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Pennsylvania:

THE GERMAN INFLUENCE IN ITS SETTLEMENT AND DEVELOPMENT

A Narrative and Critical History

PREPARED BY AUTHORITY OF
THE PENNSYLVANIA-GERMAN SOCIETY

PART XX *A BRIEF HISTORY OF THE COLONY OF NEW SWEDEN*



PUBLISHED BY THE SOCIETY

A Brief History
of the
Colony of New Sweden

WHICH, BY THE KIND PERMISSION OF THE FACULTY
OF PHILOSOPHY AT UPSALA, PRESIDED OVER BY

MAGISTER ERIC GUSTAV GEYER

REGULAR AND ORDINARY PROFESSOR OF HISTORY, SECRETARY OF THE SWEDISH ACADEMY
OF EIGHTEEN, MEMBER OF THE STOCKHOLM LITERARY SOCIETY OF HUMANITIES,
ROYAL SCIENTIFIC SOCIETY OF UPSALA, AND NIDAROS [TRONDHJEM],
ALSO MEMBER OF THE SCIENTIFIC AND LITERARY SOCIETY
OF THE HUMANITIES AT GOTHENBURG

CAROLUS DAVID ARFWEDSON

OF WEST GOTH, THE AUTHOR

PUBLICLY PRESENTED

IN THE GUSTIVANEUM, ON THE 19TH DAY OF NOVEMBER, 1825.
IN THE MORNING SESSION

UPSALA

SET UP BY THE TYPOGRAPHERS OF THE ROYAL ACADEMY

Publication Committee

JULIUS F. SACHSE, LITT.D.

DANIEL W. NEAD, M.D.

HENRY M. M. RICHARDS

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THE PENNSYLVANIA-GERMAN SOCIETY

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THE PENNSYLVANIA-GERMAN SOCIETY.



GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS.

KING OF SWEDEN, BORN DECEMBER 9, 1594; DIED NOVEMBER 16, 1632.



FOREWORD.

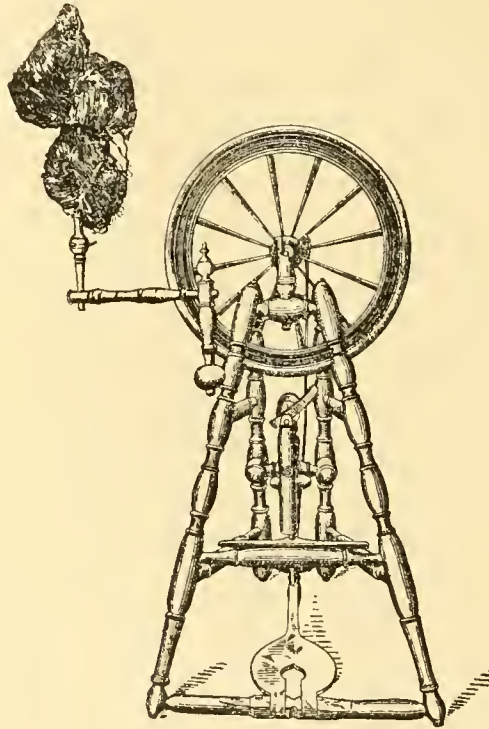


THE following interesting history of the Swedish Settlements on the Delaware was found some years ago in the library of one of the smaller Universities of eastern Prussia.—As the pamphlet appears to be entirely unknown to writers on Pennsylvania history the copy was purchased, and this translation is incorporated in our “Narrative and Critical History” as it throws light upon this, the earliest settlement, adjacent to the western shores of the great South or Delaware River, and gives us many interesting historical facts not heretofore known.—Further, of especial value are the footnotes, as they give the authorities quoted and their location. Facts of inestimable value to the historian and scholar of the future, who, having cognizance of the Swedish tongue, and the time and ability to write the full history of the Swedish Settlements on the Delaware, based upon official records and the contemporary documents mentioned by Arfwedson in his interesting historical essay.

Considerable difficulty was encountered in this translation as much of the Swedish text was in the verbose style of the period of the settlement and existence of the colony.

For the translation of the Swedish text we are indebted to K. W. Granlund, Esq., of Roxboro.—For the translation of the Latin text to Rev. Edward T. Horn, Jr., of the Evangelical Lutheran Seminary, at Mt. Airy, Philadelphia.

JULIUS F. SACHSE.



DE COLONIA NOVA SVEDIA
IN AMERICAM BOREALEM DEDUCTA
HISTORIOLA.

QUAM VENIA AMPL. FAC. PHIL. UPSAL.

PRÆSIDE

M A G. ERICO GUST. GEIJER

HISTORIAR. PROF. REG. ET ORD.

REGG. ORDD. HISTORIOGRAPHO

ACADEMIÆ SVECANÆ OCTODECEMVIRO, AC LITT. HUM. HOLM.
REG. SOCIET. SCIENT. UPSAL. REG. SOCIET. SCIENT. NIDAROS.
NEC NON SOCIET. SCIENT. AC LITT. HUM. GOTHOB. MEMBRO.

P. P.

AUCTOR

CAROLUS DAVID ARFWEDSON
Vestrogothus.

IN AUDIT. GUST. DIE XIX NOV. MDCCCXXV.

H. A. M. S.

U P S A L I Æ

EXCUDEBANT REGIÆ ACADEMIÆ TYPOGRAPHI.

FACSIMILE OF ORIGINAL TITLE PAGE.

