Upland,²⁰ where some of the colonists had been given land and Christer Boije was placed in command there.²¹

In the meantime Fort Christina was repaired. The armament probably remained the same as before, the gunner Mats Hansson had charge of the cannon, Erick Andersson was trumpeter and the provost-marshal, Johan Olofsson, lived there. The general storehouse continued to be at this place. The bellows in the blacksmith shop were mended in June and other repairs were probably made.²²

As soon as the fortifications were planned and their erection begun, Governor Printz turned his attention to other business. Trade with the savages was to be the principal industry of the settlement, but agriculture and cattle raising were to be fostered and cared for with all diligence, and Printz was instructed to put so much grain into the ground, as soon as circumstances allowed, that the people could be supplied with food from the cultivation of the land. About the middle of April he made his first relation or report²³ to the government about the condition of the colony and the situation and nature of the land. He found that "it was a remarkably beautiful country, with all the glories that a person can wish on earth and a pity and regret that it was not occupied by true Christians . . . It was adorned with all kinds of fruit-bearing trees. The soil was suitable for planting and sowing, and, if Her Majesty would only make a serious beginning, the country would soon become a desirable place to live in."²⁴

Printz was anxious to make proper use of this "suitable soil" and of the many advantages that he found here, and it is probable that land was allotted to some of the colonists as early as March. Somewhat later new ground was assigned for

²⁰ Probably so named from the fact that some of the colonists settled there came from Upland in Sweden.

²¹ *Rulla*, 1644; Odhner, *N.S.*, p. 38; *Monatg. B.*, 1642-56.

²² *Monatg. B.*, 1642-56, fol. 48; *Report*, 1644, § 8.

²³ This report, dated April 13, 1643, is now lost.

²⁴ Printz to Brahe, April 12, 1643, and to Oxenstierna, April 14, 1643, *Ox. Saml.*, *Skokl. Saml.* (R.A.).

the company's use, where the hired or indented servants were put to work, while the freemen labored to found new homes surrounded by fertile fields.

A strange sight met the eyes of the savage chief as he made his visits to the western bank of the Delaware from Christina to New Gothenborg in the spring of 1643. There was bustle and life everywhere. The stillness of the early morning was broken by the sound of the woodman's axe, and the echoes of its regular stroke, answered from various quarters, were interrupted now and then by the crash of falling trees. Surprised quails would fly up with a chirp at the sound and the noise of the thundering wings of partridges intermingled with the general commotion. For a moment all is quiet. The woodman looks on the fallen tree as if to measure its length. Then the axe is again put in motion; the branches and limbs are stripped off from the trunk and thrown in a pile to be burned, when the sun has dried them sufficiently. The trunk is measured and cut off from the top and a log fit to be placed in the wall of a new building is ready.

This went on day after day, while Printz was selecting the location for new homesteads and supervising the erection of forts and his hall. Anders Timmerman, Claas Claason, Thomas Timmerman and others were daily at work on new habitations, while the soldiers with other carpenters were preparing timber and other materials for the fortifications. Gradually the branches and other rubbish were burnt or removed from the clearings and the little farms were ready for cultivation.

Printz was instructed to plant tobacco on the new plantations and appoint certain planters so that a good quantity could be sent to Sweden direct from the colony on the returning ships, making it unnecessary to buy tobacco from English merchants. But Ridder advised the governor to plant corn in large quantities, saying that "one man's planting would produce enough corn for nine men's yearly food." With this in view Printz planted corn on almost all available places belonging to the

company in 1643, but a number of smaller tobacco patches were also prepared and an expert planter was engaged at a salary of 35 fl. a month. The Swedish freemen probably followed the example of the governor, largely planting corn on their fields and some tobacco, and it is likely that they sowed at least some grain. The English at Varkens Kill seem to have principally cultivated tobacco.²⁵

Printz was instructed to keep peace with his neighbors as far as possible and to seek to give free and undisturbed course to the correspondence and commerce already begun by his predecessors. He was to try to supply the Indians with such articles as they needed and he was to endeavor to win their trade by underselling the English and Dutch and by treating them with humanity and respect, so as to gain their good will. The beaver traffic was to be conducted for the benefit of the company and freemen and others were to be prohibited from trading with the savages. In all these things Printz was largely successful as long as sufficient means were at his disposal. He arrived in New Sweden on February 15. In May he had begun dealings with the Indians and presents worth 22 fl. were given to the Minquas to induce them to trade with the Swedes as well as to inspire their confidence. At the same time sewant, valued at 607 fl., were exchanged for 972 bushels of Indian corn and additional gifts were presented to some Indians for bringing the corn to Christina.²⁶ About the same time 100 knives were exchanged for 25 yds. of sewant and many smaller sales were made.²⁷

The *Swan* and *Fama* brought only small cargoes to the colony in 1643 and hence it was necessary for Printz to buy cloth and other merchandise from the English and Dutch. In May John Willcox came from Virginia, having been informed of the arrival of the Swedish expedition, and he offered a great

²⁵ *Acc. B.*, 1643-8; *Report*, 1644; *Rulla*, 1644; *Instruction*, 1642; Printz to Brahe, July 19, 1644, *Skokl. Saml.*

²⁶ The value of these presents was 6 fl. Hence the corn was brought to Fort Christina, perhaps from a distance of several miles, for about \$3 and the total cost of 972 bushels was 613 fl.

²⁷ *Acc. B.*, 1642-8 (May, 1643); *Instruction*, §§ 7, 8, 15.

variety of goods for sale at reasonable prices. On May 22 he sold a bark of ten lasts²⁸ and on the same day he sold 2 fowling pieces, 82 yds. of sail cloth, 862½ yds. of sewant, 144 knives, 3 kettles, 15 axes and a variety of other things, in all amounting to 7,224 fl. One thousand and fifty florins were paid him in beaver skins and a draft, drawn on Spiring in Holland, was given to him for the remainder.²⁹

Huygen was now making strenuous efforts to obtain cargoes for the returning ships and towards the end of May he purchased 3,000 lbs. of tobacco³⁰ from a "Virginian merchant by the name of Moore," who was then trading in the river. The supply of beaver skins was not large, but in the beginning of June communications were established with the Black Minquas and a supply of peltries was soon brought to Christina. On June 3, 50 knives, 6 axes and 100 lbs. of corals were presented to the savages. At the same time 675 beavers were bought for 1,771 yds. of sewant and a large number of other articles were exchanged for beavers.³¹

Towards the end of May preparations were made for a journey to New Holland. Goods were bought by Printz for 18 beavers and pork was purchased from Peter Jansen for two beavers. The object of this expedition was twofold. Several colonists had deserted, probably leaving debts behind them. Hendrick Huygen and Christer Boije were sent to bring them back to Fort Christina as well as to buy supplies for the colony and probably also for the returning ships. On May 30 Printz wrote a letter to Governor Kieft, recommending his agents to him, and we may assume that the bark left New Sweden shortly afterwards. The bark arrived at the Dutch fort about the middle of June, and not many days later Hendrick Huygen received several hundred yards of sewant from Marion Andriesen on the condition that they be paid for in cloth. Huygen also bought 324 yds. of duffels from Governor Kieft at 3 fl. a yard

²⁸ The bark was bought for 1,575 fl.

²⁹ See *Acc. B.*, 1643-8; *Journal*, no. 307.

³⁰ The tobacco was bought for 488 yds. of sewant.

³¹ *Acc. B.*, 1643-8.

as well as 200 yds. of sewant, all to be paid for in beavers at a later date. Beaver skins and sewant were used for the current expenses on the voyage (for the beaver skins and wampum were the currency in these parts during this early period) and it seems that beer was brought to New Amsterdam for treating the soldiers there. Huygen's board consisted of smoked pork, bread and butter and peas and the cost of these was nine beaver skins, valued at 63 fl. For lodgings at the inn Huygen paid five skins. The sails of the bark having been torn by the wind were repaired at the cost of six beaver skins. The expedition returned to New Sweden about the beginning of June.³²

The two ships were probably ready to set sail for Europe about this time, although only a small cargo was on hand. When the vessels sailed several officers and soldiers left the colony, some, however, with the intention of returning.³³ Printz sent requests for large supplies and more colonists, and, in order to give force to his arguments, he despatched Johan Papegoja to make an oral report.

While the English from New Haven were antagonizing Printz and endeavoring to make settlements on the Delaware and to enter into direct communication with the Indians, those of Virginia and Maryland sought to establish more cordial relations with the Swedes and to lay the foundations for commercial intercourse. They had made offers to sell cattle and merchandise to Ridder and they were now ready to renew them to Printz. While Huygen was in New Netherland, William Cox³⁴ sailed up to Christina with a large cargo. Towards the end of June he sold more than 200 yds. of cloth, over 300 lbs. of Dutch cheese³⁵ and brandy or cognac, in all valued at several hundred florins. The total bill³⁶ was as usual paid in beavers. In July Richard Lord was in New Sweden and about

³² See Latin letter of Printz to Kieft, May 30, 1643, N.S., I. (R.A.) and *Acc. B.*, 1643-8 (May and June, 1643).

³³ Cf. Chaps. XXV., XXVI., above.

³⁴ This might be a mistake for Willcox(?). The Document has Willem Cox.

³⁵ The cheese was sold for seven stivers a lb.

³⁶ 1,068 fl.

the middle of the month he sold 220 yds. of sewant for 140 beaver skins, valued at 800 fl.³⁷

At this time 3 yds. of duffels and the same amount of sewant were given to an Indian, who was sent to bring the Minquas to Fort Christina. In the beginning of August the savages arrived and exchanged a large quantity of beaver skins for duffels and sewant and about the middle of the month they sold over 400 bushels of corn for cloth and Indian money. As usual knives, corals and other small presents were given to them for carrying the corn to the fort. A little later large purchases of beavers from the Indians are again recorded and about the same time Cornelis Leendertsen³⁸ came to New Sweden to sell his cargo of sewant, cloth, and the like.³⁹ The hay for the winter supply of the horses and cattle had been cut in June and July and the grain was probably harvested about the same time.⁴⁰

We have no means of knowing what the summer of 1643 was like or what the grain crop yielded, but the corn crop was poor and did not come up to expectations. Printz writes: "I got as well on the one [plantation] as the other from the work of nine men hardly one man's yearly nourishment."⁴¹ The Swedes undoubtedly learnt from the Dutch and Indians how to cultivate and use the corn and it is likely that later crops brought better results. The tobacco crop was probably fair. The English colonists at Varkens Kill, who had sworn allegiance to the Swedish Crown, could sell some 2,451 lbs. from their growth of this year and the expert tobacco planter, who had been employed by Printz, "showed good proofs of his skill."⁴²

Since the corn crop was poor Printz decided to sow more grain for the following year. In agriculture, as in other respects, the customs in Sweden and Finland were largely adhered

³⁷ *Acc. B.*, 1643-8, *Instruction* (Aug. 15, 1642).

³⁸ He sold goods for 2219 fl.

³⁹ *Acc. B.*, 1643-8 (Aug. 10).

⁴⁰ Various kinds of seed were brought over in the vessels with Printz and he shipped over "all kinds of seed for sowing" on his own account. *Monatg. B.*, 1642-56; *Journal*, N.S., III. (K.A.).

⁴¹ *Report*, 1644, Odhner, *N.S.*, pp. 29-30.

⁴² *Acc. B.*, 1643-8; *Report*, 1644. Perhaps the first large crop of tobacco raised in New Sweden was harvested in 1643.

to by the colonists in New Sweden.⁴³ "Old rye," says Brahe in his *Oeconomia*, "should be sown from Olofsmas until Larsmas⁴⁴ . . . and new rye is sown in August." A great deal of rye was thus put into the ground in Sweden. The grain sprang up and the fields were green for some time. In November, or as soon as the frost came, the sheep were often let loose to graze on the rye-acres, when the grain was thick and long enough.⁴⁵ The winter months covered the fields with a white sheet, protecting the grain against the severe cold, and, as the sun melted the snow and brought back warm weather to the north, the roots sprouted again. This method was now to be employed in the colony on the Delaware and in the autumn Printz made arrangements to sow some winter grain. Corn could be planted without ploughing or much work, but for rye the ground had to be broken and somewhat well prepared. There were not enough animals in the colony for such work, nor was there a sufficient supply of grain, but the deficiency could be supplied in New Holland. Accordingly another journey was made by sea to Manhattan towards the end of August. Again beaver skins were the ready money used on the trip and Hendrick Huygen was in charge. Huygen bought seven oxen at New Amsterdam for 124 beaver skins, valued at 868 fl. and one cow for 22 skins worth 154 fl. He also purchased 75 bushels of rye for 32 beaver skins, valued at seven florins a piece.⁴⁶ While in New Amsterdam Huygen paid some of the debts contracted on the former voyage. The expenses of this expedition were comparatively large, it seems. Kieft alone was paid over 49 fl. for the board of Huygen and his assistants and 35 fl. were paid for their lodgings. Some of the cattle were led across the country to New Sweden by two Hollanders and the cost for this labor was five beaver skins. The rest of the cattle were taken by sea to the colony on Kieft's sloop about the first of October, also at the cost of five beaver skins.⁴⁷

⁴³ Cp. below, Chap. XXXIII.

⁴⁴ July 29 to August 10.

⁴⁵ Brahe, *Oeconomia*, pp. 109-110, 113.

⁴⁶ The rye was valued at 3 fl. a bushel or 225 fl.

⁴⁷ *Acc. B.*, 1643-8; *Report*, 1644; Odhner, *N.S.*, p. 30.

The seed and the oxen arrived rather late and it probably took some time (perhaps towards the middle of October) before the three plantations to be sown were ready for that purpose. One bushel of seed is usually required to the acre. At this rate at least 75 or 100 acres were put into rye in the fall of 1643 on the farms belonging to the company and, if some rye was available in the colony, which is very likely, the number of acres would be further increased. In the late autumn more ground was cleared and prepared for fields. The oxen could now be used for skidding the logs into piles to be burnt and the building of houses was made easier. It is also likely that the freemen sowed winter rye on certain tracts, but to what extent is not known.⁴⁸

In September a journey was made to New England to buy supplies for the winter. The trade was poor in the fall and practically no sales were entered in the *Account Book* for some weeks, but in October some English arrived with a large number of oak planks, 2,700 ft.⁴⁹ of which were bought by the Swedes for use in Fort Elfsborg. Transactions with the Indians were again begun about this time and beaver skins and nearly 200 bushels of Indian corn were exchanged for sewant, cloth and axes.⁵⁰

The well-known Petersz. de Vries was now in the river. He arrived at Fort Elfsborg on October 3 (13), where a shot from one of the guns compelled him to lower his flag. About four in the afternoon he landed at New Gothenborg, received a friendly reception from Governor Printz and remained in the colony until October 10 (20). It is probable that Printz bought part of his cargo and the captain of the vessel sold "a

⁴⁸ *Acc. B.*, 1643-8; *Report*, 1644.

⁴⁹ *Acc. B.*, 1643-8 (October 4, 1643). The bill is as follows:

1,150 ft. of oak planks, 6	fl. @ 100.....	69 fl.
750 ft. of oak planks, 6	fl. @ 100.....	45 fl.
800 ft. of oak planks, 4½	fl. @ 100.....	36 fl.
		<u>150 fl.</u>
		<u>2,700</u>

The bill was paid for by 23 beaver skins.

⁵⁰ *Acc. B.*, 1643-8.

good quantity of wine and sweetmeats to individual Swedes."⁵¹

It was now late in the fall. Few traders arrived and the colonists were left more or less to themselves. As winter approached barns and sheds were built for the shelter of the cattle and the dwellings of the freemen were improved. Some of the swine that ran wild were shot and hunting expeditions brought in a supply of deer, geese and other game for the winter months. In December wood was probably cut to last till spring, while ale was brewed and other preparations made for Christmas.⁵²

The supply of food was poor in 1643 and the hard labor and change of climate was too much for the people. As a result there was much illness among the settlers in the summer and autumn. Printz supplied Spanish wine and various articles to the sick in Fort Christina and at the other settlements, but one officer, ten of the company's servants, five soldiers and three freemen, besides the Rev. Torkillus, died between July and December.⁵³

The illness of the people was a great drawback to the colony and caused the governor to abandon many of his plans. In the spring of 1643 timber had been cut and sawed at Elfsborg for a keel-boat or barge and men were at work on it already in June, but the construction was delayed on account of the illness of the carpenters and later "the Indians set fire to the island during the night and burnt some of the timber."⁵⁴

We have no means of knowing how Governor Printz and his family spent their first Christmas in New Sweden, nor are we able to say how the Christmas and New Year holidays were celebrated, but they were probably observed with more strict-

⁵¹ De Vries has given us a number of interesting facts about his visit. He left New Amsterdam on October 8; on the twelfth he was in the South River (all N.S.). De Vries, *Col. of N. Y. Hist. So.*, 2d S., III. 121-3.

⁵² Cf. Brahe, *Oeconomia*, p. 113 ff. In November Sieter (Sieton) Thompson was at Christina trading with the Swedes.

⁵³ *Acc. B.*, 1643-8 (November, 1643); *Rulla*, 1644; *Report*, 1644; Odhner, *N.S.*, p. 38-9, 29, 34; *Report*, 1647; Papegoja to Brahe, July 15, 1644, *Skok. Saml.* (R.A.).

⁵⁴ *Report*, 1644. Printz supplied goods for the people, who worked on the keel-boat (June 30, 1643). See *Acc. B.*, 1643-8.

ness than ever before and "in the good old Swedish manner."

The winter seems to have been passed in quietness. The grain was thrashed and ground, logs were cut for new dwellings, barns and granaries and when sowing time came, the area of "improved land" had greatly increased.

The year 1643 was successful in trade and otherwise. New land had been cleared and the country had been well fortified. Two commercial journeys had been made to New Amsterdam. English merchants from Virginia and Dutch from Manhattan had visited the colony and the Indians had been well disposed towards the settlers, selling their skins and corn in exchange for other wares. But there was a setback in the beginning of 1644. The Swedes lacked merchandise and Printz lamented the fact that his goods were failing and that trade with the Indians was very slight in the first two months of the year.

Merchants from the neighboring colonies continued to visit the river, however, and in January some Englishmen from New England were trading on the Delaware. Captain Turner and Isaac Allerton were also there, partly at least for the purpose of trade, and Captain Turner sold over 100 yds. of duffels at Christina on January 10. The savages visited the settlement in small groups from time to time, but they brought little for sale, as the ship and supplies for which the colonists were waiting failed to appear.⁵⁵

As a result of the long delay of the expedition from Gothenburg the company suffered a loss of over 20,000 florins, for the beaver trade went to the Dutch and English and merchandise had to be purchased from these at high prices. In March the ship *Fama* at last arrived. Part of the cargo⁵⁶ had been ruined while lying in a cellar in Gothenburg, due to Schotting's neglect,⁵⁷ but a large number of articles necessary in the settlement were landed in safety, including three large saws for a saw-mill, eight grindstones, one pair of stones for a hand-mill, one pair of large mill stones, five anchors, six pumps with neces-

⁵⁵ *Acc. B.*, 1643-8.

⁵⁶ Cloth and stockings.

⁵⁷ *Report*, 1644, § 2 (omitted by Odhner), § 4; Odhner, *N.S.*, p. 28.

sary repairs and a hide of pump leather, twelve small and eight large augers, four compasses, thirty-six blocks, two hundred and fifty copper kettles, several barrels of lime and pitch, a few thousand bricks, two hundred barrels of flour, twenty barrels of Spanish salt, ten hogshead of French wine, one hogshead of brandy, several hundred yards of cloth for flags and for the use of the people, ten gilded flag-pole knobs, three hundred pairs of shoes, two hundred pairs of stockings, one hundred and forty-seven shirts, besides other goods and merchandise.⁵⁸

In the spring of the preceding year Printz had applied to the government for a grant of Tinicum Island. The Council of State complied with his request and a "capital donation of that place called Tinnaco or New Gothenborg for Printz and for his lawful heirs," dated November 6, was on the ship.⁵⁹

Johan Papegoja, the two young noblemen Per and Knut Liljehök, the barber-surgeon Hans Janeke, a number of soldiers and a few colonists arrived with this expedition, but when the ship returned others left the colony and hence the population was but slightly increased in 1644.

Towards the end of March Huygen made an inventory of the goods in the storehouse and the Indian trade could now begin anew. Preparations for the homeward journey of the *Swan* were soon begun and Governor Printz exerted himself to obtain a cargo for the ship. He sent messengers to the Indians, requesting them to bring their skins to the trading station on the Schuylkill, and gave them presents and assurances of friendship and of good will. As a result the Indian trade was very lively in May, axes, knives, corals, sewant and cloth being given in exchange for large quantities of beaver skins, and corn and more than 300 skins were bought at the Schuylkill alone before the *Swan* returned to Sweden. A cargo of tobacco was also to be loaded into the vessel. Two thousand, four hundred and fifty-one lbs. were purchased from the English planters at Varkens Kill and about the same amount was obtained from

⁵⁸ *Journal*, nos. 220 ff., 300 ff.; Bill of van Schotting, 1643, N.S., I. (K.A.). Cf. *Acc. B.*, 1643-8; above Chap. XXVI.

⁵⁹ "Donation," etc., *R.R.*, Nov. 6, 1643, fol. 1182.

the Swedish freemen,⁶⁰ but these supplies were not sufficient. Accordingly several thousand pounds had to be found elsewhere. English merchants, however, being informed of the matter, brought more tobacco to the colony than was necessary to complete the cargo. Towards the end of May 7,333 lbs. were purchased from William Whiting⁶¹ at six stivers a pound and in the beginning of June 7,743 lbs. were bought from Richard Malbon of New Haven at seven stivers a pound.⁶² Isaac Allerton, who similarly imported a quantity of tobacco to New Sweden, was not so successful in selling his supply. When the ship had departed for Europe, he reduced the price from seven to five stivers a pound and sold 11,346 lbs. at that rate.

These merchants likewise sold a large quantity of other goods. One thousand and twenty yards of sewant at 4 fl. a yard were bought from William Whiting, who also did a large business in beer, selling over ten barrels of it to private persons during his stay in the river, and Richard Malbon sold several hundred yards of sewant and about 100 bushels of corn⁶³ at Fort Elfsborg.

But trade and commercial activities were not allowed to interfere with agriculture and other domestic duties. The old plantations were enlarged during the winter and early spring and the forest had probably been removed from comparatively big areas, as seeding time was at hand. New ground had been cleared "in the Schuylkill," where a strong blockhouse was erected for the safety of the settlers. The blockhouse probably served the double purpose of a dwelling house for the lieutenant and his men and of a storehouse and trading post. It was located on "the island in the Schuylkill," where Fort Korsholm

⁶⁰ Eight stivers a lb. were paid for the tobacco bought from the New Sweden planters. The Swedish planters supplied 2,540 lbs. for the cargo. *Acc. B.*, 1643-8.

⁶¹ Various spelt in the Swedish and Dutch Records as Wellem Wayting, etc.

⁶² The two bills were paid in beavers.

⁶³ He sold 1,059½ yds. of sewant for 4,564 fl. and 102½ bushels of corn at 164 fl. *Acc. B.*, 1643-8.

1644 Juli 10

Mr 10 July 1644
 Dech in Gekonding op eenen woorthekening van
 de hooftloffeliken in een dencken in de gedencken
 ontvanden mit de gedencken in de gedencken
 wistmenten byt gedencken warden gelyc gedencken
 gedencken

dencken 1. In gedencken. - 200 op de 4. biden
 dencken 2. In gedencken. - 203 op de 4. biden
 dencken 3. In gedencken. - 203 op de 4. biden
 dencken 4. In gedencken. - 91 op de 4. biden
 dencken 5. In gedencken. - 120 op de 4. biden
 dencken 6. In gedencken. - 109 op de 4. biden
 dencken 7. In gedencken. - 21 op de 4. biden
 dencken 8. In gedencken. - 16 op de 4. biden
 dencken 9. In gedencken. - 200 op de 4. biden
 dencken 10. In gedencken. - 200 op de 4. biden
 dencken 11. In gedencken. - 100 op de 4. biden
 dencken 12. In gedencken. - 67 op de 4. biden

Summa 2137 6
 77 oxen of den tuback in gedencken 20463 88

1	42	87	21	04	103
2	44	89	24	06	104
3	46	91	26	08	106
4	48	93	28	10	108
5	50	95	30	12	110
6	52	97	32	14	112
7	54	99	34	16	114
8	56	101	36	18	116
9	58	103	38	20	118
10	60	105	40	22	120
11	62	107	42	24	122
12	64	109	44	26	124
13	66	111	46	28	126
14	68	113	48	30	128
15	70	115	50	32	130

Summa - 77 oxen of den.

De woorthekening van de 77 oxen of den
 20 oxen of den tuback in gedencken 20463 88

14	20	26	32	38
15	21	27	33	39
16	22	28	34	40
17	23	29	35	41
18	24	30	36	42
19	25	31	37	43
20	26	32	38	44

Summa - 77 oxen of den
 Johan Printz
 Hendrick Huygen

Bill of lading, showing the number of beaver skins and hogsheads of tobacco shipped from New Sweden in July, 1644. Original, signed by Johan Printz and Hendrick Huygen, preserved in N. S. I. (R. A.), Stockholm.

was later built⁶⁴ "and little stone cannon were placed upon it."⁶⁵ Lieutenant Måns Kling was stationed there. He had no soldiers under his command, but it is likely that the freemen and servants, who lived there, were called upon to do service in case of need. Several dwellings seem to have been erected in the neighborhood as time went on.

When planting time drew near, the newly cleared fields were broken and the slow, steady oxen could be seen plodding their way among the stumps, where the plough, "turning over the ground," prepared the sod for the grain, while laborers were at work, planting tobacco at several openings in the wood.

Since the corn failed to produce the desired results and since it could be bought cheaply from the Indians, none was planted this spring and all the corn plantations of the previous year were put into tobacco. There were now three large plantations in New Sweden, besides one or two smaller ones. The most important one was at Upland. Here twelve men, including the expert planter, were engaged. Christina was the next largest tract and eleven tobacco planters were stationed there. On the Schuylkill seven men were employed to cultivate the herb. It is not possible to determine the exact location of this settlement, but it was either on the "island" around the blockhouse, or farther up the river.⁶⁶

Not only was agriculture improved and placed on a more prosperous footing with the arrival of Printz, but cattle raising was also looked after. The swine which had formerly been allowed to run wild were now partly kept in captivity under the care of Anders Mink and his son, who were engaged to look after them. The cattle belonging to the company do not seem to have grazed on enclosed pastures for the first few years, but were allowed to roam at large through the woods in the neighborhood of the settlements, herded by Sven Svensson. The

⁶⁴ Cf. below, II.

⁶⁵ Iron cannon throwing stone bullets (?).

⁶⁶ *Report*, 1644; *Rulla*, 1644. The plantation was most likely on the island around the blockhouse, for in 1653 it was stated that there were eight morgens cultivated land at Ft. Korsholm. Cf. below, Chap. XLII., n. 49.

sheep were probably confined within fenced areas, as it was difficult to keep them from the growing grain, and the goats were likely chained to posts and moved from place to place, or allowed to follow the cattle or sheep. We may assume with a fair degree of probability that the orchards and certain other smaller tracts were fenced in to keep out the cattle as they were driven home at night. The cattle were undoubtedly "kept in the barnyard" during the night to prevent them from being lost and it seems that the horses were always fenced in.⁶⁷

In Sweden the milking was done by the women, but it is probable that it was often done by the men in the colony, as they were compelled to do various kinds of "women's labor."

Printz also attempted to establish manufactories in compliance with his instruction. Two of the three regularly employed carpenters had been ill most of the winter and spring, but the third man was kept busy on lighter work and, as soon as the others were able, they built "two large beautiful boats, one for use at Elfsborg, the other at Fort Christina." The boats were constructed near Fort Christina, where a wharf was built, the first on the Delaware. At this place Lauris the cooper and Lukas Persson made barrels, wooden milk pails, tubs, tobacco casks "and other *kyperj*."^{67a} There seem to have been two blacksmith shops in New Sweden at this time, one at Upland and one probably within the walls of Christina. Mickel Nilsson worked at the former place and Hans Rosback at the latter and they made new tools and farm implements and did the necessary repairs in the colony.⁶⁸

⁶⁷ Rising's *Journal*; *Acc. B.*, 1643-8.

^{67a} *Kuiperij*, cooper's trade.

⁶⁸ *Acc. B.*, 1643-8; *Report*, 1644; *Rulla*, 1644. Whale fishery and the silk worm industry, which Printz was instructed to begin, if possible, could not be tried for lack of people and means. Whale fishery, one of the objects of De Vries's first voyage to the Delaware, continued to occupy the minds of the early settlers. See *A Further Acc. of the Pro. of Penn.*, etc., by W. Penn (1685), *Penn. Mag.*, IX. 63 ff. "A Lycence" for the taking of "whales and other royal fish" on the N. Jersey coast was given in 1704, *Penn. Mag.*, IX. 118. Silk worms were also kept here in early times and excited great interest in Philadelphia. The Am. Phil. So. often discussed the industry. Cf. Hazard's *Reg.*, IV. 77, 120, 179, etc. Poulson's *Am. Daily Advert.*

New Sweden was now on a prosperous footing. As summer approached the conditions had improved. With the new supplies health and happiness returned among the people and the hope for the future was bright. The colony had been reorganized and divided into districts, which were well protected against the savages and the attack of foreign vessels by three strong forts and two blockhouses.

Two sloops and two large boats were available for trading expeditions to the neighboring colonies and for the transportation of goods, and it is likely that the freemen had small boats and canoes for fishing and for going from place to place. The windmill ground most of the corn bought from the Indians as well as the grain harvested in the colony. In June Printz wrote that "Anders Dreijer was continually in the mill" and it is probable that he continued his work there throughout 1644.⁶⁹

Much was still wanting in the settlement, however, and Printz asked for a brickmaker, a wagonmaker, a tanner, a mason and a fortification engineer(?)⁷⁰ besides 20,000 bricks and various other supplies,⁷¹ and Papegoja suggested that the company should send over more "good axes, good thick iron spades, good hoes to hoe up the ground with and another kind of broad hoes with which to hoe the grass." But the most pressing need was for people. "There is a great cry for people, for here are few," says Papegoja, and Printz likewise complained that there were entirely too few colonists.⁷²

Several improvements were also suggested by Printz. The soldiers and servants were often supplied from the goods bought from foreign merchants, who visited New Sweden, but the governor found that this system was unpractical, since the profits of the company were not only reduced but even a loss was at times suffered. Hence he proposed that a store should

⁶⁹ *Report*, 1644; *Rulla*, 1644; *Odhner, N.S.*, p. 27 ff., 37 ff.

⁷⁰ The original has *Walmester*.

⁷¹ List of articles requested by Printz in 1644, *N.S.*, I. (R.A.).

⁷² Papegoja to Brahe, July 15, 1644, *Sko. Saml.* (R.A.); *Report*, 1644; *Acc. B.*, 1643-8 (September 28, 1644).

be built and supplied with "all sorts of cloth, provisions and other goods." "A wise and faithful man [should be appointed to superintend it], who could give them on their salaries as much [of the goods] as each one needed." Plans were also suggested for the increase of the population and, in a letter to Brahe of July, it was proposed that a lot of Finns should be sent here under the command of an industrious and thrifty man. "It would cost bravely the first four years or longer," but then, the writer thought, large profits would be made. Printz had found that the trade with the Indians could not be conducted to advantage without a supply of sewant. As the South River Indians were poor, and had little or no "money," the Swedes were compelled to buy "sewant from New Amsterdam and from New England, where it was made." Here it could be bought cheaply from the savages and, in order that the company might be able to watch the market and buy the wampum direct from the makers, Printz was of opinion that a "faithful agent" should be permanently stationed at the above mentioned places.⁷³

In 1643 the Dutch at Manathans captured several Spanish prizes valued at over 50,000 R.D., according to their own statements, and Printz was of the opinion, since New Sweden was better situated, being nearer the Spanish colonies, that it would be to the advantage of the government to have a good and well armed ship in the river for the purpose of preying on the "Spanish silver fleets." Governor Printz embodied his suggestions in a long Report and made a list of the things necessary in the settlement, as the *Swan* was about to set sail in June.⁷⁴

The usual work occupied the colonists during the summer—the cultivation of the tobacco plantations, the cutting of hay and the harvesting of the other crops. The weather was favorable for the grain in 1644 and a good crop was undoubtedly harvested and put into the sheds. We do not know definitely

⁷³ Report, 1644; Odhner, N.S., p. 33.

⁷⁴ Report, 1644. Cf. above, Chap. XXVI.

how the tobacco turned out. In March, 1645, 6,920 lbs. were stored away, which seems to have been the whole crop. At the rate of seven stivers a lb. the tobacco would be worth 2,422 fl. Twenty-nine men were engaged in the work and this would make 83½ fl. as the amount realized on the labor of each man—not a very satisfactory result it would seem.

The Indian trade was poor during the summer and early autumn, only a few smaller sales being recorded. The English merchants returned in the fall to collect their outstanding accounts as well as to trade, and Isaac Allerton sold fourteen bushels of barley for seed, one pair of mill stones⁷⁵ and a Dutch bushel measure. About this time oak-planks, rafters, boards and other such material were brought to New Sweden and sold there by English merchants.⁷⁶ William Whiting likewise returned during September to collect payment for his previous sales and on the last of the month he was given 1,069½ lbs. of beaver skins, valued at 4,277 fl.⁷⁷ As the powder and other ammunition sent from Sweden was not sufficient for the want of the colony, 127 lbs. of powder and 226 lbs. of lead were exchanged for 1,007 lbs. of tobacco in October and in November Joachim Calfood (?) sold several hundred yds. of sewant to Swedes. A few smaller sales are also on record during the late autumn, but the trade as a whole was very poor for the remainder of 1644. In the fall a journey to New England was made with the sloop, but little is known about the expedition.⁷⁸

⁷⁵ The mill-stones were valued at 130 fl. and the barley at 42 fl. *Acc. B.*, 1643-8.

⁷⁶ Thomas Marod sold 950 ft. of oak planks for 47½ fl. and John Wall sold six large rafters and 200 ft. of oak planks. Another bill is as follows:

750 voet [Eyckenplancken]	a 6 fl. @ 100.....fl.	45
1,450 voet [Eyckenplancken]	a 5 fl. @ 100.....fl.	72:10
1,998 voet [Eyckenplancken]	a 4 fl. @ 100.....fl.	79
2,300 clabborden	a 5 fl. @ 100.....fl.	115
100 voet plancken voor.....	fl.	6
	<u>6,598</u>	<u>317:10</u>

Acc. B., 1643-8.

⁷⁷ Elias Baily, Robert Coxwell and William Braunvell, the English at Varkens-kill, are also mentioned in connection with commercial transactions at this time.

⁷⁸ *Acc. B.*, 1643-8.

II.

No records are left to inform us how the colonists and their governor spent the winter of 1644-45, nor do the extant documents have much to say about the social life in New Sweden during 1645. In February the Indians began to bring in their furs and corn and many smaller purchases were made from them in March. In April Sven Skute bought several hundred beavers from the savages and Måns Kling also did some business with them. On May 26 four hundred and seventy-seven skins were bought for 1,086 yds. of sewant and in June the savages sold large quantities of corn to the Swedes.

In the early spring merchants from the neighboring colonies arrived as usual to collect old accounts and to sell their cargoes.⁷⁹

As the warm weather returned the freemen's labors of former years repeated themselves. The grain was sown, the gardens were made ready and the cattle were left to wander through the woods or across the grassy meadows under the care of the herdsman.

A new journey was made to Manhattan in the summer of 1645. The special object in going there was to buy cattle and provisions. Four oxen were purchased for fifty-five beaver skins, and one horse for thirty beaver skins. "A pair of mill stones for the windmill" were obtained for two beavers, and shirts, a barrel of tar and other necessities for the trade and use in New Sweden were likewise bought on this journey. In August the *commiss* was again sent to New Amsterdam with the sloop to buy oxen and goods.⁸⁰ Five oxen valued at fifty-one beaver skins and twelve barrels of lime worth one skin were the result of the expedition.⁸¹

⁷⁹ Joachim Calfood was paid 1,568 florins on old accounts and somewhat later he sold several hundred yards of sewant and duffels. John Willcox sold 1,968 yds. of sewant and 123 yds. of duffels in the colony at this time; Isaac Allerton made large sales to individual colonists; William Whiting and Richard Malbon also made large sales of sewant and cloth and Jurian Whitschut (?) is mentioned in connection with commercial transactions (being also paid 175 beavers on old accounts). *Acc. B.*, 1643-8.

⁸⁰ The expenses of both expeditions were paid in beavers.

⁸¹ *Acc. B.*, 1643-8 (June-Aug., 1645).

During this month trade was established with the Indians at the Schuylkill and on the sixth 449 beavers were purchased for $1,234\frac{3}{4}$ yds. of sewant. In September an Indian guide was sent to invite the Minquas to the settlement for trading purposes, and many of these savages made their appearance shortly afterwards with skins and corn. But the Indian trade could not be conducted with much vigor, for there was a lack of merchandise. The governor and colonists waited for ships and supplies from Sweden, but the summer came and went, the grain grew and was harvested and no ships arrived. John Willcox, Jeremiah Clerk and Mr. Spindel brought new cargoes to the settlement, however, which supplied the most pressing needs of the people and merchandise for the peltry trade.⁸²

The colony was growing in prosperity. A pair of mill stones had been purchased at Manhattan and the windmill was repaired for the autumn grinding. The cattle bought at New Amsterdam enlarged the possibilities of agriculture and it is likely that the fields were somewhat increased in 1645. Some new land had also been occupied, which was not "properly bought from the Indians" and dispute arose concerning the title. Two chiefs demanded pay for the tracts and on September 20 they were given four yards of cloth and about nine yards of sewant for their claim. This seems to have settled the question and it appears that the colonists were henceforth undisturbed in their possession.⁸³

Preparations were now made for the winter. The grain and hay were stacked or put into sheds, provisions were purchased from the neighbors and necessary supplies for the cold weather were provided. Omens were more favorable than the previous

⁸² *Acc. B.*, 1643-8 (August, September, October, 1645) October 20, 1645, John Wilcox sold the following goods:

382½ yds. of duffels a 4 fl.....	1,530 fl.
336 yds. of sewant a 4 fl.....	1,344 fl.
	2,874 fl.

⁸³ *Acc. B.*, 1643-8 (June ff. 1645). This purchase is not mentioned in any other documents as far as I have been able to find and none of the older writers refer to it. It is not possible to determine the situation of the land, but it was probably some new tracts near the Schuylkill, perhaps somewhat above present West Philadelphia.

year, but a month before the Christmas holidays a lamentable misfortune befell the little colony. The governor had gone to rest in Printz Hof, the soldiers and settlers at New Gothenborg had withdrawn to their quarters for the night, the lights in the dwellings were extinguished. All was quiet and peaceful. The gunner, Sven Vass, was on duty as watchman. But Vass fell asleep and left his candle burning. Between ten and eleven an alarm was given. The candle had set fire to the fort!⁸⁴ The people rushed out of their dwellings to save what could be saved. But the flames grew with great rapidity. The powder chest exploded with terrible force. In a short while nearly everything was consumed in the storehouse.⁸⁵ Printz' Hall also caught fire, and the governor lost property to the value of 5,584 R.D. When morning dawned on the island of Tinicum, November 26, 1645, the little settlement there had greatly changed its appearance. Nothing but the barn remained, cold set in and the river froze over,⁸⁶ preventing aid from reaching the island. The unfortunate colonists suffered greatly and from December until March they were cut off from the mainland.⁸⁷ But warmth came at last and connections were established with the other settlements. Great efforts were made for the rebuilding of the destroyed houses and the foundations for a new church were laid. The fort was also rebuilt.

The governor had warned the company that if supplies were not speedily sent to Christina the losses would run into thousands. Printz waited, months passed, but no news came from

⁸⁴ It was said that the fire was maliciously started, but this is not probable. Cf. below.

⁸⁵ A list in the Account Book puts the loss at 410 beaver skins, 382½ yds. of duffels, 768 yds. of sewant, 6,798 lbs. of tobacco, 100 bushels of pease, 2,000 lbs. of "English bread" and various other articles, the total value of which was 8,933:10 fl.

⁸⁶ Records of the river being frozen over are published in Hazard's *Register and Penn. Mag.*

⁸⁷ *Report*, 1647, report of the court held at New Gothenborg, February 8-11, 1647, N.S., I. (R.A.); *Acc. B.*, 1643-8; *Doc.*, XII., p. 29; *Winthrop*, II. 254; *Col. N. Y. Hist. So.*, N.S., I. 429 ff. The date given in the *Acc. Book* is September 25, but this must be a mistake, for Hudde says that the fort was burnt on December 5 (*Doc.*, XII. 29), and Printz says that it happened on November 25 (n.s. December 5).

Sweden. The trade during the first half of 1646 was very slight, partly on account of the severe weather, and some deer skins and a few bushels of corn were the only purchases made from the Indians from January until June. In January John Willcox collected 1,949:10 fl. (in goods) at Christina and sold provisions there. In July William Whiting sold 250 bushels of rye, some sewant and 250 lbs. of leather. Printz also sent his sloop to Manhattan for provisions, although he was not on good terms with the Dutch, and 100 bushels of Indian corn or wheat were bought there. In August Jacob Evertssen Sandelin arrived in the South River with his ship the *Scotch Dutchman*.⁸⁸ He sold 356½ yds. of duffels, 20 shirts, 30 pairs of shoes, 15 dozen knives, a quantity of cloth for sails, one hogshead of French wine and other goods, the bill amounting to 2,500 fl. of which 242:3 fl. were the governor's private purchases. As the Swedes had neither money nor beaver skins, Printz was compelled to give him a draft for the amount, drawn on Peter Trotzig in Holland. The draft was transmitted through Laurens Laurensen to Rev. Bogardus, who was to send it to Europe, but when the transaction became known to the council at New Amsterdam, a resolution was passed, ordering Rev. Bogardus to deliver up the draft, since Sandelin had traded in South River without permission from the Dutch West India Company. The draft was finally sent, however, but when it arrived in Sweden the company refused to honor it because they did not know for what purpose it had been drawn and the sum was put on Printz's private account, until a report could be received.⁸⁹

Conditions were now very unfavorable for the prosperity of New Sweden. Ships had not for a long time come from the mother country and weeks were still to pass before aid arrived. To aggravate matters the crops were poor and it was even

⁸⁸ Sandelin was a Scotchman. He accompanied Minuit to the Delaware in 1638. Cf. Chap. XIV. above.