The Geographical Map, appended to this present little work, is taken chiefly from the "Description of New Sweden," by *John Campanius*, so that with it conveniently at hand, the aspect of the River Delaware, may be clearer, as it was when the Colony of *New Sweden* was founded upon its shores.

TO THE
MOST REVEREND AND ILLUSTRIOUS
MAG. SV. *MAGNUS LIEDZÉN*
PASTOR IN ADELÖF,

Preceptor and Friend.

Sacrum volvit, debuit

C. D. ARFWEDSON

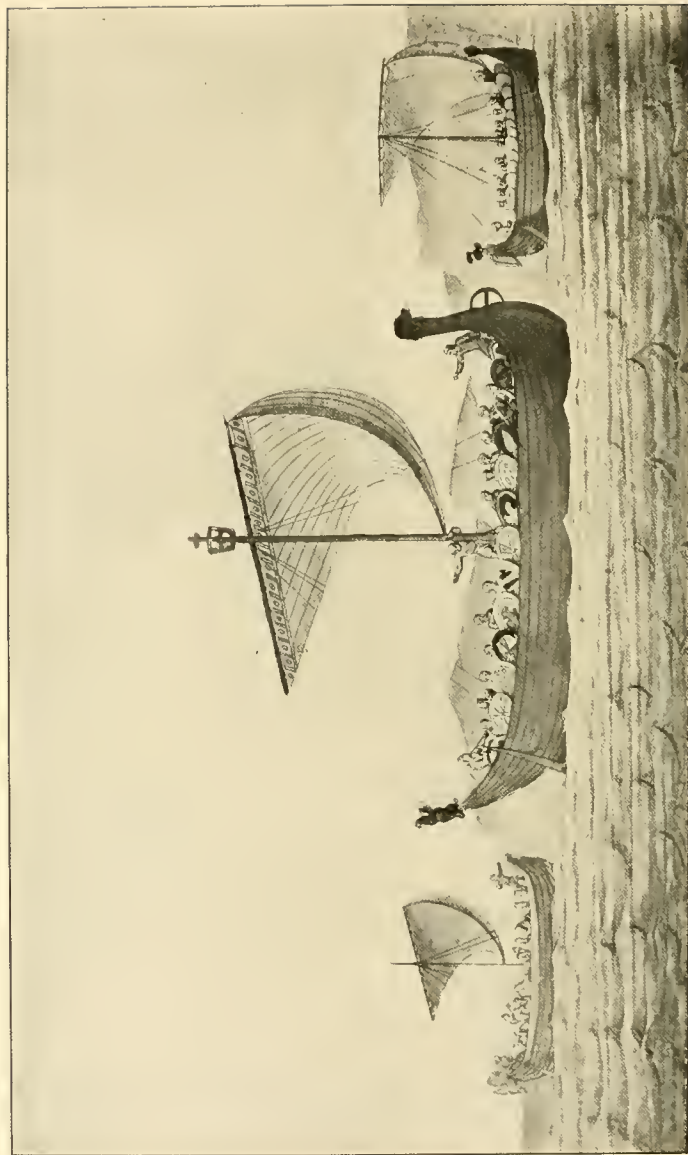
THE KING'S FAITHFUL SERVANT,
THE DIRECTOR OF THE LATE EAST INDIA COMPANY,
HERR CARL ARFWEDSON

My Reverend Father!

May this my First work entertain you,
Humble though it be
Worth less to your sight
Than to your heart!
But if I with thy gentle virtues,
Go forth on the path of life,
Some day, useful to my Country,
May I gladden thee.

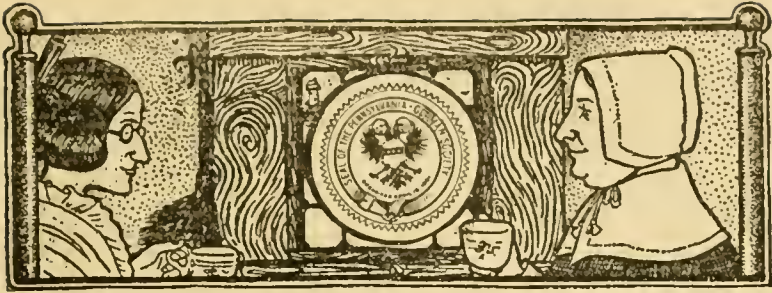
CARL.

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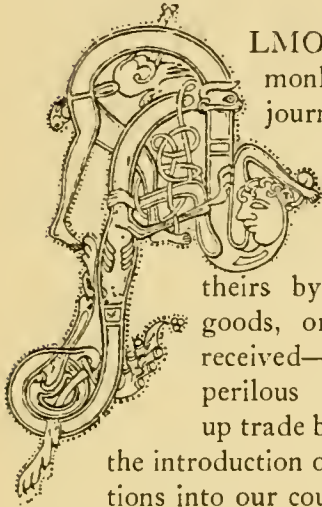


FROM AN OLD COPPERPLATE.

WIKINGAFARDE—VESSELS OF THE VIKINGS.



A BRIEF HISTORY OF THE COLONY OF NEW SWEDEN FOUNDED IN NORTH AMERICA.