⁸⁹ *Acc. B.*, 1643-8; *Journal*, no. 596, N.S., III. (K.A.); *Doc.*, XII. 26-7; *Penn. Mag.*, II. 443.

found necessary to send Huygen to New Amsterdam to buy rye for seed.⁹⁰

In spite of unfavorable circumstances some improvements were made and new land was occupied. The old windmill did not work well and, as the fields increased, it became necessary to make other provisions for grinding the grain. Several places were suitable for the erection of water mills, but the most convenient spot was some distance north of New Gothenborg, "no doubt on Cobb's Creek, a tributary of Darby Creek," where the water offered sufficient power for the driving of a water wheel large enough to turn a pair of mill stones. Here Printz built a dam and erected a mill in the summer or autumn of 1646.⁹¹ A miller was also stationed there continuously for some years. The colonists took their grain to the mill, where it was ground for a certain toll, and the crop of 1646 was probably ground there. A blockhouse was built near the mill to protect the settlement, which was made there, and the place was called *Möln dal*,⁹² "because the mill was there." A short distance south of *Möln dal* another blockhouse was erected about this time to which the name of *Vasa*⁹³ was given.⁹⁴

In October, 1646, there was joy in the settlement; the *Gyllene Haj* cast anchor before Christina. The ship carried large supplies for the Indian trade and for the colony's need and some new settlers and soldiers also arrived. They were all ill on account of the troublesome journey, but it is probable that they recuperated quickly after their landing.

In his report of 1644 Printz requested to be released from

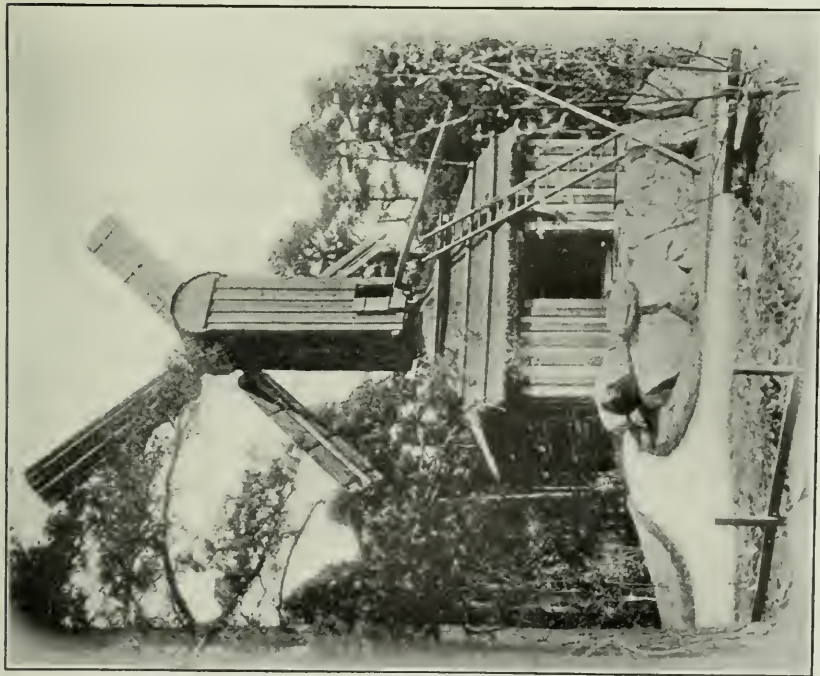
⁹⁰ *Acc. B.*, 1643-8.

⁹¹ It is probable that the windmill was used at times during the autumn of 1646, but it must have been discarded and allowed to go to ruin soon afterwards.

⁹² Near Gothenburg in Sweden was also a place called *Möln dal*, which probably suggested the name. See Berg, *Saml. till Göt. hist.*, I. 160. It is now an important manufacturing place. See Rosenberg, *Handlexicon*, II. 216.

⁹³ *Vasa* was a place in the north of Finland, founded by King Gustaf Vasa I. In the beginning of the last century the name was changed to Nicolaistad.

⁹⁴ *Report*, 1647, N.S., I. (R.A.); *Acc. B.*, 1643-8; complaints of some freemen and Printz's reply, August 3, 1653, N.S., I. (R.A.); Rising's *Journal*; Hazard, p. 78; Ferris, p. 73; *Doc.*, XII. p. 29 ff.



Windmill in Sweden. At Skansen, Stockholm. See also p. 204.



Swedish "water-mill," now erected at Skansen, Stockholm.

his post as soon as his term of three years' service had expired, but in 1646, when the *Haj* was being prepared, the government could find no one suitable for the place and the Queen, in answer to his request, instructed him to remain in the country yet for some years. The governor had now managed the colony for nearly five years and "these years were longer and more arduous to him than all the previous twenty-four years in which he had served his dear fatherland." He was therefore anxious to be relieved from his duties and, when the Queen's letter arrived, he "became sad," "but as he saw the signature by Her Royal Majesty's own hand, he was so happy that he no longer remembered his former sadness."⁹⁵

The outlook was now brighter for the little settlement. The inhabitants could prepare for the winter with more eagerness than formerly and they could celebrate their Christmas with more joy in their hearts than in 1645.

Duffels, corals, axes, kettles, knives, plates, goblets and bowls, horn combs, thousands of fish-hooks as well as a great variety of other trinkets were available for the beaver trade, and shortly after the ship arrived several presents were given to an Indian chief. Not many weeks later Hendrick Huygen and Van Dyck with eight soldiers and an Indian guide were sent fifty German (230 English) miles into the Minquas' country to renew the old friendship with them and to reestablish the trade. Rich gifts of mirrors, corals, combs and the like were presented to the chiefs, who promised to traffic freely with the Swedes and to discontinue the beaver trade with the Dutch entirely. A few purchases of beaver skins and corn were made from the savages in the beginning of 1647, but the trade was slow in recuperating.⁹⁶

Efforts were now being made to buy a cargo for the *Haj* and the sloop was sent "down the bay to try to trade," but it had small success. The season of the year was unfavorable for the peltry-trade and only 6,920⁹⁷ lbs. of tobacco could be furnished

⁹⁵ *Report*, 1647; Printz to Brahe, February 20, 1647; *Skokl. Saml.* (R.A.); The Queen to Printz, February 6, 1645, R.R.

⁹⁶ *Acc. B.*, 1643-8; *Report*, 1647.

⁹⁷ It seems that about five or six thousand pounds belonged to the company.

by the planters in the colony, as some had been lost in the fire, but English merchants again came to the rescue. February 12 Isaac Allerton sold 11,422 lbs. at six stivers per pound and shortly afterwards 24,144 lbs. were loaded upon the *Haj*.

The sloop seems to have been sent to Manhattan twice for the purpose of obtaining provisions for the colony and for the victualling of the ship on its long voyage. Printz supplied 394 fl. from his own means for provisions and twelve beaver skins were given to Papegoja for his travelling expenses. The preparations for the return of the *Haj* were completed about the middle of February and some time later the vessel set sail. The Rev. Fluviander and some colonists returned home on the ship and Johan Papegoja was again sent to the mother country, at the request of the soldiers and officers, to make an oral report. Printz sent a long list of articles, which he needed,⁹⁸ suggested many improvements and requested the company to send him a brickmaker as well as carpenters and other laborers, for he had a large barge almost ready, but its completion had to be postponed until the arrival of more skilled workmen. The governor also prepared a long report (dated February 20, 1647) to the New Sweden Company and sent it with Papegoja to be delivered on his arrival in Stockholm.⁹⁹

From the report we are able to form an idea of the condition of the colony at this time. The population was still very small, only 183 souls in all. The condition of the freemen had improved since 1643, but the soldiers and servants were dissatisfied and desirous of returning home. A few of the servants of the company were deserted soldiers or others, who had committed some slight offense, and, when they had served here a certain number of years, depending on the nature of their crime, they were made free and were often given land to cultivate. In 1647 the total number of freemen settled on

⁹⁸ He requested 200 spades, 50 muskets, 6 good drums, 2 metal cannon of 12-lb. calibre, and a variety of other articles.

⁹⁹ *Acc. B.*, 1643-8; *Report*, 1647; Printz to Brahe, February 20, 1647, *Skokl. Saml.* (R.A.); list of articles which Printz asked for, 1647 (in Kramer's handwriting), *Ox. Saml.*

farms or plantations was twenty-eight, but we do not know the extent of their fields nor the number of cattle, sheep and other domestic animals they had. Sixteen oxen, a cow and a horse had been purchased for the company from New Amsterdam since the arrival of Printz, but two of the oxen had either died or been sold to the freemen, for in February the company owned only fourteen of these animals. The cattle sent from Sweden by the company had now increased to ten. As to the swine, goats and sheep we know nothing, but it is probable that the freemen had a good supply of them at this time. The horse purchased from the Dutch seemed to have fared well and he was likely used for work on the land belonging to the company and by Printz in travelling about the settlements.¹⁰⁰ About this time, as we shall see, complications arose with the Dutch in the Schuylkill region. The blockhouse built there was for a protection against the Indians and it could not oppose the Dutch nor keep out trading vessels. As Printz found that he was unable to regulate and monopolize the Indian trade in these quarters by his present stronghold and maintain the Swedish jurisdiction against his neighbors, he made preparations for the building of a fort. "About a gunshot in the Schuylkill, on the south side of it," there was "a very convenient island," and here the fort was erected. Logs and timber were cut during the early part of 1647 and the previous autumn and in February the fort was almost ready. We are unable to say when the stronghold was finished, nor do we know what armament was placed on its walls. It must have been of considerable strength, and well protected, for Hudde says that it controlled the Schuylkill. The name of Fort New Korsholm¹⁰¹ was given to it, indicating its location,¹⁰² and Måns Kling, who

¹⁰⁰ In December, 1646, he ran away, but he was caught by an Indian and brought back to Printz. The Indian was richly rewarded for his trouble and given several yards of cloth, two axes, six knives, two combs, two mirrors, etc. See *Acc. B.*, December 6, 1646.

¹⁰¹ Nya Korsholm. It was located on Province Island, called *Drufweeijland* or *Manaipingh* by the Swedes.

¹⁰² Holme is the old Scandinavian word, meaning island. The word is found in several Swedish names of places and cities, as *Stockholm*, *Gripsholm*, *Djursholm*, *Drottningholm*, etc.

was commander in the blockhouse, was now given charge of the fort. A gunner and some soldiers were also stationed there.¹⁰³

Some new dwellings were built in the spring and the territory of New Sweden was somewhat increased by purchases from the Indians. In May Printz entered into communication with the Minquas (Mantas?) concerning the sale of certain tracts of land, and on the twenty-first the purchase was made in the presence of several chiefs. The price paid for it was considerable for that time, consisting of 24 yds. of cloth, 65 yds. of sewant, 6 axes, 4 kettles, 7 knives, 5 lbs. of corals, 2 silvered chains, 450 fish hooks, besides a number of other trinkets.¹⁰⁴ The deeds are not known to exist, but from a later document we are able to determine the location of the land. It was undoubtedly the same as that referred to by Mattahorn in 1651, as having been bought by Printz three or four years before, extending "on the west shore . . . from Wychquahoynggh unto Mechechason."¹⁰⁵ "This land," said Mattahorn, "was bought from two chiefs Siscohoka and Mechekyralames of the Mantas¹⁰⁶ Indians and Printz "set his fence thereupon."¹⁰⁷

It appears that tobacco-raising had proven itself unprofitable, for after 1647 there is no record of shipment of tobacco to Sweden, which had been grown in the colony. Grain and Indian corn were now the staple products and New Sweden had already become an agricultural rather than a commercial colony, due to the lack of support from the mother country and the nature and inclinations of the settlers.

The Indian trade, begun shortly after the arrival of the *Haj*, was of small account and it continued to be poor for several weeks,¹⁰⁸ but in the early spring Huygen was sent into the country of the Black Minquas with merchandise.¹⁰⁹ The good

¹⁰³ *Report*, 1647; *Doc.*, XII. 29.

¹⁰⁴ *Acc. B.*, 1643-8 (May 21, 1647).

¹⁰⁵ Wychquahoynggh, Wichquacoing, Wigquakoing, Wicacoa (Philadelphia) unto Mechechason (Trenton Falls). Cf. *Doc.*, I. 292, 593.

¹⁰⁶ Probably the same as the Minquas mentioned in the *Acc. B.*

¹⁰⁷ *Doc.*, I. 598.

¹⁰⁸ On February 22, 1647, sixty beavers were bought for 79 3/9 yds. duffels. *Acc. B.*; 1643-8.

¹⁰⁹ It was carried by soldiers and some Indian guides.

will of the chiefs was, as usual, bought by handsome gifts and the journey was very successful, resulting in the purchase of several hundred skins. The sloop was sent into the Schuylkill and down the bay for trade, gifts being distributed to the savages at each place, and the peltry traffic was continued throughout the summer with good profit. The English merchants who visited the river bought many of these beavers for their wares, which were again exchanged for other skins.

"An English bark," valued at 200 fl., was purchased by Governor Printz from Robert Roberts[on] for 98 skins, and sewant and grain to the value of thousands of florins were sold to the Swedes in payment for beavers by Kirsfoot, Whiting, Willcox and Andriessen, who were also paid large sums on their old claims.

Another journey was made to New Amsterdam in the summer for the purpose of buying Indian corn,¹¹⁰ and about the same time Knut Persson was sent to New England to procure sewant and some oxen for merchandise, which had arrived on the *Haj*. He purchased 1,000 yds.¹¹¹ of wampum for a great variety of goods, including cloth, hats, caps, combs, mirrors, hatbands, fish-hooks, knives and the like, and he gave forty beaver skins for a pair of oxen. Persson returned to Christina in the early autumn.¹¹²

The beaver trade with the Black Minquas was renewed in August and a supply of maize for the winter was bought from the River Indians. It is probable that the crops were poor in 1647, for in October 100 bushels of peas, 120 bushels of rye and a large quantity of corn-flour were purchased from William Whiting. Other foreign merchants also traded with the Swedes in the summer and autumn of 1647 and Allerton was paid some 3,800 fl. on his old accounts.¹¹³

Little is known about the internal history of the settlement

¹¹⁰ Three hundred bushels of *Taru* or *tarw* (= Mod. D. *Tarwe*, German, *Weizen*; maize) were bought for 100 beavers. *Acc. B.*, 1643-8.

¹¹¹ The original has *n1,000*.

¹¹² *Acc. B.*, 1643-8. Various expenses were connected with the voyage and the pilot was given six beaver skins for his work.

¹¹³ *Acc. B.*, 1643-8.

from March, 1647, until the beginning of 1648. It is said that a Christian Indian¹¹⁴ from New France visited the Swedes on his way to Andastoe in 1647. He is reported to have reproached the Swedes for their immorality and for thinking more of the beaver trade than of converting the savages to Christianity.¹¹⁵

In January, 1648, the *Swan* anchored in Christina Harbor. The vessel carried a few new colonists¹¹⁶ and one of the largest cargoes ever sent to New Sweden. Printz now expected his recall. In 1646 he had been instructed to stay at his post, but in the beginning of the following year he made new appeals for his recall and petitioned for more pay and more donations in Sweden. A reply to his letter came on the *Swan*. Again he was disappointed. He was once more directed to remain in New Sweden until another could be sent to replace him, but he was given promise of reward, although his solicitations for a grant of land in Sweden were answered rather evasively by the Queen.¹¹⁷

The first large brewing kettle was brought to the colony on the *Swan*. The kettle was sent here by the company and we may suppose that a brewery was built in the spring or summer and that large quantities of ale were brewed there, which was sold to the colonists. New supplies of iron, steel and lead were also on the ship and the blacksmiths were kept busy for some time, mending the old implements for the freemen and making new ones for use in the fields.

The supplies which arrived on the ship for the colonists and soldiers greatly improved their comfort. Printz displayed his usual activity. New land was allotted to freemen and large

¹¹⁴ His name was Ondaaiondiont.

¹¹⁵ *Jesuit Relations* (Thwaites), XXXIII. 129 ff. Ondaaiondiont also stated on his return to the French settlement that the Europeans he visited had no church for prayer (!) and that their interpreter was a born Frenchman. The Andastoes are supposed to be the Susquehannas.

¹¹⁶ Johan Papegoja returned to the colony on this ship and Rev. Lock was also among the passengers. Cf. Chap. XXVIII, above.

¹¹⁷ Queen to Printz, September 16, 1647, *R.R.*; A. Oxenstierna to Printz, September 7, 1647; Hazard, pp. 95-96.

quantities of timber were prepared at the Schuylkill during the winter for new dwellings. It seems that the governor bought the island of Mekekanckon near Trenton Falls about this time from an Indian chief by the name of Tomashire. In the spring a few new dwellings were erected, probably on the Schuylkill, and new ground was put under cultivation there, corn being planted in the neighborhood of Fort Beversreede.¹¹⁸

The Indian trade had continued almost uninterruptedly for nearly a year, as the *Swan* brought new supplies and gave new impetus to the same. From February until May, 1648, three different journeys were made inland for thirty Swedish miles.¹¹⁹ There was an agreement between the Dutch and Swedes that they should not go into the country to trade with the savages, but the Hollanders had for two years conducted this harmful trade into the interior and would not desist from it, although they were warned by the Swedes, says Huygen in the *Account Book*, and on this ground he justifies the actions of his governor. The trade was so successful that over 1,200 skins were obtained for the cargo of the *Swan* before she returned to Gothenburg. That English and Dutch merchants traded in the colony also in 1648 is certain, but the records of these transactions are lost.¹²⁰

In the spring "a list of the people who were still alive in New Sweden" was made. Only the male inhabitants of age are given and the list contains only 79 names, including the slave.¹²¹ The officers and soldiers were all anxious to return home, but the life of the freemen was more tolerable than ever before and many seem to have reached some degree of prosperity.

In May the *Swan* returned to Sweden and now the colony lost some of its most faithful servants, a number of soldiers and

¹¹⁸ *Rising's Journal; Doc.*, XII. 46.

¹¹⁹ About 180 English miles. *Acc. B.*, 1643-8.

¹²⁰ *Acc. B.*, 1643-8.

¹²¹ *Rulla der Völcker*, etc., 1648, N.S., II. (R.A.). Some names were omitted on the list, however. Cf. below, appendix B.

two or three freemen and laborers.¹²² Printz sent his fourth relation and other documents (all of which seem to be lost) and, on the day before the vessel sailed, Papegoja wrote to the chancellor requesting permission to leave the country and enter the naval service unless more colonists should soon arrive.¹²³

The account-books and journals in which the monthly salaries of the officers, soldiers and servants and their accounts with the company and with the governor were entered, and in which the sales, purchases and all commercial transactions with laborers and savages were recorded from 1643 until May 25, 1648, were also sent to Sweden on the *Swan*¹²⁴ in care of Måns Kling.¹²⁵ According to these accounts the regularly employed officers and servants, whose salaries were provided for by the budget of 1642, had been paid 10,902 D. in goods and cash from the supplies of the company in New Sweden and from the private means of the governor, and the sums paid to the "extraordinary officers and servants" were also comparatively large.¹²⁶ Big sums of money had also been paid in Sweden to the men who returned from the colony, and small amounts were often given to the wives of those who came here. It sometimes happened that soldiers were given more goods and cash than was due to them and two or three cases are on record, where soldiers who owed the company deserted and left their debts behind.¹²⁷

¹²² Cf. Chap. XXVIII. above. Rettel returned on the ship. He had been in New Sweden for 7 years. His wife died here and in April Printz gave him a passport to return to Sweden with his son, who was 14 years old. See "Pass för C. Rettel," April, 1648, N.S., I. (R.A.).

¹²³ Papegoja to Oxenstierna, May 15, 1648, *Ox. Saml.* (R.A.).

¹²⁴ They were sent at the request of the company.

¹²⁵ The *Acc. B.* kept "in het fort Christina" (April, 1643-May, 1648) by Huygen is in good condition. It is written in Dutch and contains a record of the goods bought and sold in the colony and given to the Indians in the above-mentioned five years. The book is now preserved in N.S., I. (K.A.). For the "Schuldt Boeck," also sent to Sweden on the *Swan* and presented by Måns Kling to the bookkeeper of the company, see above Chap. XXI.

¹²⁶ Printz had supplied the servants, soldiers, officers and freemen 11,288 D. 27 öre from his own means in May, 1648, *Journal*, no. 703.

¹²⁷ *Journal*, no. 703 ff.; *Acc. B.*, 1643-8; *Monatg. B.*, 1642-56.

III.

When the *Swan* had left Christina Harbor the governor and his people returned to their usual labors, but there are no records to throw further light on the commercial and economic life of the settlement in 1648. Governor Printz had seen his happiest days on the Delaware, and the remaining years of his rule were full of troubles and disappointments. The difficulties with the Dutch were gradually increasing and soon almost threatened to overthrow the Swedish power; the expedition sent for the relief of the colony in 1649 was lost, and finally internal troubles amounting almost to insurrection disturbed the peace of New Sweden, making it almost impossible for the governor to continue at his post.

Printz, however, made the most of the situation and the colony gained in prosperity and "the freemen increased in wealth" in spite of the unfavorable conditions.

In 1649 Printz again secured title to a small district. The purchase was occasioned by the attempts of an Englishman to settle on the land. The savages were always ready to sell any tract. Printz communicated with the chief, who pretended to the land, and offered to buy it. Deeds were drafted and the presentation of gifts and the usual ceremonies followed. The land was on the eastern shore of the Delaware, and was the narrow strip north of the former limits of New Sweden between the Mantas and Racoon Creeks.¹²⁸

If we are to believe the Dutch reports the commercial activities in the river were very lively at this time, for Hudde writes "that the trade in beavers with the savages amounts at present [1649] to 30 to 40 and more thousands of beavers during one trading season." Since Printz denied all others the right to trade with the savages it is to be inferred that the Swedish traffic with the Indians approached the above sum in 1649, but the Dutch estimate was greatly exaggerated, for obvious reasons, and the Indian trade in New Sweden could hardly have reached one fourth of the above-mentioned sum for that year.

¹²⁸ The Englishman was Broen, who lived among the Dutch. Cf. below, pp. 423, 428, 585.

The Dutch now did everything in their power to obstruct the free traffic on the Delaware. They claimed the right to exact duties from English merchants who traded there, and Dutch skippers, who were suspected of being too friendly with the Swedes or who had no commission, were denied the privilege of sailing to the South River.¹²⁹

In 1650 the troubles with the Dutch increased and neither news nor supplies came from Sweden, but the year was prosperous as the weather was favorable for the grain. In the summer Printz was informed of the shipwreck of *Kattan*. A Dutch vessel was then in the river ready to return to Europe and with the ship Printz sent letters to the Queen, to the chancellor, to Brahe and to Trotzig, urging them to ship over more supplies and more colonists. He had written five times to Sweden in the last two years and three months, but he had received no reply either from the mother country or from the company's agents in Holland. He reported that large tracts of land had been purchased from the Indians (although "the Dutch protested against it daily"), but there were entirely too few colonists to take possession of them. The freemen were in a prosperous condition and "all well except in a few cases." They were mostly provided with oxen and other domestic animals, which were increasing and growing more numerous yearly. They cultivated the land in earnest and could sell over 100 barrels of grain. They not only sold rye and barley, but they also prepared orchards and planted valuable fruit trees, which grew splendidly. Their greatest trouble was that they had no servants and some of them needed wives! In addition to the letter Sven Skute was sent to Sweden to make an oral report and on August 1 a recommendation was given to him by Printz.¹³⁰

The Indians were friendly, but their trade went almost entirely

¹²⁹ *Doc.*, XII. 370 ff.; Acrelius; Sprinchorn, pp. 32-33; Hazard, 118.

¹³⁰ Printz to Oxenstierna, August 1, 1650, and to Brahe the same date. *Ox. Saml.*; *Skokl. Saml.* (R.A.). Printz wrote to the Queen and to Peter Trotzig in Holland (perhaps also to Beier), but these letters seem to be lost. See *E. L. Reg. öf. Riksar. acter. gam. orient. kat.* (R.A.), and Trotzig to Appelbom, April 11, 1650.

to the Dutch, as the Swedes had little to sell. Traders from Virginia, New England and New Amsterdam visited the settlement as before, "daily offering for sale everything one's heart can desire, although at treble prices," and English merchants from Barbadoes sailed to the Delaware with their goods this year. In December Gyllengren in company with other officers was sent to New Amsterdam to procure some goods there and "divers merchandise amounting to the sum of 158½ good . . . winter beavers" were purchased by him. A note for the amount or a "guarantee to pay" was given by Gyllengren and Allerton.¹³¹

The summer and autumn of 1650 and the winter of 1650-1651 passed quietly and there were few disturbing elements. The summer of 1651 was favorable for the crops and the colony harvested "very beautiful grain, besides all other valuable fruits and nothing was needed, but more colonists." The disputes with the Dutch, however, which took a dangerous turn in the fall, menaced the little settlement and Printz was compelled to concentrate his forces and to abandon some of the fortified places.

The garrison at New Elfsborg was withdrawn and the fort was left to decay, as it was no longer "the key to the river." It is also probable that Mölndal¹³² and New Korsholm were abandoned about this time. The Indians "fell off from the Swedes" on account of the activities of Stuyvesant, the settlers were dissatisfied and there were few on which Governor Printz could depend in an emergency. The beaver trade was monopolized by the Dutch and consequently the trade with the foreign merchants was also poor.

Mr. Allerton visited the colony in May, offering goods for sale, and he was authorized by Augustin Herrman to collect the debt contracted by Gyllengren. In the summer an English bark from Virginia was also trading in the river. When Stuy-

¹³¹ Printz to Brahe, August 1, 1650; *Doc.*, XII. 65 ff.

¹³² It is said that the miller did not dare to remain continually at the mill for fear of the Indians, which seems to indicate that Mölndal was abandoned.

vesant arrived he captured the vessel and the goods, compelling the skipper to pay duty. Governor Berkeley demanded satisfaction for the damages but to no avail. It appears that other English traders on the Delaware were harshly treated by Stuyvesant in 1651, who compelled them to pay duty on goods they had sold to the Swedes during the previous four years. It was said that a certain Roloff sailed every year from Amsterdam to the South River at this time, but the details of his business there are unknown.¹³³

Things looked dark for New Sweden in the autumn. "For three years and nine months" Printz had had "absolutely no orders nor assistance" from the mother country and he was becoming nervous about the situation. On the first of August he made reports to the Queen, to the chancellor, to Trotzig and to Brahe, imploring them to send new cargoes before the following spring, but the spring of 1652 came and passed, bringing neither ships nor supplies from Sweden.¹³⁴

Printz made use of every means at this command to improve the condition. The carpenters were kept busy on the mending of the forts and the building of boats, when there were no new houses to be erected. We have seen that boats were built at the wharf near Fort Christina in 1644. Again in 1647 a sloop was built there for which sails and other supplies were brought over on the *Swan* in 1648. The sloop was used by Printz on official business and the expenses connected with its construction and rigging out were charged to the admiralty.¹³⁵ About the end of 1651 the governor began the construction of a large sailing vessel. He had requested the company to send over a ship, which could be used in the river for various purposes, but his letters were not even answered. Consequently he determined to make the ship here. The vessel was built by Clas Timmerman, assisted by other servants and carpenters, and in

¹³³ Printz to Brahe, August 1, 1651; Doc., XII. 43 ff.; *Col. of N. Y. Hist. So., F. S. II.*; *Plym. Col. Rec.*

¹³⁴ Printz to Brahe, Oxenstierna and the Queen, August 1, 1651, *Skokl. Saml., Ox. Saml., E.L. ori. kat.* (R.A.).

¹³⁵ The sloop was used in the colony for many years.

August, 1652, Printz wrote to Sweden that "the ship was ready on the river, except for tackle, sails, cannon and crew, which were too expensive to hire and buy here." The ship was of about two hundred tons burden (a large vessel for that time) and it seems that she was to be used for defending the river as well as for preying on Spanish commerce.¹³⁶

The year of 1652 was not prosperous and "the troubles were daily increasing." Heavy rains did damage to the grain, "but the freemen had bread enough." On August 30 Printz again wrote to the authorities in Sweden, describing the condition of the colony and complaining of its neglect by the government and the company. The Indian trade was ruined, since the Swedes had no cargoes to sell; the savages showed signs of unrest; the Hollanders pressed hard upon the settlement and the foreigners had the opinion that the government at Stockholm had entirely forsaken its people on the South River. The Swedes themselves were dissatisfied and many deserted. On top of it all Printz was ill and not able to exert his former energy. He had proposed that the company should invest 20,000 R.D. in the "North English Company," but he had received no reply. He was hopeful of the situation, however, as the colonists were in good circumstances. The reports caused some activity at Stockholm in behalf of the colony, as we have seen, but it led to nothing and Printz waited in vain for new supplies.

It seems that trading expeditions were made to the neighboring colonies in the autumn to obtain supplies, and on August 18 a pass was given at New Gothenborg to Laurens Cornelius Andriesen, granting him permission to sail to other American ports.

In 1653 the condition of the colony remained the same. The officers and soldiers, as well as the servants of the company, were more dissatisfied than ever and the majority desired to leave their service. In April and again in July Printz sent

¹³⁶ Printz to Brahe and to Oxenstierna, August 30, 1652, *Skokl. Saml., Ox. Saml.* (R.A.).

letters and reports to Sweden. Supplies and people must be sent, he says, or "the labor and expense which has been applied on this well-begun work will come to nought." To emphasize the urgency of the supplies, he sent his son, Gustaf Printz, to make an oral report.¹³⁷

English and Dutch merchants continued to supply the colony with necessary goods "at double prices," but these trading expeditions to the Delaware became less frequent during the war and the fur trade was entirely ruined through the feuds of the Indian tribes, who brought in the beavers.¹³⁸ In March Printz purchased a quantity of linen and other cloth, one hundred and thirty-four axes, four guns, two pistols, six ankers¹³⁹ of Spanish wine, three ankers of brandy and various other goods. A bark called the *Eindracht* was also bought for the sum of 1,122 florins. The goods were sold by Evert Cornelisen. Printz could not pay him in cash or in beavers, but gave a draft for 3,077 D. 8 öre, which was finally paid by the commercial college, through Peter Trotzig in Amsterdam.¹⁴⁰ About the same time Thomas Adams, captain and mariner, purchased a plantation in Maryland and endeavored "to establish trade with the Swedes in the Delaware Bay." Permission was given him by the Maryland colony to trade there on the condition that his ships be well armed and that he conformed to the laws of the commonwealth.

Printz having heard through the Dutch and English that there was a lack of tobacco in Sweden, "made an accord with Edmund Scarborough . . . that he was to send a small ship, loaded with 80,000 lbs. of tobacco," to Gothenburg. In order to insure the vessel against the attacks of the Dutch a Swedish commission was given to the skipper and it seems that Gustaf

¹³⁷ Printz to Oxenstierna and to Brahe, April 26, July 14, 1653, *Ox. Saml., Skokl. Saml.* (R.A.); cf. above, Chap. XXX.

¹³⁸ "There is absolutely no profit any more in the fur-trade and especially now since the Arregahaga and Susquahanoer (from whom the beavers come) began to make war upon each other." Printz to Oxenstierna, April 26, 1653, *Ox. Saml.*

¹³⁹ *Ankare*, anker (firkin), 8-7/11 gallons. Cf. Chap. VI., above.

¹⁴⁰ In October, 1653, Kramer sent a draft for the amount to Trotzig. *Journal*, no. 1,127. *Eindracht*, probably *Endräkt* (*Harmony*).

Printz was placed in command,¹⁴¹ who went to Stockholm to make a report.

Affairs were now growing more complicated and in the autumn Printz decided to go to Sweden himself. Some time before his departure, he exchanged a quantity of goods for several thousand pounds of tobacco, which was shipped to Holland for the company. The old sloop was also sold and a new one purchased in its stead. About the same time the skipper, Jan Jansen, was trading on the river and he sold 200 lbs. of powder, 29 pairs of shoes and 200 yds. of linen cloth to the Swedes. These articles valued at 322 D. 6 $\frac{2}{3}$ öre were placed in the storehouse at New Gothenborg under the care of Papegoja. Under Jacob Svensson at Christina there were also goods to the value of 2,487 D. 3 öre, consisting of cloth, guns, shoes and the like. To further increase this stock for the winter Svensson was sent to New England for the purpose of trade and in September Printz issued a passport or sea letter for Laurens Cornelius Andriesen, who was about to sail to New England on a trading voyage.¹⁴²

As the Indians were unruly during the last years of Printz's governorship, they could not be depended upon, making life in the colony less safe and causing some inconvenience to the settlers, but there were no serious troubles with them. The watermill was kept in order and ground most of the flour, but since it could only be run on certain days for fear of the savages, the colonists were at times compelled to grind their grain on hand mills. The swine were occasionally killed by the savages and they sometimes molested the cattle and stole guns and other

¹⁴¹ Printz's letter is somewhat ambiguous, but the expression "medh een Swensk Commissie *Digt öfver förpasserat*" seems to indicate that the ship was sent. The ship on which Gustaf Printz sailed was captured by the English and never reached Sweden. Printz to Brahe, July 14, 1653, *Skokl. Saml.*

¹⁴² *Journal*, nos. 1126-1130, 1180, 1210-11; Printz to A. Oxenstierna, August 1, 1650, August 1, 1651, August 30, 1652, April 26, July 14, 1653; *Ox. Saml.* and letters of the same dates from Printz to Brahe, *Skokl. Saml.* (R.A.); Complaints against Printz, etc., 1653, N.S., I. (R.A.); *Doc.*, XII. 63-5, 70 ff., 370 ff.; Hazard, 139, 115 ff.; *Col. N. Y. Hist. So.*, Fund S., II. 7 ff.; *Md. Archives*, III., pp. 300-301; "Copia von L. Andriesen sein Pass," etc., August 18, 1652, N.S., I. (R.A.); *Plym. Col. Rec., Deeds; Penn. Mag.*, VI. 489; *Mss.* in Penn. Hist. So. Cf. below.

property from the Swedes. The population had been increased by birth and new arrivals since 1643, but many had returned to Sweden, while others had deserted, going to Virginia and elsewhere, and the total number of inhabitants was only about 200 souls.¹⁴³

¹⁴³ See *Com. Col. Prot.*, 1652; *Penn. Mag.*, II. 225; cf. below, Chap. XLII. Lasse Cock was b. 1646; Peter Rambo, June 17, 1653, etc. Cf. appendix below.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

DWELLINGS AND CUSTOMS OF THE COLONISTS, 1643-1653.

The dwellings erected by the Finns immediately on their arrival were probably of the simplest form known to them in their home country, namely the *kota*.¹ This structure, of the same general type as the Lapplander's hut,² resembled an Indian wigwam. It was made by placing poles of a few inches thickness and about fifteen feet long close together in a circle (of about ten feet in diameter) with their tops adjoining one another. A second layer of poles was at times employed to close up the large opening in the first layers, and moss or other material was further used to fill up the cracks, improving the comfort of the occupants. An opening was left on one side for a door, covered with a skin or a piece of cloth. Across the "tenthouse," about half-way between the ground and the top, a pole was fastened by which the kettle and other cooking utensils could be suspended on an extensible wooden hook,³ beneath which the fire was made.⁴ Here the newly arrived Finnish (and probably an occasional Swedish) settler found shelter and almost as much comfort as he was used to at home.⁵ As soon as he was able, however, he erected a more comfortable dwelling, *pörtet* (*pirtti*).⁶ This form of living house was common in Finland in olden times and the Finnish settlers in Sweden employed it almost exclusively in the seventeenth century.⁷

The *pört* was a log cabin (varying in size) built of round tim-

¹ A Finnish word meaning "house," "cooking-house," etc.

² Cf. the illustration in Nilsson's *Skansen*, p. 72.

³ The hook was sometimes made out of iron.

⁴ Retzius, *Finland*, p. 20 ff.

⁵ It is more than probable that such dwellings were erected here on the first arrival of the Finns, for these people used them in Sweden, during their first years of settlement there. Cf. Nordmann, p. 92 ff.

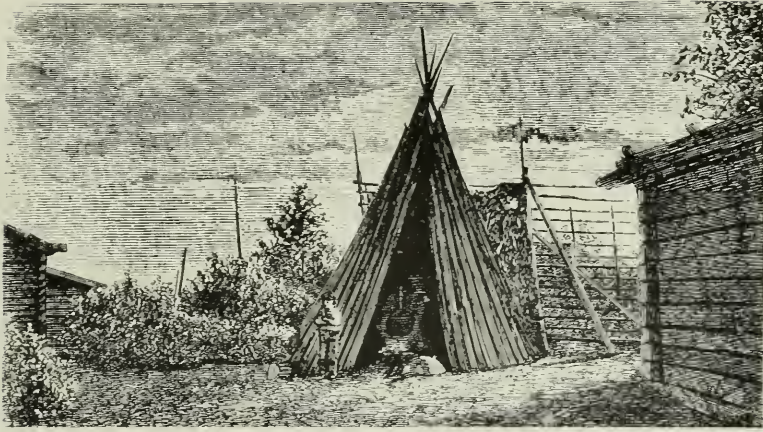
⁶ "Pirtti" (Finnish), "pört" (Swedish), "cabin," "cot," "smoke-house."

⁷ Cf. Nordmann, p. 92.

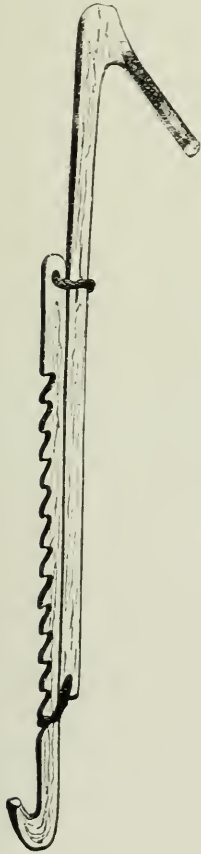
bers. The roof was gabled. On one of the end walls was a door, and two or three small openings on the other walls, covered with slide boards, served the purpose of windows. The floor was made out of split or hewn logs. The fire-place, constructed out of boulders or roughly formed granite blocks, was built in a corner of the room on a foundation of timbers. There was probably no chimney at first, the smoke being allowed to float about freely in the room, from whence it gradually escaped through an opening in the roof, which could be closed by a board. Later on a chimney was installed, made out of the trunk of a hollow tree. There was only one room, so arranged that it could serve the purpose of a "Finnish bath-house," dwelling-house and bed-chamber.⁸

If we could have made a visit to one of these early dwellings on the Delaware, we should have found it very much resembling those used by the settlers in Sweden and Finland before they came here. Remnants of this type of dwellings are still to be seen in the north and one of them has been moved to *Skansen* in Stockholm. Let us enter this old relic from a by-gone age! We must stoop to get through the door, which is located a little to the side on one of the gable ends. To the right, as we come in, is the fireplace and the oven, made from rough, heavy stones (the oven sometimes being clayed over and chalked on the front side). On the floor near by, along the same wall, is the bed with its loose straw, covered with a sheepskin. The table is to the left, behind which is a seat or bench nailed to the wall. The spinning wheel, the chair made from the hollow trunk of a tree, the birch-bark shoes, the pipe and the tobacco leaves for smoking, the skin coat, the wooden plates and bowls, the copper kettle and the fir-sticks for lighting purposes are all there, hung up or arranged in their proper places. The big room is gloomy even in the daytime, for only two little openings or "windows" in the walls admit light and the thick smoke, which, when the fire is burning, floats about above the heads of the occupants, before it finds its way out through the

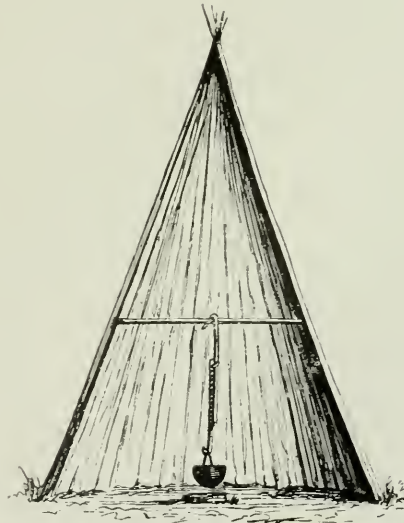
⁸ Cf. Retzius, p. 54 ff.; Nordmann, p. 92 ff.; Nilsson, p. 60 ff.; Heikel.



The exterior of a *kola*, showing the entrance and fireplace. R.



Wooden hook used in the *kola*, for suspending the pot over the fire.



Cross-section of the *kola*, showing the hook carrying a pot suspended on a pole across the hut. R.

hole, leading up into the wooden chimney on the roof, tends to increase the gloom. Such was the early Finnish (and some Swedish) dwellings on the Delaware, but the freemen lived happy and enjoyed their new homes, for many of the difficulties encountered in their native land were absent here.

The first dwellings erected by the Swedish colonists were likewise simple log-cabins made of round timber. The door was on the gable end, over which the roof projected three or four feet and on the other side were two or three little openings which admitted light. The first fires were made on the ground and there was no chimney, the smoke finding its way through an opening in the roof, as in the case of the Finnish houses. As soon as opportunity allowed a fireplace was made, on the same principles as those in the Finnish huts. The beds, which were made on the floor, the chairs made by cutting off a piece from the trunk of a large tree and a table near the wall were among the first necessities and continued to be the only furniture for some time. When the freemen increased in wealth and prosperity, they built large houses and made many improvements, but we shall leave this until the next chapter.⁹ The mode of building was influenced by the Dutch and English and "an English house" was erected in Fort Elfsborg.¹⁰

"On Tinicum Island . . . Gov. Printz caused a Hall to be built, which was called Printz Hall, very splendid and well built, with an orchard, a pleasure house and more such things."¹¹ Churchill states in one of his novels that the bricks used in the building of *Carvel's House* were brought from England and "legends" have been circulated to the effect that the "Old Swedes' Church" (Gloria Dei) was built from Swedish bricks! It has likewise been said as late as 1909 that "Printz Hall"

⁹ The description given in a previous chapter largely applies to the houses built in the beginning of this period. One or two little "glass windows" would be added to the dwellings of the most prosperous settlers and other conveniences were supplied.