ALMOST all of those expeditions, commonly called *Wikingafarder* (viking journeys), which were as full of daring as of danger—although the purpose of those who risked expeditions of that kind was generally either to enrich themselves and theirs by despoiling other tribes of their goods, or to exact vengeance for wrongs received—nevertheless, through these same perilous undertakings, those voyages built up trade between us and other peoples. After the introduction of Christianity these piratical expeditions into our country quickly ceased. But since our country, Scandinavia, was especially well situated for trade, foreigners kept immigrating, and by multiplying, gradually attained so much power as to try to subject even our own people to their foreign sway. These foreign traders, to whom the clericals of the time were friendly, or at least patrons, snatched nearly all the business away from the native towns-people, and discouraged the industry of

those who ventured to cultivate their own farms, and to participate in affairs of state. They despatched their accomplices into the mining region to buy up crude copper and iron¹ for a small price, in order presently to put a value upon manufactured articles. They engaged in the fishing industry around the shores of Scandinavia with great success: Scanör and Falsterbo belonged to them, and there they could deposit their commodities. But thirst for gold led these wandering and venturesome seekers of fortune to such a degree of boldness that Gustavus I., that great king, was compelled by necessity to take measures for their ruin, and the wreck of their trade, entrusting it to his grandson, Gustavus Adolphus, to bring matters to a conclusion.² The idea which was prevalent among citizens in former times—namely that it was to our greatest advantage to have the necessaries of life produced by foreigners—had now been exploded, as in time a wiser spirit gained ground. So, our predecessors, realizing the greed of the foreigners, and seeing that they had been deceived, began to complain of their evil methods and frauds; for, wandering from province to province, they kept increasing the price of commodities. Therefore, Gustavus Adolphus determined to remedy these troubles, and in 1614 promulgated a law concerning commerce, by which the trade of all foreigners was to be restricted to certain ports, and especially to Holm, Calmarnia, Nylosøe, Gothoburg, Sudercopia, Nycopia, Telje, Westervik, Gevalia, Aboa,

¹ Sandel's Presidii lecture in the Academy of Sciences about the relation of Sweden's import and export of merchandize. "For a barrel of Salt the Lübeckers received a *Skeppund* (375 pounds) of Copper. for a barrel of Carrots a *Skeppund* of pig iron, and so forth."

² Cf. Vitt. 6 Antiq. Acad. Proceedings, I., II. Flintenberg's "Treatise on the Hansa-towns' trade with Sweden."

Wiburg, and Rivalia;³ next he decreed that merchants, who for petty gain aided the newcomers, and also their accomplices should have their goods confiscated; and if they continued to transgress the law after having been mulcted repeatedly, they should be exiled. In 1615 he also commanded foreign traders to remain more than eight weeks in towns conceded to them, and transfer their goods to another city through the country. Following in the footsteps of the immortal Gustavus I., he urged the Swedish merchants, too, to export their wares in their own ships. By reason, however, of the scarcity of ships, he was induced to grant, in 1629, privileges to a Naval Society, which, for the consideration of the use of the public forests, was to have sixteen ships of twelve to eighteen hundred tons fitted out, for both merchant trade and war.⁴ He restored the Edict of Norcopia, of the year 1604, in which the Orders of the Kingdom had sanctioned a measure to have all crude iron made into bars, and to have the townspeople establish iron industries. He raised the price of copper, which went to outsiders very cheaply, by founding the Merchant's Society, 1619, which was to engage actively in smelting copper, so that after three years no crude copper was to be exported. He prohibited altogether the exportation of silver,⁵ for it was so scarce that it did not suffice even for coinage. And finally he granted privileges in order to especially stimulate the activity of the cities and towns.

³ v. Stiernman, "Collection of Royal Letters, Statutes and Edicts Concerning the Kingdom of Sweden's Commerce, etc.," I. D., p. 592. Cf. "Comment on Some Points in the Trade Ordinance of Orebro," February 23, 1615.

⁴ Modeer, "Outline of the History of Sweden's Trade," p. 79. Charter for the Ship-Company, Stockholm, January 26, 1689. v. Stiernman, L. C.

⁵ Letter Concerning the Kjöphandels-Company, July 24, 1619. Ap. Stiernman, L. C. Cf. Sandels, L. C.

Scanty commerce, combined with the enterprise of the foreigners in importing even the necessities of life which could easily have been supplied at home—at a time when as yet traders were in their infancy and public spirit was lukewarm—seem to have been the occasion of the forming of the so-called Artisans' Associations (*Suethice Skran*) in the towns. More laws were passed, directed against the unsettled state of commerce which everywhere prevailed in Sweden; but they did not moderate the troubles. It seemed necessary, therefore, for the attainment of more signal results, to discriminate in favor of urban as compared with agricultural industry, so that cities would be built and would flourish with a large body of citizens, and better work be accomplished where vast numbers of people were brought together into one place. To this end, wandering Vestrogoths were ordered to settle in some city; and the following cities were founded for the purpose of fostering honest trade: Sundsvall, Söderhamn, Umea, Pitea, Lulea, Tornea, Gamla and Nya Carleby.⁶ And later on still more cities were founded by the command of the king, and obtained charters; as, Gothoburg,⁷ Säther, Sala, Alnigas, Nortelje and Boras;⁸ and the rights of old cities were confirmed and extended.

⁶ Hallenberg, "History of Gustavus Adolphus," D-IV., p. 865.