¹⁰ *Acc. B.*, 1643-8.

¹¹ Lindeström, *Geogr. Amer.*; Holm, p. 79 (transl.); Acrelius, p. 43 (transl.). This description, however, refers to *Printz Hall No. 2* (the one built after the fire).

was built out of bricks brought from Sweden,¹² while others have denied that bricks were shipped here at all. Both of these theories are equally erroneous. We have already seen that about 500 bricks were carried over on the first journey and in 1643 "6000 bricks together with half a last of lime were consigned to Governor Printz [at his request] for the need of the country in New Sweden."¹³ This was the last direct shipment of bricks made to the colony, although several thousand were imported from Holland by the company. It is probable that a few bricks were taken here as ballast on some of the expeditions, but Swedish bricks were in no case used for building purposes. Printz Hall was undoubtedly completed, as far as its exterior was concerned, before the beginning of 1644. The large shipment of bricks did not arrive here before the spring of 1644 and in any case it is clear that a spacious and "well built Hall" could not be erected with 6,000 bricks, which were used for other purposes.¹⁴

Printz Hall was in all likelihood built out of *hewn* logs.¹⁵ It was probably two stories high and so arranged that it could be defended in case of attack. The lumber, which was brought here on the *Fama*, was used for the interior of the mansion¹⁶ and ovens and two or more fire-places with chimneys were constructed out of some of the bricks. The mansion had several rooms, lighted by windows of glass,¹⁷ and it was not devoid of

¹² *Penn. Mag.*, XXXIII. 10.

¹³ The cost of the bricks was 22 R.D. They were loaded upon the *Fama*, *Journal*, nos. 350-51.

¹⁴ Fireplaces and chimneys were built out of these bricks as far as they lasted. It is estimated that about 400 bricks will make a good sized fireplace. At that rate probably some 15 to 18 new fireplaces were made.

¹⁵ "On Tendkong 12 men, four at the time, built (timbrade) a large house out of logs in 8 days. . . . We have assisted in the work on all the houses which are on the estate as well with the building as with the masonry (murandet)." "Förklaring," etc., July 7, 1654, N.S., I. (R.A.). That there were no brickhouses on the island is clear from Sluyter's *Journal*, Mem. of the Long Isl. Hist. Soc., I.

¹⁶ *Journal*, 305. Twelve "tolfter" were on the ship, valued at 19 D. 16 öre.

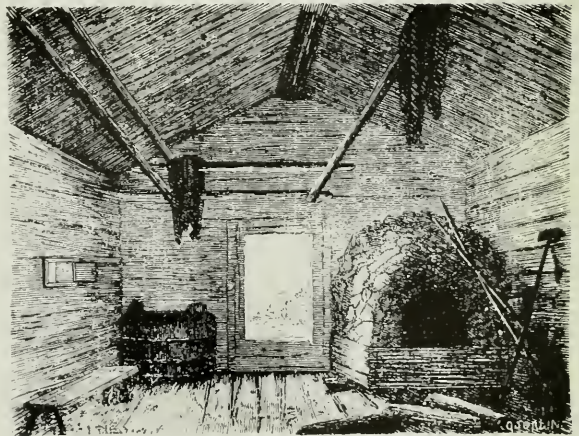
¹⁷ *Journal*, 304 ff. On the authority of Peter Kalm (who quotes an old settler) it has been stated that "the Swedes made windows out of isin-glass, when they first came here," and from this it has been inferred that no windows were used. But in 1644 "twenty four windows" were brought here on the *Fama*. Some were used for *Printz' Hof* and the rest for the houses in Fort Christina,



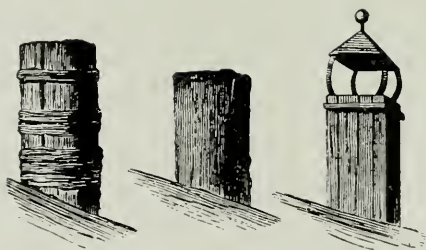
Pörte, now erected at Skansen, Stockholm.



Finnish *pörte* and bath-house of the eighteenth century built of hewn logs. (From Tavastland, Finland. R.)



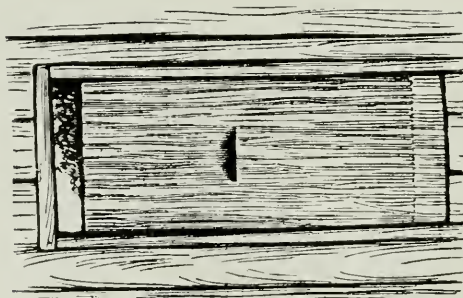
Interior of the *pörte* from Tavastland having the fireplace to the left. R.



Types of wooden chimneys used in Sweden and Finland in early times and still employed. R.



The "fire-rake" or poker (made of wood) for stirring the fire. R.



8. The "window" of the pötte, showing the "slide-board."

comfort, we may even say of luxury. From the articles consumed in the fire of 1645, when Printz Hall was burnt, we may form some idea of the way Printz lived. They are given in a list,¹⁸ made at an examination during a court in February, 1647, as follows:

	R.D.	St.
The governor's library, estimated to at least.....	200	
The governor's clothes and other articles, figured as far as it was possible to remember them.....	1,200	
The underlinen of Governor Printz's wife.....	240	
Pearls and precious stones of Governor Printz's wife, all lost in the fire.....	1,200	
The every day and best clothes of Governor Printz's wife, estimated at	800	
Curtains and the like.....	120	
Copper, tin and household articles.....	120	
Gold, silver and money, except that which was reclaimed...	600	
120 lbs. of light [candles].....@ 10 st.	24	
180 bushels of rye, his own crop.....@ 3 fl.	216	
100 bushels of malt.....@ 3 fl.	120	
200 lbs. of hops.....@ 1 fl. 5 st.	100	
3,000 lbs. of salted pork.....@ 6 st.	360	
560 lbs. of smoked pork.....@ 6 st.	91:10	
224 lbs. of pork-fat.....@ 10 st.	44:40	
80 lbs. of cheese.....@ 5 st.	8	
120 lbs. of butter.....@ 10 st.	24	
200 lbs. of fish.....@ 3 st.	12	
500 lbs. of salted meat.....@ 4 st.	40	
Summarium	5,520:2	

In 1646 Printz Hall was rebuilt, larger and more beautiful than before.¹⁹

Printz was accused of enriching himself at the expense of his subjects and it was said that he carried on an unlawful beaver-trade,²⁰ but most of the charges against him were probably unjust. He made large advances of money and goods to the colonists, from time to time, and in some instances he was paid

Fort Elfsborg, etc. Windows were probably also used for the dwellings of some of the prosperous freemen. Kalm, *Resa*, etc., II. 217, III. 70. In a poem written towards the end of the seventeenth century it is stated that the Swedes on the Delaware used isin-glass in their windows, proving that this material was really employed by the colonists at an early date.

¹⁸ List in N.S., I. (R.A.).

¹⁹ Cf. above, Chap. XXXII.

²⁰ See below, Chap. XXXVIII.

in beaver-skins, bought for the company from the savages.²¹ He had a perfect right to sell these beaver-skins in any way he saw fit, as much so as the merchants in Stockholm or Amsterdam, who bought skins from Bonnell and Andersson; for he had not infringed on the rights of the company, which alone could buy from the Indians. Printz of course sold his skins at a gain; most of the work on his plantation was done by servants and colonists, without pay it seems,²² and through wise management he collected almost a little fortune on the Island of Tinicum. Some of the colonists got into heavy debts to the governor. This was especially the case with "Lasse the Finn," who with his wife settled a plantation at Upland. They were also accused of disturbance and witch-craft, on account of which they were removed from their plantation probably about 1646,²³ but they were given better land and situation by the governor, "although they owed [him] three times as much as the value of their former plantation," which was taken by Printz in lieu of his claims "and called after his own name, Printz Torp."²⁴ The plantation was probably rented by Printz to some colonist, who paid for its rental by the work of a certain number of days a year,²⁵ becoming what might be termed a crofter.²⁶

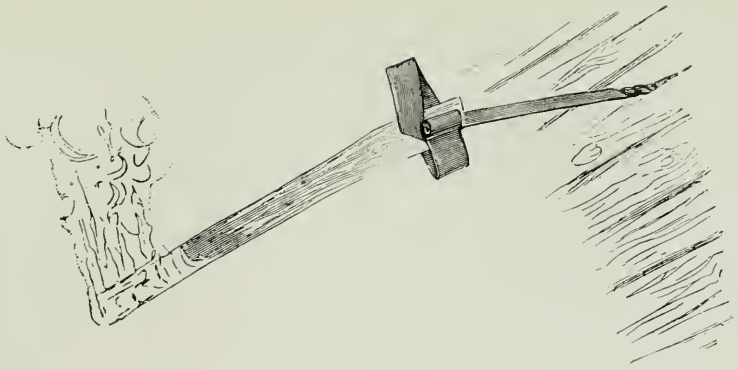
²¹ Cf. above, chap. XXXII., *Acc. B.*, 1643-48.

²² "Förklaring," etc., N.S., I. (R.A.); Acrelius, p. 83. It seems that such work was considered their taxes, due the governor.

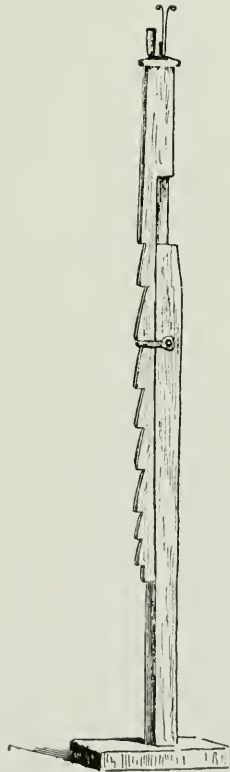
²³ In 1662 Beeckman writes that he had been informed that Printz Torp had been in possession of Printz and his daughter for sixteen years. That would bring us to the year 1646. *Doc.*, XII. 412; Hazard, 339.

²⁴ Petition, etc., and Printz's Answer, July 27 and August 3, 1653, N.S., I. (R.A.). Hence we see that the plantation was not "granted to Printz in accordance with his petition" in 1647, as was suggested by Smith, *Hist. of Del. County*, p. 47, and by other historians.

²⁵ Printz Torp was also designated by its Dutch form, *Printz Dorp*, in some of the documents (Beeckman's Declaration, September 19, 1662, *Doc.*, XII. 412) and it is so written in Winsor, IV. 463; Hazard, p. 220, 339; Smith, *Hist. of Del. County*, pp. 47, 82. Swedish *t* often becomes Dutch *d*. Cf. Dutch *dapper* and Swedish *tapper*, etc. Cf. Noreen, *Abriss der Urg. Lautlehre*, p. 232, etc. The Dutch form has given rise to a misconception of the meaning of the word. Hazard translates it by village and he is followed by Smith and others (Hazard, p. 339; Smith, *Hist. of Del. County*, p. 83). The Swedish word *torp* has of course not the same meaning as the Dutch *dorp*, nor the German *Dorf* (village), although they are etymologically the same words, and in Middle H. German



Splint-stick-holder of iron, showing the burning splint. R.



Movable splint stick-holder of wood. S.

The dwelling-rooms of the settlers were lighted partly with tallow-candles and partly with so-called *pertstickor* or *spingstickor*. These splinter-sticks were used very extensively and the custom was very old, being mentioned in *Kalevala* and in the oldest writers of the North. "The lighting-splints were thin and flat, about a yard in length and they were made by splitting pine-trunks (preferably such as were of a resinous quality) into the proper size." One, two or more of these splints were fastened in the walls of the room, usually quite high up. They were stuck into the crevices between the logs or fastened into a "stick-holder of iron." The splint sloped downward. "It was the free end, hanging down, which was lighted." In burning the stick produced much smoke. After a few minutes such a splint was consumed and a new one was placed in the holder and lighted as before. Two or three burning sticks lighted the room sufficiently for ordinary purposes. The splint-holders were of two general types. The one was a short iron bolt, one end of which formed a clasp for holding the splint, the other end being sharpened to stick into the wall. The other type, generally made of wood, had an upright shaft a yard or more in height, placed on a base. This holder could readily be moved from place to place and was therefore more serviceable and convenient than the former kind.²⁷ Candles were also employed in New Sweden, especially by the commissioner and

Dorf sometimes means *Gehöft*. The Swedish *torp* (Old Eng., *Porp*, meaning village; Gothic, *Paarp*, meaning land, field; Old Norse, *Porp*, meaning village, land and an isolated farm, cf. Vigfusson, *An. Icel. Dic.*, p. 742) means a small farm or plantation often belonging to a neighboring larger estate. The one occupying a *torp* was called a *torpare*. Cf. Sundén, *Ordbok*, pp. 506-7; Björkman, *Ordbok*, p. 1164; Kluge; *Etym. Wörterb.*, p. 75. Concerning *torp* and *torpare* in Sweden in the seventeenth century see, *Rådspr.*, IV., p. 71; VII., p. 200; IX., p. 36-7.

²⁸ The institution of *torpare* exists in Sweden to-day. "[*Torpare* or] crofters rent for themselves small parcels of land, belonging to their employers, on the condition of rendering a certain number of day's work on the estate." "The crofter is in Sweden a kind of tenant of smaller, cultivated plots of lands [*torps*]." Sundbärg, *Sweden*, p. 610, 611 ff.

²⁹ Retzius, *Finland*, p. 73 ff.; Stolt, *Minnen*, p. 24 ff. Cf. *Kalevala*, Rune XXI.; Magnus, *Hist. de gent.*, etc., 77. This historian (middle of the sixteenth century) represented the Swedish matron holding the lighted splint in her mouth, while she worked her distaff.

bookkeeper in the forts. As time went on they probably became more common here than in the mother country and in the *Monthly Account-Book* (1642-56) we find entries like this:

"To Påfvel Jönsson, 4 lbs. of light at 8 st. fl. 1 : 12."

The candles were made of tallow grease which was heated and poured into an old churn or other vessel. Wicks (of hards-heddle, sometimes suspended by hooks on a circular disk to which a handle was attached) were dipped into the fluid until a sufficient coating of tallow-grease had collected around them to form a candle of desired size. Candlesticks were employed and it is likely that "candle-lanterns" were in use. These lanterns "were usually composed of a round wooden bottom below, an upper side with a round hole in it, and then thin spokes between them, so that it became a frame-work. Around this the lantern-membrane was wrapped, which was carefully [collected and] preserved from the fish-family."²⁸

The dress of the people was simple. In the first years they wore clothes mostly made in Europe, but later the garments were also made here. Joen Skräddare was undoubtedly a tailor,²⁹ as his nick-name indicates, but it is unlikely that he found time to make all the clothes necessary and it is probable that some of the colonists made their own wearing apparel. Brown or gray wadmal³⁰ and duffel, linen and frieze were the most common cloth, in fact almost the only kind shipped here for the need of the settlers and from this their garments were made. The retail cost of these materials from 1643 until 1654 was as follows:

1. Frieze, four florins a yard.
2. Duffel, four florins a yard.
3. Linen cloth, one florin a yard.
4. Wadmal, twelve stivers a yard.
5. Hards-cloth, half a florin a yard.

Shoes were shipped into the colony in fairly large numbers, but they were also made here.³¹ The shoemaker mended old

²⁸ Stolt, *Minnen*, p. 25 ff.; *Acc. B.*, 1643-48.

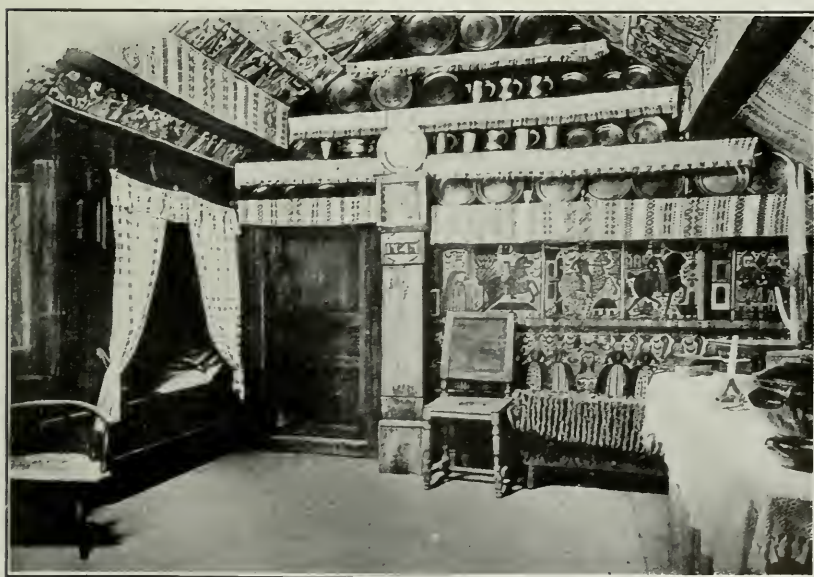
²⁹ See *Rulla*, 1644, appendix.

³⁰ A kind of coarse woollen cloth.

³¹ Cf. below and above.



Interior of a dwelling from Jönköping, Sweden, showing the splint-holder, the table with its wooden dishes, the fire-place and the "clothes-hangers."



Interior showing the table with its candle-stick, the clock (marked 1747), and the bedstead.

shoes and sole-leather was shipped over (Van Dyck buying two pounds of it at one and a half florins a pound). The shoes varied in price from two and a half to three florins. Erick Andersson, the Trumpeter, bought six pair of shoes from 1643 until 1648 at two and a half florins a pair, making one pair a year, which was the average for the soldiers and servants.³² Shirts (the only undergarments mentioned) were largely bought by the colonists from the supplies sent over, their price varying from three to five florins a piece. It seems that the officers wore a more expensive kind.³³ The stockings were made of felt, wool and linen, and their average cost was as follows:

1. Felt stockings, five florins a pair.
2. Woolen stockings, four florins a pair.
3. Linen stockings, one florin a pair.

Gloves were worn by the officers and soldiers and we find several bills for *Russian gloves*, whose cost was one florin a pair. "Hats with ribbons" and "English caps" were worn by the colonists and soldiers. "An English cap"³⁴ cost from three to four florins³⁵ and a hat was valued at five florins (including ribbon, six stivers extra).

The food of the colonists and soldiers consisted of deer-meat and other game; fish, pork, salted or smoked (except in the autumn when the animals were butchered), dried meat,³⁶ beef (fresh or salted),³⁷ cheese, butter, "English bread" and bread made out of wheat, rye,³⁸ Indian corn and at times a mixture of the last two.³⁹ Of vegetables they had pease, beans,⁴⁰ turnips and watermelons. Pepper, ginger ("natural and prepared"),

³² *Monatg. B.*, 1642-1656.

³³ Junker Per Liljehök bought 7 *hemden* from 1643 to 1648 at the cost of 5 florins each. Peter Jönsson bought 7 *hemden* for three florins each, etc. *Monatg. B.*, 1642-56, N.S., I. (R.A.).

³⁴ *Acc. B.*, 1643-1648; *Monatg. B.*, 1642-1656.

³⁵ 1643-54 is always meant.

³⁶ "Drög fleisch."

³⁷ "Oxen Fleis," etc.

³⁸ Other grains were oats and barley, *Lindeström, Geogr.*

³⁹ On the method of making this bread cf. below, Chap. XLIII.

⁴⁰ Also Turkish beans. *Geogr.* Potatoes were also used. Rising's *Beskr.*

vinegar, and other necessities were brought here from Europe.⁴¹

Beer was the standard beverage, as brewing was common among the Swedes and Finns from the earliest times.⁴² *Kalevala*, the Finnish Epic, describes the making of beer as follows:

" Osmotar, the beer preparer,
Brewer of the drink refreshing,
Takes the golden grains of barley,
Taking six of barley kernels,
Taking seven tips of hop-fruit,
Filling seven cups with water,
On the fire she sets the caldron,
Boils the barley, hops and water,
Lets them steep and seeth and bubble."

" Ripe cones from the fir-tree," yeast from "the grottoes of the growler," honey "from the calyces of flowers," were finally thrown into the liquor and

". . . the beer was ready,
Beverage of noble heroes,
Stored away in cask and barrels,
There to rest a while in silence."⁴³

The beer was brewed here in large quantities by the individual freemen and at the forts, under the supervision of the governor. Malt was taken here in large quantities on the journey in 1642-1643;⁴⁴ but it was also made in the colony and, when the fields began to bring forth enough grain for the supply of food, there was no necessity for importing malt. "Beer was also brewed from red, blue, brown, flesh-colored and spotted corn. This beer was very strong and thick and not very clear."⁴⁵

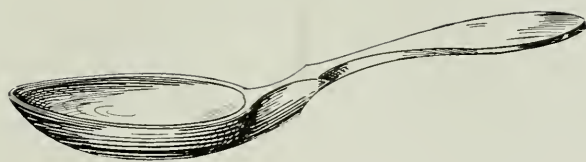
⁴¹ "Ingemachten Ingefehr" sold at three florins a pound. *Monatg. B.*, 1642-56, P. Jonsson's and J. Olofsson's accounts. Pepper was sold for two florins a pound. Wine vinegar cost one florin a "kanna" (half a gallon).

⁴² Cf. *Introduction* above.

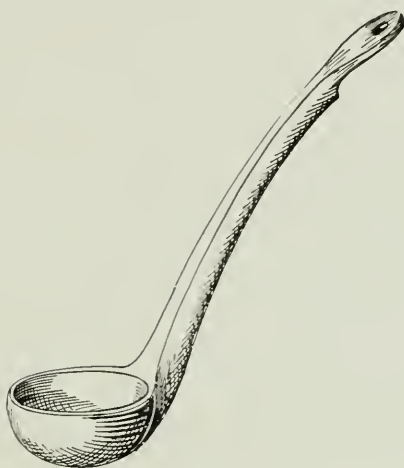
⁴³ *Kalevala*, Rune XX. (transl.) by Crawford.

⁴⁴ Gov. Printz took over 30 barrels of malt for his own use. *Monatg. B.*, 1642-56, N.S., I. (R.A.).

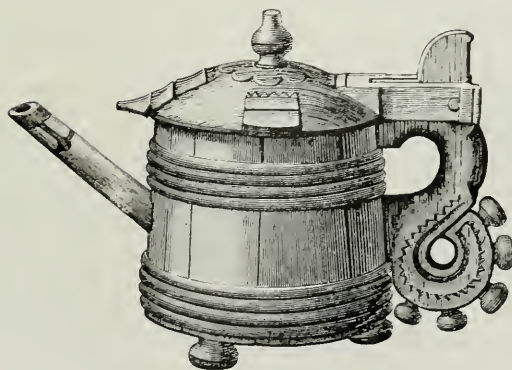
⁴⁵ Lindeström, *Geogr.* In Danker's and Sluyter's *Journal* (1679) it is stated that they "drank very good beer here [Takanij], brewed by the Swedes, who, although they have come to America, have not left behind them their old customs." *Mem. of the Long Isl. Hist. So.*, I. 177.



Spoon of wood.



Dipper of wood.



"Beer-pot" of wood from Sweden. S.

Wild grape vines were very numerous in certain parts of the river.⁴⁶ "The grapes and their juice were not all of the same kind, or of one color,⁴⁷ some being blue (of different shades), others reddish and still others entirely white. Nor were they of the same size and quality." In the autumn these grapes were gathered in large quantities and made into three or four kinds of "delightful wine, year after year," white, reddish or dark. But the colonists also cultivated grape vines,⁴⁸ which produced as good grapes and as fine wine as were to be found in Germany or France.⁴⁹

Brandy was also a common article. It was carried over on the expeditions, bought from foreign merchants and also manufactured in the settlement. Some time after July, 1644, Printz erected an ale-house on Tinicum Island and here beer, wine and brandy were sold to the soldiers and servants.⁵⁰ "French and Spanish wine" are often mentioned in the account-books. It was used on the governor's table and by officers and servants in the employ of the company.⁵¹

Dishes and utensils were to a large extent of European origin, but some were made or bought here. Knives were brought over in large quantities, but forks are not mentioned. Tin pots with covers, as well as iron pots, were used for cooking and other purposes. Tin-cups ("glasses"), tin goblets, tin beakers and tin bowls are mentioned in the accounts, and goblets and cups of horn. These were brought from Europe and cups and saucers were sometimes purchased from the English. Wooden utensils, however, were mostly used. Cups, plates, spoons, dippers, knives, bowls, pails, churns and casks, of this material could be seen in every household and in the forts. These

⁴⁶ Up at the falls of the Delaware there were a very large number of vines. Lindeström, *Geogr.*

⁴⁷ Rising says there were four kinds of grapes. *Beskrifning* (R.A.).

⁴⁸ Van der Donck says: "... Hebben de Sweetse Inwoonders de heele oude stocken in de Aerde gelegd, dat noemense suygen en sy trecken en genieten daer veel schoone lieflijcke Wejnen Jaer op Jaer," p. 20.

⁴⁹ Van der Donck (1656), p. 20; Rising, *Beskrifning* (R.A.); Lindeström, *Geogr.*

⁵⁰ Rising's *Journal*, 1654; *Report*, 1644.

⁵¹ Cf. *Acc. B.*, 1643-48; *Journal*, N.S., III. (K.A.).

articles were often elaborately carved.⁵² Troughs for baking bread, for feeding and watering the chickens and cattle were made by hollowing out trunks of trees of different sizes.⁵³ Combs of bone and ivory, clothes brushes (some being gilded)⁵⁴ and mirrors were among the articles that belonged to the outfit of the settlers and these articles were to be found in the homes of the freemen. Smoking was general and pipes and tobacco are among the articles bought by most of the settlers.⁵⁵

The following typical bill will give an idea of the provisions and other supplies purchased by a common soldier:

	fl.	st
10 shirts á 3 florins.....	30.	
3 pair of woolen stockings á 3 florins.....	9.	
4 yards of wadmal á 13 stivers.....	2:8	
17¼ yards linen cloth á 12 stivers.....	10:7	
13 yards of woolen ribbons á 4 stivers.....	2:12	
2 yards white cloth á 3 florins.....	6.	
1 dozen tobacco pipes.....	10	
11 lbs. cheese á 8 stivers.....	4:8	
38 lbs. of pork á 8 stivers.....	15:4	
4 lbs. of light á 8 stivers.....	1:12	
44 lbs. of salted meat á 5 stivers.....	11.	
12 lbs. of dried meat á 6 stivers.....	3:12	
12 lbs. of butter á 10 stivers.....	8.	
2 bushels of pease á 3 florins.....	6.	
3 beavers [skins] á 8 florins.....	24.	
15¼ yards of frieze á 4 florins.....	61.	
14½ yards of sewant á 2 florins.....	29.	
100 awl-points	2.	
100 needles	1.	
50 fish hooks.....	1.	
1 pair of shoes.....	4.	
1 shirt á 4 florins.....	4.	
1 pair of woolen stockings.....	2.	
14 sickles (skärör).....	4:4	
Half a gallon of brandy.....	2.	
One hat	5.	
A ribbon for the hat.....	:6 ⁵⁶	

⁵² Woodcarving was a highly developed art, even in prehistoric times, in the Scandinavian countries. Cf. Montelius, *Civilization of Sweden in Ancient Times*; Hildebrand, *Sw. hist.*, I.

⁵³ Cf. Stolt, *Minnen*, p. 19 ff.

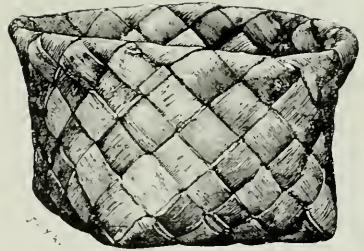
⁵⁴ Knut Persson sold 12 clothes brushes in New England.

⁵⁵ *Monatg. B.*, 1642-56.

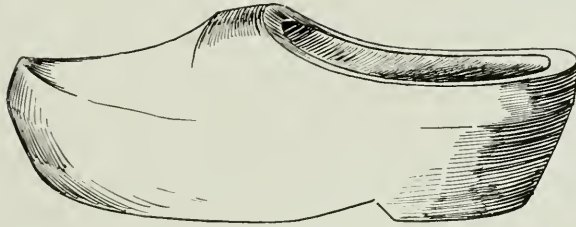
⁵⁶ *Monatg. B.*, 1642-56. Jonsson's account. N.S., II. (R.A.). My copy or the original has some minor mistakes, as the figures do not work out.



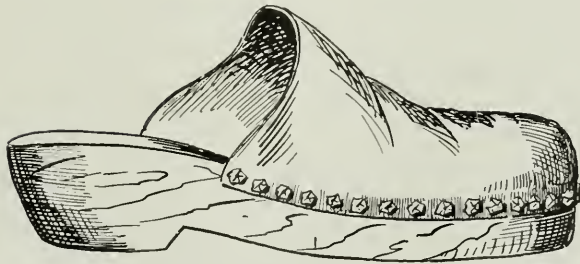
Birch-bark shoes from Finland. R.



Basket of birch-bark. R.



Wooden shoe, *Träsko*.



"Slipper" with wooden bottom (sole), *loppi*.

The peasants of northern Sweden knew how to prepare various kinds of skins,⁵⁷ which could be used for bed-covering and wearing apparel. The settlers in New Sweden likewise prepared their own skins. They used the skins obtained through the hunts, but sometimes they bought them from the Indians. A bear skin was bought for 7 florins, an otter skin cost 5 florins and a beaver skin 7-8 florins.⁵⁸

The Finns were skilled in the making of articles from birch-bark, of which they manufactured ropes, baskets, boxes,⁵⁹ sieves, graters, sponges, even bottles (for salt, pepper, etc.) and shoes. Birch-bark shoes were and are very common among the Finnish peasants, and it is more than probable that they continued to wear them on the Delaware. When the birch-bark had been removed from the trees it was cut into strips, rolled into a ball and preserved for future use. When the Finn wished to make himself a pair of shoes, he took his birch-bark roll, cut the strips into proper widths, softened them in water and braided them into the desired form. Slippers, shoes⁶⁰ and boots were made from this material. These shoes were cheap, cost really nothing, could be made in a very short time, were strong and in many instances did as good service or better than leather ones.⁶¹ It is probable that the Swedish settlers brought over wooden shoes and "tofflor," a sort of slipper with wooden bottoms.⁶² We may also assume, with some degree of certainty, that they were made here, but no references have been found to them in the documents.

The Swedes and Finns understood the value of bathing and the steam bath was very popular among them. In "an explana-

⁵⁷ The art is still known. The author has seen sheep skins in Minnesota prepared by Swedish settlers (from Jämtland and Dalarne).

⁵⁸ *Journal*, N.S., III. (K.A.); *Monatg. B.*, 1642-56, etc.

⁵⁹ Snuff-boxes of birch bark are common among the peasants of Sweden.

⁶⁰ The author purchased a pair of such shoes at Little Imatra, Finland, in the summer of 1909.

⁶¹ Cf. Retzius, *Finland*, p. 26 ff.

⁶² Such "slippers" are used in various Swedish provinces and laborers on the streets in Berlin and other places in Germany can be seen wearing them. They are also used by the peasants and by fishermen in Denmark. At Blasbjerg, for example, men can be seen wearing them on the street.

tion" concerning the troubles during the administration of Governor Printz it is stated that certain colonists "aided in the erection of a bath house" on Tinicum Island.⁶³ We know that bath houses were common among the early settlers, for in 1749 an old inhabitant of Pennsylvania (then 91 years of age) informed Professor Kalm that "in his youth [about 1665] almost every Swede had a bath house."⁶⁴ These bath houses were of course built like those in the mother country, primitive in their structure, presenting the general outward appearance of the "pörte" or Finnish dwelling. The walls were of round logs, plastered between the fissures with clay. A low door on one of the gable sides gave entrance to the "bathing-guests" and two or three small openings in the walls, which were closed by "slide-boards," admitted fresh air and allowed the smoke to pass off after a bath. In the corner to the right or left, next to the door, was a primitive fireplace of boulders and roughly formed granite blocks. The bath houses built near or inside of the forts, being larger than those erected by individuals, were probably about twelve or fourteen feet square. A sort of platform or scaffold, probably about two feet wide, extended along the walls about three or four feet from the ground and below this near the floor was a second platform. Before a bath was to be taken the fireplace was heated to its utmost capacity. The bathers entered, undressed, and crawled upon "the second balcony" to perspire. In order to increase the heat and cause heavy perspiration water was poured upon the red hot stones by the "bathing-woman," who looked after the bath house.⁶⁵ When the heat became too intense the bathers moved down below to the first platform. In the meantime they struck their bodies with bundles of small birch branches or they were scrubbed by the "bathing-woman." The "bastu"⁶⁶ was

⁶³ The bath house was built for the use of the governor and his family. See "Förklaring," etc., July 7, 1654, N.S., I. (R.A.).

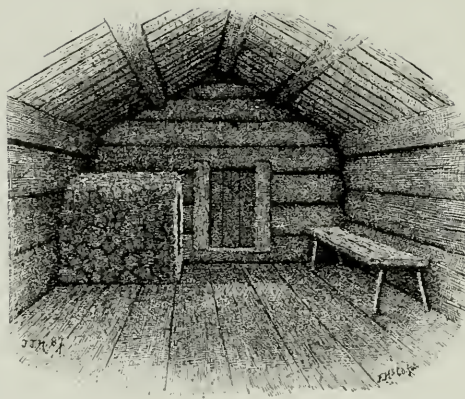
⁶⁴ Kalm, *Resa*, etc., III. 72.

⁶⁵ Cf. Retzius, *Finland*, etc., p. 78 ff.; Tweedie, *Through Finland*, etc., p. 45 ff.

⁶⁶ *Bastu* or *Finsk bastu* is the Swedish word for this kind of a bath house.



Steam bath in Finland (R. from Acerbi).



Interior of a small bath-house (steam bath) from Southern Sweden. S.



A small one-story storehouse. Now erected at Skansen, Stockholm.

built near a river,⁶⁷ whenever possible, to give the bathers an opportunity to take a plunge in the cold water after the steam bath inside. Where there was no such opportunity cold water would be poured over the body, as soon as the perspiration was thought to be complete (in the winter-time the bather would roll himself in the snow, if such was at hand).

In an old book of travel this bath is described as follows:

“Another particular that appeared very singular among the customs of the Finns, was their baths, and manner of bathing. Almost all the Finnish peasants have a small house built on purpose for a bath: it consists of only one small chamber, in the innermost part of which are placed a number of stones, which are heated by fire till they become red. On these stones, thus heated, water is thrown, until the company within be involved in a thick cloud of vapor. In this innermost part, the chamber is formed into two stories for the accommodation of a greater number of persons within that small compass; and it being the nature of heat and vapor to ascend, the second story is, of course, the hottest. Men and women use the bath promiscuously, without any concealment of dress, or being in the least influenced by any emotions of attachment. If, however, a stranger open the door, and come on the bathers by surprise, the women are not a little startled at his appearance; for, besides his person, he introduces along with him, by opening the door, a great quantity of light, which discovers at once to view their situation, as well as forms. Without such an accident they remain, if not in total darkness, yet in great obscurity, as there is no other window besides a small hole, nor any light but what enters in from some chink in the roof of the house, or the crevices between the pieces of wood of which it is constructed. I often amused myself with surprising the bathers in this manner, and I once or twice tried to go in and join the assembly; but the heat was so excessive that I could not breathe, and in the space of a minute at most, I verily believe, must have been suf-

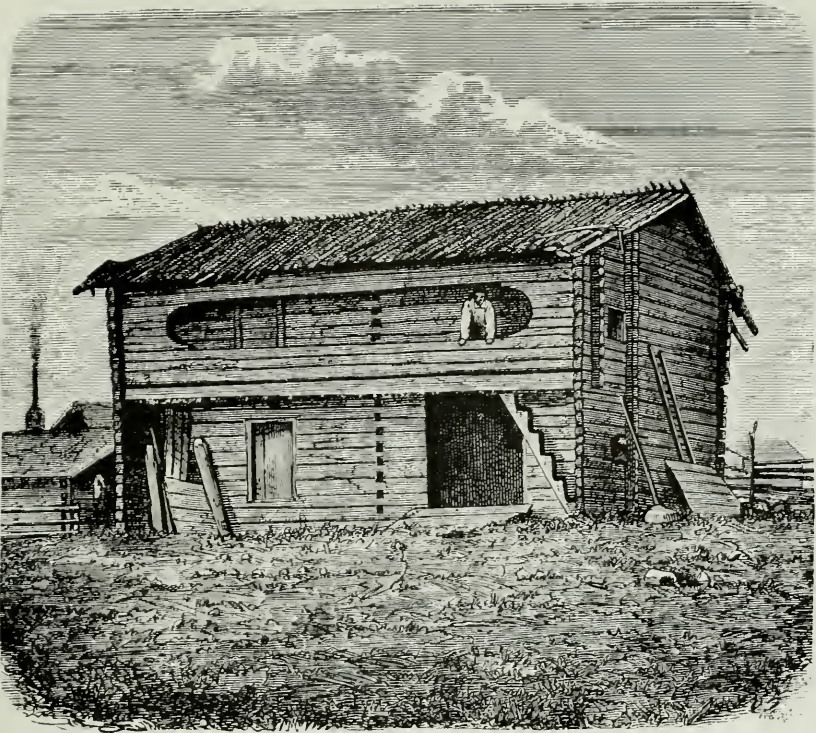
⁶⁷ Or lake in Finland and Sweden. In New Sweden it is probable that most of these bathing houses were built near a river.

focated. I sometimes stepped in for a moment, just to leave my thermometer in some proper place, and immediately went out again, where I would remain for a quarter of an hour, or ten minutes, and then enter again, and fetch the instrument to ascertain the degree of heat. My astonishment was so great that I could scarcely believe my senses, when I found that those people remain together, and amuse themselves for the space of half an hour, and sometimes a whole hour, in the same chamber, heated to the 70th or 75th degree of Celsius. The thermometer, in contact with those vapors, became sometimes so hot, that I could scarcely hold it in my hands.

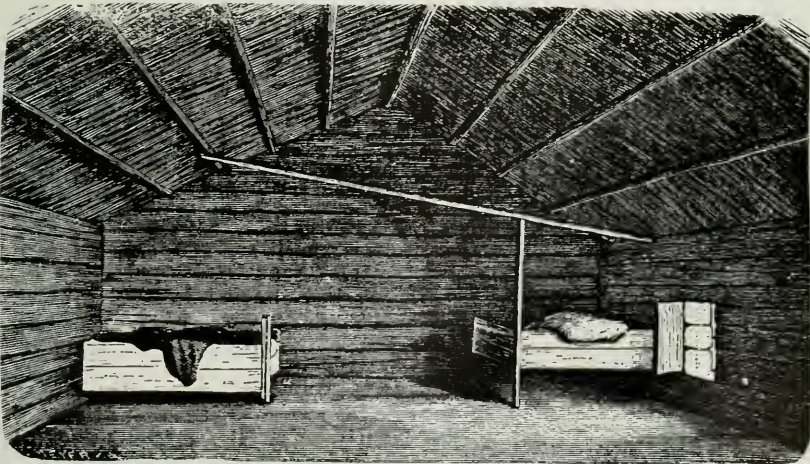
"The Finlanders, all the while they are in this hot bath, continue to rub themselves, and lash every part of their bodies with switches formed of twigs of the birch-tree. In ten minutes they become as red as raw flesh, and have altogether a very frightful appearance. In the winter season they frequently go out of the bath, naked as they are, to roll themselves in the snow, when the cold is at 20 and even 30 degrees below zero.⁶⁸ They will sometimes come out, still naked, and converse together, or with any one near them, in the open air. If travelers happen to pass by while the peasants of any hamlet, or little village, are in the bath, and their assistance is needed, they will leave the bath, and assist in yoking, or unyoking, and fetch provender for the horses, or in anything else without any sort of covering whatever, while the passenger sits shivering with cold, though wrapped up in a good sound wolf's skin. There is nothing more wonderful than the extremities which man is capable of enduring through the power of habit.

"The Finnish peasants pass thus instantaneously from an atmosphere of 70 degrees of heat, to one of 30 degrees of cold, a transition of a hundred degrees, which is the same thing as going out of boiling into freezing water! and what is more astonishing, without the least inconvenience; while other people are very sensibly affected by a variation of but five degrees, and

⁶⁸ "I speak always of the thermometer of a hundred degrees, by Celsius," Acerbi.



Storehouse from Finand, showing the balcony and ladder. R.



The loft of the storehouse, showing the beds used by guests or the women of the family during the summer. R.

in danger of being afflicted with rheumatism by the most trifling wind that blows. Those peasants assure you, that without the hot vapor baths they could not sustain as they do, during the whole day, their various labors. By the bath, they tell you, their strength is recruited as much as by rest and sleep. The heat of the vapor mollifies to such a degree their skin, that the men easily shave themselves with wretched razors, and without soap. Had Shakespeare known of a people who could thus have pleasure in such quick transition from excessive heat to the severest cold, his knowledge might have been increased, but his creative fancy could not have been assisted:

“ ‘ Oh! who can hold a fire in his hand,
By thinking of the frosty Caucasus?
Or wallow naked in December snow,
By thinking on fantastic summer’s heat? ’ ”⁶⁹

This form of bathing was common in olden times in Finland⁷⁰ and northern Sweden.⁷¹ It still continues in the former country, having retained most of its old characteristics⁷² and in the latter place it is to be found in a modified form.⁷³ On a

⁶⁹ Acerbi, Joseph, *Travels through Sweden, Finland and Lapland . . . 1798 and 1799*, I. 296 ff.

⁷⁰ It is supposed that the Finns copied this form of bathing from neighbors, probably the Slavs, probably from the Swedes. Cf. Retzius, *Finland*, p. 83, and the references given in the footnote. The steam bath is mentioned in *Kalevala*.

⁷¹ Retzius, *Finland*, p. 84 ff. The Germans used steam-baths from the earliest times and they were very fond of bathing. Cf. Schultz, *Deutsches Leben*, etc., I. 67 ff. (where illustrations are also given); E. Martin, *Badenfahrt von Thomas Murner*, pp. vi. ff., xi. ff., 19 etc.; Hartung, *Die deut. Altertümer des Nibelungenliedes und der Kudrun*, p. 189 ff.; Weinhold, *Deutsche Frauen*, II. 113 ff. (Caesar, *De bell. Gallico*, IV. 1; VI. 21; they are also mentioned by Tacitus, *Germania*, 22); Gummere, *Germanic Origins*, 78 ff.

⁷² The author observed many such Finnish bath houses on a journey to Finland in the summer of 1909. A good description of a modern Finnish bath can be found in Mrs. Tweedie, *Through Finland*, etc. (London, 1897), p. 42 ff., 195 ff. See also Scott, *Through Finland* (New York, 1909), p. 86, but this description rests on books rather than on actual observation. Such baths are used by the Russians and Russian Jews (?) in this country and bath houses of this character are to be found in Philadelphia.

⁷³ In Swedish towns and cities it is found under the name of “Finsk badstu” or “bastu.” These baths (of second and third class) are much used. A vaulted room (walls of brick) is heated by steam to a high temperature; to the right as you enter are a number of platforms along the side wall, arranged in tiers one above and back of the other like the floor in a theatre. On these seats the bather

journey through Finland in 1873 Dr. Retzius found a bath house "whose dimensions were so small that it was impossible to stand or lie straight in it," in other respects, however, being fitted out like the larger ones (except that the lower platform was wanting). The bather sat on the platform while he took his sweat bath and poured the water on the stones himself. Such (the author is inclined to believe) were the bath houses erected by the freemen in New Sweden. "In these bath houses the settlers with family and servants would commonly bathe every evening in the summer during harvest time and twice a week in winter. A strange scene would meet the eye of a visitor, who might happen to look into such a bath house, when it was filled with bathers, from the new-born child carried there by its mother to the old man of eighty."⁷⁴

On a Swedish or Finnish homestead (and consequently on the Delaware settlements) there were a number of other houses besides those described. Among these the store-houses deserve our special attention as they were of peculiar shape and different from those in the neighboring colonies. The storehouses built in Sweden by the peasants and small land owners were often of two stories used for preserving grain and other things. They were generally built of round (barked) or hewn logs and they were often raised two or three feet from the ground and built so as to prevent the entrance of mice and other animals. The roof was gabled, covered with birch-bark, on top of which

lies down on a long towel with a wooden frame for a pillow or he sits upright. By moving from the platform nearest the floor to the one highest up and vice versa the heat can be somewhat regulated. In a corner is a spigot with running water, from which the bather drinks to increase the perspiration. An arrangement for a shower bath is also placed inside. When the bather has perspired sufficiently, he takes a shower bath of luke-warm water and goes into another room, where he lies down on a bench and is scrubbed and washed by "baderskan" (the woman employed for that purpose. It is interesting to note that a woman is always employed even in the *badstu for men*). When the bather has been scrubbed he again returns to the heated room, where he remains for a few minutes, then he takes a cold shower-bath and plunges into a cold pool for a short swim. He is then dried by "baderskan," after which he withdraws to his little "cell" for dressing. The author has seen such baths in Stockholm and even in Hedemora, a small village in central Sweden.

⁷⁴ Cf. Retzius, *Finland*, etc., p. 78 ff.; Tweedie, *Through Finland*, etc., 46 ff.



Small storehouse on poles. Now erected in Skansen, Stockholm.



Storehouse (*Vårserum-harbor*, Skansen, Stockholm), showing the extended "balcony" and the "log-ladder," leading up to it.

sod was placed, supported by poles of about three inches in diameter. The floor was made of hewn planks.

One type had the entrance on the side and a ladder within led up to the upper floor (if there was one). Another and earlier form (of one story) had the entrance on the gable. The store-house of two floors often had a balcony or an extension (of about four feet) of the second floor along one side formed by the prolongation of the timbers in the gable walls, with the balcony floor resting on the two first or lower extended timbers. This type of store-house could generally be entered only by a ladder (or a log with steps cut into it) which led into the extended balcony, from where a door led into the loft and a second ladder down to the ground floor. The outside ladder could be drawn up and the store-house could thus be used as a means of defense. Grain was generally stored on the second floor (which was sometimes divided into two parts, one for grain the other for other purposes) and on the lower floor provisions, clothes and other valuables were kept. The loft was often used during the summer for sleeping and the maids would at times do their hand work there. When guests could not find shelter in the living house, they were assigned their night quarters in this loft.

The store-houses without a loft were generally divided into two parts, one side for the grain and the other for provisions. A more primitive form of storehouse was built by the Finns in northern Sweden as well as in their home country. It was a low structure (the gabled roof forming the ceiling) and it was supported by four pillars about three feet from the ground. The small door was on one of the gables, over which the roof projected about three feet.

We may feel reasonably sure that the Swedes and Finns built store-houses in the colony like those used in their home districts. The one-story type probably prevailed at first, but it is likely that those of two stories would be built later, as the prosperity of the freemen increased, both to insure protection against the Indians as well as to store the increased possessions. In these

were kept the grain, the beaver skins, the salted pork for winter use, the game and the like.

The store-houses in the forts were also built out of logs but larger than the private buildings. At Christina the store-house was made three stories high, when Printz arrived, and it is probable that a sort of elevator was installed. The commissioner slept there in a little room, it seems, and also used it as his office. The account-books were kept there and there the commercial transactions were conducted with the savages and merchants of the neighboring colonies. A storehouse was also erected at Fort New Gothenborg (rebuilt after the fire in 1646), where merchandise and the provisions for the people were preserved.

The blockhouses at the Schuylkill and at Upland were also used for storehouses and were probably built on the same principles as those described above.

Granaries were built by the freemen and for the company in the forts.⁷⁵ They were divided into two parts, one half being employed for storing some of the grain as it was thrashed, the other half being used for a thrashing floor. Here the grain was thrashed with flails during the fall and winter months and in the summer it was used as a storehouse.

Another necessary building was the "ria," a sort of granary or "drying house for the grain."⁷⁶ In a document already quoted we read, "*Item* We built a granary."⁷⁷ Such buildings were in all likelihood found on every homestead in the colony and in the forts. They were of the same general appearance and of about the same height and size as the larger storehouses just described. The grain was hauled from the fields on sleds into these granaries, where it was stacked away until it was thrashed. Small sheds were also built on or near the meadows, into which the hay was hauled in the same manner as the grain. The sleds⁷⁸ used for the hauling of the grain and hay had long

⁷⁵ They were raised above the ground like the small storehouses.

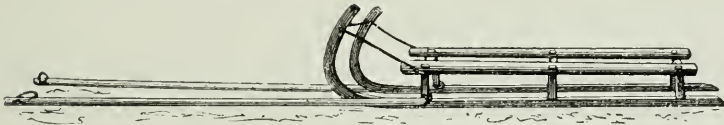
⁷⁶ Retzius, *Finland*, etc.; Stolt, *Minnen*, etc.

⁷⁷ "Förklaring," etc., July 7, 1654, N.S., I. (R.A.).

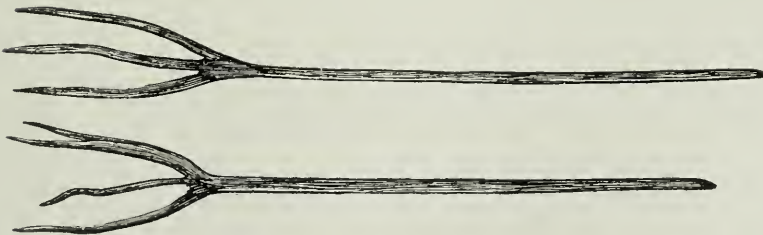
⁷⁸ "Then we said that we need the sleds ourselves . . . the sleds, [however],



Storehouses in Finland. Near the corner to the right of the central storehouse is a harrow, made of "long wooden teeth," and to the left is the sled loaded with hay. R.



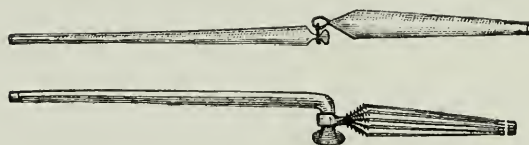
Sled for hauling hay and grain. R.



Types of hay-forks (of wood), used by Swedes and Finns. G.



Thrashing in the north according to Olaus Magnus (1555), showing the use of the flail and its form.



Club-flails." (From Österbotten, Finland. Cf. Chap. XXXVIII. and biography of Printz, below.)



A flail made from a small tree, a branch forming the handle. (From Österbotten, Finland.) G.

runners which were made from small trees with natural bends and they were so arranged that a large load of hay or grain could be loaded upon them without difficulty. They were hitched to an ox or a horse by a pair of shafts, fastened to the runners.

The pigs were generally allowed to run loose, but the cattle and horses were housed in barns during the winter months. The barns of New Sweden were constructed along the same principle as the dwellings and out of the same material. It is probable the chickens in many cases shared the dwelling-houses with the people, a custom found in Sweden and Finland down to a late period.⁷⁹ They were kept in a cage and the cock was the alarm clock in the morning. Jonas Stolt, writing in the first half of the nineteenth century, says: "The chicken cage was also a piece of furniture, which was found in almost every house and for those, who were accustomed to it, it was an indispensable thing, for the cock crowed at a certain time and from this the people had a good guidance."⁸⁰

were taken from [us] . . . and our grain thus had to [lie] . . . in rain and wet [and go to ruin]." "Förklaring," July 7, 1654, N.S., I. (R.A.).

⁷⁹ It was a custom in Finland and northern Sweden in early times to keep the cattle and horses in the dwelling house also. Cf. Usselin's letters to A. Oxenstierna, *Ox. Saml.* But it is not probable that this custom obtained on the Delaware as there is no mention of it.

⁸⁰ Stolt, *Minnen*, etc., 15 ff. He goes on to say that the chicken cages had been dispensed with in 1820, for almost every house had a clock (p. 16). Retzius, *Finland*, p. 73.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

THE RELIGIOUS WORSHIP AND THE MINISTERS OF THE GOSPEL, 1643-1653.

The old place of worship provided by Ridder was used as before. Printz was instructed to "decorate the little Church . . . according to the Swedish custom."¹ He omitted nothing in this respect, for he was of a religious bent and tried in every way to enforce his instructions.² It is also probable that Printz caused a small church or chapel to be erected on Tinicum Island in 1643, which was used until the fire (in 1645) and we may assume that a belfry was erected for the church-bell, brought here in 1644.³ Private houses were also used for worship during the week days, but on Sundays and on festive days or holidays, the people assembled at the central place of worship.

In the spring of 1646 plans were made for the erection of a "more pretentious edifice." The church was built out of logs and 2,000 clapboards were bought for the roof from some English in August.⁴ The belfry was probably built by the side of the church, a few feet away from it, a custom common in Sweden and Finland in olden times. The church was fitted out somewhat in the style of the churches in Sweden. Simple decorations were used and the altar was beautified with "a silver cloth," purchased for the sum of 37 ½ florins.⁵ A burial

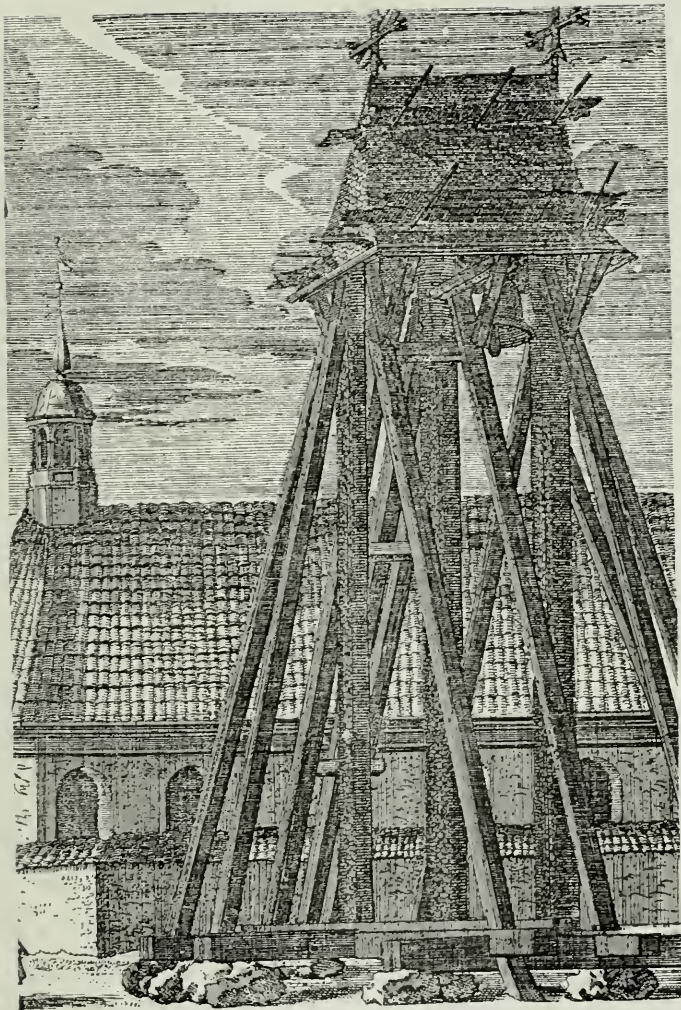
¹ Brahe to Printz, November 9, 1643. *Skokl. Saml.* (Concept.).

² Cf. Printz to Brahe, July 19, 1644. "Hvatt nu anlangar, de underschädelige (?) herlige motiver och förmeningar som Excell. uthi sitt breef högwyssligen framställer, dem hafver iaagh en deel hærtill (som här effter följer) haff[wer] och skall yttermera häreffter än uthi grannare akt haffua."

³ The bell was taken over on the *Fama* in 1644, *Journal*, N.S., III. (K.A.). The bell was used for over one hundred and fifty years and the present bell in Gloria Dei in Philadelphia is said to be cast partly from the material of the old bell. On this bell is the following inscription: "CAST FOR THE SWEDISH CHURCH IN PHILADA. STILED GLORIA DEL. G. HEDDERLY FECIT 1806 PARTLY FROM THE OLD BELL DATED 1643. I TO THE CHURCH THE LIVING CALL AND TO THE GRAVE DO SUMMONS ALL."

⁴ Twenty-two beavers were paid for them, *Acc. B.*, 1643-8.

⁵ *Acc. B.*, 1643-48, August 20, 1647.



Church-steeple, built by the side of the church (seventeenth century). From
Svecia Antiqua.

place was also laid out near the church, probably in front of it, and perhaps a fence was placed around the plot. "The handsome church" was ready in the autumn. September 4 was a day of rejoicing and thanksgiving. The colonists assembled in their new church and after a sermon and amid appropriate ceremonies, the Revs. Campanius and Fluviander officiating, the church was dedicated for divine services. The burying place was consecrated on the same day. A month and a half later, "the first corpse . . . that of Katarina, the daughter of Anders Hansson, was buried there."⁶

The Swedish order of service was followed in the colony. Printz writes in 1644 that "the services with its ceremonies are conducted as in old Sweden" and in the "good old Swedish language." "Our priest," he says, "is vested with a chasuble⁷ and differs in all manners from the other sects surrounding us."⁸

The order of services at "High Mass," as given in the Psalm-book of 1614,⁹ which was used here (1640-97) was as follows:

I. At the appointed time, when the congregation had assembled, and a psalm had been sung, the minister went before the altar, and (kneeling) made confessions of his own sins, then (rising), after a short admonition to his flock to keep Christ's death in memory, he read the general confession, "I poor sinner," etc.,¹⁰ followed by an appointed prayer.

II. Next in order followed *Kyrie eleison* and other responsive readings or singing, after which the psalm "God alone in the highest,"¹¹ was sung.

⁶ Campanius Holm (trans.), p. 79 ff.; Acrelius (transl.), p. 43.

⁷ "Mässkläder."

⁸ Printz to Brahe, July 19, 1644, August 1, 1650, *Skokl. Saml.* (R.A.).

⁹ The handbook or "order of Mass" was first published in 1531, revised in 1537, 1548, 1557, 1576, 1578 and then in 1614. Cf. Intro., above.

¹⁰ This confession is still used in the Swedish Lutheran Church with very few changes.

¹¹ "Allenaste Gud i hemmelrik." This psalm, somewhat modernized, is still used in the Swedish Lutheran Church on all Sundays except during Easter and when the Lord's Supper is celebrated.

III. Other responsive readings or singing¹² and a prayer¹³ followed, after which "The Epistle . . . appointed for the day, was read."

IV. An appropriate psalm ("gradual") for the day was now sung by the congregation, followed by the reading of the Gospel lesson ("evangeliet") and the Apostolic Creed or "Luther's creed" (read or sung).¹⁴

V. Then came another (specified) psalm, whereupon the minister ascended the pulpit and preached his sermon, making the appointed prayer as well as prayers for the sick and others (at special request), lastly reading the announcements of various kinds. "When everything was finished in the pulpit, a psalm ought to be sung, if the time admitted it," thereupon the minister should deliver his "*praefatio*, with well-wishes and admonitions." The Lord's Supper was then to be administered. After the Communion followed the blessing, then the first stanza of the psalm, "Grant unto us, oh Lord," was sung and lastly "Give unto our Queen and all in authority peace and a good reign." When the Lord's Supper was not administered, "only the psalm," "Oh God, we praise Thee" was sung before the sermon, next in order came "the Nicene Creed" and then "Now we pray Thee Holy Ghost." "But after the sermon the psalm, which was *prograduali* appointed for the day, was sung and then the blessing should end [the service]."¹⁵

"The [three] principal holidays," Christmas, Easter and Pentecost were strictly observed, and on these days early services were held in the morning, which "began so early [about four or five] that they were finished about eight." These were followed by High Mass with sermon and sometimes by services in the afternoon. On Christmas morning the congregation assembled in the church at four o'clock, Christmas psalms were sung and a sermon on Is. 9: 2-7 or some other appropriate text

¹² "The priest turns to the people and says [or sings]: "The Lord be with you!" [The congregation answers]: "So also with thy spirit!"

¹³ This prayer was printed in the "hand book" for each Sunday.

¹⁴ Cf. Baelter, *Hist. Anmärk.*, p. 224.

¹⁵ Baelter, *Hist. Anmärk.*, p. 218 ff.

was preached. Each one of these three festivities consisted of four days¹⁶ and the week before Easter was especially set aside for religious exercises. "The annual holidays," New Year, Epiphany, Candlemas-day, the day of Annunciation, Good Friday, Ascension-day, Midsummer-day,¹⁷ the Visitation of our Lady,¹⁸ St. Michael's Day,¹⁹ and The Day of All Saints, were likewise observed, as well as two or three "solemn prayer days"²⁰ on which all of the people attended services and refrained from work. The "days of the Apostles,"²¹ Holy Thursday (on which a sermon about the Lord's Supper was preached), "Gångdagar (travelling days)"²² were all [observed in the colony] according to the loyal Swedish form." Only one sermon was preached on these days, and the people were allowed to work as on other week days, when the services were over. On every Wednesday and Friday, sermons were preached on some selected text from the Old or the New Testament and, since the law required that in "a pastorate in the country, having two churches, sermons should be preached in the one on Wednesdays and in the other on Fridays," we may assume that the services were conducted once a week alternately at New Gothenborg and Christina.²³ On all other week days

¹⁶ It is said that the fourth day was added in Sweden to commemorate the separation of the Swedish Church from the bishopric of Lund, about 1360. Baelter, *Hist. Anmärk.*, p. 156.

¹⁷ John the Baptist's day, June 24.

¹⁸ Probably observed on August 15. See Baelter, *Hist. Anmärk.*, p. 166. The Catholic Church observes this feast on the second of July and the feast of the Assumption is kept August 15.

¹⁹ Prescribed by law in 1571. This law was confirmed and reenacted several times.

²⁰ The usual custom was to celebrate three such days in a year, but it was not always observed during this period. See Baelter, *Hist. Anmärk.*, p. 187 ff. Two services were probably held (early service and High Mass). For a discussion of the ceremonies of the Swedish Lutheran Church, see Baelter, *Hist. Anmärk.*, etc.

²¹ The great majority of the festive days, kept by the Catholic Church in memory of the saints, were discarded at the time of the Reformation in Sweden, but the days of the Apostles were retained. Baelter, *Hist. Anmärk.*, p. 170.

²² So called because the people during their work "went about and read prayers."

²³ It is not known whether or not "Häradstings" (district court) services were held in New Sweden. Cf. Baelter, *Hist. Anmärk.*, p. 195 ff.

prayers were made morning and evening accompanied by one or two psalms.²⁴ On Sundays one or two services were held, both probably in the forenoon.²⁵ The "pure Word of God, [and His] law and truth" were preached according to the Augsburg Confession and it is possible that the sermon sometimes gave advice to the congregation to beware of the "Calvinistic leaven."

The people were called together by the sound of the bell, which was rung two or three times before the sermon. Those dwelling at some distance undoubtedly went to church in canoes or boats unless they lived too far from the river. At the settlements, lying too distant for the colonists to go to the central places of worship for morning and evening prayers, lay readers were appointed, "who could lead the exercises and remind the people of godliness." It is probable that some selection was read from one of the collections of sermons published during the period or from the Bible.²⁶ Special holidays were also observed. When news arrived (in 1646) that Queen Christina had ascended the throne, a special day of thanksgiving was ordered and the colonists came together in the New Church at Tinicum and praised God with a holy "*Te Deum* for his grace in having given the dear fatherland a Queen, who was of age."²⁷

The Eucharist²⁸ and other sacraments were likewise observed in the Lutheran manner. Campanius brought over at his own expense a gilded silver chalice, weighing about five ounces.²⁹ When he returned to Sweden he left the cup in the church and was paid 13:10 D. for it by Beier in Stockholm on behalf of

²⁴ Set or printed prayers for thirty special festive days were found in the handbook and these were read by the preacher on the particular day as on Christmas, New Year, etc.

²⁵ It seems that the law required three services in the cities and only one in the country. It is possible that the rule applying to cities in Sweden (of three services on Sundays) was used on Tinicum Island.

²⁶ Cf. above, Chap. IV.

²⁷ Printz to Brahe, February 20, 1647, *Skokl. Saml.* (R.A.).

²⁸ Jacob Evertssen sold a hogshead of French wine for use at the Lord's Supper, November 4, 1646. *Acc. B.*, 1642-48.

²⁹ "10¼ *lot*" or *lod*. A modern lod is about .4276 of an ounce (troy).

the company.³⁰ Other vessels were undoubtedly used, but there is no trace of their existence. There seems to have been no organ, but the church song, which played a great role in the Swedish service,³¹ was probably led by the minister and some member of the congregation, appointed for that purpose.

For a time there were three preachers in the colony, but Reorus Torkillus "fell sick at Fort Christina on February 23, 1643." He improved, however, probably continued his services for some time and was used by Printz in a mission to the Indians, but he died on September 7 the same year, "at the age of 35," leaving a wife and child behind.³²

Israel Fluviander was a relative of Printz, who came here without having a commission from the government. In March, 1643, he was stationed at Fort Elfsborg (during its erection) and conducted services in the fort for seven months. On October 1 he was appointed by Printz as regular preacher in New Sweden. There has been some uncertainty about Fluviander and his services, due to conflicting statements about him in the records. He seems to have decided to return to Sweden in June, 1644. Governor Printz gives him in the list of returning colonists of that year and in a letter of July to Brahe the governor writes: "our priest, Campanius, is alone." But he must have changed his mind, as the ship was about to sail, or been detained for some reason, for he remained and served here in all for four years and one month.³³ In 1647 he returned to the mother country and demanded his pay. Some money had previously (1646) been paid his mother in Stockholm on his account, but it was not known if he would receive a salary or not, since he was placed on no budget. On his way to Stockholm he received 121 D. 16 öre from Macklier in Gothenburg. When he arrived at the capital and presented his bills, Beier

³⁰ *Journal*, no. 731; *Monatg. B.*, 1642-56.

³¹ Cf. Whitelocke, *Embassy*.

³² *Court Rec.*, July 10, 1643, N.S., I. (R.A.); *Campanius* (transl.), p. 107.

³³ *Journal*, no. 567; Printz to Brahe, July 19, 1644. *Skokl. Saml.* (R.A.); *Rulla* 1644; Odhner, N.S., p. 39; Beier to Oxenstierna, August 25, 1647, *Ox. Saml.* (R.A.). Beier says "there are now three preachers on the pay-rolls" (Campanius, Fluviander and the newly appointed Lock).

had no authority to pay him, but referred the matter to Oxenstierna. The chancellor ordered that he should receive full pay, or 10 R.D. a month for his entire service in New Sweden and 720 D. were given him, but he was not satisfied with this, as he claimed pay for the time occupied by the journey coming and going including expenses, "as though he had had a regular appointment."³⁴

Johan Campanius, who was called by the government to go to New Sweden in 1642, was placed on the new budget, with a salary of 10 R.D. a month and he seems to have been looked upon as a sort of a military preacher. He was to be stationed at Christina, but shortly after his arrival here he was transferred to Upland, where he settled with his family and conducted the service at New Gothenborg. On account of this change there was some uncertainty about who should pay his salary and 100 D.k.m., which were paid to him in 1642 before he sailed, were transferred from the budget account to the general account of the New Sweden Company.

Campanius was the most important, and he has deservedly become the best known of the early Swedish preachers on the Delaware. He worked hard and diligently and officiated on all festive occasions. The settlements were far apart, making it impossible for the colonists to come to the central place of worship "on account of a great many inconveniences and hindrances," hence Campanius was often "obliged without any regard to the weather to go from one place to the other to visit the settlers with the Word and the Sacrament."³⁵ He also labored to convert the Indians and learned their language and they often came to listen to his sermons in silent wonder.

He seems to have farmed a tract of land at Upland (probably the homestead later occupied by Nertunius), and in 1648 he sold a calf to Olof Stille, before his departure for Sweden,³⁶

³⁴ *Journal*, nos. 609 ff., 648; Beier to Oxenstierna, July 29, August 25, 1647, *Ox. Saml.* (R.A.).

³⁵ Campanius to the Archbishop, January 30, 1647 (transl. in *Arch. Ame.*, etc., II. 2 ff., Penn. Hist. So.).

³⁶ "Förklaring," etc., July 7, 1654.

indicating that he raised cattle and had cows and probably horses and oxen. In 1647 he became weary of his charge (being the only minister in the colony), and wrote to the archbishop, requesting his recall. "I have," he says, "hazarded both life and prosperity," and he prays the bishop to confer upon him "a benefice, which could support him with his wife and numerous little children," when he was finally allowed to return home. He presented four reasons, which in his opinion entitled him to be recalled and to be given a post in Sweden. In the first place he "was well on in years," poor in health and could not endure "the hard labor here." "The second reason for my recall," he says, "is the lengthy period I have been in this country . . . well nigh five years with great danger of death night and day in a heathenish country, amongst these ferocious pagans, who for every year have threatened to slay us completely." Thirdly, his business at home demanded his presence there, and fourthly, he did not wish to be left breadless in old age, "without having anything wherewith to comfort" himself.³⁷

But Campanius did not leave his congregations without thinking of their welfare, and he urged the consistory to send over other men. The settlements were situated from fourteen to thirty miles apart, hence at least two or three ministers were needed, especially "some one who was young, strong and agile and who could endure a continual passing from place to place."³⁸ Requests to this effect were also made by Governor Printz. The authorities in Sweden endeavored to supply the religious wants of the people. In the first place Oxenstierna advised the governor to pay the minister better, who was already here, so that he would be willing to remain,³⁹ and secondly he wrote to the consistory at Gothenburg, requesting them to send another preacher to the Delaware.⁴⁰

As a result of these activities, Rev. Lars Karlsson Lock was

³⁷ Letter to Archbishop, January 30, 1647, N.S., I. (Up.).

³⁸ Campanius to the Archbishop, January 30, 1647; *Relation*, 1647.

³⁹ It seems that the chancellor had forgotten how the preacher was paid.

⁴⁰ Oxenstierna to Printz, September 7, 1647, *Ox. Saml.* (concept).

engaged. He arrived here on the *Swan* and with the same ship Campanius received his longed-for recall.

Campanius now made preparations to leave and about the middle of May he took farewell of his congregation. The salary roll states, however, that "he served in the country until April 1, 1648, making 67 months (in all) and his salary amounted to the sum of 670 R.D." He received goods to the value of 120:47 R.D. at various times and in 1645 he was given 147:19 R.D. in cash by the Governor. On his return to Stockholm he was paid the rest of his salary by Beier in three installments.⁴¹

Of Lock's service we know next to nothing, during the first years of his stay here. His salary was the same as that of the others and he conducted the services at Tinicum Island after the departure of Campanius, although he was of an unruly nature and was accused of inciting disturbance.⁴²

⁴¹ *Monatg. B.*, 1642-56 fol.; Holm, *Beskrifning*; cf. *Biogra.*, below and above.

⁴² Cf. below, Chaps. XXXVII., XLI. and index.

CHAPTER XXXV.

RELATIONS WITH THE INDIANS, 1643-1653.

As Printz departed from Sweden he was instructed to treat the Indians with humanity and kindness and to prevent his people from doing them any harm. Again in 1643 Brahe further advised him to keep on friendly terms with them and not allow them to be ill treated by any of the Swedes. In this manner, said Brahe, the colony would be safe from their attacks and other neighbors would not dare to make trouble.

The governor tried to follow these instructions and was invariably successful in keeping peace with the savages, but he had no great confidence in them. In a letter to Brahe, April 12, 1643, he described them as follows: "They are big and strong, well built men, paint themselves terribly in the face, differently, not one like unto the other, and go about naked with only a [piece of] cloth about half an ell broad, around the waist and down about the hips; they are revengeful, clever in dealings and doings, skilled in making all kinds of things from lead, copper and tin, and also carve skilfully in wood; they are good and quick marksmen with their arrows" and they were not to be trusted.

The best way to win the friendship of the Indians was to give them gifts and promises of gifts and this Printz did not neglect, as we have already seen. But the relation between the Swedes and Indians was not always peaceful. The Indians had attacked the Dutch and English colonies with success in 1644 and the tribes in New Sweden became very proud and pretentious. In order to impose upon them and make them believe that a large number of Swedish settlers would arrive before long, Printz spread about the report that he soon expected ships with a great many colonists and large supplies. Finding,

however, that only one ship arrived with few colonists, the savages took courage, "fell in between Tinicum and Upland and murdered a man and wife on their bed and a few days later they killed two soldiers and a workingman." "But when the chiefs saw that Printz collected his people to avoid a similar occurrence and to prevent future attacks, they collected from all parts, excused themselves, saying that it had happened without their knowledge, and sued for peace." Peace was granted them on the condition, says Printz, "that if they after this would commit the least offence against our people, then we would not let a soul of them live." The treaty was signed by the chiefs and (likely by the Swedes) and gifts were exchanged according to the usual Indian custom.¹ But Printz wrote that "they trust us in no wise and we trust them still less" and Papegoja reported that the colony was in great danger from the savages and their treaty was not an entire safeguard against attacks, for in the autumn of 1646 Jan Wallin was killed by the Indians and there were other small troubles.²

In 1647 Printz complained that the Dutch stirred up the Indians against the colony, but the same accusations were made against Printz, and it is not possible to determine the exact facts. In the same year an Indian chief was killed by the Dutch and it seems that the savages showed signs of displeasure and ill will towards all Europeans, for in the autumn the following year two Swedes, who had gone to sell ammunition to the Minquas were killed.³ From 1649 until 1652 there seems to have been no disturbance, but in 1652 the Indians began to show signs of unrest. In 1653 the Swedes and Indians were again on friendly terms, but Printz wrote that he feared them as soon as supplies gave out.⁴

¹ *Report*, 1644; Odhner, *N.S.*, pp. 32-33; Papegoja to Brahe, July 15, 1644, *Skokl. Saml.* (R.A.); Holm (transl.), 74.

² *Acc. B.*, 1643-8. It seems that a council of war was held in 1645 at which it was discussed whether or not New Sweden should be attacked, Holm (transl.), p. 153 ff. Jan Wallin is probably the same as John Woollen.

³ *Report*, 1647; *Doc.*, XII. 43.

⁴ Printz to Brahe and Oxenstierna, August 30, 1652, April 26, 1653. *Ox. Saml.*, *Skokl. Saml.* (R.A.).



Per (Peter) Brahe. (See p. 677.)



Delaware Indian woman of to-day in costume. Photographed at Bartlesville, Oklahoma. Cut used through the courtesy of Dr. Gordon of the University Museum.

Printz, as we have seen, treated the Indians with due consideration and avoided all friction, but this was out of necessity and not through kindness nor love for them. He was a warrior and looked at things from a warrior's point of view. He was of the opinion that the best way to solve the Indian question was to exterminate them. Accordingly he proposed in 1644 that about two hundred soldiers ought to be sent over and with this force he thought that he would be able to "break the necks of every one in the river." It would be no loss to the beaver trade, rather the reverse, he says, for these Indians (the Delawares) were poor and had only maize to sell and it would open the way for an unmolested beaver trade with the Black and White Minquas. It would also give strength to the Swedish title, for "when they had not only purchased the river but also won it with the sword, then no one whosoever he be, Hollander or Englishman, could now or in coming times make pretentions to this place." He was of the opinion that it must eventually come to this, for the Indians were not to be relied upon and they would sooner or later make trouble. Therefore he thought the opportunity ought to be seized to clear the country of them, which would preserve the inhabitants from fear of attacks and give a free and secure passage to Manhattan. It is possible that some of these ideas were inspired by Governor Kieft and that the two governors planned concerted action. It was fortunate, however, that Printz's requests for two hundred soldiers were not granted by the government. We might then have had the bloody history of New Amsterdam repeated in New Sweden.⁵

The general principle observed by the early colonists was to give the Indians gifts to secure their friendship. In all treaties gifts were exchanged and services done by Indians were paid for in merchandise. Strong drinks were, as a rule, not to be sold to them and the inhabitants of the English, Dutch and Swedish colonies were under obligation not to sell fire-arms to

⁵ *Report*, 1644, Odnner, *N.S.*, p. 33; *Brodhead*, I. 354 ff.; Bancroft, I. 158 ff.; Fiske, *Dutch and Quak. Col.*, I.

them. But private settlers and merchants did not always live up to this principle and charges and countercharges were made by the officials of the various settlements.⁶

Besides keeping peace and friendly relations with the Indians, Printz was instructed to convert them to Christianity and to interest them in all its teachings.⁷ Brahe also suggested that some Indians, with their consent, ought to be sent to Sweden, where they would learn Swedish, "see another world and be treated kindly." On returning they would be of great service to the colony. An attempt was actually made to bring two Indians to Sweden, but the tribe agreed to it only on the condition that the settlers would guarantee that the two savages would be returned safe and sound, otherwise, the Indians would revenge it by destroying the colony. As the Swedes could not accept such terms the aborigines were not sent. Count Brahe further advised the governor to teach them like children and especially to work on their imagination through the ceremonies of the Lutheran service, for "outward ceremonies greatly effect such savage people."⁸

The governor endeavored to follow this advice. "We have also tried," he says, "to bring . . . [the Indians] to the fear of God [and we have] kept them with us a few days, but they have taken their opportunity and escaped again to the [other] savages." The Dutch had likewise tried to instruct some Indian boys to read and write. They showed themselves very apt, but later they ran away and in the wars they proved to be the fiercest enemies of the Christians. Hence Printz feared that they would be difficult to convert, for "when they are told about God," he wrote, "they pay no attention to it, but intimate that they are a free people and subject to no one and do what they please. . . . They know nothing of God, but serve Satan with

⁶ *Doc.*, XII. 67; *Report*, 1647; *Plym. Col. Rec.* Cf. above.

⁷ The Swedish government did much for the christianizing and civilizing of people under its rule in this period. Religious books were translated into Finnish, the Lap language and other tongues. Cf. *Hist. Tid.*, XI. 214 ff, and other sources.

⁸ Brahe to Printz, November 9, 1643, *Skokl. Saml.* (R.A.).

their Kintika⁹ and bring sacrifices to him that he may give them luck in their hunts and that he may do them no harm."

Printz's plant was a simpler one than that suggested by Brahe. He proposed to compel them by the sword's authority to accept Christianity. Those who would not receive "the only true religion" should be exterminated. But he had not a sufficient force at his command for such an undertaking and measures, more in accord with the religion he wished to inculcate "into these poor heathens," were by necessity adopted. They were interested in the Swedish service and came to the church to hear the preacher, greatly wondering that he stood alone and talked so long and had so much to say, while all the rest were listening in silence. They often visited Campanius at Upland and asked him many questions. "In those conversations he gradually succeeded in making them understand that there was one Lord, that this God had created the world and placed man upon it, that man fell, that Christ was sent to redeem him and that there would be a day of doom, when everyone would be judged according to his deeds." The Indians were pleased and astonished, says Holm, and wanted to hear more about this great God, who was as superior to their own as the guns and cannon of the Christians were superior to the bow and arrow of the Indians.¹⁰

⁹ "Holy man," "medicine man."

¹⁰ Printz to Brahe, April 12, and to Oxenstierna, April 14, 1643, *Ox. Saml.* and *Skokl. Saml.* (R.A.); *Report*, 1644; Holm (transl.), pp. 75, 118.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

POLITICAL RELATIONS WITH THE ENGLISH, 1643-1653.

I.

Before Printz left Gothenburg for America, the English on the Schuylkill had been removed by the Dutch, probably aided by Ridder, but their settlement at Varkens Kill was undisturbed. Ridder had reported their presence to the Swedish government and Printz was especially directed to keep the Swedish title intact to the land on which they were settled as well as try to bring them under the jurisdiction of the Swedish Crown. It was thought best to remove them, however, if it could be done peacefully, as "they supposed that they would increase to some hundred in strength before long."¹

¹ Instruction for Prinz, N.S., I. (R.A.), printed by Acrelius. The paragraph runs as follows:

Alldenstund och uthi nästförledne åhr 1641 åtskillige Engiske familier, allss tillhopa wäll till 60 personer starcke, hafwe sigh nedhsatt och begynnth bebygga och Culturera landet widh andree, nämbiligen på Östre sijdan om ofwanbemelte Södre reviret widh en lijten Ström benembd Ferkenskil: Så hafwe ther oppå bem: te Kongl. Maj:tz Undersåtere och Compagnies participanter samme hele Östre sijdan allt ifrån förberörde Store Revirs Åmund widh Capo May och till en Ström benembd Narraticens Kil, sträckandes sigh widh pass till 12 Tyskee Mijller, der under och bemelte Ferkens Kijl åhr begrepen, af någre dee willde landzens Inwånare och till sigh erhandlat, i Meningh förbem: te Engiske derigenom at till sigh draga. Samma köp skall Gouverneuren alldeles widh macht och obrotsliget hålla, och alltså desse Engiske familier under Kongl. Maj:tz och Sweriges Chronos iurisdiction, devotion och gebiet draga: Efter som och will beerättas, at de sielfwe ickee finnes thertill obenägne, men skole låta sigh förlyda, att dee, såsom frit folck [in R. Reg. (R.A.) the word is written "*felld*," fol. 933] wele sigh submittera den Öfwerheet, som dem kan maintainera och beskydda, förmenandes sigh innan korth till någre hundrade at kunna blifwa starcke. Men, ehurwål det hafwer sine wisse skåhl, at Gouverneuren må söoka til brinnga desse Engiske under Sweriges Chronos Gebiet, Lijkwål, emendan Kongl. Maj:tz befinner så Sigh och Chronan sielf som participanterne att wara bättre och tilldrägeligare, der man kunde blifwa dem medh godt maner vthur och ifrån then orthen quitte: Dy will Högstbemelte Kongl. Maj:tz nådigst hemstält hafwa Gouverneurens Printzens discretion sådant at eftertrachta och under handen at bearbeta derhän, så widt och framt det sigh med maner och fogh giöra låther.

Instruction, § 6, R.R.

When Printz arrived in February, 1643, he found the English settlement on the point of breaking up, being harassed by sickness, and as soon as he could make arrangements he seems to have gone there to inspect the same. It is said (probably without foundation) that he "forced some of [these colonists] . . . to swear allegiance to the Crown of Sweden . . . and such who would not he drove away." At any rate some of them remained and in his report of 1644, Printz calls them "our English at Farckens Kill." Printz saw, however, that his first troubles would be with this nation, and soon after his arrival he wrote to Brahe that he had "evil neighbors, especially the English."²

In the beginning of May an English bark sailed up before Fort Elfsborg to inquire for ships from old England. The fort was under construction and Printz was there to superintend the work. He demanded the pass of the skipper and his crew and "when he observed that they were not right in their errands, he took them (yet with their own will) to Christina, to buy flour and other provisions from them, examining them until a maid confessed and betrayed them." Thereupon they were arrested and an inventory was made of the goods on the ship. They had been in the service of "Gov. Plowden," who was in America at this time. In the winter or early spring of 1643 Plowden bought one half part of a bark from Philip White at Kikitan. About May 1 he loaded his ship with flour and other provisions and set sail from Heckemak with a crew of sixteen people, but the skipper had conspired with the sailors against him, and instead of taking their course to Kikitan, as they were instructed to do, they sailed towards Cape Henry. As they passed Smith's Island, they landed Sir Edmund there, "without food, clothes and arms, where no people, nor other animals,

² Printz to Brahe, April 12, 1643; Winthrop, II. 76, 141; *Report*, 1644, N.S., I. (R.A.); Odhner, N.S., p. 28: "The other pounds [of tobacco] are planted here, one part by our English at Farckens kil one part by our Swedish freemen here in New Sweden"; *Report*, February 20, 1647, § 8, N.S., I. (R.A.); *Penn. Mag.*, VII. 271 ff. The burning of the "English house" does not as Sprinchorn thinks refer to this settlement nor to the time of Printz, but to the trading post on the Schuylkill in 1642.

except wolves and bears lived." Two young noblemen, however, who had been brought up by Plowden, escaped from the bark and remained with their master. Four days later an English sloop sailed within calling distance of the island and the skipper, observing the unfortunate victims, rescued them. They were taken to Heckemak, where Plowden soon recovered, although "he was half dead and black as the ground," and shortly afterwards the same sloop was sent out to look for the criminals, carrying letters, not only to Printz, but to all the governors and commanders along the coast. The sloop visited New Sweden some time during the summer.³ Printz delivered the prisoners, bark and goods to the English commander and presented a bill of 425 R.D. for expenses incurred, which was paid him. The prisoners were taken to Virginia, where the principal instigators of the crime were shot as traitors.⁴ Plowden, although unsuccessful in his attempts at settlements on the Delaware, gave commission to English ships to trade freely in the river, but Printz "allowed none of them to pass Fort Elfsborg." Plowden was offended, but he could cause no trouble and remained quietly at Jamestown for some time.⁵

Lamberton continued to trade here even after his plantation on the Schuylkill had been destroyed and in the spring of 1643 he again fitted out his pinnace, the *Cock*, for trade on the Dela-

³ Printz's report is ambiguous. I take it that Plowden simply wrote letters to the different governors which he sent with the skipper of the sloop ("den samma engelsche slupen, som riddaren salverat hade här ankom medh Riddarens breff"). But Printz also says: "Då leffvererade iagh *honom* folck, barck och gos, tillhopa efter inventarium och *han* betalte migh min omkastnatt medh 425 rdr" (*Report*, 1644, § 8). "Han" and "honom" might refer to the "knight" (Plowden), but I take it that they refer to the skipper (grammatically to the sloop).