⁷ See Celsis, Kön. Gustaf I.'s history concerning the same, page 303; Gustavus I. already had the intention of founding Gothoburg; but this city was finally really founded by Charles IX. in 1607. In the year 1611 the Danes laid the city waste, and the inhabitants moved to the town of Alingsas, until Gustavus Adolphus rebuilt the city and confirmed its charters.

⁸ Modeer, "Sv. Hand. Hist.," page 138. About this time, 1620, the comparative size of these cities was: Gefle and Aboa to Holm, as 135½ to 396; Arosia, Arboza and Norrcopia as 101½; Upsalia, Orebro, Nycopia and Sudercopia as 84; Hudikovall, Koping and Telje as 56; Lincopia, Carlstad, Mariestad, Heruosaud and Ulea as 25; Westervik, Wadstenoe,

Such were the labors undertaken by this young king, taxing mind and strength to aid the trade of his country, and to take from the foreigners their commercial monopolization, which was a hindrance to the nation, especially while the power of the Hanseatic Cities flourished unimpaired, and which almost drained our very life blood to a foreign shore. If to accomplish this he trusted too much in increasing "privileges" (Latin privileges, patents, charters) which do not smack of the more liberal spirit of trade; if from these "privileges" too often the fruits which he had conceived of in his mind were not forthcoming, some allowance must be made for the temper of his age. And if he made too many concessions in so commendable a work, nevertheless he seems not to have been mistaken in this, that while "privileges" are generally harmful in a state already fullgrown in the arts of civilization, yet in establishing and inciting industry at first they are none the less salutary.

Just at this time the immense wealth of Spain and of Portugal, recently brought from the newly discovered world and from the two Indies, excited the emulation of the other nations. The English followed close in their footsteps. The Dutch, fighting valiantly for liberty, opposed the power of the Spaniards by their commerce not less than by their arms.⁹ Their illustrious example, the

Hedemora, and Euköping as 28½; Skenninge, Lidköping, Strengnas, Brette, Ekfjo and Raums as 22; Torshälla, Oregrund, Wasa, Borgo and Helsingfors as 16; Sigtuna, Skara, Wexis and Björneborg as 13½; Bogesund, Hjo, Wimmerby and Sköfde as 11; Östhammar, Philipstad and Nadendal as 6; and Fahlköping and Trosa as 4½.

⁹ In *Svea Rikes General Trading Companies Contract*, Von Stiernman, plan cited, page 914, the following is said: "It is hard to believe what the great treasures, wealth and advantage the Spanish during 130 years have received and enjoyed from Africa, Asia and America; that the profit

more so because it was near at hand, attracted the North to imitate them. A desire of sending expeditions into far distant parts of the earth, and of founding colonies upon new shores, seized our country, and in this the king shared, for he had a liking for greater undertakings. The condition of the treasury, at a time when money was so scarce in the country that in the exchange of commodities you would find purchases made with Swedish more rarely than with foreign coins—the fact that there were so few private citizens who were able to come to the relief of the exhausted treasury with their fortunes and credit—the absolute necessity of lightening in some way the distress of the times, and, finally, the credulous hope of procuring in this easy way abundant means, especially gold and silver, for carrying on business—these were among the reasons which, even though the country was disturbed by war, commended such a plan. And a leader was not lacking. William Usseliux, a native of Holland, who had not fared any too well in his own country, so it seems, came to Sweden. First, by royal letters, dated December 21, 1624, he obtained permission to found a society for carrying on trade in all parts of the world, or, specifically, in Asia, Africa, America and Magellanica. As soon as the patents and conditions of this society were arranged, the founder himself, the above mentioned Usseliux, issued a lengthy appeal in which he set forth the advantages which would accrue to the nation from it (the society).

from America alone reaches annually 20 million Riksdaler or three hundred times 100,000 Swedish Dollars. . . . What great wealth the united Netherlands have obtained during forty years is well known. . . . All these profits and advantages has this Kingdom of Sweden to this day, missed and been without. . . . Usseliux explains these advantages at greater length in his own dissertation.”—“Forklärning öfver Handels Contractet,” Stockholm, 1626, 4to (quarto).

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AXEL OXENSTIERN.

SWEDISH STATESMAN, BORN 1583; DIED 1654

But although all citizens had been urged by royal authority to befriend this undertaking, nevertheless the fact that so little money had been deposited with the society proved an effectual barrier to its operation). And so Gustavus Adolphus published letters, dated Holm, July 2, 1626, in which he calls upon foreigners also to lend their aid to this useful enterprise according to the measure of their abilities. First, in 1627, it was resolved and decreed by the Assembly that for twelve years the region beyond the Gaditanum Strait (Strait of Gibraltar) be

¹⁰ A dissertation of Usseliux explains how many advantages Sweden could derive from this society: "*Forklaring öfver Handels Contractet*" in these words: "The first and most important advantage, which would follow from this, is (1) The glory of God through the spreading of the Gospels. (2) That the income of his majesty the King and the finances of the Kingdom would through this be greatly benefited without trouble to the common people. (3) This will greatly serve to release the common people; and not mentioning these general advantages, will particularly benefit each estate of the realm.—*Et in dio loco hujus dissertaionis dicit.* As to navigation, this kingdom has great advantages over other countries, namely harbor, timbers, victuals, wages, copper, iron, steel, pitch, tar, shot and other ammunition of war. The inhabitants of this country are a hardy people, who can endure cold and heat, are apt to learn, handy, brave at sea, which is seen from the fact that they dare venture on poor and small vessels, not only inside the archipelago within the rocks, but out on the bewildering ocean. Moreover they are obedient to the authorities, little inclined to mutiny or riot, in which quality they excel other nations and peoples. They lack nothing ooly they need practice to become experienced at sea, for they are not wanting in intelligence, ability and courage: and with a little practice, would easily become good ship carpenters, particularly as they have all become acquainted with the ax.

"Concerning several handicrafts, namely, fine linen, cloth, Saffian, Boy, bombazine, Buratt, caffia, merchandise, etc., little is made in this country, partly for the reason that materials are scarce, and partly that at this time ways to dispose of the merchandise are wanting, if it is manufactured in too large quantities. But they are not wanting in understanding and ability, for the peasants know all kinds of handicraft: They timber, do joiners' work, forge, bake, brew, weave, dye, sew shoes and clothing, etc.,

conceded to the Society General for Trade,¹⁰ called also the Swedish Southern Society.

In the name of the king permission was added to build forts and cities, to form alliances, and the like. The king

in which they excel all nations in Europe, for in other lands few would presume to put their hands to any handicraft, which they had not learned. The wives and daughters do wonderful things in weaving and sewing and other clever things, from which can be seen that they are intelligent and ingenious enough.

"It is perhaps true that they cannot here reach the perfection, which exists in other lands, where one always sticks to one's trade, and perseveres in that for a long time, generation after generation from parent to children. But that is no wonder, for as is commonly said: Out of each something and nothing out of all: So it is not probable that he who fixes his mind on many things, and sticks not to one, shall know all, or in one special thing excel others, or come to any perfection. For it is absolute, that he who has memory and understanding can learn quickly; and himself invent something which will be perfect and complete, if he from his youth sticks to and practices one thing.

"Some have the opinion that this nation is given to excessive eating and drinking, also to laziness, and for that reason will not engage in any steady work. As to this, I will leave it for what it is worth. But even if it were so, I will not to that degree except the English nation, which is well acquainted with this wickedness. Thus notwithstanding it can be seen that in their case habit is second nature. For formerly all wool used to be carried out of England to the Netherlands, where it was spun and cloth made of it, which later was carried back to England; as now happens in this kingdom with copper and iron, which is sent out and worked and then brought back again. Then it has happened at various times that a crowd of Netherlanders have gone to England and there begun to make cloth, afterward and lastly Boij, Saijan, Naaken, etc. When the English noticed this opportunity, they gave their children in marriage to the Netherlanders, so that they would learn trades, which so greatly increased, that within a few years, even to this day, almost all of Europe, is supplied with English cloth, Boij and Kersey, in which and other trades that country has so improved, that it now excels all others in riches and wealth—which all through this company's instrumentality can here and thus be brought about, as well for the sale of the finished products which are many of this country's raw materials, as various other materials, which this company import and which are needed in their manufacturing such as silk, fine wool, cotton, cotton yarn, flax, etc., which here as well as in other places

and also many good citizens continued to promote this affair. But now the time came when Gustavus Adolphus was called to the assistance of the afflicted Protestants in Germany, and met a premature death far away from his native land, fighting generously and gloriously for the liberty and safety of their country. Thus bereft of its greatest support, this society, which had combined with the Naval Society in the year 1630, was almost dissolved. Another Hollander, Menewe or Menwet [Minuet] by name, revived the sinking spirits of the society and soon reunited its scattered members. Under his auspices, two ships, namely *Calmore Nyckel* and *Fogel Grip*, left Gothoburg, and in the year 1638 reached in safety a promontory in the River De la Ware, situated in North America.¹¹ This fruitful and pleasant region, abounding

can be done, particularly in the Netherlands, where almost all materials needed in manufacturing must be imported. And furthermore they have not in their country what is needed in shipbuilding and fitting out of ships, which we mostly have in this kingdom. From which can readily be seen that here exists as fine an opportunity for trade, navigation and various manufactures as in any country in Europe.

"For sea traffic this kingdom has as good a location and opportunity as any other country in Europe, to send the merchandise both west and east, as the city of Gotenborgh has a better location for the coming and going of ships than any other city on the North Sea, because only one wind is needed, where in other places two winds generally are required."

¹¹ Authors disagree concerning this first emigration. Th. Campanius, in his "History of New Sweden," says: "Concerning the time this land was first navigated by the Swedish, it happened during the reign of the brave and victorious Hero, Glorious in remembrance, King Gustavus Adolphus."

Bjork, in his dissertation on the planting of the Swedish Church in America, and many others, say that the emigration of the first colony was made in the year 1627, and that the building of Fort Christina took place in 1631. But these accounts are without authority, therefore we have no faith in them. Acrelius, who also wrote a history of this colony affirms positively that the emigration was not made before about 1637, and then under the leadership of the Dutchman Pet. Penewet or Menuet. In order

in all the treasures of nature—the serene sky, the healthfulness of the air—so delighted the Swedes that they hailed this place by the name of “Paradise.” Schmidt¹² in his “Itinerary of Virginia,” 1622, says:

“Should the kind reader come to this country, so he would certainly see a veritable pleasure-garden, for it excels all regions in Europe and America. There are beautiful, high mountains and low valleys, everything being so beautiful and glorious that one can well say, that God has wished to put before the eyes of humanity a curious extract and miniature copy of the whole world.”