⁴ *Report*, 1644, § 8; Odhner, *N.S.*, p. 31-2; Hazard, 109-10. In July 1644, the question came up as to the former owner of a bark, then belonging to Peter Laurents and Mr. Throckmorton. Two witnesses, Peter Jansen and Richard Olofsson (?), (Hazard has *Olossen*), at the request of Mr. Moore, appeared before Cornelis Tienhoven in New Amsterdam and declared that it was true that in 1643 Sir Plowden bought the half of the bark now owned by Laurents and Throckmorton, besides two hogsheads of flour. Hazard, 109-10, *Albany Rec.*, III. 224. Cf. Winsor, IV., pp. 427 ff., 457, and III. 457 ff., where a translation of Printz's *Report* referring to Plowden is given, also in *Penn. Mag.*, X. 180 ff. Plowden was not well liked by his associates and servants.

⁵ *Report*, 1644.

ware. The exact date of his sailing cannot be determined (he was still at New Haven, however, on the sixth of April),⁶ but it is probable that he arrived in the South River about the middle of June. He still maintained the English right to the tracts, bought before the arrival of Printz. On June 22, 1643, he presented a protest to the Swedes, claiming that he had bought the lands on the Schuylkill from the rightful owner and in a second protest he laid claim to the land at Varkens Kill.⁷ It is not known whether or not Printz answered these protests, but events soon occurred that gave him an opportunity for testing the English rights and definitely disproving them, at least from his point of view.

Lamberton was riding at anchor with his ship *The Cock* about three miles above Fort Christina, where he had induced the Indians to come and trade with him. Early in the morning of June 26, as the governor came from his prayers, Timon Stidden and Gotfried Harmer brought a report that Lamberton had bribed the Indians to murder the Swedes and Dutch and to destroy their settlements. The governor immediately set to work to investigate the report. He sent Stidden and Harmer as spies on board of the pinnace, and wrote a letter to Lamberton, stating that an Indian "the day before had stolen a gold chain from the governor's wife and that the governor did entreat Mr. Lamberton to use means to get it again of the Indians." As many savages were about to come to trade with Lamberton the following day, the Swedish agents requested permission to stay on board the pinnace over night "so that they might see those, who came to barter their skins, and try to discover among them the one who had stolen the chain," he being easily recognized by a "mark in his face." The permission was granted, but of course no Indian with "a mark in his face" appeared. Through a second letter Lamberton was

⁶ On that day he was appointed to meet with some other gentlemen to give advice to the newly elected commissioners for New Haven about their business, before they went to Massachusetts Bay.

⁷ These protests were not from Governor Winthrop as has been stated by historians.

induced on some "feigned and false pretences" to go to Fort Christina with his men. The English were arrested on their arrival and put into prison, where they were kept for about three days. In the meantime preliminary examinations were conducted by Printz, Gregorius van Dyck and others, who tried to draw all the information they could from Lamberton's men, concerning the "planned massacre." John Woollen, Lamberton's interpreter, was especially subjected to close examination, but nothing definite could be ascertained.⁸

The English were finally set free, presumably on the promise that they would appear at a court of inquiry to be held in Fort Christina as soon as possible. The court was called⁹ on July 10, 1643. It consisted of English, Dutch and Swedish commissaries. Printz seems to have been most anxious to disprove the English claim to land on the Delaware, and this was the first point to be examined. First of all Lamberton was requested to show the protests to the court, which he had presented to the governor. He was then asked by what right he pretended to the lands on the Schuylkill. He answered that he had purchased them two years before (1641). To the question if he did not know that all the lands on the west side of the river from Cape Henlopen to Sankikan had been bought by the Swedish Crown, he replied that he well knew this, but that he had been persuaded by Jan Jansen to buy the tract. Jan

⁸ *Protests*, June 22, 1643, another without date, N.S., I. (R.A.); *N. H. Col. Rec.*, I. 87, 106-7; Winthrop, II. 141; *Col. of Mass. Hist. So.*, 2d S. VI. 439 ff.; *Court Records*, January 16, 1644, and *Proc.*, July 10, 1643 (*Actus quartus*), N.S., I. (R.A.). Brodhead thinks that the fort referred to in *N. H. Col. Rec.*, I. 106, was Fort Gothenborg. See Brodhead, I. 382.

⁹ Sprinchorn (pp. 17-18) supposes that the court was convened after Printz had received a letter from Winthrop, complaining of the arrest of Lamberton and the damages done to the English, but this is a mistake. The court of New Haven was held on August 2, 1643 (*N. H. Col. Rec.*, I. 106). The complaints against Printz were presented at the meeting of the court of the United Col. (*Plym. Col. Rec., Acts*, I. 13), which was not convened before the seventh of September (*N. H. Col. Rec.*, I. 96; *Plym. Col. Rec., Acts*, I. 9), and Winthrop's letter was not sent before the complaints had been considered by the commissioner and "Conclusions subscribed to by them," September 16, 1643, hence two months after the court in New Sweden was held. Winthrop, II. 140; *Plym. Col. Rec., Acts*, I. 13.

Jansen was then referred to and asked if he would sustain Lamberton's testimony, but he answered that Lamberton lied like a "wanton rascal," declaring that everybody knew the Dutch had protested against Lamberton's proceedings, destroyed his "house" and carried his people prisoners to New Amsterdam. Lamberton then excused himself by saying that he had not protested against the Crown of Sweden but against Lieut. Måns Kling, who dwelt on the Schuylkill. Thereupon the court requested Governor Printz to produce the evidence of the Swedish title to the disputed lands. Printz testified that the Crown had purchased all the land on the west side from Cape Henlopen up to Sankikan, including the Schuylkill, before Lamberton's arrival and Huygen, Kling and Van Dyck verified this testimony by declaring on oath that these lands had been bought, as the Royal Letter showed, three and five years before.¹⁰

In the next place the English title to Varkens Kill was examined. Lamberton declared that he and Captain Turner had bought the land through an authorized agent from Wickusi, the rightful owner, adding that Gregorius Van Dyck could testify to this, which he was sure he would do as an honorable man, and in support of these claims he produced two letters from the Indian chief, who conducted the transaction. He also said that he had obtained a title to the land before the Swedes purchased the same. The court asked him what further evidence he could produce, to which he replied "Captain Turner's testimony but nothing further." In refutation of this Printz presented other evidence. Some time in June he sent the preacher Reorus Torkillus and Greg. van Dyck to make enquiries about the English purchase. They visited the chief from whom the English had bought the land, but he declared that he had no commission from Wickusi, saying he needed none as the land in question was his own. Måns Kling also visited Wickusi to ascertain if he had given a commission to another chief to sell the land. Wickusi, denying this, affirmed

¹⁰ The records say seven and five, but this is of course a mistake.

that the land was his very own and that he had sold it to Peter Ridder. These reports were presented to the court and Printz added that everyone knew that this land belonged to Wickusi. The Swedish governor also declared that some of Lamberton's own people, and especially John Woollen, had confessed openly that Peter Hollender Ridder bought the land three days before Lamberton and he *was willing to have these two witnesses brought before the court*,¹¹ if the court should so desire. But the court replied that it was not necessary as enough facts had been produced.

Then the accusations against Lamberton personally were dealt with. Governor Printz accused him of trading in beavers right under the walls of Fort Christina without authority. To the question of the court as to why he had done this, Lamberton answered that he did not know that he was not allowed to trade there. But Huygen testified that Ridder had forbidden him to trade in the river in 1642 and Måns Kling added that he had warned him long before. I. Sieversson also testified to the fact that the Swedish governor had written to Lamberton from Fort Christina warning him that it was expressly against Her Majesty's order to trade in her territory. The court then asked for Lamberton's commission or authority, but he answered that he needed none.¹² The accusations on which Lamberton had been arrested were next examined. Printz stated the circumstances and facts in the case and Timon Stidden and Gotfried Harmer were called into the court and examined. They testified on oath that they had heard the Indians say "these things"¹³ and Peter Andriessen and Lasse Bonde also related the same facts, being ready "to give their oath on it." Per Cock and Lasse Bonde also stated that the settlers at Varkens Kill had intimated that as soon as Lamberton arrived the English and Indians would unite to kill the Swedes and drive them

¹¹ It would seem that Coxwell and Woollen were still in prison (?). Wickusi is also found written Wichusy and Wischusi.

¹² Lamberton was also accused of disrespectful conduct towards the Swedes and of using vile language about them.

¹³ That they had been bribed.

out of the river. Further "the people who were in Fort Christina testified" that on the same day (June 26?) the Black Minquas and other Indians appeared before the fort "as if they wished to scale the wall, but as soon as the people ascended the battlement and the *constable* began to point the cannon at them, the savages ran into the woods with clamors." Lamberton confessed that he had given the Indians some presents, not in order that they should kill the Swedes and Dutch, but for the purpose of inducing them to trade with him. The document is moulded and not clear, but it seems that Lamberton requested the testimony of John Woollen. The court enquired for him. "Printz, however, informed the court, that he had examined Mr. Woollen enough, but that he would not confess to anything." The governor also stated that he would not push the accusation against Lamberton any further, since he fully excused himself, and the court accordingly dropped this part of the case.

The decision of the court was given the same day. In the first place the court found that "the four approved witnesses on oath and by relating circumstances had proved that Lamberton in truth had bribed the Indians to kill the Dutch and Swedes," but since Geo. Lamberton was a foreigner and would not confess to the charge, the court at the request of the plaintiff dismissed the case.¹⁴ Secondly the court found that "it had been completely proven from the documents that Lamberton by right possessed no place at, in or around this River." Thirdly, since he now a second time had purchased beavers from the Indians without a commission, the court had a right to confiscate not only the beavers he had lately bought but his ship and other goods as well. The court would also in this case be lenient and only demand a double duty on the 400 beavers in his possession, with the understanding, however,

¹⁴ "En op sodanige maniere Mr. Lamberton als een vreemden, vorders op synne consciencie gelochent en niet heft bekenen willen, heft het recht de getuygen oock neit willen tot den eet comen laten, sondren in dese occasie met Mr. Lamberton, op versoecken des klagers, genadlyck will handelen en door vingren sien, en sulcke Cremenalia voor dese reise passen Laten."

that if he traded in the river a third time, without permission, his boat and goods would be confiscated. After the dismissal of the court Lamberton paid the duty "of twelve pound [sterling] in the hundred" on his purchases as well as other bills and returned home with his people.¹⁵

When the English arrived at New Haven they complained of ill treatment at the hands of the Swedish governor. Lamberton made an oral relation of his experiences and accused Printz of "reviling the English of New Haven as runagates" and of trying by threats, the promise of gifts and by "attempting to make them drunk to press the witnesses to testify that Lamberton had hired the Indians to cut off the Swedes." A court was held at New Haven on August 2 the same year and it was perhaps before this that Lamberton made his report. John Thickpeny, "mariner in the *Cock* with George Lamberton," was called upon to testify, "being duly sworn and examined." He gave a long relation of the "outrages" committed by Governor Printz, and testified on *oath* that the Swedes tried to get John Woollen drunk so as to make him confess what he did not know, and, by threats of execution on the charge of treason and by the promise of gifts, endeavored to make him reveal something about Lamberton's dealings with the Indians.¹⁶ Theophilus Eaton and Thomas Gregson, who had been chosen commissioners from New Haven to represent that jurisdiction at the General Court, held at Boston in the autumn of 1645,¹⁷ were instructed to bring Lamberton's complaints before this court in September. As they owned shares in the Delaware Company they were personally interested in the Delaware district and in the disputes with the Swedes. They summarized the complaints which had been made by Lamberton and his associates before the New Haven Court and presented this "information and

¹⁵ Copy of Court Minutes (in Dutch), July 10, 1643, N.S., I. (R.A.). Cf. Chap. XXXVIII.

¹⁶ *N. H. Col. Rec.*, I. 107; Winthrop, II. 140; *Col. of Mass. Hist. So.*, 2d S. VI. 439-40.

¹⁷ *N. H. Col. Rec.*, I. 87; *Plym. Col. Rec., Acts*, I. 9. The Articles of Confederation were agreed to at Boston on May 19, 1643. The Articles are printed in *Plym. Col. Rec., Acts*, I. 3 ff., *N. H. Col. Rec.*, I. 98 ff. and other places.

complaint" to the General Court. The court took up the matter among its first transactions and it was decided "that a l[et]te[r] be written to the Swedish Governor expressing the p[ar]ticulars and requiring satisfaction."¹⁸ Governor John Winthrop, "as Gov[er]n[o]r of the Massachusetts and President of the Commissioners for the United Colonies of New England," was to draft the letters.¹⁹ Accordingly he wrote a lengthy letter to Governor Printz, setting forth the English title to the whole continent in general and to Delaware Bay in particular and complaining that the English already settled on the South River had been driven away from their property by the Swedish governor or forced to "bind themselves by an oath to the Swedish Crown." The complaints as presented by Thickpeny and Lamberton were also repeated in brief and satisfaction was demanded for the injuries done "to the allies of New Haven." "If you afford this satisfaction," says Winthrop in closing, ". . . [the New Haven people] will send, at the first opportunity, those who will treat with you concerning the division of the boundaries . . . and the exercise of trade." Special envoys were to be sent to New Sweden to deliver the letter and "Lamberton was also given commission to go and treat with the Swedish Governor about satisfaction for his injuries."²⁰

Captain Turner, who apparently had been appointed to deliver the letter to Governor Printz, arrived at Christina in the beginning of 1644. The governor was greatly concerned about the matter and seems to have called a second court almost immediately to disprove the accusations against him.²¹

Several witnesses were called and examined "upon oath" in the presence of the court. They denied the accusations against

¹⁸ *Plym. Col. Rec., Acts*, I. 13; Kidder (in "*Swedes on the Delaware*," etc., p. 6) is wrong in stating that the date of this transaction was September 19. Hazard has made the same mistake. The 19 in the margin of *Plym. Col. Rec., Acts*, I. 13, refers to the page in the manuscript and not to the date. See *ibid., Intro.*, XII. The conclusions were subscribed to on September 16, 1643.

¹⁹ Winthrop, II. 140; Hubbard, *Col. of Mass. Hist. So.*, 2d S., VI. 440.

²⁰ Winthrop's letter to Printz (copy), September 18, 1643 (in Latin). N.S., I. (R.A.); *Plym. Col. Rec.*

²¹ The court was convened on January 16, 1644.

Governor Printz and Woollen confessed that he had in no manner been prevailed upon by any of the Swedes to testify falsely against Lamberton, but on the contrary he had been admonished to speak the truth and had been told "that if he were found false, it should risk him [his] life." It was also brought out by the testimony of Timon Stidden and "Gotfried Harmer, the merchantman," that Lamberton had promised to sell arms and powder to the Indians, which was against the laws of the English as well as the Swedish colonies. All the other charges against Printz were also denied by the witnesses and the English at Varken's Kill "confessed in the presence of the messenger" that they had not been driven off or urged to become Swedish subjects, but of their own accord were "inclined to devotion to Her Royal Majesty."

From the records of the court it would appear that most of the charges against Printz were unfounded, and there can be no question about the authenticity of the minutes as they were signed by Captain Turner, who was one of the members of the court. Yet he cannot be entirely exonerated from blame, for in his dispatches to the Swedish government he presents his case in a somewhat different light. Copies of this and of the examination of the previous year were sent to Governor Winthrop, accompanied by a letter in which the "Swedes denied what they had been charged with . . . and used large expressions of their respect to the English and particularly to the Massachusetts Colony."²²

Governor Winthrop acknowledged the receipt of the letter and documents on March 21, "accepting and thankfully receiving the spirit of good will and greatest friendship displayed towards the English people" in the letter and stating that he was not at liberty to reply at length but that "a full and par-

²² Latin letter of Governor Printz to Governor Winthrop, January 12, 1644 (copy), N.S., I. (R.A.); Court Minutes, January 16, 1644, N.S., I. (R.A.); "Trans. copy of the Dutch copy, anno. 1644, Jan. 16," etc., printed by Kidder, 7-8; Copies in *Penn. Hist. So.*; Winthrop, II. 157.

ticular response [could be expected] at the next meeting of the commissioners [of the United Colonies]."²³

To further appease the English Printz had told their agent that, if a 'commission from the commissioners of the union and a copy of their patent were presented to him, he would allow them to go on with their plantation and trade in the Delaware River and Bay.'²⁴ Gov. Eaton applied for the commission at the General Court of Massachusetts in March, 1644, and it was given to him.²⁵ It is not likely that Printz had any serious intention of fulfilling the promise he had given to Captain Turner. It was expressly against his instructions and contrary to the sentiments expressed in his letters and reports to the Swedish government.²⁶ The records do not state whether or not Eaton and his colleagues in the Delaware Company made use of the patent and commission, but it is improbable. Other events intervened and gave them warning.

"Westwards from the Massachusetts Bay . . .," says Morton in his *New English Canaan*, "is situated a very spacious lake" (called of the natives Lake Eracoise),²⁷ which is far more excellent than the lake of Genezereth in the country of Palestina, both in respect of the greatness and properties thereof and like-

²³ Winthrop to Printz, March 21, 1644 (English style 1 mo. 21, 1644). Winthrop sent the first rough draft of the letter to a friend with the note, "Sir, I pray p[er]use and correct wh[ateve]r you see Cause." Two corrections were made in the letter (see facsimile in Kidder). Mr. Kidder is mistaken in supposing that this letter is the one sent with Aspinwall and mentioned by Winthrop in his *Journal*, II. 160. Neither is the letter of Governor Printz dated June 29, 1644 (facsimile in Kidder), an answer to the above letter, as Kidder supposes (p. 9), but to a later letter from Governor Winthrop introducing Aspinwall to Governor Printz. See below.

²⁴ Winthrop, II. 157.

²⁵ *Rec. of Mass.*, II. 60: "The motion for a coppey of the patent & commission according to the tenure, etc., is granted to Newe Haven." Concerning the court, see Winthrop, II. 155 ff. and *Rec. of Mass.*, II. 54 ff. The court was called March 7, 1643 (Swedish style, March 7, 1644) and sat at Boston.

²⁶ *Report*, 1644; letter to A. Oxenstierna, June 20, 1644; letter to P. Brahe, July 19, 1644, *Ox. Saml.*, *Skokl. Saml.* (R.A.).

²⁷ *N. E. Canaan*, p. 234. "Lac des Irequois" is located northwest of Boston on a map of the "New Eng. Coast, A.D. 1650." From documents collected in France, pub. in *Sir F. Gorges, Prince So.*, II., facing p. 184. Jansson on his map put "Lac des Irequois" directly west of Nova Englia. See facsimile in Winsor, IV. 385.

wise of the manifold commodities it yieldeth."²⁸ The "properties" of this lake, which was supposed "to be located about ninety or a hundred miles from the [New England] plantation overland," had for years continued to inspire the early settlers with a desire to gain a foothold on the banks.²⁹ A patent had been given to Captain Mason and Sir F. Gorges in 1628 for the discovery of "the Great Lake" and on November 17, 1629,³⁰ these gentlemen were given a grant of Laconia,³¹ a country bordering on the great lakes and rivers of the Iroquois.³²

The district was "named Laconia," says Gorges, ". . . by

²⁸ The knowledge of great lakes or inland seas on the North American continent was perhaps due to Champlain's labors. Many of the early mapmakers followed him by indicating these lakes on their maps, yet there were some who did not take cognizance of his work. The first reports about the existence of the lake (or lakes) to the west of the Massachusetts colony were perhaps obtained from the French or Indians. Smith says in a letter to Bacon, that there were great lakes at the head of the Canadian River, where the inhabitants kill their beavers. Dean, *John Mason, Prince So.*, p. 54; Winsor, IV. 378 ff.

²⁹ Gorges, *America Painted*, extract in *Col. of the Maine Hist So.*, II., 2d Part, p. 68; Belknap, I. 19.

³⁰ *New Hampshire Provincial Papers*, I. 27, gives the date as November 27. Kidder, p. 11, note 1, gives November 17 as the date, also Winsor, III., and Sir F. Gorges, *Prince So.*, II. p. 23.

³¹ Grant of Laconia, November 17, 1629. This must be old style for in *N. H. Prov. P.*, I. 27, the date is 27, 1629. The grant is printed in *J. Mason, Prince So.*, p. 189 ff. Reprinted from *Mass. Archives*, III. 140-8. The territory was described as "Lands & countrys lying adjacent or bordering upon the great Lake or Lakes or Rivers commonly called or known by the Name of the River & Lake or Rivers & Lakes of the Irroquois, a Nation or Nations of Savage people inhabiting up into the Landwards betwixt the lines of West and Northwest conceiv'd to pass or lead upwards from the Rivers of Sagadahok and Merrimack in the Country of New England aforesaid." Dean, *John Mason, Prince So.*, 192.

³² There was another district or "Province" called Lygonia. Sir Ferdinando Gorges issued a grant of a tract of land forty miles square to a sect of religious adventurers. "To this territory Sir Ferdinando gave the name of Lygonia, in honor of his mother," says Baxter (*Sir F. Gorges, Prince So.*, I. 155. On page 189 he says: "which Gorges had doubtless himself named the Province of Lygonia"). The name of Lygonia was also given to a much larger territory, "included within the Province of Maine," see *Pop. Memo. Vol.*, 2d Part, p. 12 ff.; Hubbard, *Col. of Mass. Hist. So.*, 2d S., VI. 368, 369, 510. Laconia and Lygonia have often been confused and supposed to be the same. See Kidder, p. 11, note, Brodhead also makes the mistake in *Hist.*, I. 383, where he says: "and this lake which they named Lake Lygonia." It is so named in *Plym. Col. Rec., Acts*, II. 15. It was often spelt Ligonias, see *Col. of Mass. Hist. So.*, 2d S., VI. 368-69, 510.

reason of the great lakes therein."³³ It was described in the most glowing terms. The air was said to be pure and wholesome, "the country was pleasant, having some high hills full of goodly forests and fair valleys and plains, fruitful in corn, vines, chestnuts, walnuts and infinite sorts of other fruits; large rivers well stored with fish and environed with goodly meadows, full of timber trees."³⁴ One of the great lakes found there, called the Iroquois,³⁵ contained "four fair islands," covered with woods and meadows full of all kinds of wild beasts. "There are also more abundance of beavers . . . about the part of that lake than in any place in all the country of New England," says Morton, and a goodly part of the beaver trade of North America, giving a profit of over £2,000 a year, was supposed to come from this region. The success of Kirke in 1629 also tended to emphasize and confirm these notions, as he took back to England a large quantity of beavers, which were reported to have come from the Laconia district.³⁶

Hence it was not surprising that the English should try to gain possession of this district. In 1630 the Laconia Company³⁷ sent Captain Neal with the *Warwick* to America "for discovery of the great lake in New England."³⁸ Captain Neal "was said to be sent," writes Hubbard, "as Governor for Sir Ferdinando Gorges and the rest [of the Laconia Company]. . . . Another occasion of their sending [him] over was said to be the searching, or making a more full discovery of an imaginary Province, supposed to lie up higher into the country,

³³ *Col. of Maine Hist. So.*, II. 2d Part, p. 66; cf. also Dean, *John Mason, Prince So.*, p. 22. Sir F. Gorges does not mention Laconia as far as I can remember, in his *Briefe Narration* published in 1638, reprinted in *Col. of Mass. Hist. So.*, 3d S., VI. 45 ff., also reprinted in *Sir F. Gorges, Prince So.*, II.

³⁴ Gorges, etc., in *Col. of Maine Hist. So.*, II. 2d Part, p. 66.

³⁵ Same as Morton's *Erocoise*.

³⁶ *Col. of Maine Hist. So.*, II. 2d Part, 67 ff.; *N. E. Canaan*, pp. 235; Dean, *John Mason, Prince So.*, 54 ff. T. Morton, in his *New Eng. Canaan*, says: "Kaptaine Kerke of late . . . brought home in one ship . . . 25,000 beaver skinnies" (pp. 235-6). But see *Kirke's First Eng. Cong. of Canada*, p. 85, where it is stated that only 7,000 skins were taken to England.

³⁷ Concerning the *Laconia Company*, see Dean, *John Mason, Prince So.*, p. 56, 64, 72, etc.

³⁸ Winthrop, I. 7.

called Laconia." Captain Neal and his companions seem to have attempted to reach the "great lake" overland and Hubbard informs us that "after three years spent in labor and travel for that end or other fruitless endeavors they returned to England with a non est inventa Provincia,"³⁹ but Gorges asserts that "the discovery wanted one day's journey of finishing."⁴⁰

Twelve years later "one Darby Field, an Irishman . . . accompanied with two Indians went to the top of the white hill," where "he saw to the north a great water, which he judged to be about 100 miles broad, but could see no land beyond." The lake he discovered was "mist and airy nothing," but it is easy to understand how the early settlers could believe that Field really did see "a great lake" and that it was the wondrous lake Laconia or Iroquois.⁴¹ The report tended to keep alive the interest in the imaginary source of an inexhaustible beaver trade and soon some citizens of Boston endeavored to reach the place.

Morton says in his *New English Canaan* that two rivers known to the English as the Canada and the Potomac "issue out of this lake," as well as a third river, "which they [the Indians] describe to trend westward." It is probable that the English were led to suppose that this third river was the Delaware, as a large lake is placed at the source of the South River on De Laet's map (1630).⁴²

An attempt to reach a great lake or sea by ascending the Delaware had been made by Young in 1634.⁴³ In 1644 it was again tried by some merchants of Boston, who formed themselves into a company for the purpose. At the meeting of the

³⁹ Hubbard, *Col. of Mass. Hist. So.*, 2d S., V. 216-217; Gorges's *Am. Painted to Life*, etc., *Col. of Maine Hist. So.*, II. 2d Part, p. 67; Winsor, III. 327; Belknap, I. 19 ff. See Savage's Correction to Belknap, Winthrop, I. 69, note 2.

⁴⁰ It has been stated that Henry Josselyn was employed by Mason to make this discovery also, some time after the attempts of Neal (Belknap (I. 19) says in company with Neal), "but whether he performed his engagement does not appear." See *Col. of Maine Hist. So.*, II. 68, note; Dean, *John Mason, Prince So.*, p. 74; Winthrop, II. 67, note 2.

⁴¹ Winthrop, II. 67-8.

⁴² *Col. of Mass. Hist. So.*, 4th S., IX. 115 ff.; De Laet.

⁴³ Cf. above, Chap. XX.

court of Massachusetts, on March 7, 1644, "divers of the merchants of Boston, being desirous to discover the great lake," applied for a charter to be in force twenty years. "The court was very unwilling to grant any monopoly," says Winthrop, "but perceiving that without it they would not proceed, granted their desire" and gave them a commission under the public seal.⁴⁴ The company was granted the right to manage its own affairs according to the laws of the colony as well as to enjoy for twenty-one years the sole right of trade in the territory that might be discovered within three years, and it was given full power to "inhibit and restrain any other person or persons whatsoever, during the term aforesaid, that shall attempt any trade . . . without the warrant of the aforesaid company."⁴⁵

When all preliminary arrangements had been perfected a pinnace was prepared and put under the command of William Aspinwall, who had been in those parts before. Letters of recommendation, requesting a free passage, were written to the Dutch and Swedish governors and Richard Collicott was appointed agent for the company.⁴⁶

The "pinnace was well manned and furnished with provisions and trading stuff." The commander was to sail up the Delaware as far as he could, then he should proceed in small skiffs and try to gain access to the "great lake." The English seem to have left Boston about the end of April or in the beginning of May.⁴⁷ On arriving at New Amsterdam it is said that Governor Kieft gave them permission to pass "freely and fully," "but for maintaining his own interests he must protest against them," and as Governor Printz had expressed sincere friendship

⁴⁴ Winthrop, II. 160. The members of the company were Valentine Hill, Captain Robert Sedgwick, Mr. William Tinge (treasurer), Mr. Frank Norton, Mr. Thomas Clark, Josua Hewes and William Aspinwall. *Rec. of Mass.*, II. 60. The charter is printed in *Rec. of Mass.*, II. 60.

⁴⁵ *Rec. of Mass.*, II. 60.

⁴⁶ "Sometimes agent for the companie of adventurars for the lake Lyconnia." *Plym. Col. Rec., Acts*, II. 15.

⁴⁷ Winthrop's letter of recommendation to Printz is dated April 22, 1644.

for the English, there appeared to be no obstacle in the way of the expedition.⁴⁸

Printz, however, was much concerned over the activity of the English Puritans and he used all his tact and skill in preventing their plans, without openly breaking with them. In his report of June (11) 20, 1644, he says: "But how hard the Puritans have laid on my neck and still lay, can be ascertained from the enclosed documents. I can hardly believe that I will get rid of them in a friendly manner." When he was informed of the approach of the Aspinwall expedition he sent secretly to the Dutch commissary at Fort Nassau and requested him not to let the vessel pass, since he thought that the object of the English was to proceed up the river, build a fort at the most northerly limits of New Sweden and from there monopolize the entire beaver trade of the Delaware. This precaution was unnecessary for Governor Kieft had sent an order to Jan Jansen, instructing him "rather to sink the English ship than to let it pass the fort."

The pinnace arrived in the Delaware about the end of May or the beginning of June. As the English came in front of Fort Elfsborg, on a Sunday, a shot was fired at them and Lieutenant Sven Skute went on board the pinnace, forcing them to fall lower down and weigh anchor. Aspinwall delivered his letter of recommendation and complained to Governor Printz, who acknowledged that the lieutenant had done ill in his treatment of them "and promised all favors." Printz issued a passport for the ship and gave the English leave to proceed, if they would not trade with the Indians. He also appointed one of his subjects to go with Aspinwall as far as Fort Nassau, but the Dutch would not let them pass. It seems that Jansen had been able to gain the good will of the master of the pinnace, for Winthrop⁴⁹ attributed part of the ill success

⁴⁸ Winthrop, II. 160-1, 178-9; Hubbard, *Col. of Mass. Hist. So.*, 2d S., VI. 442 ff.

⁴⁹ Winthrop says that the English did not dare to leave the vessel to proceed up the river in a small boat for fear "he would in his drunkenness have betrayed their goods, etc., to the Dutch."

of the expedition to his drunkenness and compliance with the Dutch and Swedes.⁵⁰

The pinnace was therefore compelled to return to Boston "with loss of its voyage."⁵¹ The company was ruined, the whole stock of the members, "which was at least £700, was wasted and their design, overthrown." Action was brought against the master of the vessel and "they recovered £200 of him, which was too much," adds Winthrop, "for it was very probable they could not have proceeded."⁵²

As the pinnace was about to leave New Sweden Governor Printz wrote a letter to Governor Winthrop, dated June 29, 1644,⁵³ expressing high regards for the English governor and stating that his letter in Aspinwall's behalf had been of great service. With this the incident closed as far as the Swedes were concerned, but it is often referred to in the English protests and letters to the Dutch.⁵⁴

II.

About the time of Aspinwall's departure, Printz reported his troubles with the English to the New Sweden Company and sent copies of the two court proceedings (of July 10, 1643, and January 16, 1644) besides other documents to impress the authorities with the danger of the situation, expressing the fear that the Puritans would eventually gain a foothold in New Sweden, as they had done in New Netherland.

But the immediate danger was over. Governor Winthrop had a high opinion of the Swedes (reports of the triumphs of

⁵⁰ Printz's letter to Winthrop, June 29, 1644, facsimile in Kidder. A remark of Printz on the copy of Winthrop's letter, June 20 (?), 1644, N.S., I. (R.A.); *Plym. Col. Rec., Acts*, II. 15; Winthrop, II. 179; Winthrop (II. 187) says that the Dutch Governor would also let them pass if they would not trade with the Indians. This, however, does not conform to other sources. Cf. *Plym. Col. Rec., Acts*, II. 14, 15.

⁵¹ It is said that Aspinwall was compelled to pay 40/ before he returned for the shot the Swedish fort had fired at him. Winthrop, II. 179.

⁵² Winthrop, II. 179, Hubbard, *Col. of Mass. Hist. So.*, 2d S., VI. 443.

⁵³ The date given in Kidder is June 29, but the copy of the letter is dated "Tennakonk 20 June, 1644." Copy in N.S., I. (R.A.). Facsimile in Kidder, also translated there (reprinted in *Penn Mag.*, VIII. 342); *New Eng. Gen. Reg.*, XXVIII. 42 ff., XXIX. 237-40.

⁵⁴ *Plym. Col. Rec., Acts*, II. 15 ff.

Gustavus Adolphus having penetrated into the pioneer settlements of New England, even "a day of thanksgiving for the good news of the pro[sperou]s success of the King of Sweden" being proclaimed in September, 1632),⁵⁵ and the friendly letters of Printz tended to bring about a more cordial relation between New England and New Sweden. Furthermore, Printz was soon able to serve the English in a way that would leave them in no doubt as to his good will towards them and the sincerity of the regards expressed in his letters to Governor Winthrop.

In the fall of 1644 a bark with seven men was sent out from Boston to trade in the Delaware. It remained all the winter near the English plantation at Varkens Kill, but "in the spring it fell down and traded three weeks [with the Indians] and had gotten 500 skins and some otter." When the English were ready to leave fifteen Indians came aboard the vessel, as if to trade. "Suddenly they drew forth hatchets from under their coats, killed the master and three others," carried away a boy and the interpreter and rifled the bark. Printz, having some influence with the sachem of the savages, prevailed upon him to fetch the interpreter and the murderers, who were sent to Boston as prisoners by a New Haven bark.⁵⁶ The English were pleased with this act of friendship, and in 1645, when they had troubles with the Indians, they tried to induce Governor Printz to join them against their savage foes, but he of course

⁵⁵ On September 20, 1632, Governor Winthrop received a letter from Henry Jacie, enumerating the successes of Gustavus Adolphus. "The affairs beyond sea in Germany are almost beyond credit, how so weak a king as Sweden should go on and prosper and subdue still so much against the mighty emperour and Spain's forces, maugre all their malice and their holy father's curses." In June, 1632, Francis Kirby wrote to Governor Winthrop: "For newes, the most is of the successful kinge of Sweden, who hath now taken all Bavaria" (*Col. Mass. Hist. So.*, 3d S., I. 236, 240-41; IX. 247, 250-56; 4th S., VI. 40, 45, 454-7, 486; Winthrop, I. 90).

⁵⁶ Winthrop, II. 203-4. The cause of the murder is not clear. Had the English committed some injury to the Indians or was the hideous deed committed out of mere love for gain or thirst for blood? The interpreter, however, seems to have been implicated in the crime.

kept aloof from these quarrels and tried to be on friendly terms with both sides.⁵⁷

In 1646 one Captain Clark of New England was sent to treat with the governor about the settlement of 100 families under the jurisdiction of the Swedish government, but Printz denied it "in a civil way," referring the matter to the Queen, and it does not seem to have received further attention either in Sweden or here.⁵⁸

In February, 1647, Printz reported that he had succeeded in ridding himself of the English Puritans, who had not been heard of for a long time. This undoubtedly refers to the Lambertson and Aspinwall expeditions. It is not probable that Printz disturbed the few English families living near Fort Elfsborg, as they were not able to cause any disturbance and there would seem to be no reason for driving them away.⁵⁹ Finding that their trade and settlement were unprofitable they deserted their homesteads of their own free will⁶⁰ and it is probable that they had all removed from the river before 1647.⁶¹

In 1647 "Sergeant Collicott complained against the Swedes and Dutch that they sold arms and ammunition to the Indians." A letter was sent to Governor Stuyvesant congratulating him on his arrival and complaining about the grievances mentioned by Collicott,⁶² but no communication seems to have been sent to Printz.⁶³

In the spring or early summer of 1648 Plowden seems to have visited New Sweden a second time. "He was very much

⁵⁷ Trotzig to Oxenstierna, March 17, 1646; *Ox. Saml.*; *Report*, 1647; Printz to Brahe, February 20, 1647.

⁵⁸ *Report*, 1647. This matter does not seem to be referred to elsewhere. In the *Plym. Col. Rec.* as well as in the *New Haven Col. Rec.* there seem to be no mention of a Capt. Clark. There is an entry about Capt. Clark in *Rec. of Mass.*, II. 283 (1649), however. The name Clerk also appears in Winthrop, I. 101, 386; II. 301.

⁵⁹ Yet we are informed by Winthrop that they were driven away. Winthrop, II. 76.

⁶⁰ They sold some of their property to the Swedes before they departed. *Acc. B.*, 1643-8.

⁶¹ *Report*, 1647.

⁶² *Plym. Col. Rec., Acts*, I. 107 ff.

⁶³ There is at least no mention of it in *Plym. Col. Rec., Acts*, I. 107-8.

piqued at the Swedish Governor Johan Printz," on account of some affront given him, says a Dutch chronicler,⁶⁴ and by Winthrop we are informed that he intended to "plant the Delaware, if he could get sufficient strength to dispossess the Swedes."⁶⁵

The English of New Haven did not give up their hopes of settling on the South River, however. In 1649 the matter was again brought before the commissioners of the United Colonies. The New Haven General Court, having again considered the question, instructed its representatives to bring it before the commissioners at Boston and Mr. Leach presented a "description of the Delaware," dwelling on "the healthfulness of the place, the goodness of the land, convenience of the lesser rivers with the advantage of a well ordered trade there." The commissioners deliberated on the advisability of the proposed plans, but it was determined not to send an expedition at public expense, since there were not enough men for the plantations already occupied by the English. Anyone had a right to go there at his own risk, however, and the New Haven merchants were allowed to improve and plant their lands as they saw fit. Rumors of these activities reached Governor Stuyvesant and presumably Governor Printz, who seems to have written to the governor of the Massachusetts colony in the autumn, for in the records of this colony we find that "writings from and concerning the Swedes" were discussed by the court at its meeting on October 19, 1649.⁶⁶

Plowden, having returned to England in 1648, caused a *Description of New Albion*^{66a} to be published and made other efforts in behalf of "his colony" and its settlement. Two years later it seems that he had actually succeeded in finding colonists willing to go to the South River to settle under his

⁶⁴ *Vertoogh van N. N.*, etc., 1650, *Col. N. Y. Hist. So.*, 2d S., II. 279.

⁶⁵ Winthrop, II. p. 325.

⁶⁶ *Plym. Col. Rec., Acts*, I. 140-41; *Doc.*, XII. 52; *Rec. of Mass.*, III. 179.

^{66a} For a discussion of the *Description*, its authorship, etc., see Penington, *An Exam. of Beauchamp Plantagenet's Descrip. of the Prov. of New Albion*, *Mem. of Penn. Hist. So.*, IV. pt. 1, pp. 133 ff.; Keen in Winsor's *Nar. and Crit. Hist.*, III. 460 ff. (and references given there); Winsor, *Nar. and Crit. Hist.*, IV. 427 ff.

"charter" and on March 21 (1650) the council of State decided "that the petition of the Earl of New Albion relating to the plantation there be referred to the consideration of the committee of this council." A few days later the council resolved that the matter "be referred to the committee for plantations or any three of them to confer with the Earl of Albion concerning the giving good security to this council, that the men, arms and ammunition, which *he hath now shipped* in order to [prepare] his voyage to New Albion shall go thither and shall not be employed either there or elsewhere to the disservice of the [Re]public" and on June 11 a pass was "granted for Mr. . . . Batt and Mr. . . . Danby, themselves and seven more persons, men, women and children, to go to New Albion."^{66b} It is possible that Plowden was foiled in his attempts by the activity of the New England planters interested in the Delaware, who might have influenced the council against him (Edward Lloyd stated in 1654 that Plowden was hindered by the English from taking possession of the country), for it appears that his expedition was never sent, at least it did not reach the Delaware.^{66c}

In August, 1650, Printz wrote that the English Puritans bothered him no more.⁶⁷ It appears from Dutch documents that there was some trouble with the English on the Delaware or in the south, about this time, but the nature of this trouble cannot now be understood.⁶⁸

The New Haven Delaware Company, although meeting opposition on every hand, did not relinquish its claims on the South River, and in September, 1650, the members again argued their case. It was also proposed to Governor Stuyvesant that the

^{66b} *Col. of N. Y. Hist. So.*, Pub. F. S. (1869), II. 221-2; Winthrop, II. 325.

^{66c} Cf. below, Chap. XLVI. n. 5.

⁶⁷ Printz to Brahe, August 1, 1650.

⁶⁸ "I cannot quite comprehend, what your Honor mentions in regard to the discontent of the English, for I am indeed not conscious that any troubles have occurred between [us] and the English or between the English and the [Swedes] nor when they happened, whether on the South River or thereabouts or in Maryland or that neighborhood." Letter from Stuyvesant to Hudde, June 21, 1650, *Doc.*, XII. 65.

boundaries be settled in a friendly manner, either here or in Europe by the two states of Holland and England. Stuyvesant pretended to be friendly to the proposal and he even promised to allow the English to "improve their just interest in the Delaware in planting and trading as they should see cause."⁶⁹ On this assurance the New Haven people again prepared to settle there. About fifty persons prepared to go and a vessel was fitted out in the early part of 1651. Provisions were provided and letters were written to Governor Stuyvesant "to prevent jealousies [and] to assure him of the Englishes peaceable and righteous intentions and proceedings."⁷⁰ No letters appear to have been sent to Governor Printz; perhaps it was not deemed necessary on account of his former friendly letters and assurances. The ship left New Haven in March with the intention of touching at New Amsterdam, but as soon as Stuyvesant became aware of their project he sent a protest to the governor of New Haven "before the English were arrived at the Manhatoes, though after their departure from New Haven," and "threaten[ed] force of arms and martial opposition even to bloodshed against" them unless they desist from their undertaking. They were thus compelled to give up their voyage and return to New Haven "with very great loss and damage." On their return they complained about their ill treatment. A letter was sent to the Court of Massachusetts Bay in June, in which the New Haven people requested aid "in settling a plantation at [the] Delaware against such as do oppose them," but the court did not think it advisable to grant such a request and would "have no hand in any such controversy."⁷¹

The New England merchants now tried another course. Governor Eaton wrote "at large" to E. Winslow in London,

⁶⁹ *Plym. Col. Rec., Acts*, I. 188 ff; II. 21: "Both p[ar]ties by the award being expressly left to Improve theire Just interest in Delaware in planting and tradinge, as they should see cause, and advise given by all the Arbetrators Joyntly that all proceedings there should be carried on in love and peace as in other places."

⁷⁰ *Plym. Col. Rec., Acts*, I. 199; II. 21. "At least 50 of the New Haven Jurisdiction were on their way to plant there" (I. 199).

⁷¹ *Plym. Col. Rec., Acts*, I. 199, 214; II. 21; *Plym. Col. Rec., Court Orders*, II. 169 (June 5, 1651); Hazard, *Hist. Col.*, I. 554.

setting forth their just title to parts of the Delaware and complaining of the injuries suffered at the hands of both the Swedes and the Dutch, especially those sustained in the spring of 1651. A little later, the same year, the commissioners of the Court of Massachusetts Bay also wrote to Winslow about the matter, as another petition had been presented to them in the autumn of 1651, most likely repeating the oft-mentioned injuries and perhaps especially dwelling on Governor Stuyvesant's last injustice to the New Haven planters. In this letter they desired to know "what esteem the old Patents for that place [the Delaware] have with the Parliament, or Council of State, where there hath been no improvement hitherto made by the Patentees, whether the Parliament hath granted any late Patents, or whether in granting [any such] they reserve not liberty and encouragement for such as have or shall have plant[ed] upon their formerly duly purchased lands." The commissioners at Boston further considered the question at their meeting in September and a letter was written to Governor Stuyvesant protesting against his actions.⁷² In answer to the New Haven petitioners, the court resolved that at present, at least, it was better to suffer some injuries and affronts than to begin open hostilities; yet if the New Haven people within the following year should decide to try again to settle in the Delaware at their own expense and transport thither 100 or 150 well armed men, "with a meet vessel or vessels and ammunition fit for such an enterprise," and their magistrates would allow and approve such actions, then, in case the Dutch or Swedes oppose them, "whiles they carry themselves peaceably," they would be at liberty to call for aid and assistance from the other jurisdictions, but all expenses and charges for such aid should be borne by the planters and the lands and trade with the Indians should be considered a bond for the correct payment of such debts.⁷³ These conditions were too severe to be accepted. The pros-

⁷² *Plym. Col. Rec., Acts*, I. 199, 214-15.

⁷³ *Plym. Col. Rec., Acts*, I. 213-14. For protests and counter protests of the English and Dutch in reference to the Delaware during this period, see *Plym. Col. Rec., Acts*, II. 13 ff., 17 ff., 21 ff., 32, 59, 63, 72, etc.; *Doc.*, XII.

pect of gain was not great enough for such a risk and nothing seems to have been done in the matter.⁷⁴

The report of these proceedings was of course carried to Printz, and he wrote to the chancellor in August, 1651, that he was "not secure from the North English a single day," but no attempts at settlements were made during 1652 and 1653 and Governor Printz was allowed to manage his little colony without interference from the English.⁷⁵ Troubles with the Dutch, however, were now causing Printz much concern. It is the rise and progress of these troubles we are to follow in the next chapter.

⁷⁴ In May a witch was accused of being "able to say something about Delaware Bay," *N. H. Col. Rec.*, II. 31.

⁷⁵ Printz to Oxenstierna and Brahe, August 1, 1651. *Ox. Saml.*, *Skokl. Saml.* (R.A.).

CHAPTER XXXVII.

RELATIONS WITH THE DUTCH, 1643-1653.

I.

We have seen that Printz was advised to keep peace with the English as far as possible. In a lengthy paragraph of his Instruction he was also admonished to "keep neighbourly friendship with the Hollanders at Fort Nassau and with those who dwell on the North River at Manhattan or New Amsterdam," and in no wise to disturb them in their possessions on the South River. He was required to meet the agents and stockholders of the Dutch West India Company with gentleness and good reason and show them the just intentions of Her Royal Majesty and the rights of the Swedes, but he was also cautioned to be well prepared with the best means that circumstances would allow and seek to repel force by force, if it should be necessary. No specific rules could be laid down for him to follow, since intimate knowledge of the circumstances and local conditions were necessary for the treatment of the particular cases and he was given full authority to do what he considered best.¹ On

¹ Instruction, R.R. August 15, 1642, § 7; Acrelius, p. 20 ff. The paragraph is as follows:

"Nu ähr fuller inthet till tuifla, at de af Hollendiskie West-Indianiske Campagniet [compagnier in R. Reg., fol. 933] ju skole söka och wete tillägna sigh denne berörde orth och stycke landh, der dee Engliskee hafwe sigh nederlätet och, uthan twifwel, ofwanbemelte hele Östre sijdan aff Store Södre Revieret, och det så mycket mehra och heller, som deras fort eller Skantz Nassau, hwilken [Hwilkee in R.R. fol. 933] de medh 20 Man omträndt hälle besatt, intet widt derifrån på samme Östre sijdan af detta Revieret ähr belägen: Efter som de och ickee mindre göhre praetension på hele Westre sijdan af mehrbemelte Södre Revier, och således på allt thet, som wære undersåtere hafwe taget i possession, förmenandes sigh genom deres fort Nassau hafwe begrepit, och hærtill är behållet possessionen af heele Södre Revieret och alle dee landskap, som på både sijder om samma Revier ähre belägne: Derföre dhe och emoth thet förbem: te Kongl. Maj:tz Undersåtere hafwe begynt at besittia och bebyggia, hafwa inwändt protester och så widt dem hafwer städt till giöra aldrigh welat tillåtha och förunna dem Wære at fahra Södre Revieret oppwärts, deres Skantz Nassau förbi. Fördenskull

account of his troubles with the English, Printz sought the friendship of the Dutch, who reciprocated his advances, as it was also to their advantage that the former be kept out of the river. They had already caused trouble on the northern boundaries of New Netherland and their intrusions on the South River tended to restrict the territory of the Dutch colony and might form a basis for future operations of a more dangerous kind. For this reason it was important for the Dutch to keep out the English even through the aid of the Swedes; for this reason also the Dutch and Swedes were apparently on terms of friendship *before Printz arrived*, particularly since the Dutch force in the river was very small, only twenty men being stationed at Fort Nassau. Printz was a shrewd diplomat, as we have already

skall och Gouverneuren wetta samma Hollenske West-Indianiske Compagnies participanter och deres betiänte tilböriligen at mööta och medh lempa och fogh dem remonstrera Kongl. Maj:tz och dess Undersåthares heruthinnan rättmätigen fördee Intention, nämbligen, at man herigenom intet hafwer söckt eller sööker annat ähn frij öfningh af Commercierne, at Kongl. Maj:tz Undersåtere hade den landzorthen, som dee hade intaget och bebygga begynt, af rättmätige egendombz Herrenne ordentligen wijs till sigh erhandlat, derföre dee och Kongl. Maj:tz eller dess Undersåther icke kunne, Uthan ofog, sigh emothsättia eller i deres possession, uthan stort [in R.R. the word is written stort] förfång, söke till turbera. Skulle och samme Hollenske Compagnier emoth all bättre förhopning låte sigh förmärkia någon hostilitet och fiendtlige attentater, såsom icke annars will sigh skicka i denne saken än at man ähr i detta fallet betänkt eller försedd på medel häremoth så godhe och lägenhethen kan tillåtha, och sådant wäld medh wäld söker tillstyra. Altså och emedan detta icke mindre ähnn annat in loco bäst är till dijudicera och afsij, dy steller och Kongl. Maj:tz i Gouverneurens discretion sådan olegenhet först medh goda och medh förmaningar, men der dhe intet wele gälla, då medh skärpo, efter bästa förstånd, at afställa alt till Kongl. Maj:tz samt participanternes bästa och respect. Men huar sådanne olägenheter icke opkomme, som man och will förmodha at skole blifwa tillbaka, och Kongl. Maj:tz samt dess Undersåtare blifwa oturberadhe i dhett de på rättmätigt wijs hafwa brackt i sin possession, då skall Gouverneuren deremoth hålla godh wän- och naboenskap medh bem: te Hollenske på fortén Nassau och medh dem, som hålla sigh oppe och boo widh Nordh Revieret på Manhatans eller Nye Amsterdamb: jemwäl och medh de Engiske, som boo uthi landet Virginia, Och ingen af them något intrångh gjöra och tilfogha i det de wärkeligen besittia. Isynnerhet, efter dy dhe angräntzande Engiske uthur Virginien allareda hafwe begynt at gjöra Kongl. Maj:tz Undersåter i Nye Sverige allehanda nyttige tilförsler, hafwe sigh och tillbudit at wela them widare för billig betallning tilkomma låtha hwad wåre begiäre i Boskaps och Sädes korn; Hwarföre skall Gouverneuren samme medh dem Engiske påbekynte correspondencer och commerciernes frije och oturberade lopp och öfningh söka till continuere och dem mesnagere Kongl. Maj:tz och mehrbem:te des Undersåtere till nytto och fördeel.

seen, and he expressed himself in the highest terms of friendship and good will towards them. Secretly, however, he distrusted them and foresaw that trouble was sure to come. When he arrived Willem Kieft protested against the Swedes and claimed the entire river for the Dutch West India Company. Printz in turn refuted these claims "with as good reason as he could and knew how" and the Dutch governor finally dropped the "protesting."²

Kieft occasionally wrote to Gov. Printz, informing him of news from Sweden, Holland and other European countries, and it is likely that the latter acknowledged these communications. None of these letters are now known to be extant; but we have a copy of a Latin letter written, May 30, 1643, introducing Hendrick Huygen and Christer Boije and from this we may conclude that the relations between the two governors were most cordial. Jan Jansen, the commander at Fort Nassau, was likewise on good terms with the Swedes. He was one of the commissioners, who sat in the court which tried Lamberton, and he joined readily in all actions undertaken against the English.³

In spite of this friendship Printz complained that the Dutch did not have proper respect for Her Royal Majesty's power, usurped as much as they were able with all authority and advantage and carried on their trade without restraint. They traded at Fort Nassau and on the Schuylkill under commission from the Dutch West India Company, private Hollanders without such a commission being liable to have their goods and ships confiscated.⁴ They were allowed to pass freely up and down the river, being required, however, to strike their flag before the Swedish forts. Printz could easily have prevented them

² Letter to Brahe, April 12, 1643; *Report*, 1644.

³ *Report*, 1644, N.S., I. (R.A.); Odhner, *N.S.*, pp. 30-31: Letter to Kieft, May 30, 1643, N.S., I. (R.A.). Printz also writes: "The Dutch have been on friendly terms with us since I came here, especially their commander at Manhattan, Willem Kieft," *Report*, 1644.

⁴ In the early part of 1644 Loockermans was trading in the river and on March 23 a protest was delivered to him, forbidding him to trade "at the Company's customary trading post . . . on the South River."

entirely from going up the Delaware by Fort Elfsborg, but he had no instructions to keep them out nor to hinder them in their trade. He also endeavored not to offend the Dutch in his dealings with the Indians and he managed to erect a trading post on the Schuylkill, where he conducted an extensive beaver trade, without exciting the ire of his neighbors. "At times they loosened their tongues and protested vigorously against these encroachments," but it never went beyond words. The Dutch did not consider themselves strong enough to drive out the Swedes and besides the two nations in Europe were on friendly terms.⁵

In 1643 and again in 1644 Governor Printz asked for more definite instructions in regard to the Dutch, but such were not sent him. As soon as there was no danger from the English he observed less caution in his dealings with his nearest neighbors, but while Jan Jansen continued in command at Fort Nassau the relations between the rival settlements remained friendly and no complications occurred. For form's sake the Dutch commissary protested against the activities of Printz and nothing further was done. Printz went on building blockhouses and extended his Indian trade, paying no heed to the Dutch protests. The little Dutch garrison of twenty remained about the same. Jan Jansen did not try to extend the territory of the West India Company and Governor Kieft was satisfied with the limits of his colony, giving Printz little cause for complaint. But complaints against Kieft's leniency in his treatment of the Swedes began to be heard in Holland and he was accused of allowing the Swedes to usurp the South River. Other things also foreboded a change in the Dutch régime on the Delaware.⁶

II.

The change came in 1645. Jan Jansen was accused of fraud in September and on October 2 (12) Hudde was appointed his successor. The latter arrived at the fort on November 1 (11),

⁵ *Report*, 1644, § 16; cf. *Instruction*, 1642.

⁶ *Doc.*, XII. 25, 37; *Report*, 1647; cf. the "*Verloogh*."

1645, and now begins a new era in the Dutch-Swedish relations in America. Printz received no further orders from Sweden concerning the Dutch, but his instruction required him to keep intact the territory bought by his predecessors and to allow them only to remain on their present territory at Fort Nassau. When therefore the Dutch began to make further settlements on the South River and on territory belonging to Sweden, through purchases from the Indians, and when they tried to extend their trade beyond their old trading posts, Printz, as an officer of the Swedish government, was justified in trying to hinder them.

Hudde was a more active and aggressive commissary than Jansen, and Kieft now showed more concern about the trading posts on the South River. The Dutch were therefore very successful in their Indian trade at this time, greatly to the disadvantage of the Swedes. They were allowed to truck at the "usual place in the Schuylkill," but they were not satisfied with this; they endeavored to establish new trading places and paid no heed to the Swedish protests regarding their inland traffic.⁷

In June, 1645, a sloop called the *Sea-Horse* under command of Jurrian Blanck was sent to Fort Nassau. Hudde ordered him to proceed to the Schuylkill and wait there for the Minquas. When Printz became aware of this, he at once notified the Dutch that they must leave at once, as the territory belonged to the Crown of Sweden. Hudde, being informed of the matter, went there to inquire about it. On his arrival the same message was given to him and one of the clergymen⁸ brought orders that if the vessel was still in the Schuylkill it must leave without delay. Hudde protested against this, requested to see the governor's instructions and reminded the messenger of the friendship of the two nations and the allegiance between their High Mightiness and Her Royal Majesty. Governor Printz then sent Hendrick Huygen and his bookkeeper Karl Jansson with certain written articles to which he demanded an answer. In these

⁷ *Acc. B.*, 1643-48.

⁸ There were two preachers in the country at the time. It is therefore not possible to say which one is meant. I am inclined to believe, however, that it was Fluviander and not Campanius as Fernow suggests and as others have stated.

articles the governor desired to know the extent and limits of the Dutch claims, how these could be proven and in what respect he had offended Hudde. He further protested against the actions of the Dutch commissary, maintaining that he had tampered with the Indians brought into the Schuylkill at the expense of the Swedish Crown, that he had ordered Blanck to force his way up the river in order to fasten his bark to the bridge, that he had without any cause taken up arms against the Swedes and that he had treated the protests and messages of Printz with disrespect, saying that he would stay in the river and see who could drive him away. To these questions and protests Hudde answered that the documents, referring to the limits and the ownership of the lands in the Schuylkill, were deposited at New Amsterdam and as to the other things he was entirely innocent.⁹

Blanck paid little attention to the protests of the Swedish governor and did not depart. Consequently another messenger was sent by Printz June 21, with a new "protest," dated the previous day,¹⁰ in which Blanck was warned not to molest her Majesty's subjects any further nor to remain in the Schuylkill "forcibly and against his commission." He was ordered to leave immediately on pain of having goods and vessel confiscated, but he was given permission to stay at the usual place of trading. Blanck took the warning and departed, since Hudde could give him no assurance of protection.¹¹ The Dutch commissary at Fort Nassau lost no time in reporting the occurrences to his superior in New Amsterdam and on July 2 he advised Kieft of the troubles, also proposing means for continuing the Indian trade.

About the same time matters were further complicated through the activities of the Dutch. There had been reports

⁹ *Doc.*, XII. 30 ff.

¹⁰ The date of the protest as given in Hudde's Report is June 20 (o.s.), 1646, but Hudde states that it was delivered on July 1 (n.s.), Hazard keeps the dates without comment and thus leaves the impression that the protest was delivered eleven days after it was written. Hazard, 84-86.

¹¹ *Doc.*, XII. 31-2; *Doc.*, I. Hazard refers to this incident twice, the second time under June, 1649, misled by *Hol. Doc.*, III. 59. Hazard, 84-6, 117.

circulated of gold mines along the Delaware, and several attempts were made to discover the precious metal. In the summer of 1646 Hudde was ordered to ascend the river and make further search for minerals. Specimens had been presented and "the hope of success was good." Hudde prepared an expedition and sailed up the river to Sankikan, from where he intended to proceed to the great falls. But Printz, being aware of the expedition, informed an Indian chief, called Meekrat,¹² living near Tinicum Island, that the Dutch were about to build a fort at the great falls and that 250 men would come from Manhattan with the purpose of killing all the Indians in the river. He further added that the Dutch would send a vessel up the river to reconnoitre before the soldiers arrived and that two Indians would be killed to obtain a pretext for beginning hostilities. When, therefore, Hudde arrived at Sankikan he was watched by the savages and was not allowed to proceed, although he tried to do so "by various devices."¹³

No further troubles are mentioned in the extant documents during the summer, but in the autumn the relations between the two rivals became very strained. On August 10, 1646, a hundred morgens of land were granted to Abraham Planck, Simon Root, Jan Andriesson and Pieter Harmensen. The land was situated on the west side of the river, "obliquely opposite a little island called *Vogele Sant*"¹⁴ and it was given to them on the condition that they establish four boweries there and improve and cultivate the lands within one year of the grant or earlier. They were to submit to the authority of "the Noble Lords Directors as their 'Lords and Masters under the sovereignty of their High Mightinesses,'" and their title would be lost if they should abandon the land. More land would be granted them later in case of need.¹⁵ Acrelius states that they

¹² This may be either a translation of an Indian name into Swedish or Dutch. If Swedish it would be properly written "Markatta," monkey; if Dutch it would be "Meerkat," monkey.

¹³ *Doc.*, XII. 32.

¹⁴ Either Egg or Reedy Island. *Doc.*, XII. 27, note; Hazard, 87; *Delaware Reg.*, I. 8.

¹⁵ *Doc.*, XII. 27-8; Hazard, 87-8; *Albany Records, Patents, N. Y.*, fol. 153; *Reg. Pen.*, IV. 119.

did not take possession of the land and he is undoubtedly correct, although Fernow thinks otherwise,¹⁶ for in 1647 Root attempted to build at Wicacoa and in 1651 Jan Andriessen and Pieter Harmensen are said to be "inhabitants and traders on the river, residing at Fort Nassau."¹⁷ It is not likely that Abraham Planck went there alone and there is no mention of a Dutch settlement at that place in the Swedish records.¹⁸

About the same time (autumn of 1646) the Dutch also planned to make settlements north of present Philadelphia and Governor Kieft ordered his commissary at the South River to buy certain "lands from the Indians lying on the West shore distant about one league to the north of Fort Nassau." The letter containing these instructions was handed to Hudde on the twenty-eighth of August. The owner was absent, hunting at the time, but Hudde, who would take no risks of being anticipated by Printz, erected the arms of the company the next day on the selected lands, thus taking possession of them over two weeks before the purchase was made. On September 15 "the owner" returned from his hunt and deeds setting forth the limits of the district were drawn up and signed. "Having concluded the purchase, the proprietor went with Hudde in person and the Hon. Company's arms being fixed to a pole, this was set in the ground on the extreme boundary." The exact limits of the purchase cannot be determined from the meagre sources at our disposal, but they included Wicacoa and undoubtedly stretched northward along the river for some miles.¹⁹

The Swedes had already acquired title to the same territory and entanglements and troubles were sure to follow. Shortly after the purchase was made some freemen prepared to build there and a dwelling as well as a block-house were soon erected,

¹⁶ Acrelius (tr.), 84; Fernow, *Doc.*, XII. 27, note.

¹⁷ *Doc.*, I. 594, 597.

¹⁸ For reference to Abraham Planck (or Blanck) see *Doc.*, I. 151, 191, 193, 195, 197, 199, 356, 388, 411, 415. See also index. In 1648 Simon Root and Pieter Harmensen were ordered by Stuyvesant to build on Mastmaker's Hook in the Schuylkill. For further references to Root, see *Doc.*, XII. 38, 40, 44, 46, 48, 50, 53, 57, 66, 371.

¹⁹ *Doc.*, XII. 32.

but when Printz became aware of these activities he built a guard-house on the land and sent "his quarter master and other Swedes" to tear down and destroy the Dutch buildings. A little later Huygen was sent to remove the Dutch arms from the upper limits of the land. Meeting Hudde on his return, he protested orally against the Dutch encroachments of the Swedish rights and admonished the Dutch *commiss* to desist from causing further injuries to the Swedish Crown. Hudde in return protested against the improprieties of the Swedes and requested Huygen to present the facts to Printz, in order that the latter might deal out punishment to those who were guilty of "the gross outrage," at the same time appealing for a justification of his own actions to the orders of his superiors.²⁰ On October 6 a written protest from Governor Printz, dated September 30, was delivered to Hudde by Måns Lom and Olof Stille.²¹ The governor again exhorted the Dutch to desist and abstain from causing any further injuries to Her Majesty's lawful property and he expressed the opinion that their High Mightinesses would be unwilling to come into conflict with Sweden for such a trifle, reminding Hudde that the "ancient rights" and titles of the Dutch to the river could not be very secure, when they thus secretly purchased from the Indians what they pretended belonged to them long before the Swedes made their appearance in the country. Hudde did not answer the protest for some days, but as news reached him that he was censured by Printz for not sending a reply, he drew up a counter protest on October 13²² which was sent to the Swedish governor the following day. He declared that he was ignorant of having done any wrong to Her Majesty's land and maintained that he had not purchased the land secretly, "unless," he says, "your

²⁰ *Doc.*, I. 594. The date given in the *Document* is 1647 and Hazard (p. 95) and others have this date. But I think the correct date is 1646. The letter in which the statement is made was written 1651, hence four or five years after the event took place. Furthermore it is only a copy. Hudde, in his report, makes no mention of these difficulties in 1647, which he most likely would have done if such had taken place.

²¹ The name given in the document is Moens Slom and the date is October 16 (n.s.).

²² The date in the *Doc.* is n.s. or October 23.

Honour calls secretly what is not done without your Honour's knowledge." He also complained that Huygen had in a hostile manner pulled down the company's arms and uttered threats that "even were it the flag of His Highness, the Illustrious Prince of Orange, that was here, he would have trampled it under foot, besides many bloody menaces." He protested before God that he was guilty of no injustice, but that he had always, according to his oath, tried to establish "good intercourse and mutual friendship." The protest was brought to Gov. Printz by A. Boyer and two soldiers. When they arrived at Tinicum, it appears that they were treated rather uncivilly by Printz. According to Hudde's report, Printz did not answer Boyer's salutation of "Good morning," but grasped the paper, threw it to the ground and commanded one of his inferiors to take care of it. Hudde goes on to say that Printz would pay no attention to the Dutch deputation, but proceeded instead to consult with some English from New England and, when Boyer requested an answer to carry back to his chief, "he was pushed out of doors, the governor having taken a gun from the wall, as he could see, to shoot him." Hudde's account, however must not be taken too literally and there is no likelihood that the gun incident has any foundation in truth. Charges and counter charges of as grave a nature were common in this age, when truth was a rare article in diplomatic relations, whether insignificant or of the gravest importance. Had rigid examination been held with the Dutch messengers it is probable that most of these charges would have proved as false as the accusation of Thickpeny before the New England court, that Printz with his own hands had put irons on one of Lamberton's men. The incidents were reported to Governor Kieft, but nothing could be done about it. The garrison at Fort Nassau was too weak to allow anything but words to be employed against an adversary like Governor Printz and the force at New Amsterdam could not be diminished.²³

In the fur trade, however, the Dutch continued to have the

²³ *Doc.*, XII. 33 ff.; cf. *Chaps.* XXXIII., XXXV.

upper hand. Large quantities of goods were brought by them into the river for barter with the Indians and their cargoes arrived more regularly than those of the Swedes. But Printz, who improved every opportunity to further the interests of his colony, endeavored to change this state of affairs. Towards the end of 1646, when a ship had arrived from Gothenburg, new possibilities offered themselves to the governor. He made a treaty with the Indians directed against the Dutch trade and, according to Hudde, he "not only did not omit to make the Dutch suspected by every means both by the Indians and the Christians, but even connived at the bad treatment of the Honorable Company's subjects." The activities of the Dutch were further thwarted by Ft. Korsholm and their tradinghouse in the Schuylkill was demolished.²⁴

The industry and diligence of Printz gave the Swedes a decided advantage over the Dutch for some time, but he foresaw that the two nations could not remain side by side in peace. In his report of February, 1647, he says that the Dutch must be removed from the river either by mutual agreement or otherwise, "for," he goes on, "they oppose us on every side, they destroy our trade everywhere, they strengthen the savages with guns, shot and powder, publicly trading with these against the edict of all Christians,²⁵ they stir up the Indians against us, who, but for our prudence, would already have gone too far,²⁶ they begin to buy land from the savages within our boundaries, which we have purchased already eight years ago, they give New Sweden the name of New Netherland and dare to build their houses there." He also asserted that the mischief-makers were merely private persons, provided with a passport from the

²⁴ *Doc.*, XII. 34; cf. Chap. XXXII.

²⁵ Lockermans seems to have sold guns, powder and lead to the Indians. Printz was "furious about it" and complained to Stuyvesant, who ordered Hudde to investigate the charges secretly and report. *Doc.*, XII. 59.

²⁶ The same accusations were made against Printz. Hudde says: "The Indians and especially the Armewamese Indians on the twelfth of May, 1647, at noon, tried to overrun us," instigated thereto by Printz. *Doc.*, XII. 34. Printz says that the prudence of the Swedes saved them from attack, but Hudde adds bloodshed "was prevented by God's mercy and good information regarding their misunderstanding."

Dutch governor and paying duty to the Dutch West India Company. "To better accomplish their intentions," he says, "some of them have entirely quitted the Christians and live with the Indians." "All this they are able to do," he adds, "because they see very well that we have a weak settlement and with no earnestness on our side their malice against us increases more and more."²⁷ We must not, however, take the reports of either the Dutch or the Swedes too literally. They looked on the questions at issue from diametrically opposite points of view and what appeared perfectly just and proper to the one side would look like the greatest injustice to the other. The reports of the two rivals would also be liable to be more or less colored in order to justify their actions in the eyes of their superiors.

During the winter months things seem to have become quiet (the records at least make no mention of any trouble). The Dutch remained at Fort Nassau without making further efforts to build on new territory and the trade with the Indians was monopolized by Printz, but in the spring and summer, when Dutch freemen came into the river to trade, new cause for protests, strifes and jealousies arose. It seems, however, that the personal relations between Commissary Hudde and Governor Printz were friendly, for on May 24 (June 3) Hudde with his wife was present at the governor's table. It is true that Hudde complained that Printz "in vulgar expressions" joked with the Dutch Company's "old or continuous ownership" of the Delaware, but this is in the capacity of an official.

There was a change in the directorship of New Netherland in the summer of 1647. Peter Stuyvesant, who had been appointed director in the place of Governor Kieft, arrived at Manhattan in May. He was a man of tremendous energy, scrupulously faithful in discharging his duties and over zealous in promoting the interest of his superiors, and he was not to be accused of allowing the Swedes to usurp the river without a protest. In June he gave commission to several Dutch freemen

²⁷ *Report*, 1647.

to trade in the river, but they were hindered by Printz. They complained to Hudde, who drew up a petition to Governor Stuyvesant, "praying for relief from their grievous injuries."²⁸ Stuyvesant immediately embodied the complaints in a protest, which was presented at New Gothenborg on August 7 (17).

It seems that Hudde went to New Amsterdam about the beginning of September, probably to make a report. September 10 a proposal was made to reappoint him as commiss on the South River, since it was necessary to have a good man there and he had proved himself efficient in his office. The resolution was passed by the council about a week later²⁹ and Hudde left immediately for the Delaware, but on the eighteenth he returned, "in consequence of contrary winds." In his absence Dincklage accused him of unfaithfulness and fraud, making him unfit for service, in the opinion of Governor Stuyvesant, if the accusations were true. It seems that Dincklage was unable to prove his charges, for Hudde retained his commission and proceeded to the South River, but the exact date of his arrival at Fort Nassau is not known.³⁰

In November Hudde was again permitted by Stuyvesant to go to New Amsterdam, perhaps for the purpose of further proving his innocence. He arrived there on the twenty-first (December 1), bringing with him a reply from Governor Printz to Stuyvesant's protest. The date of his return to the South River is not known.³¹

Towards the end of 1647 Jan Geraet (Gerardy) was in the South River, undoubtedly for the purpose of trade with the Indians. His boat called the *Siraen* was visited by Printz. All the goods were examined and handled "in an unchristian-like manner." His cargo of 60 lbs. of powder and six guns was confiscated, but, on his promise to use the ammunition only

²⁸ Hazard (p. 95) has July 29, quoting translation in *Col. of N. Y. Hist. So.*, 2d S., I. 437; but the *Doc.* (XII. 35) has July 2.

²⁹ September 16 (26), 1647.

³⁰ *Doc.*, XII. 35, 41-42.

³¹ *Doc.*, XII. 35.

in case of need, all was returned to him except three guns and thirteen lbs. of powder.³²

Again followed a period of comparative quiet, for the Dutch were busy improving Fort Nassau and no attempts to extend their activities to the western shore were made. It seems that the agents of the West India Company managed to secure information about the doings of the Swedish company and news of its affairs were sent to Stuyvesant, who, early in the spring of 1648, informed his commiss at Fort Nassau that the Swedes could not expect to receive any succor. Hudde was also ordered to erect the house, which had been proposed, as speedily as possible and to put everything in repair. Boards and other materials for the building were sent on Gerritt Vasterick's ship, but the work at Fort Nassau could not be carried on to advantage for lack of carpenters. Hudde complained and a carpenter was immediately sent there. New orders about the repair of the fort were also transmitted and Hudde was requested to send back the carpenter as soon as possible. He was likewise instructed to watch intruders and to stop or protest against all ships that came into the Delaware, without license, to trade with the Swedes or others.

In the spring of 1648 the troubles began anew. On March 23 or 24³³ a Swedish bark sailed up the river "without pennant or flag." As it passed Fort Nassau Hudde caused a shot to be fired across her bows, but she proceeded on her course "and paid no attention even to a second shot." Eight men in a bark were sent after her, but as the wind was good they could not overtake her in the dark. In two or three days she returned with flying colors and Hudde now for the first time perceived that it was a Swedish bark. The skipper replied scornfully to Hudde's questions and even hinted that he acted as he did through contempt for the Dutch. The incident drew a protest from Hudde

³² Hazards (p. 96) is mistaken in referring the statements to his (Hudde's) certificate. The facts are given in a letter of 1651. *Doc.*, I. 595.

³³ In one place Hudde says April 2 (n.s.) (if the documents are correctly printed) and in the copy of his protest he says the 3rd. *Doc.* XII. 35.

(dated April 3 n.s.), wherein he warns the skipper against repeating the experiment.³⁴

Information reached the director of New Holland that Printz had been active during the winter, collecting building material in the Schuylkill, and in order to retain the title to the lands there he commanded Hudde to settle down beside the Swedes, in case they should come to build and settle on any new, unoccupied places, and on behalf of the company to erect a house, larger or smaller, according to the force at hand, that it might be understood thereby that such places had belonged to the Dutch for many years. Promises of discharge from the company's services were also made to several soldiers, who were granted permission to begin "preparations for building on allotted lands."³⁵ In April or earlier Stuyvesant further ordered his commander at Fort Nassau "to build quickly a proper and strong house on the other side of the river, as a token of ownership,"³⁶ as it was found that the Swedes prepared to settle on new land. About the same time Hudde managed to gain the goodwill of some sachems at Passyunk. They appeared at Fort Nassau on April 14 (24), reported that the Swedes had erected buildings on the Schuylkill and inquired why the Dutch did not build there.³⁷ Hudde investigated the matter and, as he found that the Swedes were about to settle on certain important places, he went into the Schuylkill on April 17 (27), with the necessary tools and invited the Indian chiefs of the district to a conference. The Swedes were also summoned and told by the Indians to depart from the places they lived on, as they had come there "in a sneaking way" without permission from the right owners. The land was then given as a gift to the Dutch, presumably in exchange for merchandise,

³⁴ *Doc.*, XII. 35-36.

³⁵ *Doc.*, XII. 57.

³⁶ There is some confusion in dates. The copy of Stuyvesant's letter is dated April 27 (n.s.), *Doc.*, XII., and Hudde reports that he began preparations for building the fort on the same day (*Doc.*, XII. 36-7). It is likely that Stuyvesant had written about it before and repeated the injunction on April 27 (n.s.).

³⁷ The chiefs were perhaps not sufficiently gratified by Printz and by making friendly offers to the Dutch they hoped to draw additional gifts from them.

but no papers or deeds seem to have been drawn up. Thereupon the two principal chiefs, Mattahorn and Wissemenetto, planted the Prince's flag and ordered Hudde "to fire three shots" in token of possession. When this was done the Dutch commissary prepared to erect a house or fort "in the presence of them all." Printz, having obtained information about the doings of his neighbors, sent Huygen up the Schuylkill with seven or eight men in the afternoon of the same day to deliver a protest against the Dutch and to inquire on what authority and by what orders they presumed to build there. But the Indians were ill disposed towards the Swedes and even accused them of having "stolen" their land, claiming that only a small tract at Paghahacking belonged to them, which Minuit had purchased upon his arrival for a tobacco plantation. Consequently Huygen returned to his fort without results and Hudde "pushed forward the unfinished work and had the house surrounded by palisades." The new stronghold was called Ft. Beversreede, as it was to control the beaver-trade in the Schuylkill.³⁸ Preparations were also made for freemen to settle and some fruit trees were planted near the blockhouse. A little later Måns Kling approached the place "with 24 men," fully armed with loaded guns and lighted matches, "destroyed the fruit and cut down the trees in front of the fort," but he left, it seems, without further obstructing the work.³⁹

Spring was now well on and summer approaching. Stuyvesant had long desired to go to the South River. Hudde's report and visits to New Amsterdam seem to have impressed the authorities there that more active measures must be adopted, if anything should be accomplished on the Delaware. Shortly after Hudde's return to his post in the beginning of 1648 Governor Stuyvesant writes that he had resolved to go to the South River in the spring, and he repeats his intention on several occasions.⁴⁰ He cautions Hudde to keep his coming secret and to

³⁸ For the history and location of Fort Beversreede see J. P. Nicholson in *Penn. Mag.*, XV. 252-3. Cf. *Doc.*, I. 594; Young, p. 42. *Bever* (beaver) + *reede* (road, path), hence *the road of the beaver*. Cf. map below.

³⁹ *Doc.*, XII. 36-37.

⁴⁰ *Doc.*, XII. 55, 56, 57, 58.

"disclose it to nobody in the world for potent reasons." His first plan was to go overland with about thirty persons, "most likely more than less," and to send the necessaries for the undertaking by ship. For this purpose Hudde was ordered by letter of April 7 (17), to engage immediately upon the receipt of the letter two trusty South River Indians and two Minquas, who could be used as guides across the country, together with two or three of the cleverest Dutchmen in the service of the company, but their mission was to remain a secret.

About a week later Stuyvesant requested him to send the guides at once to New Amsterdam, if they had not already been despatched, and to make a report and draw up a list of articles needed for the new fort. Governor Stuyvesant had in mind to depart from New Amsterdam on April 30 or May 1 (11), unless Hudde should "hear or foresee any danger in it." "A general day of fasting and prayer [was appointed] throughout the government" at Manhattan as well as on the South River, "according to the means of divine service there."

The journey across the country was abandoned for some unknown reason (perhaps the Indian guides could not be secured, or it may be that the journey was considered too difficult or unsafe), and it was decided to go by sea in the sloop *Prince Willem*, which seems to have been ready for departure in the beginning of May. But the weather was unfavorable, and on the fourteenth (24) of May they were compelled to "run into the harbor for the second time on account of calms and contrary winds." The expedition was then abandoned, as the Northern Indians were gathering against the Dutch and the inhabitants requested Stuyvesant to defer the voyage. In his stead the governor sent two officers next to himself in command, "Vice-Director van Dincklage and Mr. De la Montagne with orders and commands to transact the business . . . [at the South River] to the greatest benefit and advantage of the Honorable Company." Since they were unacquainted with the country Hudde was instructed to "inform them of everything" and "assist them by advice and deed." They were

to be received in a most dignified way and, as soon as the commiss was aware of their presence in the Bay of the South River, he "must order the yachts present there, to escort the mentioned gentlemen of the council in proper style and to sail down to meet them, offering as much respect as if Stuyvesant was present, whereby a signal service would be done to the Honorable Company." They seem to have departed from New Amsterdam towards the end of May and on the twenty-eighth they arrived at Fort Nassau. The Indians were at once called to a conference and the old title to the district situated around and on the Schuylkill, called Armenverius, was renewed and confirmed. The land had been sold to Arent Corsen in 1633, but he failed to pay the full amount stipulated in the agreement. Now, however, the sachems were fully satisfied and irrevocably conveyed and ceded the territory "to the Dutch and would be ready on all occasions to maintain and defend the title against all pretentions and claim."⁴¹ The document was signed by Mattahorn, Sinquees and several other Indian chiefs, besides some of the Dutch officials and freemen including Augustin Herrman, who was to play a prominent part in the Dutch Colony for more than a quarter of a century.⁴²

On the sixth of June the two commissaries "sailed with a proper suite to Tennekonck and were received here by Commissary Huygen and Lieutenant Papegoja."⁴³ They protested against Printz for the very illegal seizure of the Schuylkill and the Swedish governor promised to give them an answer in writing before their departure for New Amsterdam.

In the meantime several Dutch freemen were assigned places for settlements on the Schuylkill, and on June 22 Hans Jacobsen began to build there, but Gustaf Printz, having been instructed to prevent him, went there and ordered him to tear

⁴¹ The deed was of course drawn up by the Dutch and the Indians in all probability had little notion of the real significance of its language.

⁴² *Doc.*, I. 593.

⁴³ Hudde's reports says: "Their Honors [were kept] standing in the open air in the rain for about half an hour" before being admitted, but it is highly improbable that Printz acted so undiplomatically.

down with his own hands what he had built. On his refusal to do so, Printz tore it down himself and burnt the material. A few days later (June 26) Thomas Broen also made preparations to erect a dwelling "on an assigned place," but Printz kept a watchful eye on the doings of the Dutch and immediately sent Gregorius van Dyck to prevent the work. As a consequence of these troubles Hudde complained of Printz's haughty demeanor, but Printz also complained of Hudde's actions. Stuyvesant informed Hudde about it, saying that "in several [letters] to me . . . [Governor Printz] excuses himself and complains of your Honor in several respects, among others about Your Honor's haughty, unneighbourly manner, as that Y[ou]r Honor had ordered some beavers from savages or Indians with the intention of trying to get for them some contraband merchandise, which having miscarried, your Honor is reported to have said 'the devil take them, who are with the Swedes' and so forth." This undoubtedly drew additional "explanations, reports and denials" from the *commiss*, justifying his actions, but none of the documents are extant.

As a result of private troubles in the late summer and early autumn of 1648 Hudde found neither time nor opportunity for "molesting the Swedes."⁴⁴ He was accused of bad payments and fraudulent delays, "which made the council dissatisfied and fearful to send thither goods of the company." His accounts were investigated and "found to be obscure." On the fifth of

⁴⁴ From *Doc.*, XII. 61-62 it would appear that in August, 1648, Hudde proposed to "buy the land from Narraticonse Kill to the bay, [then] for sale by the savages, thereby to anticipate others [the Swedes]," but there is some uncertainty about the date of the letter (August 26, 1648) in which these facts are preserved. In a copy of a letter, dated May 13, 1649 (*Doc.*, XII. 373, Acrelius, p. 38), Hudde's proposal is referred to in the same words, as far as can be gathered from the translation. "Likewise we cannot but consider good and expedient your Honor's last proposal," etc. *Doc.*, XII. 61; and in *Doc.*, XII. 373, "Likewise we cannot," etc. It is therefore probable that a portion of a letter printed at the end of page 61 and beginning of page 62 in *Doc.* does not belong to Stuyvesant's letter of August 26, 1648, as indicated by Fernow, but to the letter of May 13, 1649, printed from a copy in *Doc.*, XII. 370. This is further born out by the fact that the copy-book in its present condition is defective, a portion of a page being lost between August 26, 1648, and May 26, 1649 (*Doc.*, XII. 61). This portion (or part of it) was undoubtedly the beginning of the letter of May 13, 1649.

August Stuyvesant made a report before the council, which resolved to "order the said commissary to come to New Amsterdam overland and personally explain his accounts." On receiving this order Hudde left Fort Nassau August 24, placing Alexander Boyer in command, and arrived at Manhattan five days later. While there he made an oral report before the council on August 30 concerning the condition of the South River and delivered a written statement of the requirements (not as Fernow thought the report of November, 1648, but a different document, which is now lost). He also brought a letter from Governor Printz, which was likewise read on the same day. The accounts of Hudde were examined by Adrian Keyser and Cornelis van Tienhoven and a report was undoubtedly prepared by them.⁴⁵

In the meantime Printz was active on the Schuylkill. Shortly after Hudde's departure he prepared to build a log-house near Fort Beversreede so as to make that stronghold useless. On the ninth of September the house was ready. It measured "about thirty to thirty-five feet in length and about twenty feet in width." It was erected right in front of the Dutch fort, about twelve or thirteen feet from the palisades, and completely shut off the fort from the river, "so that vessels which came to anchor in front of it could hardly see it."⁴⁶

On September 15 (25) Deputy-Commissary Boyer reported the state of affairs to Governor Stuyvesant and intimated that aid was daily needed, as the winter was coming on and everything was wanting at Fort Nassau. Printz, he said, had given strict orders to his commander at Fort Korsholm "not to allow any post or stake to be set in the ground, and to prevent, by friendly words or by force" any attempts of the Dutch at building. Two men were continually kept in the river to watch the doings of the Dutch and to prevent the landing of building-timber, making it impossible for Boyer to carry out his intentions.⁴⁷

⁴⁵ *Doc.*, XII. 38, 42.