This place, most happily situated for trading, and in a delightful part of America, offers to the newly arrived colonists promise of future prosperity.¹³

to prove this he quotes a certain letter of the Dutch superintendent to Menewet, dated May 6, 1638, in which he forbids the building of the fort. Puffendorff, in his commentaries on Swedish affairs, Book XIV., page 506, says: “In 1642 John Printz was sent as governor to New Sweden in North America, to order the affairs of the new province, where, some years previously, some Dutch traders, under the auspices of Queen Christina, began to found colonies.” In the Palmskiöld Collections which are deposited in the Royal Library at Upsala, this document is found concerning New Sweden: *Een berattelse om Nova Svecia uthi America* (A narrative of New Sweden in America): “But now have we occupied, settled and taken possession of this land from 1637 until the attack by the Hollanders, which happened 1655.

¹² Cited by Campanius, “Description of New Sweden,” p. 28. In another place the same author has the year 1638. If this colony had been founded in the reign of Gustavus, certainly some monuments of it would be evident to those who came, later on, to the same region; certainly, too, the later comers would have mentioned the earlier colonists. The first place for founding a colony, although not put into effect at that time, appears to have been carried on in the time of Gustavus Adolphus.

¹³ *Coll. Palmskiöld*, Vol. 74 (“A Narrative of *Nova Svecia* in America”), p. 146-151. *Nova Svecia* is situated in the Northern part of America about the 38th or 40th latitude on a line with the *Flemish* or Azore Islands.

Its river extends from the mouth about 30 Swedish miles up to its great falls northeastwardly. That far up the floods and ebbs go every six

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SITE OF FIRST SETTLEMENT UNDER MINUET, 1628.
MONUMENT IN NEW EDEN PARK ON BANKS OF THE DELAWARE.

From the aborigines they bought land through which the Delaware River flows, here and there, from Cape Henlopen all the way to the place called by the Indians

hours, so that one can travel up and down in vessels. The bay is nine miles long from the mouth at Cape Henlopen and Cape May (about one mile apart) to the *Treepoint* (or *Bolmekens hock*); and is widest between the eastern and western boundaries, a distance of six to seven miles.

The American inhabitants call this bay *Pontaxt*, and the English call it Delaware Bay after Mons. *De l'Alvare*, one of their Captains who discovered the river under Admiral *Jacques Chartier*, anno 1600. The Hollanders called it "*Sud Rivier van Nieuwe Nederland*" since they had called the other "*Nord Rivier*," where they have settled in New Amsterdam and in *Renselas Bay*, etc. The Swedes called it the *New Sweden River*, and the whole country on both sides up to the falls, *New Sweden*, which we through purchase and grants from the owners rightly can claim.

This land all the way up to the Great Falls on both sides of the river is an exceedingly beautiful country, possessing a good healthful air, the ground being by nature so good and fertile, that it is overgrown all the way up with oak, walnut, chestnut, etc., valuable trees and vines, costly spices and grass; all seeds used in farming in Europe give manifold more fruit. There is no doubt that fruit trees of various kinds will grow and bear fruit, such as apple, pear, plum, peach, apricot, grape vine, medlar, chestnut, mulberry trees and other valuable trees useful for their fruit and otherwise.

Especially could vineyards, figs and mulberry trees be planted, which would pay better than such as now grow wild.

All this can best be done on the western shore, as the eastern shore is sandy and marshy, and not so good. Leaf trees and productive trees thrive not so well, but more spruce and other fir trees grow there to a great extent; the soil however is not unfertile there for grain, if it is worked right.

Up at the falls, and further up mines can undoubtedly be found, even of But marcasite, graphite, red and white earth exist there. The river is well supplied all the way up with various kinds of fish such as sturgeon in plenty, salmon (the kind that is called *tvaelft*), herring large and small, bream, four kinds of perch, turbot, eel, lamprey and crabs and oysters in the mouths of all the streams emptying into the bay, where the oysters lay in great banks, and at low tide whole boatloads can be taken without apparently being diminished in quantity.

In the bay and outside, large cod and mackerel fisheries can be established. Terrinos and porpoises, and sometimes even whales come in the bay with the flood tide.

Sankikans. The whole tract of land was about thirty German miles long, but could be extended in width to whatever bounds the Swedes pleased.¹⁴ As early as the year 1638 they built a fortress at *Maniquas Kill* then called *Christinae Kil*, which they named Christina or *Hopokahacking*. The Dutch, whose possessions bordered on the Swedish colony, suspected these building operations, and contended that the land which the Swedes inhabited was theirs, since before this time they had built there three forts. But since these had been destroyed by the natives, and the Dutch had left the place, they had no lawful right to rule there. It happens that the English had also renounced all dominion over this tract of land. So no one could justly dispute the possession of the Swedes.¹⁵

This country and river are situated most conveniently for trade and commerce, with Christians as well as savages, that is to say, right in the middle of the coast of North America, and the bay can be used as a convenient harbor, and in time pitch (*Togh*), lumber and tar, etc., can be sold to those who trade on the north and south coasts of America.

To sum up, it is as good, healthful, pleasant and well situated a country as any in the whole of Europe.

¹⁴ Vid. "His Majesty's Instruction to the Governor over New Sweden," Herr Johan Printz, dated Stockholm, August 5, 1642. It is registered in the "Archives of the Kingdom."

¹⁵ "A Narrative of *Nova Svecia* in America," pages 151-154, our (Swedish) right to this country can be proved thusly:

1. From proofs and documents showing that the Swedes rightfully took possession of that country before others, for the Dutch had practically abandoned it, which can be proved by the Dutch West India Company's letter dated Amsterdam, October 1, 1630—concerning the establishing of colonies in America, etc., which letter should be here in Stockholm in the American office, or with one of its directors—from which it can be seen from whom we have rightfully obtained it ahead of all Dutch claims. Minuet has, however, about anno 1638 founded Fort Christina on the river and established our colony there.

2. Next, the Swedes have rightfully bought the whole country piecemeal

Gradually enlarging their real estate by purchasing more, this colony grew to such an extent, that the Senate of Sweden (since Queen Christina herself was not yet old enough to reign) thought it worth while to make John Printz¹⁶ Superintendent of New Sweden, in the year 1642. For the ten years during which he governed the colony, it was greatly weakened by sudden uprisings of the natives, and more especially by the continued struggle against the Dutch—now victorious, now vanquished. But although this superintendent knew that the Dutch too had been weakened, nevertheless, foreseeing the speedy ruin of the colony, he handed over the administration to his son-in-law, John Papegoia, and in the year 1652 returned home.¹⁷

Superintendent John Rising¹⁸ sent to New Sweden in the year 1653, captured the Dutch Fort Casimir¹⁹ by storm soon after his arrival. The enemy took ill the disgress of this blow, and rose up against the new colonists with all the strength they could muster. But it was not until the year 1655 that the Dutch Superintendent of New Amsterdam, Stuyvesant, with six or seven hundred men, entered the mouth of the river (Delaware), and engaged

from the inlet of the bay up to the falls from the right owners, the Americans, piece after piece, which the deeds show; which ground the Swedes have from time to time taken possession of, so that our right there can be proved by our actual possession.

3. It is also fully related that King Charles of England withdrew all claims (which did not apply to Sebastian Cabot's discoveries or to the grant to Mr. Loyd in *Novum Albion*) to this country and river in favor of the Swedes during the highly beloved King Gustavus Adolphus' time, when Count Johan Gyllenstierna about anno 1631 was sent to England as ambassador.

¹⁶ Vid. Appendix of Records "A" at the end of this dissertation.

¹⁷ Acrelius' description of the condition of the Swedish Parish in New Sweden, pages 54-55.

¹⁸ Vid. Appendix "A."

¹⁹ Acrelius, "Description of the Swedish Parish," p. 57.

in sharp conflict with them. Fort Casimir, called by our colonists Fort Trinity, was soon seized; Fort Christinae was blockaded and besieged with all kinds of warlike apparatus. In this fortress there were so few soldiers and so little gunpowder, that all hope of defending the place was abandoned. In vain many embassies were sent to patch up an agreement; numerous attempts to expel the enemy failed; consequently the place was surrendered to the Superintendent Stuyvesant, on the fifteenth of September.²⁰ By this surrender our countrymen lost entirely the land bought from the natives with our money for founding a colony.²¹ The causes of this loss seems to have been many:

1. The so-called "Thirty Years' War," during which the Swedes, who were fighting with all their might for others, as well as their own safety, sent scarcely any assistance to the colony.

On this follows:

2. The violence of the Spaniards, which rendered communication with New Sweden hazardous.

3. The nearness of the Dutch.

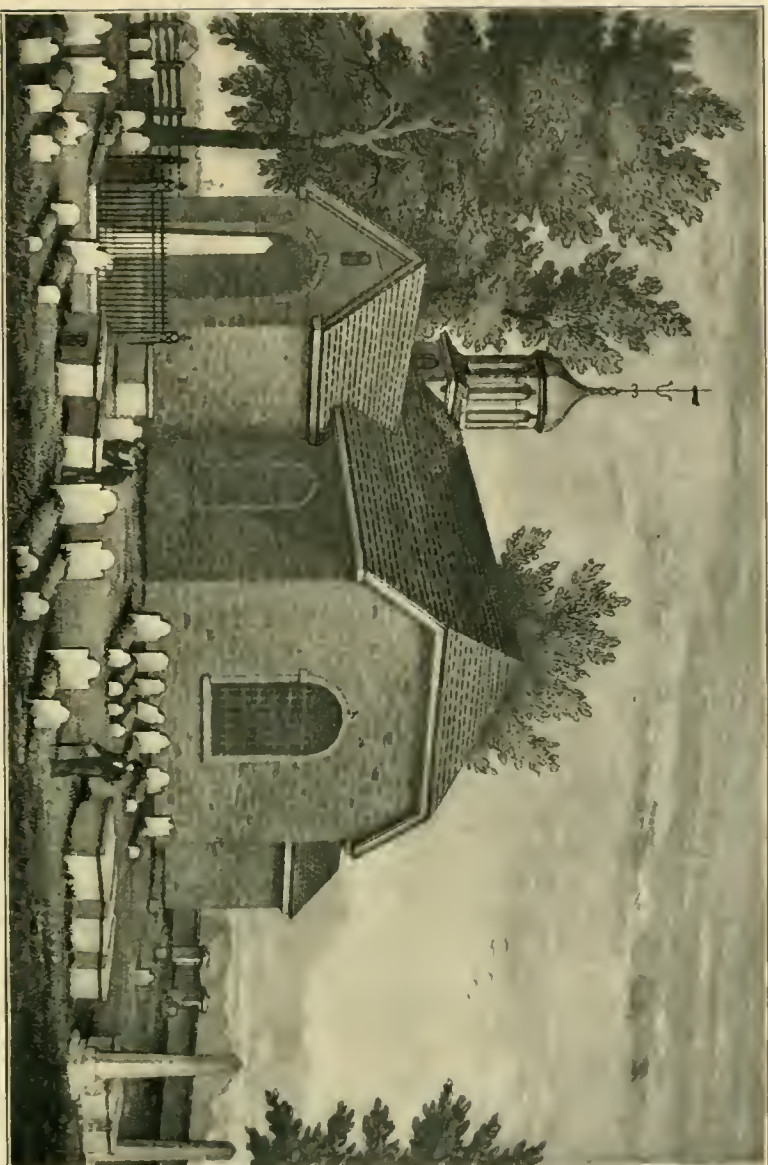
4. And finally, the superintendents were, perhaps, not the best fitted to govern the colony.