⁴⁶ *Doc.*, XII. 38, 43, 46; I. 594.

⁴⁷ *Doc.*, XII. 43-4.

It seems that Hudde was able to disprove the accusations against him and explain his accounts to the satisfaction of the council, as he departed for the South River on the twenty-fifth of September, in his former capacity. Before he left New Amsterdam deeds had been given to several freemen, granting them permission to settle on the Schuylkill, and shortly after his arrival at Fort Nassau Symon Root, the usual mischief-maker, with some others arranged to build on Mastmaker's Hook, although they had seen Printz's orders.⁴⁸ Towards the end of October preparations were made and on the twenty-fifth "the foundation timbers were laid and the ties set up,"⁴⁹ but on the same day Sven Skute arrived, telling the Dutch that he had orders to resist any attempts at building. On the friendly solicitations of Tienhoven and Boyer he desisted from using any violence until further instructions could be received from Printz, but "at sunrise" the next day he again appeared with a small force, informed the two Dutch officials that he had positive orders "to tear down the erected work and proceeded to demolish the building, hacking and utterly destroying what had been begun." An argument ensued, which waxed so hot that Skute caught the aforesaid Boyer by the hair, "being prevented from coming to any further exercises."⁵⁰ Hudde's report seems to indicate that a dwelling was begun within the walls of Fort Beversreede about the same time, as it states that a "Swedish servant named Peter Jochim by way of contempt and by night forcibly tore off and broke through the palisade, using great violence as well by acts as by words."⁵¹ Two days later Hudde

⁴⁸ On October 4 (n.s.) A. Boyer and several others signed a statement to the effect that they had seen the Instruction of Printz to resist all attempts at settlement. *Doc.*, XII. 44.

⁴⁹ Hudde says in one Document that they completed the building on November 4 (n.s.) unless he refers to another event, but from the copy of his protest to Printz and the copy of the "affidavit" of Tienhoven it appears that the house was only "commenced." *Doc.*, XII. 38, 45. See also *Doc.*, I, 594.

⁵⁰ *Doc.*, XII. 38. The date given in *Doc.*, I. 594, for this occurrence is 1649, manifestly an error. An affidavit was made by Root and several others on the same day concerning these "violences" and on the following day Tienhoven signed an affidavit corroborating the same. *Doc.*, XII. 44-5.

⁵¹ *Doc.*, XII. 38. This event is not mentioned in Hudde's protest to Printz nor in the affidavits of Tienhoven and the others (*Doc.*, XII. 38-9; 44-6); and

sent a protest to the Swedish governor, couched in very reserved language, reminding him of the damage done by his agents at Mastmaker's Hook. He declared that he was innocent of any wrong and that he had always endeavored to maintain "mutual friendship," although, he adds, "our good intentions have been frequently unfairly viewed and wrongly interpreted."

Printz was clearly holding more than his own in these quarrels. He had succeeded in keeping the Dutch from building new habitations and occupying new ground. The Dutch again appealed to New Amsterdam, and in order to make the appeal more effective Andrian van Tienhoven was first commissioned to write. He recounted the "insult" done by the Swedes to "Their Honors, the Directors of the General Incorporated West India Company," and implored Stuyvesant to come at once in person "to see the condition of this river, for the Swedes," he says, "do here what they please."⁵² A statement from Hudde was to follow and a few days later the famous Report was sent to Stuyvesant.⁵³

In these disputes both sides claimed title to the lands by original purchase from the Indians. The Dutch based their right to the Schuylkill on the purchase of Corsen in 1633, but he did not fulfill his part of the contract and in the spring and summer of 1648 the purchase was renewed by them. The Swedes, however, had secured title to this land in 1638 and 1640 and *paid for it*, as well as to the land purchased by Hudde in the autumn of 1646. In the latter case the commiss erected the Dutch coat of arms on the land before he had con-

it is probably only a variation of the events that took place at Mastmaker's Hook, as given above. Hazard, who follows the translation in the N. Y. Collection prints the quotation as though it were a part of the protest of the Swedish governor. See Hazard, p. 104.

⁵² This letter, according to the copy, is dated at Beversreede, November 9, (n.s.) 1648, and was copied by Van Tienhoven, December 6, the same year. *Doc.*, XII. 46-47.

⁵³ The "Brief but True Report" is really a relation of the troubles between the Swedes and Dutch from the summer of 1646 until the late autumn of 1648. The Report consists of three parts: (1) Concerning the fortifications and armaments of the Swedes, (2) concerning the forces of the Swedes, and (3) concerning the proceedings of the Swedes. *Doc.*, XII. 28-39.

tracted the purchase and prepared to build there, making the buying but a formula of value in the dispute with the Swedes, for what would we think of a man who would build on a piece of land without consulting the owner, then send for the owner and offer a price for it!⁵⁴

When the Dutch claimed that they had a right to the river by "first discovery and occupation" they had a better case than the Swedes; but in their pretences to ownership by right of title through purchase from the aborigines they were generally in the wrong, for in almost every case the Swedes had obtained this title first and held the same intact by actual occupancy.

Governor Stuyvesant, being unable to give proper assistance to his commiss at the South River, complained of the Swedish encroachments to the directors of the Dutch West India Company in the autumn of 1648, and on January 17, the following year, they sent him an answer stating that they considered it advisable to arm themselves with some patience sooner than make use of force against the Swedes, "provided they do neither invade our jurisdiction insolently, and because this matter can also be better arranged here." The governor was also called to task for his inconsistency in describing the limits of New Netherland. In one of his letters he had said that Van Twiller and Kieft "did not claim jurisdiction further than from the South River in the south," and he thought that if this territory could be held in peace "it would be the best to be satisfied with it." But in his protests against the English he "pretended a little more, namely from Cape Malabare, called Cape Cot by our people, to Cape Henlopen."⁵⁵

In the winter of 1649 there is another gap in the history of the relations between the Dutch and Swedes. Stuyvesant did not go to Fort Nassau as he intended, and it is probable that New Sweden was undisturbed, the Dutch remaining quietly at their stronghold on the east bank of the river. But in the spring

⁵⁴ *Doc.*, XII. 32. It is true that we know not whether or not Hudde did first consult with the owner in this case, but it is not likely, for he certainly would have mentioned it, if such had been the case.

⁵⁵ Extract from letter of Directors in Holland to Stuyvesant. *Doc.*, XII. 47-48.

the Dutch again began their activities. Thomas Broen, whose name we have met with before, received, perhaps in the fall of 1648,⁵⁶ permission by Governor Stuyvesant to live at "Mantas Hook about half a league below Fort Nassau." Broen, having profited by his previous experience on the Schuylkill, now tried another course and, although the land did not belong to the Swedes, he applied to Printz for permission to settle as well as "for assistance in the erection of buildings and other things." "The governor promised this," says Acrelius, "upon condition that he would place himself under the Swedish government; but when [Printz] saw beneath this a trick of the Hollanders, he himself bought of the Indians the land from Mantas Hook to Narraticon's or Raccoon's Kill and raised upon it a post to which the Swedish coat-of-arms was affixed."⁵⁷ Printz also endeavored to buy the land on the eastern bank above Fort Nassau and "urged the savages very earnestly" until they were ready to sell. But the Dutch were not inactive. They also had conferences with the chiefs and offered to buy the territory in question. Hudde had no means at his disposal, but in order to prevent Printz from getting a title to the land several freemen (among whom were Broen and the often mentioned Root) offered to buy the same land from the Indians by private means with the understanding "that they would convey and deliver the afore-said territory in whole to the Honorable Company upon payment of the amount advanced by them on condition that they should have the preference in choosing the land, which might be inhabited by them, and enjoy its possession by a lawful transfer from the Company." Hudde not only readily accepted their offer, "as there was no other way out of it and there could be no delay," but he also contributed personally towards the purchase. Negotiations with the Indians were at once begun, and on the thirtieth day of March four chiefs went on board the

⁵⁶ The consent might have been given in the spring of 1649. The document on which the statement is based is only a copy. *Doc.*, XII. 370.

⁵⁷ Acrelius (translation), p. 43; *Doc.*, XII. 370. When Broen found that Printz had bought the land he did not settle on it. Hudde says: "Mantaes hoeck, being a place about a *long half league* below the destroyed Fort Nassouw."

yacht *De Hollandsche Tuyn*⁵⁸ to conclude the purchase. The district ceded to the Dutch by the transaction is described as lying and extending on the east side of the river "from Ramkokes Kill,⁵⁹ northward . . . to the south end of an island called Tinnekonck"⁶⁰ and from there "up the river to . . . a kill on the western bank, called Neeyeck, and landwards (including herein the aforesaid Island Tinnekonck), about four leagues off, or more or less, as the possessors shall deem necessary." The deeds ("two originals of the same tenor") were signed by Kickeesickenom (the owner), Hattowens, Kintakosy and Schinna on the one side and by Broen, Jan Andriesen and a number of other Hollanders on the other (all of whom being unable to write made their marks only). One of the originals was sent to New Amsterdam, where it was deposited in the secretary's office; the Indians kept the other.⁶¹

In a letter presumably dated April 9 (19), 1649,⁶² Hudde

⁵⁸ *The Hollandish Garden*. The *Doc.* has new style or April 9, 1649.

⁵⁹ Rancocas (Rancoques) Creek, N. J.

⁶⁰ See map. Tinnekonck (Tenakongh) Island is located a little above Burlington, N. J. Cf. Lindeström's map.

⁶¹ *Doc.*, XII. 48-49, 371.

⁶² In the copy of Stuyvesant's answer to this letter it is referred to as "your last letter of the 19th of May" (*Doc.*, XII. 372). But this must be a mistake for Stuyvesant's answer is dated May 13 (*Doc.*, XII. 373). Now of course it might be possible that Stuyvesant used the old style and Hudde the new style in which case the dates would be May 19 (Hudde's) and May 23 (Stuyvesant's). But it is hardly probable that Stuyvesant would have answered the letter immediately upon its arrival at New Amsterdam, if it did arrive there as soon as the twenty-third (it seems to have taken from three days to a week to send letters from the South River to New Amsterdam). It is more likely that there is a mistake in the copy, May being used instead of April (the original might also have contained the error). This is confirmed by a *Letter Book*, where Stuyvesant writes under date of May 26, 1649: "I have answered your Honor's favour of the nineteenth April before this" (*Doc.*, XII. 62). This is undoubtedly the letter in question. Hudde presumably answered Stuyvesant's letter of May 13 about May 20, and on May 26 Stuyvesant sent a reply to this, at the same time referring to Hudde's earlier missive of April 19. There is, however, one objection to this date. It is hard to see why Hudde should wait to report the land purchase of April 9 until April 19. Stuyvesant, however, had admonished him not to send letters to New Amsterdam by special messenger, but by boats going there, whenever it could be done, and it is possible that he had to wait ten days for a ship with which to send the letter. Acrelius noticed the mistake, but he concluded that the year was wrong, so he dated Hudde's letter *May 19, 1648*, and supposed that Broen's attempt at settlement and Printz's land purchases

reported the purchase to Stuyvesant, complaining bitterly of Printz's conduct and on that ground attempting to explain his own actions. Printz, he said, had taken possession of the entire western bank of the river, with the exception "of a piece of land about 50 feet square . . . outside of which nobody dared to cultivate a foot of ground." The Swedes would also have gained a foothold on the eastern bank above Ft. Nassau, but the watchfulness of Hudde, who, by anticipating them averted the catastrophe of being entirely enclosed in the fort and eventually driven from the river, prevented it. Hudde again stated that "the land from the Narratico Kill to the bay" was "for sale by the savages" and proposed that it be bought. Stuyvesant replied on May 3 (13)⁶³ in very friendly terms, approved of the purchase and promised that the amount paid for the land would be provided for as soon as the price was known. He also considered the proposition to buy more land "as good and expedient," "thereby anticipating others," but he especially cautioned Hudde "to take care that in the transfer the proper minuteness be observed and that this act be signed and witnessed by as many sachems and witnesses as he might obtain among the Christians, who were not in the service of the company."⁶⁴

The distrust and enmity between the Dutch and Swedes "were now daily increasing." As was natural they suspected each other of evil intentions more than actual facts warranted. Hudde had apparently succeeded in convincing the Dutch governor that Printz was entirely to blame for the strained relations and the most impossible motives and plans were attributed to him. It was supposed that Printz planned to stretch his influence beyond the limits of New Sweden and control the entire beaver trade of the Delaware and the Hudson Rivers. "The design,"

occurred in 1646. Acrelius, p. 36. The letter of April 19 is not "*förnyat*" (renewed or repeated) as Acrelius states, p. 37, but given in abstract only. *Doc.*, XII. 370-1.

⁶³ The letter was sent by the ship of Vasterick and undoubtedly arrived at Fort Nassau in a week or less.

⁶⁴ *Doc.* XII. 372-373.

wrote Stuyvesant in the above quoted letter, "of the Swede to close also the North River from behind above the fort and to destroy our trade at Fort Orange has been foreseen by us." The idea was perhaps suggested by Hudde, and Stuyvesant believed that it was possible and feasible for Printz to do so unless he was prevented. Accordingly, he informed the directors about it "and demanded means to prevent it." They answered that Brant van Slechtenhorst ought to be informed of the plan and requested to oppose any designs of the Swedes. Stuyvesant, however, "feared that Van Slechtenhorst would care very little for it, and that, as he was not quite favorably disposed towards the Honorable Company, he would perhaps like to see nothing better." But the fears were ungrounded. Printz had enough to do on the South River without wasting his energies in far off and uncertain adventures near the source of the Hudson.⁶⁵

It appears that at least two new houses were contracted to be built by the Dutch on the South River about this time.⁶⁶ They were undoubtedly erected on the east bank above Fort Nassau on the land purchased by Root and the other freemen, and hence these activities gave rise to no quarrels with the Swedes, for Printz opposed the Dutch only when they trespassed on what he held to be the territory of New Sweden. It is probable that the land spoken of above, as lying south of Fort Nassau, was bought by the Dutch at this time for Stuyvesant offered to make provision for the cost. He also urged his commissioner "to promote the old rights and possessions of the Schuylkill by all means with the natives that it might not be forsaken by them or transferred to others."⁶⁷

Although Stuyvesant admonished his commander at Fort Nassau to oppose the Swedes by every means at hand, he found no scruples in joining them in keeping out the English. The New Haven planters and merchants, as we have seen, continued to look towards the Delaware for new trading posts, and in the

⁶⁵ *Doc.*, XII. 372-3.

⁶⁶ The contract was signed May 30, 1649; *Doc.*, XII. 50.

⁶⁷ *Doc.*, XII. 62 ff.

summer it was reported at New Amsterdam that they were about to appear there in force. Stuyvesant feared that, if the English were allowed to gain a foothold in the bay, they would not only "alienate the river from the Dutch and the Swedes forever but after it they would also make an attempt to get possession of the North River . . . and would draw the trade into other channels." In order to forestall such a calamity Hudde was not only to "pay attention to all measures to prevent this, but also to confer with Printz about it either in person or by letter" and if possible to arrange some means of concerted action with him. In all this, however, he was admonished to be careful not to "expose himself in regard to their right of first and old possession." It is likely that Hudde approached the Swedish governor on the subject and that the two agreed "to join hands against the common foe."⁶⁸

What occurred at the Dutch settlement during the winter of 1649-1650 does not appear from the extant records, but it seems that buildings and other undertakings were planned, for Stuyvesant at times desired more complete information than was contained in the reports of the commiss about "the particulars of the progress" made. Governor Stuyvesant now placed full confidence in his representative at the southern limits of New Netherland, being convinced that he had been maliciously slandered and opposed.⁶⁹

In the spring of 1650 Stuyvesant was informed "that their High Mightinesses had accepted New Netherland"⁷⁰ and on May 19 (29) he wrote to Hudde that he had "been given hope from the Fatherland . . . of peopling New Netherland and especially the South River, which had been taken in great consideration by Their Honors." Further attacks and usurpations of the Swedes and English were to be resisted and ample supplies would be sent, but "the communication [must be

⁶⁸ *Doc.*, XII. 63 ff.

⁶⁹ There is no doubt that the Dutch West India Company seldom had a more faithful servant than Hudde.

⁷⁰ Letter from directors to Stuyvesant, February 16 (n.s.), 1650. *N. Y. Col. Mss.*, XI. f. 18.

kept] secret from the Swedish Governor and his favorites." Meanwhile Hudde was to "have everything in readiness to accommodate all those who were willing to settle under the patronage of the company . . . in order to encourage others."⁷¹

Fort Beversreede was abandoned by the Dutch in the summer of 1650 (Stuyvesant writing "that he was well pleased with what had been done regarding the building at Beversreede, since he well knew the necessity of it and that it could not be otherwise"), and it is clear that Printz mastered the situation, as can be inferred from the fact that the Dutch governor on July 6 (16) expected "information in regard to the state of affairs on the river and what hope there was of maintaining the Company in its rights and to *recover the boundaries of the Schuylkill* from the Swedes." Few Dutch freemen were willing to settle on the Delaware and "to take the plow into their hands." They preferred, it seems, to remain in New Netherland, and only two applications for permission to locate on the South River are preserved from this time.⁷² To make matters worse Root and some others "betook themselves against Hudde's advice and consent to the Minquas country." Such running about was considered dangerous. It weakened the plantation and tended to destroy all discipline.⁷³

Stuyvesant was aware that the Swedes expected a ship with a large cargo in 1650, which caused him some uneasiness, but in July Augustin Herrman brought news that the ship had been stranded at Porto Rico or captured by the Spaniards. Stuyvesant took pains to inform Printz of the disaster. Printz, however, did not lose heart. He wrote letters to Sweden, requesting more soldiers and new supplies, reporting that he held his own in the quarrels with the Dutch, and that he had resisted their attempts at settlements within the Swedish boundary lines. In the spring the directors informed Stuyvesant that they intended to try to fix the boundaries between the colonies on the

⁷¹ *Doc.*, XII. 64 ff.

⁷² Jan Andriessen of Beren-Bach and Cornelius . . . being the two freemen. *Doc.*, XII. 66-8.

⁷³ *Doc.*, I. 594; XII. 64-7; *Report*, 1647.

South River by a treaty with the Queen of Sweden; but the governor was also instructed "to maintain the rights of the company in *all justice and equity*." It would therefore seem that no immediate danger was threatening New Sweden from this source, but the clouds were gathering and the complications between the Dutch and the Swedes were rapidly approaching a crisis.⁷⁴

III.

With 1651 begins the last phase of the Swedish-Dutch relations during the administration of Printz. In March certain Dutch freemen sent a petition to Stuyvesant, enumerating "the losses they had suffered by the proceedings of the Swedes," and requested him to come to the South River for their aid and relief. A little later several freemen of Fort Beversreede (which seems to have been re-occupied about this time) applied for the allotment of a plot of ground for plantations. Accordingly Hudde "point[ed] out at a certain place behind Fort Beversreede a small piece of ground to plant some garden stuff in," but Printz soon sent a force there and destroyed what had been planted. About the beginning of April Peter Cornelissen and Reynier *Dominicus* prepared "to build on land assigned to them on the Island Harommuny," west of the Swedish plantation, but their entire work was destroyed by Printz and the material cut into firewood. Again in May some freemen were granted land on the island by Stuyvesant. On the twelfth (22nd) it was measured by the land commissary whereupon Sander Leendertsen brought his clapboards there and prepared to build but he was forcibly prevented by Papegoja from continuing his work.⁷⁵

Stuyvesant was now fairly tired of the many complaints that came from the South River. Twice he had determined to go there, as we have seen, but each time he had been hindered. In the beginning of 1651 he again had in mind to proceed in per-

⁷⁴ Printz to Brahe, August 1, 1650, *Skokl. Saml.* (R.A.); Stuyvesant to Printz July 24 (n.s.), 1650, N.S., I. (R.A.); *Doc.*, XII. 66-7.

⁷⁵ *Doc.*, I. 594-5; XII. 68 ff. Sander or Alexander.

son, but as spring approached urgent duties once more detained him. He knew that the forces at the disposal of Printz were small and his resources limited. It was therefore likely that a single ship could restore the balance of power to the Dutch, check "the insolence of the Swedes" and prevent merchants from trading in the river without a permit from the Dutch West India Company or from Stuyvesant. Accordingly a vessel was prepared in April and sent to the South River in the beginning of May. "On May 8," says Printz, "arrived here from New Netherland a ship with people and cannon, well armed. The ship placed itself half a mile [about three and a half English miles] below our Fort Christina, closing the river so that no vessel could proceed unmolested either up or down." Printz, however, was not daunted. He made ready his little yacht and sent it with people, cannon and ammunition down the river against the Dutch vessel. It seems that the captain had been instructed by Stuyvesant not to provoke or begin hostilities, for, when the Swedish yacht appeared, "he tried no hostility against" it, but withdrew his ship and returned to Manhattan. "And thus," says Printz, "we secured the river open [again]"⁷⁶

The only result of the expedition was to make it clear to Stuyvesant that more effective measures must be taken and a larger force must be employed, if he were to be able to cope with the active and alert governor of New Sweden. We may infer that he now began making preparations for a new expedition. It was all done on his own authority, and he did not even advise the directors about it. About the middle of June all arrangements for the expedition were completed. Eleven ships were equipped, four of these being "well armed," and a force of soldiers was engaged to accompany the director to the Delaware. The preparations were made so secretly that Printz knew nothing about them before the Dutch were approaching.

⁷⁶ Printz to Oxenstierna, August 1, 1651, and to Brahe and Beier, the same date, *Skolk. Saml*; *Ox. Saml.* (R.A.); *Doc.*, I. 594-5. "Detta skeepit iagh utan något stort betänckande med en Jakt af folk, stycken och munitier repuscherade och dermed så wyd brachte att wij bekomme Revirt opit." Printz to Beier.

Stuyvesant marched across the country with 120 men⁷⁷ and arrived at Fort Nassau on June 25, where the ships met him. To impress the Swedes with his strength he sailed his little fleet up and down the river "with drumming and cannonading." Letters and messengers were sent to Printz, setting forth the rights of the company to the entire river by first possession and discovery and to certain lands by purchase, effected years before the Swedes arrived. "The result of this," says a Dutch document, "was only a simple writing . . . wherein the aforesaid governor designated the Swedish limits wide and broad enough, but without any justification or proper proof, having resource to the subterfuge that the deeds of the purchase and conveyance of the acquired lands there were not at hand, but in the Chancery at Stockholm where,"⁷⁸ he said, he had indeed seen them."⁷⁹

In the meantime Stuyvesant conferred with his commiss about the situation and called the Indian chiefs to a conference at Fort Nassau.

On June 29 (July 9)⁸⁰ three Indian chiefs "came freely and appeared with other natives" at the Dutch fort. The chiefs were asked various questions by the Dutch governor in the presence of several officers and servants of the company. First the governor asked the Indians through Boyer, who was the interpreter, "whether they were chiefs and proprietors of the land situated on the west side of the river," unto which Peminacka⁸¹ replied in the affirmative, on behalf of all. To the second question, "how much land they had sold to the Swedes," Peminacka gave evasive answers, inquiring why "the sachem of the Swedes" was not there to answer that question himself, adding that the Dutch were the first to come there and "that

⁷⁷ Sprinchorn is mistaken in stating that Stuyvesant came by water (*N. Sverige*, p. 38).

⁷⁸ It seems strange that no copies of the deeds were at hand in New Sweden.

⁷⁹ Letter to J. Beier, August 1, 1651, and to Oxenstierna and Brahe the same date, *Ox. Saml.*, *Skokl. Saml.*, *Doc.*, I. 589 ff.

⁸⁰ Former historians keep the old style of the Swedish documents and the new of the Dutch without comment, causing confusion to the reader.

⁸¹ I follow the spelling of the Swedish documents, photographs of whose originals I have before me.

one Cornelius with one eye, or, a film on his eye, was first . . . [to make] his dwelling on the river." The Dutch returned that Governor Printz was apparently unwilling to be present as he had been invited,⁸² and the question was again put to the chief. Then Mattahorn said "that when Minuit came into the country with a ship, he lay before the Minquas Kill . . . [and presented to the chief] a kettle and other trifles," in exchange for which he was given as much land as he "could set a house on and a plantation included between six trees." The chief was to have half of the tobacco that would grow on the plantation, but it was never given to him.⁸³ Peminacha, however, was unwilling to sell the land from the Schuylkill to the bay on the west side of the river for fear of the Swedes. "Where then," said he, "will the houses of the Swedes remain? Will the sachem of the Swedes then not do us harm on that account, or put us in prison or beat us?" On being assured that Stuyvesant wished to buy no land, already purchased by the Swedes or any other nation, and that no trouble with the Swedes would result, the chiefs had a consultation and Peminacka, "as the present and ceding proprietor," speaking for the others, presented as a free gift the land on the west side of the Delaware from Minquas Kill down to the bay, his only stipulation being that "whenever anything was the matter with his gun, it should be repaired for nothing and, when he came empty among the Dutch, they should remember [to give] him some maize." No deed was made, but a relation was prepared which was signed by eight witnesses including the clergyman, Wilhelmus Grasmeer, Isaac Allerton, A. Hudde and A. Boyer, the interpreter. The paper was also signed by Marten Cregier, Captain Lieutenant of New Amsterdam, and Abraham Staats, Surgeon and elder of Rensselaerswyck, who attested that in their

⁸² It is hardly probable that Printz was invited to this conference for the explanation prefixed to the documents would most likely have mentioned the facts. See *Doc.*, I. 590.

⁸³ "The Swedish governor," said Mattahorn, "had indeed bought land three or four years before, but from two chiefs, who had no right to the land, and not from Kyckesycken, the real owner."

presence the above witnesses had affixed their names with their own hands and that all were of competent age. The document is not an original, but it is probable that the events and the general trend of the Indian speeches are correctly reported.⁸⁴ The Indians were not over careful in their regard for truth, nor over scrupulous in their dealings. The Indian ownership of land was very vague and undefined. Several chiefs would lay claim to the same land and no definite limits were ever established. The chiefs would hunt and fish over vast areas and wherever they happened to place their tents or establish their hunting ground by force or otherwise they claimed jurisdiction. For the sake of gifts they would sell the land to more than one buyer and each time it was asserted that it had never been sold before. Mattahorn was one of the chiefs from whom Minuit bought land in 1638, and it is more than probable that he would have applied to the Swedes long before and demanded and received the stipulated payments, if these had not been made, as indeed occurred in June, 1647.

When Printz became aware of the fact that "Peminacka and his friends" had donated land south of Christina to the Dutch, he sent for the heirs of Mitatsimint (the chief who had originally sold the same land to the Swedes) and explained to them what had happened. It appears that Peminacka laid claim to the lands on the ground that they had been presented to him by Mitatsimint "with full proprietary rights." This was positively denied by the heirs of the latter, who attested that the land had been given to Peminacka for hunting purposes *only* and not as a property which he could sell. They also declared that Mitatsimint, the only rightful owner, had sold the land to the Swedes and "that nobody else, whatsoever nation it be, had any right or pretension to it, to dwell upon it or to incorporate it." A document embodying the above facts was drafted on July 3, and attested by Notike, the widow of Mitatsimint, and his son Kiapes, besides two other children (probably not of

⁸⁴ The copy was attested and collated. The corroboration of the general facts is found in a later original document. See photographic reproduction.

Coria

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*Reichling
Königsberg
Hof- und Kammer*

Copy of the testimony of the heirs of Mitatsimint that the Swedes alone had a right to Quinamkot (Sandhook), July 3, 1651. Translated below, p. 757. Ms. preserved in N. S. I. (R. A.), Stockholm.

age). They were willing to prove by all the Indians in the river the truth of the above statements, and, "in confirmation of this truth, they subscribed their mark with their own hand." The document was also signed by Peter Jochimson⁸⁵ and Gotfried Harmer as witnesses.⁸⁶ It was sent to Stuyvesant together with copies of letters from the Queen and certain paragraphs of Printz's instruction and probably a protest. Unfortunately only a copy is preserved, but there is no reason to believe that it is not genuine.

The Dutch governor, however, paid little attention to these papers. He had acquired certain claims to the district below Fort Christina and he possessed a signed document to prove these claims. He accordingly prepared his little fleet, the force which had come across the country being put on board, and sailed down the river to a convenient place on the west bank, between Christina and Elfsborg, where 200 men were landed and where the erection of a fort was immediately begun.⁸⁷ Against such power Governor Printz could accomplish nothing. He manned his little yacht with thirty men and followed the Dutch, but he "did not dare to attempt anything" of a hostile character.⁸⁸

In the meantime Stuyvesant sent an answer to the letters and documents of Printz, reiterating the injuries the Dutch had suffered on the South River at the hands of the Swedes. Root and Maurisen had been refused payment by them, while Printz had forbidden his people to trade with the Dutch and for these injuries reparation was demanded.⁸⁹

On the eighth of July Governor Printz drew up a formal protest against the activities of the Dutch. He asserted that

⁸⁵ The same as Peter Jochim, who died at New Amsterdam in 1655.

⁸⁶ Certificate of sale, July 3, 1651 (copy), N.S., I. (R.A.), printed by Sprinchorn, N.S., p. 88.

⁸⁷ It has been stated that Stuyvesant began to build before he had had the conference with the Indians and before he had acquired title to the land, but this is a mistake. The mistake is due to the fact that the writers have not taken into consideration that the Swedes used the old style and the Dutch the new.

⁸⁸ Printz to Brahe, to Beier and to Oxenstierna, August 1, 1651, *Ox. Saml., Skokl. Saml.* (R.A.).

⁸⁹ *Doc.*, I. 595 ff.

enough documents and witnesses had been produced to prove clearly that the land, situated between Bomten's Hook and the Schuylkill, as well as that from the Schuylkill to Sankikan, had been bought for the Crown of Sweden years before. In spite of this the Dutch, he said, had purchased portions of these lands from Indians, who had neither "right nor title" thereto, incorporated such places into their possessions and erected fortifications upon them in order to close up the river, thereby inflicting great injuries to the settlements of the Swedish government. He appealed to the alliance between the two nations in Europe, protesting in the name of Her Royal Majesty against Stuyvesant's procedure, and declared himself free from any part in the consequences that would follow.⁹⁰

Stuyvesant continued his work without interruption, however, but the letters and protests had had at least one effect. They seem to have shaken the validity of Paminacka's ownership. To be able to show more "legal title" than the grant of June 29, Stuyvesant again sent for the Indian chiefs, who were favorably disposed towards him. The disputed land was again transferred to the Dutch and a deed discribing the limits was drafted. "Mattahorn, Peminacka, Ackehorn and Sinques," reads the deed, "Sachems and right owners of the land situated on the west side of the South River of New Amsterdam, do hereby certify and declare, that we for ourselves and our heirs and co-heirs of free will and well advised inclination have this nineteenth day of July [n.s.] given and voluntarily presented to Peter Stuyvesant, Chief Sachem, of the Manhattans, a certain portion of land named Tamecongh, situate on the west shore of the aforesaid River beginning at the west point of the Minquas Kill, called in the Indian tongue Suppeckongh, unto the mouth of the bay or river called Boompjes hook and in the Indian tongue called Canaresse, and so far landwards as our right extends: to wit to the bounds and limits of the Minquas country, which lands were never before sold or conveyed to

⁹⁰ It was signed by Johan Printz and dated at Nya Götteb[org], July 8, 1651. Copy, now preserved in N.S., I. (R.A.), printed by Sprinchorn, *N.S.*, pp. 90-91.

any nation in the world."⁹¹ The deed further declared that the land was ceded to Stuyvesant in the presence of Indian and Christian witnesses and that the chiefs would never again "sell or transport the aforesaid land in whole or in part to any others" (a wise stipulation indeed), nor plant corn thereupon except with the governor's consent. It is stated that the Indians wished to present the land to Stuyvesant as a gift but the director "politely thanking them therefor, preferred making them satisfaction and a present in return." The deed was signed at Camecouck, on July 9 (19) by Amattehoorn, Sinques and Ackehoorn, besides thirteen Christians as witnesses. It is significant that Peminacka was not among the signers, although he is mentioned as one of "the proprietors." Perhaps the reasons presented by Printz against his ownership of the land were considered sufficient by Stuyvesant to exclude him. We have again only a copy to judge from, however, which is misdated,⁹² and we can therefore not be positive of the omission of Peminacka's name in the original. A later document confirms the view that Peminacka did not affix his signature to the deed and that it was perhaps inserted into the text by the Dutch.⁹³ In 1654 this chief declared that he had not sold any land to Stuyvesant. He had only promised him certain places to dwell upon, but no deeds or documents had been signed.⁹⁴

It is probable that a copy of the deed was sent to Printz, for he immediately arranged a conference between the Indians that were involved in the dispute. The conference (which took place on July 13)⁹⁵ can almost be looked upon as a kind of court. The question as to the respective rights of Peminacka and

⁹¹ *Doc.*, I. 599.

⁹² The date given in the copy is 1655. *Doc.*, I. 590 ff.

⁹³ "Bekende härmed att thet kiöp, som the Svenske hade f[ör] detta gjort med Mitatsimint, var fast och rättmätigt . . . och att Peminacka *alldrig hade solldt* Sandhocken eller thess omliggande land åth Stuvesand," etc. Confirmation on the Sandhook, July 8, 1654, N.S., I. (R.A.).

⁹⁴ *Doc.*, I. 600; cf. below.

⁹⁵ It is not certain whether new or old style is used in the document, whether 3 or 13 is really correct. From internal evidence it seems that this document ought to come before the execution of the deed by Stuyvesant, for Peminacka did not sign this deed and the document is directed against Peminacka especially.

Mitatsimint's widow to the lands was again to be decided, Peminacka being supported by Mattahorn, Sinques and Oririchime and Notike by "her son and her blood relation, named Quenieck." The assertions and proofs given in the certificate or report of July 3 were repeated more in detail and it was added that Peminacka had been granted the right to hunt on the land, at the request of friends, with the expectation and promise of gifts which were never presented. The document, which was sent to the Dutch governor, had as little effect as the former.⁹⁶ Printz, however, did not rest. He again sent deputies to the heirs of Mitatsimint and the Indians, who were friendly disposed towards him, reporting that the Dutch paid no attention to his protest and that Peminacka and his friends still pretended to be the rightful owners of the Sandhook. A new statement was drawn up and these Indians again declared that they had orally, in the presence of witnesses, protested against Peminacka and his crowd "and with truth disproved their assertions and convinced them and their own with it."

The declaration went on to say that the land positively belonged to Mitatsimint and to nobody else, that it had been sold only to the Swedes and that consequently the deeds lately given to the Dutch were of no value. The document, dated July 16, was signed by Mitatsimint's widow, Notike, her son Kiapes and Quenieck, besides two Indians and six Christian witnesses. It is probable that Printz presented this protest in person to the Dutch governor, for in his letter to Oxenstierna he says: "When I now observed that the above mentioned violence was not to be ruled by violence, then I wrote to him first, after that I sent a deputation to him (*beskickade honom*) and lastly I visited him personally." Two Christian witnesses were also present with Printz and these were ready to declare "on their oath that the Sandhook had been bought by the Swedes long before and that they were present when the sale was made; but to all this Stuyvesant simply answered that he

⁹⁶ The report, in Dutch, is signed by Johan Printz, Gustaf Printz, Hendrick Huygen, and Peter Bock, as witnesses. N.S., I. (R.A.).

was governed by the orders from the States of Holland" and the efforts of the Swedish governor accomplished nothing.⁹⁷

A chief by the name of Wappanghzewan also pretended to a tract of land in the neighborhood of the Sandhook, beginning at a certain little Kill, named Neckatoensing, "extending westerly from the river unto Sittoensaene, otherwise called the Minquas Kill, where Fort Christina stands," but different from Tamecongh, already presented to Stuyvesant by Peminacka and his friends.⁹⁸ It appears that Governor Printz had sent for Wappanghzewan about the middle of July and requested him to sell the above land, but he was unwilling to sell it to the Swedish governor, because it had been occupied by the Swedes without his consent. Expecting greater remuneration from Stuyvesant, as he was aware of the fine gifts received by the other chiefs, he appeared at the Dutch camp a few days later and presented the said land with all rights to Governor Stuyvesant in the presence of witnesses, "by solemn shaking of the hand and signature." He also declared that he would "not transfer or sell to any other nation the lands aforesaid." Wappanghzewan affixed his mark to the deed, below which eight witnesses signed their names.⁹⁹ It is likely that Stuyvesant informed the Swedish governor of this new purchase and sent additional protests. There are no further documents concerning the disputes between the Dutch and Swedes from this time and the case may be considered closed. Both sides had presented their claims and their final arguments, both rested their title on purchase from the Indians as the right owners and both presented documents, signed by Indian chiefs, to prove their claims. In both cases we have only copies from which to judge, but from these papers as well as from sources of an earlier and later date we can decide on the merits of the case. Printz has clearly the best ground for his contention. He

⁹⁷ Printz to Beier, August 1, 1651, to Oxenstierna, same date; Protest, etc., July 16, 1651, copy in N.S., I. (R.A.).

⁹⁸ The deed is dated July 30 (n.s.), 1651. Only a copy is preserved at the Hague, collated by Van Ruyven, however.

⁹⁹ *Doc.*, I. 596 ff.

proved that the land in question had been bought by the Swedes thirteen years before Stuyvesant arrived, he presented documents, setting forth that Peminacka and his friends had no right to the land, and *Peminacka in a later original document asserts that he did not sell the land to Stuyvesant*. Furthermore, Printz acted according to the instructions of his government, while Stuyvesant had no orders from his superiors.¹⁰⁰ The Dutch documents, *as we have them*, convict themselves. The *Deduction or Clear and Precise Account of the Condition of the South River*, etc., gives a brief statement of the troubles with the Swedes. In relating the events of 1651 the *Account* says that Printz answered Stuyvesant's request to show proper titles to the land, that these deeds were in Sweden. "'Twas shortly after made manifest that these subterfuges were destitute of truth, for said governor then for the first time tried to buy from a certain sachem or Indian chief . . . such lands as he already occupied." We know, however, that the land had been bought by the Swedes and that the deeds really were in Stockholm.¹⁰¹ In order to make the Dutch title more apparent and to disprove the allegations of Printz, the *Account* brings in the purchase of Wappanghewan which took place on July 30 (n.s.) before those of July 9 (n.s.) and 19 (n.s.) and the deed of July 30 is designated as the "authentic copy whereof is annexed hereunto no. 4." "Notwithstanding all this," continues the *Account* (the attempt of Printz to buy land from Wappanghewan and the sale of this land to Stuyvesant, July 30 n.s.) "and for still further peace and security, the said Director Stuyvesant sent for all the other Indian Chiefs yet dwelling about the aforesaid River, who were owners of the land situated thereabouts, and in presence of divers persons, according to their annexed written declaration No. 5 [dated July 9 n.s.], proposed to them some questions and was offered the land as a gift." As a proof of this a copy of the

¹⁰⁰ Cf. above.

¹⁰¹ Cf. above.

Second page of Gov. Printz's letter to Beier, Aug. 1, 1651.

deed was "annexed No. 6 (dated July 19 n.s.)"¹⁰² There might be a mistake in the date of the deed signed by Wappanghewan (for we have only a copy), but from internal evidence it is plain that the transaction must have taken place after July 9 (19), for it distinctly refers to the deed of that date and mentions the four Indian chiefs given there, while only three¹⁰³ are mentioned in the document of June 29 (July 9).¹⁰⁴

While the above-mentioned transactions were going on and protests and counter protests passed between the two governors, the Dutch fort was steadily growing. The exact date of its completion is not known but it was ready on August 1. The fort was located on a peninsula near the present New Castle. It was about 210 ft. long and about half as wide, if Lindeström's illustration is correct. It had twelve pieces of ordnance, although only ten gun holes are seen in Lindeström's plan (the other two probably being at the ends) and it was well provided with ammunition and a garrison. It was called Fort Casimir, for what reason is not quite clear. Fort Nassau was abandoned and demolished and its cannon were taken to the new fort. It is also probable that the freemen dwelling at the former place removed to the Sandhook and settled in the neighborhood of Fort Casimir.¹⁰⁵

During his stay at the South River Stuyvesant broke down "Her Royal Majesty's arms and pole, made prizes of Virginia

¹⁰² The two transactions of July 9 (n.s.) and 19 (n.s.) are presented as taking place at the same time. But this is clearly a mistake, for (1) July 9 occurs twice in the first document (*Doc.*, I. 597-599), (2) it is dated at Fort Nassau, and (3) only three chiefs seem to have been present (*Doc.*, I. 597). That the second Document was later is plain for (1) it has the date the nineteenth of July (n.s.) twice (*Doc.*, I. 599, 600), (2) four chiefs were present (*Doc.*, 599), (3) it is dated at Camecouck (Tamecong), hence after Stuyvesant had left Fort Nassau. The difference in date cannot be due to the use of the old style in this first document (which would make it July 19, n.s.) for it is stated that July 9 is new style (*Doc.*, I. 597).

¹⁰³ If four chiefs had been present on July 9 they would surely have been mentioned.

¹⁰⁴ *Doc.*, I. 596 ff. *Col. of N. Y. Hist. So.*, Pub. F.S., II. 7 ff. The writer of this document was not well disposed towards the Dutch, however.

¹⁰⁵ Printz to Brahe, August 1, 1651, *Skokl. Saml.*; *Col. of N. Y. Hist. So.*, Pub. F. S., II. 7; *Doc.*, I. 590, XII. 72.

barks and compelled the English to pay duty or recognition on the goods they sold to the Swedes for four years." The new fort commanded the river and all traders were from now on compelled to pay duty to the Dutch. Two warships were also stationed in the Delaware to aid the garrison in enforcing the new decrees. This was a necessary policy, for the expedition had incurred heavy expenses and considerable debts were contracted by the company, as a consequence of it for which provision had to be made.¹⁰⁶ Stuyvesant returned to New Amsterdam between July 20 and July 31.¹⁰⁷ Shortly after the departure of the Dutch governor, Printz reported the occurrences to his superiors in Europe, and urged the necessity of immediate assistance, if the work was to continue. Before leaving, if we are to believe the Dutch records, Stuyvesant "had divers verbal conferences with Johan Printz, the Swedish governor, and they mutually promised not to commit any hostile or vexatious acts against one another, but to maintain together all neighbourly friendship and correspondence as good friends and allies are bound to do." These words, however, sound strange, when compared with the despatches of Printz to his government.¹⁰⁸

The Dutch were now masters on the Delaware. The two warships undoubtedly returned to New Amsterdam before the winter set in, but Printz had not a sufficient force to regain what the Dutch had taken possession of and besides his instruction cautioned him to begin no hostility. He made the best of the situation, however, concentrated his forces and awaited new arrivals from Sweden. Stuyvesant hoped to reappear with a large force of planters the coming year and Printz wrote to his

¹⁰⁶ Printz to Beier, to Oxenstierna and to Brahe, August 1, 1651, *Ox. Saml., Skokl. Saml.* (R.A.); *Doc.*, XII. 72 note; *Albany Rec.*, p. 8; *N. Y. Col. Doc.*, V., fol. 54

¹⁰⁷ He was still at the South River on July 20 (*Doc.*, I. 596), if the deed is correctly dated, and he had left August 1. Printz to Brahe, August 1, 1651, and to Oxenstierna and Beier the same date.

¹⁰⁸ *Doc.*, I. 590. Sprinchorn rightly questions the probability of these assurances. Rising says in his *Journal*, May 21, 1654, that Skute "certified that Printz is reported to have said (*Skulle hafwa sagdt*) to Stuyvesant that as soon as some succour arrived he would try to gain possession of the fort."

government that the Dutch soon expected to make new settlements on the river, for certain persons had arrived from the East Indies, who "intended to bring some hundred families to the" Delaware in the spring of 1652.¹⁰⁹

The winter of 1651-1652 was uneventful and quiet, as far as the relation between the Dutch and Swedes was concerned. As to the Schuylkill region we know nothing, but it is likely that the Dutch abandoned Fort Beversreede, for it is not mentioned after 1651. In the spring or early summer of 1652 a certain Harkhofen brought about forty families into the river, who settled on the east bank. They were all traders, "had absolutely no aid from the [Dutch] West India Company, did not plough nor sow, had neither cow nor sow." Printz had no means of opposing them and they "had their own way in their settlements," but, he wrote, if "only enough Swedish people arrived, the Dutch will have to get out." Nothing further is known about these families, except that they seem to have removed from their place of settlement before the following spring.¹¹⁰

What took place at Fort Casimir in the summer of 1652 and the following autumn is not known. It is probable that Stuyvesant now acted with more caution and made no further demands of Printz, as his expedition to the South River was not altogether approved by the directors of the Dutch West India Company. When they were informed about it they were greatly surprised, as he had not previously advised them of such intentions and expressed great concern about the consequences. "God grant," they wrote, "that what your Honour has done may turn out for the best. We cannot express our opinion of it before we have . . . heard how the complaints of the Swedish governor will be received by the Queen." They were not sure that "the demolition of Fort Nassau was a very prudent act," but they were agreed that Fort Casimir must be guarded with care. The trade of the Dutch with the

¹⁰⁹ Printz's letters of August 1, 1651; *Rising's Journal*; *Doc.*, I. 590 ff.

¹¹⁰ Printz to Beier, August 1, 1651; to Brahe, August 30, 1652; to Oxenstierna, April 26, 1653, *Ox. Saml.*, *Skokl. Saml.* (R.A.).

Indians was poor, and few of the ships visited the South River at this time. A few new dwellings were perhaps built by the Dutch freemen at Fort Casimir, for in April, 1653, about 26 families dwelt there.¹¹¹

It appears that the Dutch were again active in the South River in the summer of 1653, but Printz opposed them with all the authority and power at his command, partly aided by the Indians. In 1651 Stuyvesant managed to gain the friendship of the savages, and to draw them away from the Swedes, but as time went on Printz to some extent regained their good will, and in the spring of 1653 he reported that the savages were unfriendly to the Dutch and distrusted them. It is quite likely that Printz left no means untried to increase and intensify this distrust. As a consequence the Dutch were compelled to abandon all their settlements except that at Fort Casimir. Complaints against Printz were sent to Stuyvesant, and he in turn complained to the directors of the Dutch West India Company, but they admonished him to "be very cautious in the intercourse with the Swedes of the South River . . . as well in regard to the maintainance of the Company's privileges, as by avoiding as much as possible to give them cause for complaints and dissatisfaction, as it is not desirable to add to the Company's enemies at this critical period."¹¹²

When Printz departed for Europe some Swedish colonists applied for permission to remove to New Holland, but Stuyvesant did not dare to accept them before he had been advised about it by the directors of the company. Accordingly he wrote to them October 6 (n.s.), 1653, requesting instructions.¹¹³ The directors replied that they "could not see, why it should be refused and denied . . . [for] the influx of free persons should . . . be promoted by all resolute and honest

¹¹¹ *Doc.*, XII. 72; Printz to Oxenstierna, April 26, 1653, *Ox. Saml.* and to Brahe of the same date, *Skokl. Saml.* (R.A.).

¹¹² Printz to Oxenstierna, August 1, 1651; Printz to Brahe, April 26, 1653. *Doc.*, XII. 72.

¹¹³ The letter is perhaps that of October 6, 1653, of which an abstract is given in *Doc.*, I. 600-1.

means." Nevertheless it was left to his own judgment to do what he thought fit. The colonies were now at peace and there was no disturbance until the good relations were broken by the misdirected zeal of Rising;¹¹⁴ but before we leave this period (1643-1653) let us take a look at the government of New Sweden during the rule of Printz, its courts and the administration of justice.

¹¹⁴ *Doc.*, I. 600-601; XII. 73; cf. below, Book IV., Part I.-II.

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

THE GOVERNMENT OF NEW SWEDEN, 1643-1653.

I.

Upon the arrival of Printz in 1643, the colonial government was reorganized and systematized. The governor was vested with full judicial and administrative powers. He should rule the country in the name of the Queen, but all details of procedure were left to his discretion and judgment; he should use his own seal, on a somewhat enlarged scale, on all official documents, until other arrangements could be made; in cases of crimes and disobedience, he was given power to inflict punishments by fines, imprisonment or death, as the offence would demand, "but in the regular manner only," and after full examination and inquiry had been made in connection with the assistants in the trial, who were to be selected from among the principal and wisest inhabitants in the colony, and the Swedish law and custom should be followed at all times, as far as possible.¹

In comparison with the power conferred on the governors of the neighboring colonies, Printz was given almost unlimited authority and a tyrant armed with such instructions could rule to suit his own whims. But "a strong central government," a government personified by the governor and his court, was the only practicable and possible one under the circumstances. Disputes and quarrels had rent the colony before Printz's arrival, principally because there was no one here vested with sufficient authority to rule. The Council of State carefully considered the matter, the methods employed by the English and Dutch were reviewed,² and in the light of their experiences and the previous troubles in New Sweden, the instruction was formulated.

¹ *Instruction*, paragraphs 23-25.

² Cf. *Rådspr.* and above.



Gov. Printz's Seal.

The governor and other military officers and soldiers appointed in 1642, as well as one of the preachers, were servants of the Crown and their salaries were to be paid by the government, as we have already seen.³ The budget called for the sum of 4,530 D.⁴ and the following officers and servants were on the pay-rolls in 1643-44:

MILITARY.

Johan Printz,	Governor	1,200 ⁵ D.
Sven Skute,	Lieutenant	288 D.
Gregorius van Dyck,	Head Guard	180 D.
Anders Swensson Bonde,	Gunner	144 D.
Karl Håkansson,	Corporal	108 D.
Eric Andersson,	Trumpeter	108 D.
Sven Andersson,	Drummer	90 D.
Johan Olofsson (profoss), ^{6a}	Provost-marshal	108 D.
Twenty-four common soldiers.		1,728 D.

CIVIC.

Johan Campanius (Holm.),	Preacher	180 D.
Hans Janeke,	Barber-surgeon	180 D.
Knut Persson,	Bookkeeper	144 ⁵ D.

The officers, soldiers and servants, who were here before the budget was made, continued to be paid by the company and those hired by Printz and Papegoja and not provided for in the budget were likewise placed on the company's pay-rolls.

Several changes occurred on the force and new appointments were made. On April 1 Christer Boije was appointed lieutenant with a salary of 24 R.D. a month and stationed at Upland. Boije was of noble birth and the wild life was clearly not to his liking, for he left the service as early as May the next year and returned to Sweden shortly after.⁷ He was employed in

³ Cf. above.

⁴ O'Callaghan, I. 367, quoting the inaccurate translations in Hazard's *Reg.*, states that "her Majesty appropriated two million six hundred nineteen dollars," yet he gives the correct sum in a foot-note.

⁵ Half of Printz's salary or 601:14 D. was to be paid from rents in Österbotten.

^{6a} An executioner with a wage of 72 D. a year was also put on the budget of 1642, but no one was appointed for the office, *Journal*, no. 176, etc.

⁷ In all 4,530 D. or 3,020 R.D., including the wage of the executioner (72 D.). *Journal*, no. 176; *Monatg. B.*, 1642-56, fol. 1.

⁸ He left the service on May 1, 1644, and returned on the *Fama, Monatg. B.*, 1642-56.

various capacities and his salary was nearly twice as large as that given in the budget to the regular lieutenant,⁸ which would indicate that he was next in command to Printz. He was paid 20 R.D. for expenses on a journey to New Amsterdam and his entire account (332 R.D.) was settled in goods and money before he left the colony.⁹

In the summer of 1644 Papegoja was given command at Fort Christina, taking the place of Måns Kling. He was not put on the budget of 1642 and, although Printz was requested "by the gentlemen in Sweden" to give him some appointment in the colony, no salary was assigned to him. In 1644 he complained about it to Brahe, and thought it very hard to labor here "like a slave and without pay like one who had forfeited his life." A salary was later given to him, however, and he remained here, as we shall see, for several years.

It seems that Papegoja conceived a passion for Armegot one of the governor's daughters on his first trip here, and when he returned the second time he carried letters of introduction to Printz from the Queen and from Brahe, who interceded in his behalf, recommending him to the favor of the governor. Papegoja also enlisted the aid of "the priest" (Campanius) in his case, who spoke to the governor about it, but he was not successful at once, and he was obliged to wait for some time before a favorable answer was received. His solicitations at last prevailed, however, and he was finally married to Armegot Printz, in the church at Tinicum Island, probably with great display, a general holiday undoubtedly being proclaimed in the colony. He lived inside of Christina, in one of the houses erected by the company, and here he built a storehouse and dug a cellar for his own use.¹⁰

The Liljehök brothers were recommended to Printz by Klas

⁸ The salary of the lieutenant given in the budget was 16 R.D. a month. *Journal*, no. 176; *Monatg. B.*, 1642-56.

⁹ *Monatg. B.*, 1642-56.

¹⁰ Rising's *Journal*; Papegoja to Brahe, July 15, 1644; Brahe to Printz, November 9, 1643 (Concept.). *Skokl. Saml.* (R.A.). The Queen to Printz, November 2, 1643, R.R.; *Rulla*, 1644; Odhner, *N.S.*, p. 37. Cp. Hazard, pp. 76-7. Hazard gives a poor translation of Christina's recommendation for Papegoja.

Fleming. About March 25 Per Liljehök was appointed commander at Upland with a salary of 25 florins a month. On May 1, 1646, he left his post and is heard of no more in connection with the colony.¹¹ His brother (probably younger) "was engaged on March 12 as a simple soldier" and served in this capacity for four years, whereupon he returned to Sweden.¹² Lieutenant Måns Kling was transferred to the Schuylkill in 1644. His salary continued to be paid by the company through Beier. He remained here for several years, but did not return to the colony after his departure in 1648.¹³ Hendrick Huygen was commiss during this period. He was an honest, able man, knowing the Indian language and ever ready to work for the good of his superiors. He made several requests for dismissal, being persuaded with difficulty by Printz to remain until another man should arrive. Huygen's assistant was his relative, Gotfried Harmer, who seems to have performed his duty with faithfulness the first few years, being praised by Governor Printz.¹⁴

The duties of the commanders at the forts and blockhouses except at Christina and New Gothenborg were both military and commercial, as the merchandise was placed in their care, and they superintended the sale of the goods to the Indians.

On November 1, 1647, Anders Larsson Dalbo was engaged by Printz to act as *profoss* (provost-marshal) in place of Johan Olofsson, and he served in the capacity until September 1, 1653, when he seems to have returned to Sweden. The

¹¹ He probably left the colony and returned to Sweden, but he is not mentioned in the *Monatg. B.* after 1646. It is possible that he settled in some of the neighboring colonies or died before he reached Stockholm. See *Monatg. B.*, 1642-56, fol. 50 and 81; *Rulla*, 1644, Odhner, N.S., p. 38.

¹² He left the service March 12, 1648, and returned to Sweden on the *Swan*, May 16. On July 10, Beier paid him 26:30 R.D. on his own and on his brother's account and on July 28 he was paid 92:8 R.D. or the remainder of the claims he had against the company. Per Liljehök served for 21½ months at the rate of 10 R.D. and Knut served for 49 months at the rate of 4 R.D. a month, making both bills 411 R.D. Shoes, shirts, stockings, gloves and other wearing apparel and supplies were given to them in New Sweden to the value of 78:11 R.D. See *Monatg. B.*, 1642-56, fol. 50 and 81.

¹³ Cf. above, Chap. XXVIII.

¹⁴ *Report*, 1647; Rising's *Journal*.

provost-marshal was supplied with handcuffs and other implements, belonging to his profession. The main prison was at Christina, where the criminals were generally confined, but they were also kept at Elfsborg. At the latter place the widow Karin, the Finnish woman, was imprisoned for a long time, until she succeeded in freeing herself, when she was sent to Christina as a more secure place. Here Plowden's servants were imprisoned in 1643 and here also Clement the Finn, Sven Vass and others were confined. An executioner was placed on the budget of 1642, but the office was never filled and it is probable that the provost performed that duty in 1653 when the sentence of Anders Jönsson was carried into effect.¹⁵

The soldiers were distributed throughout the colony at the various forts and blockhouses. They were kept at work on the fortifications and on the company's lands. They were always dissatisfied with their position and anxious to leave, and desertions occasionally took place.

II.

It is more than probable that Printz established a court at Christina shortly after his arrival, as there were many disputes and differences to be settled in the early part of 1643. A court also seems to have been held in May (1643), when Plowden's servants were examined, and in July "the first mixed court held on the banks of the Delaware" was convened.¹⁶

In the spring of 1643 several deserters from the colony had escaped to New Netherland and, when Christer Boije and Huygen were sent there in June, one of their duties was to bring back these fugitives. There was an understanding between the governors of the neighboring colonies that deserters should be detained and returned or at least given up, when officers arrived to fetch them back, and Governor Kieft placed no obstacles in the way for Huygen and Boije. In fact the provost-marshal of the Dutch colony was employed to capture

¹⁵ "Förklaring," etc., 1654, N.S., I. (R.A.); *Report*, 1644; *Journal*, N.S., III. (K.A.).

¹⁶ Cf. above, Chaps. XXXIV., XXXII., XXII.

the runaways. They were not in New Amsterdam, but had betaken themselves about twenty-four miles from the city. Here they had been discovered by some Indians, however, who informed Huygen of their whereabouts,¹⁷ and were captured and taken to the Swedish sloop, where they were guarded by Dutch soldiers until the vessel sailed for New Sweden. The expense in capturing the refugees was considerable. Beer to the value of 10 florins¹⁸ was given to the Dutch soldiers for their trouble and other expenses amounting to 82½ florins were paid for in sewant. The prisoners were probably put into irons until the bark arrived at Fort Christina. It is likely that a court was called shortly afterwards, at which the deserters were tried. The leader, if he could be found, was probably punished in some way, but the others were undoubtedly allowed their freedom and exempted from fines, on their promise of good behavior and the furnishing of bail.¹⁹

Some time in the summer of 1643, Printz moved his seat of government to New Gothenborg, and from now until the autumn of 1653, the royal flag of Sweden waved over that fort as a sign that the governor dwelled there. The Swedish coat of arms, cut in stone (probably later replaced by a painted metal shield), was placed above the gate. It seems that a certain room in Printz Hall was set aside for administrative purposes. Here were preserved the "Public Records of New Sweden," the Indian deeds and the salary-rolls of the soldiers and officers paid by the government; here the letters to the English and Dutch governors and the reports and letters to Sweden were drafted; many of the courts of New Sweden from 1643-53 sat here; and here representatives and commissioners from the neighboring colonies were received in audience by Printz.

Although Printz was in all probability not "the first judge upon our shores and Tinicum was [not] the first seat of

¹⁷ For this information the Indians were given about 10 yards of duffel by Huygen.

¹⁸ Half a "vatt" was given to the soldiers.

¹⁹ *Acc. B.*, 1643-8; Printz to Kieft, May 30, 1643. N.S., I. (R.A.).

justice,"²⁰ still the administration of justice in New Sweden was systematized with the arrival of Printz and during this period regular courts were held and special courts were called, whenever circumstances required it.

As already stated, the Swedish law was to be followed in all cases (as far as possible) and no special code was prepared for the colony, but in particular instances, not covered by the law of Sweden, the governor could use his own judgment and adopt a course which expediency would suggest and his assistants advise. We may therefore assume that the courts of New Sweden were duplicates of those of the mother country. Printz was judge in most cases, assisted by a body of men, about twelve in number, and in connection with these he heard the evidence and decided on the case.²¹

It has been stated that the trial by jury was introduced into England from Scandinavia.²² Blackstone, leaning towards a Germanic origin of the jury, states that "Stiernhöök²³ ascribes the invention of the jury, which in the Teutonic language is denoted "*Nembda*," to Regner, ²⁴ king of Sweden."²⁵

In a debate in the State Convention of December 8, 1787, Mr. Findley argued the adoption of "trial by jury in civil cases" by stating that, when this system of administering justice

²⁰ Cf. above.

²¹ Cf. below.

²² See Stubbs, *Constitutional History*, I. 655, 6. Pollock and Maitland derive it from a Frankish source. See *Hist. of English Law* (Cambridge, 1895), I. 11 ff. Other origins have also been given. Cf. Freeman, *Hist. of the Norman Conquest of Eng.* (Oxford, 1876), V. 451 ff., 884-5 (Appendix R.R.); Hildebrand, *Sv. statsf.*, p. 46, note 4; Paul, *Ger. Phil.* (new ed.), III. 218 ff. In *Ger. Phil.* (III. p. 220) von Amira says: "Drei Entstehungsherde derselben (Jury) lassen sich nachweisen; das fränkische Königsgericht, das dänische Königsgericht, das isländische Gericht. Von Dänemark aus hat sich die Jury nach Sweden verbreitet."

²³ Stiernhöök, called the father of Swedish jurisprudence. See Schück, *Lit. hist.*, I. p. 489.

²⁴ Or Ragnar Lodbrok. For the historical Ragnar who was a jarl in Denmark see *Nordisk familjebok*, XIII. 660 ff. Cf. Hildebrand, *Sv. hist.* (old ed.), I. 250, 291, etc.

²⁵ Armstrong's statement (*Records of Upland Court*, p. 30) that "Swedish writers assert that trial by jury is of Swedish origin" (lately repeated in *Penn. Mag.*) is not strictly correct, as Hjarta and others have claimed that the jury was introduced into Sweden from England (Schück).

fell into disuse in Sweden, the commons of that nation lost their freedom and a tyrannical aristocracy prevailed.²⁶

Mr. Findley, as well as many lawyers of a later period, have supposed that the Swedish jury was the same as the English; but the two systems had few resemblances and some authorities even state that the jury is foreign to Sweden, except in "cases of press-prosecution," which however is of recent date.²⁷

The Swedish *nämd*²⁸ or jury of the first half of the seventeenth century had an examining and a judicative power.²⁹ The witnesses were examined by the jury and the judge, and the judge *together with* the jury pronounced the judgment. The celebrated Stiernhöök (1596-1675) says in his work, *De Jure Sveonum et Gothorum Vestuto*: "In our days (that is 1650-75) the juries take part in the office of the judge, for the duties of the two have become confused, and the jurymen examine and judge both as to fact and law, just as assessors; while the judge is only the presiding officer."³⁰

²⁶ McMaster and Stone, *Penn. and the Federal Constitution*, 1787-88 (Lancaster, 1888), p. 359 ff. "Mr. Wilson and Mr. McKean interrupted Mr. Findley and called warmly for his authority to prove that trial by jury existed in Sweden . . . , asserting that the trial by jury was never known in any other country than England" (p. 360). Later, however, Mr. Findley quoted Blackstone as his authority. Cf. below.

²⁷ Sundbärg, *Sweden*, pp. 228, 397. But Fahlcrantz says: "The old Swedish jury was at this time [in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries], on the whole, nothing else than the English jury of to-day." *En för v. f. för. kraft*, p. 8. Cf. Fahlcrantz, *Om Rätteg. i England*, I. p. 77 ff.

²⁸ For the derivation (and related words) see Dalin, *Ordbok*.

²⁹ The *nämd* (jury) is a very old institution in Sweden. It is mentioned in the old *västgötalag* (before 1250). Its origin has been variously sought by different writers (Hjärne, Schlyter and Larsen, tracing it from the institution called the *edgärds män*). Cf. Hildebrand, *Sv. statsf.*, p. 46, note.

³⁰ Under the heading of *Hodiernum Nembdæ officium*, Stiernhöök says: "Quia autem Nembdæ nostra hodierna stata et ordinaria est, officium ejus applicatum est ad alia, partim ex jure, partim ex consuetudine. Ex jure adhibentur ad executionem decretorum judicij, ad inspectionem terminorum, ad aestimationem pretij, damni, lucri, etc., quibus judici aliquando etiam interdictum est interesse. Dabantur aliquando ex his pacificatores parentibus, quod et hodie salubriter fit, quâ ratione multas rusticorum lites celerrime finiri constat. Atq., hâc ratione arbitri esse possunt, quo modo jus Wesmannicum appellationem ab ipso judice ad Nembdam concessisse arbitror, tanquam si à stricto jure aliquando ad aequitatem aut arbitrium bonorum virorum provocare liceat, quod tamen de nullo reliquo jure fieri potuit, ratione sane potiore. De jure tamen Ost-Gothico etiam testes sunt de judice et actis ejus. Judex vero de ipsis vicissim testari

Still another peculiarity of this jury was its permanency; the jurymen were appointed for life, and hence the same jury sat at every court in the same district.³¹ The number was originally twelve, and twelve jurymen are often or generally found at the courts at the end of the sixteenth and beginning of the seventeenth century;³² but the number varied and as many as twenty-four are mentioned; while seven must be present if the court was to be legal.³³

The jury was therefore of much importance, but its power non potest, verè an falsò jurent: qualicunq: enim eorum assertioni standum est et judicandum. Si tamen evidente argumento falsum jurasse convincantur (id quod de jure Donico, non iudex, sed Episcopus provinciae et alij ejusdem probi et cordati viri, de jure Gothico vero superjux judicium cognoscere debebant) mulctantur in bonis, de caetero perjuri et intestabiles. De cōsuetudine vero hodie Nembda ex officio judicis participat, confusis enim officiis simul de facto et jure cognoscunt et dijudicant tanquam Assessores, iudice tantum praesidente, itaq. vota ipsorum et suffragia vel ipse iudex de jure colligit vel iudex facti, qui unus est ex Nembdariis et proprie ab ipsis iudex nominatur, cum iudicem de iure, iuris tantum ac legis lectorem nuncupent. Hic tam de iure quam de facto disserentes audit, et ut evitetur omnis oblocutio et confusio, sententias eorum placide in iudicium profert, ex quibus iudices ut plurimum pendent" (pp. 60-61).

³¹ This, however, was not always the case. Hildebrand, quoting Schlyter, states that the *nämd* of the "hundaresting" was originally not "fast," that is it was subject to change. Later it became "fast" under the name of *härads-nämd*. The other institution of *nämdemän* was "fast" from the very earliest times. Its duty was to seek truth ("sanning leta"); but there were also certain juries, whose duty was to pronounce judgment. These two functions were later combined. Cf. Fahlerantz, *Rättf. i rättssk.*, etc., I. 34-5; Hildebrand, *Sv. statsf.*, pp. 46-7.

³² In Chap. 10 of *Christoffer's laws* we read: "Der skola de XII i nämnden sitta, som svurit hafva efter konungsboken," and Stiernhöök, quoting from Chap. 42 of *Edzores B.*, says: "Ther skulu Tolf tilnämnpnas som dhett malit ransaka skulu." *De Jure*, p. 56. Stiernhöök further writes: "Itaq., vel iudex ipse vel praefectus provinciae Regius (utrumq. enim de jure extat) Nembdam constituebat, viros honestos, domicilij certos, binos, trinos vel etiam senos ex singulis territorij quadrantibus, qui quod deputati essent, Nämndemän, quod duodecim Tolfmän, quod senes Oldungar, nominati fuerunt." *De Jure*, p. 54.

³³ At a court in *Upsala Lagsaga* in January, 1578, twelve *nämndemän* are mentioned, the same number at another court in March and in May the following year. (All these were Konungsting.) But at a court in 1586 there were 20 jurymen and in 1599 a court is on record where only 7 jurymen were present. As many as 23 and 24 are also mentioned. At the *Lagmansting* the number of jurymen also varied from 12 (the most common number) to 24. But in *Häradssting* it seems that the jurymen were most often 12 in number. See Fahlerantz; *Rättf. i rättssk.*, etc., I. pp. 45, 55, 63, 68, 86, 116, 127, 142, ff., 257 ff. Cf. Hildebrand, *Sv. statsf.*, p. 142 ff., 146 ff.

began to decline in the period covered by the Swedish occupation of the Delaware, and the members were often "treated as non-entities and assisting shadows."³⁴ In 1640 a commission was appointed to investigate the situation and in the memorial, which the commissioners submitted, they say that those judges, who undertook to examine and pronounce judgment alone, without the jury could not be made to pay too big a penalty, showing that abuse of the old principles was common.³⁵ That these practices also obtained on the Delaware is certain. We have instances where members of the jury gave testimony, where the jury and judge examined the witnesses and jointly pronounced the judgment, but cases are also referred to, where the judge, in this case Printz, gave his judgment alone, without proper examination or reference to the jury.³⁶ In all these instances, however, Printz undoubtedly tried to follow the custom used in Sweden, judging cases according to the common Swedish laws and "the law of God and Moses."³⁷

We have two fairly complete and detailed reports or protocols of courts held here and some references to others, and in order to give the reader an idea of how the courts were conducted, we shall quote at large from the minutes.

At the special court held on July 10, 1643, a mixed jury was appointed. It seems that Christer Boije acted as judge, since his name occurs first on the list. It appears that Hendrick Huygen was secretary or clerk. The minutes of the court, preserved to us in a defective copy, state that "Anno 1643 on the tenth of July, at Fort Christina, a case (*rechtsake*) was examined and judged in the name of Her Royal Majesty of Sweden, between Governor Johan Printz, plaintiff, and Mr.

³⁴ The jury finally lost most of its power. Hildebrand, *Sv. statsf.*, p. 293; Blackstone, *Commentaries*, Book III., Chap. 23, Section 381. "In Sweden the trial by jury, that bulwark of northern liberty, which continued in its full vigour so lately as the middle of the last century, is now fallen into disuse." Cf. also the references given by Blackstone.

³⁵ See Odhner, *Sv. in. hist.*, pp. 178 ff., 195 ff.; Hildebrand, *Sv. statsf.*, 286; Fahlerantz, *Rättf. i rättsk.*, p. 246 ff.

³⁶ See below.

³⁷ Cf. above (Introduction).

Lamberton, defendant, by sitting of the following noble, valiant and well-honorable good gentlemen:

Captain Christer Boije (president or judge?)
Comissary Hendrick Huygen
Captain Måns Kling
Commissary Jan Jansen
Skipper Wessel Evertsen,
Oloff Stille
Ivert Sievers[en]
Karl Jansson
David Davidsson.

The governor, noble and valiant Johan Printz, came before the court and asked Mr. Lamberton by what right or commission he had protested against Her Royal Majesty of Sweden."

Documents were presented by both sides and witnesses were called to testify. Members of the court also testified and the minutes record that Måns Kling, one of the jurors, related the circumstances of the land-purchase of Ridder "openly before the court." The examination of Lamberton was conducted by Printz and by the court. When the minutes say "that the court asked Mr. Lamberton," etc., it is likely that Christer Boije conducted the questioning. The judgment and decision were also pronounced by *the judge and jury jointly*, immediately upon the conclusion of the examination. It has the following form:

"Controversial affairs, in which are concerned the Crown of Sweden and the Hon. W[est India] Company, taken place between the noble, strong and valiant Mr. Johan Printz, authorized Governor of New Sweden, on the one side, and Mr. Lamberton of Robarch(?) [New Haven] on the other side, judged and pronounced the tenth of July, 1643, in Fort Christina in New Sweden." Then follows the sentence in three paragraphs, which is signed by Christer Boije and the other members of the court.³⁸

³⁸ The minutes were kept in Dutch and the sentence was also written in that language. A copy was sent to Sweden and it is now preserved in N.S., I. (R.A.). Copies were also sent to New England. The originals were probably brought to Sweden by Rising and have been lost. Robarch, Roxbury, Mass.(?)

On January 16, 1644, another special court was called by Printz to disprove the accusations made by Lamberton and Thickpeny and repeated in Winthrop's letters. A copy of the minutes (in Dutch) reads as follows:

"Anno 1644, on January 16, the following things (saken) were examined on oath, upon the letters from the Governor of New England to the Governor of New Sweden in the presence of the following good men:

Gov. Johan Printz

Capt. Christer Boije

Capt. Måns Kling³⁹

[Comm.] Hendrick Huygen

[Watchmaster] Gregorious van Dyck

[Sec.]⁴⁰ Karl Jansson

Capt. Nath. Turner

Isaac Allerton."

Gov. Printz presided and he conducted the examination. The minutes were signed by Nath. Turner and Isaac Allerton and copies were sent to Sweden and to Governor Winthrop.⁴¹

It is probable that Sven Vass, the gunner of New Gothenborg, was tried at a regular court in 1646. In the opinion of Printz and the jury he was guilty and a verdict was given to that effect. "On February 8, 9, 10, 11, anno 1647 . . . a legal court was held at New Gothenborg in New Sweden . . . [and at this court] an inquiry was made about what was consumed in the fire on the night of November 25, between 10 and 11 o'clock, when New Gothenborg was burnt." It is possible that Vass was reëxamined at this court, and in March he was sent in irons to Sweden, together with all records and minutes in the case and the execution of the verdict was referred "to

³⁹ I have modernized the spelling and changed the order.

⁴⁰ Cf. Kidder, p. 7.

⁴¹ Cf. above, Chap. XXXVI. The translation printed by Kidder is, in my opinion, not the "copies referred to by Winthrop" as Kidder thinks, but a translation made for Winthrop from the Dutch copies sent to him by Printz. It begins: "Translated out of the *Dutch copy*," etc.

the pleasure of Her Royal Majesty and the Right Hon. Company."⁴²

Several other courts are also on record, at which individual colonists were tried for misdemeanors. The Swedes were prohibited from trading privately with the Dutch, but it seems that the orders were not strictly lived up to, giving rise to litigations and trouble. "Per Gunnarsson was summoned to court on a charge of selling grain to the Dutch and, [when he] appeared before the court, the governor asked him how much rye he had sold to the Hollanders," pronouncing judgment, it seems, without proper regard to the jury nor the hearing of witnesses in this case.⁴³ The settlers were likewise forbidden to sell arms and ammunition to the savages. Knut Persson left a gun with Per Kock, requesting him to sell it to the Indians. The gun was later stolen by the savages (or sold to them).⁴⁴ News reached the governor and Per Kock was summoned to answer at court, since Persson had died in the meantime. If we are to believe a "complaint" against Printz, presented to Director Rising in 1654, the former disregarded the opinion of the jurors also in this case and told them that he would do, "not what seems [right] to them," but what he wished, [and Per Kock was condemned] "to do work for the company for three months, on his own board." For some crime or misdemeanor, "a lawful sentence" was passed on Anders the Finn, depriving him of a certain amount of rye, and imposing other fines.

In 1653 there was much trouble in New Sweden and in the autumn the situation reached a crisis. Ships did not arrive, some colonists deserted and a "revolt" arose against Governor Printz. Several colonists had real or imaginary grievances against the governor. A written supplication in eleven articles,

⁴² *Court Rec.*, N.S., I. (R.A.); *Report*, 1647, *Penn. Mag.*, VII, p. 273.

⁴³ "Förklaring," July 7, 1654, N.S., I. (R.A.).

⁴⁴ The report submitted to Rising states that Per Kock did not dare to sell the gun; but Persson said, "when the governor sells so many guns, why should I not dare to sell mine. . . . Then the gun was stolen from Per Kock by the savages," "Förklaring," etc.

signed by twenty-two settlers,⁴⁵ was presented to him on July 27. It states that the colonists were "at no hour or time secure as to life and property"; it complained that they were all prohibited from trading with either the savages or Christians, although the governor never refrained from grasping an opportunity of traffic with these parties; the governor was accused of brutality and avarice and of passing judgment in his own favor against the opinions of the jury; he was accused of forbidding the colonists from grinding the flour at the mill and of prohibiting them the use of the "fish-waters, the trees in the woods, the grass on the ground and the land to plant on, from which they had their nourishment." The petition then prayed that Anders the Finn might be released from his fine, "in order that his wife and children should not starve to death."

On account of these and other troubles, the petitioners said, they were obliged to send two men to Her Royal Majesty and the Hon. Company in the mother country to ascertain if they were entirely neglected . . . and what they should do, since they were not able (allowed?) to seek their subsistence in this country." The petition kindled the wrath of the governor. Anders Jönsson, who appears to have been the leader of the opposition, was arrested, tried and "executed [on a charge of treachery] . . . on August 1, 1653."⁴⁶ Rev. Lock was also involved in the disturbance, but for some reason his freedom and office were not interfered with.

Two days after the execution of Anders Jönsson, the governor made a written reply to the charges. The petitioners were addressed as rebels and their petition was answered point for point. Only the fur trade with the savages was forbidden them

⁴⁵ These names are (in the order of their signatures): Mats Hansson, Olof Stille, Axel Stille, Johan Hwiler, Hindrick Matsson, Ifvar Hindricksson, Måns Andersson, Olof Ericksson, Hindrick Matss[on] the Finn, Valerius Loo, Hans Månsson, Peter Jochim, Anders Andersson, Per Rambo, Peter Kock, Sven Gunnarsson, Anders Hansson, Mårten Mårtensson, Klas Johansson, Johan Fysk, Lars Thomasson Bross. Complaint (copy), N.S., I. (R.A.).

⁴⁶ *Monatg. B.*, 1642-56, fol. 51, 81. Anders Jönsson was hired by Johan Papegoja on December 1, 1643, to serve as soldier in New Sweden for a salary of 4 R.D. a month. He remained in the service until he was arrested, but he had received goods and cash amounting to 525:19 R.D., leaving him in debt to the company for 57:19 R.D.

and only two islands, belonging to "the place of [the governor's] residence" were set aside for Printz "and this was done . . . before Kingsewing was colonized," hence they had no right to complain; "every one was at liberty to grind [his grain] at the mill for toll, but only at certain times, since the miller did not dare to remain at the mill continually on account of the savages". Printz also denied all other charges, referring to the documents, minutes and judgments for justification of his acts and he was very willing to have two men sent to Sweden, "the sooner the better."

But the answer of course did not satisfy the petitioners. They were silenced for the time being, but in a later document, presented the following year, new charges were made and the old ones were repeated. The colonists were forbidden, says the document, on pain of death to trade with the Dutch freemen, "but when the Hollanders were in greatest need, the governor assisted them himself, with provisions, flour, beer, pork and other things" and sold large quantities of beavers to the English for gold and sent heaps of beaver skins to Holland.

The governor was further accused of ill treating several of the colonists.⁴⁷ The freemen were put to work on his plantations; they built his houses without remuneration; made planks which he appropriated for his own use; they harvested his grain before their own and their sleds were taken from them in harvest time, so that their grain was spoiled by the rain. Such and other equally grave or graver charges were made; but we

⁴⁷ In Paragraph 8 of the "Förklaring" we read: "Thus we have been treated more contrary to law than according to law. For example, Clemet, the Finn, had a hand-mill together with Anders, Johan and Måns, the Finn. [Later] Clemet bought the mill from the other Finns, and when he then got the mill he went after it and fetched it to himself and his house. As this [had happened] he immediately made it known to the governor. Then when Clemet came to church on a common day of prayer, the governor called Clemet to himself before the sermon and asked him, why he had taken the mill? Clemet answered: 'The mill is mine.' Then said the governor, 'You rascal, shall you take the mill without asking me?' With this he seized Clemet, struck him firstly in the hall and followed him with blows and strikes until he fell down and yet further he struck him on the ground, so that he lost his health through it. In addition he threw him into the church, and the day after he let him be brought to Christina into the chest (prison), where he lay for 8 days. When he recovered somewhat, he (the governor) took him out and let him do work for some weeks."

must make some allowance. That some of the charges were true, goes without saying, but the majority were undoubtedly overdrawn or unfounded.⁴⁸ Acrelius gives the correct view, when he says: "That it is probable that the Swedes, after they came into this *Canaan* and got a taste of an unknown good, tired of such labor as was nothing more than usual at home, and thus conceived an unmerited hatred to their governor."⁴⁹

Printz discharged his office as governor with no small ability. He gave deeds to the colonists, issued commissions to traders and passes and sea letters, but he was at a great disadvantage, for lack of proper assistance and support. He solicited several times for "a learned and able man to administer justice and to attend to the law business." Very intricate cases occurred and Printz complained "that it was difficult and never ought to be that one and the same person appear in the court as plaintiff as well as judge."⁵⁰ But no assistant was sent him, and he did the best he could under the circumstances. His government was at times harsh and probably tyrannical; but it required a strong hand to rule the rough element. The majority of the colonists were peaceful and well-behaved, but there were those who had little regard for law and order and who had to be kept in check. In 1650 Printz wrote that there were not thirty men under his charge, whom he could trust, and some time before Papegoja reported that "it was very hard for him to remain here, for he received only rebuke and ingratitude for everything he did, and besides the soldiers cherished secret hatred towards him and if they would find a small fault in him they would likely murder him."⁵¹ Papegoja's complaints are likely exaggerated, but they go far to prove that we must not take the complaints against Printz too seriously.⁵²

⁴⁸ Tradition of the tyranny of Printz lived on among the settlers for generations. In 1759 Acrelius writes: "Some blame was put on Printz that he was too strict with the people, made slaves of the Swedes, kept them to work on the fort and his Tenakongh estate. And although this talk is still circulated, it can nevertheless not be looked upon otherwise than as groundless." *Beskrif.*, p. 82 (transl., p. 83).

⁴⁹ *Beskrif.*, pp. 82-3 (transl., 83).

⁵⁰ *Report*, 1644; *Report*, 1647.

⁵¹ Papegoja to Brahe, July 15, 1644. *Skokl. Saml.* (R.A.).

The governor was finding his position quite untenable in the autumn of 1653 and at last he determined to go to Sweden in person to present the needs of the settlement and began making preparation for his departure. Indian chiefs were called to Printz Hall about the end of September. Speeches were made, small gifts were perhaps distributed among them, promises of friendship were renewed and Printz gave them the assurance that large supplies would arrive within a few months, for he went himself to hurry the preparations.

Finally all arrangements were completed for his return, the people were called together, probably farewell services were held, after which he formally delivered his authority to Johan Papegoja and he promised the colonists that in ten months⁵³ from October 1 "he would either present himself there again in person or send over a ship with a cargo." About the beginning of October he went to New Amsterdam with his wife and four daughters and from there he set sail on a Dutch vessel, thinking that he would arrive in Sweden in about two months.⁵⁴ Hendrick Huygen and about twenty-five settlers and soldiers also left the colony with Printz.

⁵² Cf. the complaints made against Stuyvesant, Kieft and other governors of New Netherland. *Doc.*, I., Jameson, *Nar. of N. Neth.*

⁵³ In a letter to Beier, February 14, 1654, Printz wrote that he promised the people that "12 månader räknadt ifrån den 1 Febr. skulle [han] wara hoos deem vthi Nye Sverige igen," N.S., I. (R.A.).

⁵⁴ There is some doubt about the time of his departure from New Sweden. Acrelius says it took place in 1652. This was corrected by Hazard (p. 139) and Sprinchorn (p. 47), the latter stating that "Printz left the colony in the beginning of November." Printz writes in one letter that he was at sea for ten weeks, before he landed in France; he remained in France six weeks, was five weeks on his way to Amsterdam, where he arrived on February 7. Hence, counting 21 weeks backwards from February 7, we will arrive at the middle of September, as the time of his leaving New Sweden. But Printz is very indefinite and not consistent in his statements. In another letter he says he was "at sea for three full months on account of contrary winds." This would place the time of his departure from New Sweden about September 1. But from other circumstances it is clear that he did not leave the colony before October. On October 1 he issued a sea-letter for Cornelius and on the seventh Stuyvesant wrote in his behalf to the directors of the Dutch West India Company, probably at the request of Printz, as he was preparing to leave (and the letter was perhaps sent on the ship, that carried Printz to Europe). Letters from Printz to Brahe and Oxenstierna, December 1, 1653, February 8, 1654, April 4, 1654, to Beier, February 14, 1654, *Ox. Saml.*, *Skokl. Saml.*, N.S., I. (R.A.). Hazard, p. 139; *Doc.*, XII. Cf. below and above.

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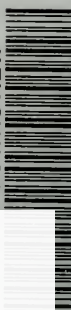
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