The Swedes who emigrated to New Sweden were of various kinds; first, the promoters of the society and their

²⁰ Vid. Relation of the unexpected attack made by Dutch under P. Stuyvesant, Director of N. Netherlands, on the Swedish Colony in N. Swecia. Collect. Palmstiöld, *l. c.*, pp. 217-238, App. Litt. "B."

²¹ But this they did not hold very long, for in 1664 the English came into possession of it. Afterwards land was granted to an English nobleman, William Penn, on account of his and his father's services; he called it Pennsylvania after his own name. In the year 1681 he acquired by purchase from three Swedes, the tract of land where Philadelphia was afterwards founded. (Zimmerman, "The Earth and Its Inhabitants," Vol. IV., page 112.)

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HOLY TRINITY (OLD SWEDES) WILMINGTON, DELAWARE, ERECTED 1698.

families; then the volunteers (*Swethice Friman*), hoping to better their condition in a foreign country; and finally those accused of crime whom they intended to use in place of slaves.²² For a long time they knew their mother tongue and spoke it purely. However, they spoke dialects, too, especially those of the East and West Goths;²³ from which we must conclude that most of the colonists were natives of these provinces. Even after the power of the colonists in New Sweden was broken, many Swedes were induced either by want, or by the hope of increasing their means, or by letters sent home from New Sweden, to visit that land which those who had gone before spoke of in such glowing terms, as abounding in opportunity and pleasure. Of such immigrations the emigration of one hundred and forty Finns in the year 1664 seems worthy of mention.²⁴

²² Th. Campanus Holm's "Description of the Province New Sweden in America," p. 66.

²³ A. Rudman's "Narrative of the Journey to New Sweden," in letter to Jacob Arhenius, professor of history in Upsala, 1697. Collect. Palmiskiold, *l. c.*, pp. 382-383: "The people live much apart and scattered, but all along the water, so that some have sixteen miles to the church, which does not prevent them however to come to church every Sunday. Around and between them live English people, whose language together with Welsh and Dutch, they know perfectly and speak in addition their mother tongue as pure as it is spoken anywhere in Sweden although with a slight East Goth and West Goth accent. The country is now all divided and mostly settled, except up in the forest, where the heathens live."

²⁴ This document concerning the colony, is also found in the "Palmiskiold Collection," pages 325-326. "The Swedish Commissary in Amsterdam, Pehr Trotzig, mentions in his communication dated Amsterdam May 24, 1664, about several Finnish families, which had arrived at that place and numbered all together old and young 140 souls, many of whom were children, boys and girls, mostly small but some large; most of them run around with nothing but shirts on, and nearly all speak Finnish. A part of the men are Swedes, who declare they come from *Sundsvall*, *Torps* and *Bergsjo* parishes, which are situated ten miles from the sea,

Although the Dutch and English ruled over the region of which we have spoken, these immigrants were well received;²⁵ enjoyed the same laws, for the most part; and were esteemed almost as highly as the English. Worshipping²⁶ in righteous love, God as the Ruler and Judge of all things, and obeying those who ruled them lawfully, they led a simple and happy life as farmers. Letters sent by them to Sweden, in the year 1693, witness that such was the state of their life.²⁷ These letters show that although they were happy in other respects, they suffered for want of ministers and of sacred books. King Charles

south of *Jemtland*, and had left those places with the consent of their priest and church wardens, after having sold all their belongings. Some showed passes and certificates which they had obtained from their sheriffs and priest, such as that made out by Olaus Eric Huss, priest in *Medelpad* and dated March 5, 1664, with the seal of the parish attached. They had also a letter written in *Nova Svecia* in the year 1657, in which that country is highly praised, leading them to start on their journey, particularly as the price of grain in Sweden was very high, and they were otherwise heavily taxed. They had then, while there sleighing still lasted with their own horses crossed *Delarne* to *Christiania* in Norway, where they found a Dutch ship in which they made their way to Amsterdam, intending to Journey from there to New Sweden.

²⁵ The Reverend Eric Bjork's relation of the journey to New Sweden in letters to the Superintendent, Doctor Isr. Kolmodin, October 29, 1697 (Coll. Palmsk.). The country is as rich as it has been described, overflowing with all kinds of blessings and the people live exceedingly well without trouble and slaving; they have few taxes, call themselves peasants, as they worked as such while in Sweden, but have clothes and other things as good as honest burghers.

²⁶ Bjork's relation of the journey to New Sweden from the same letter, *l. c.* I can not relate without wonder and to the commendation of the people that as hardly three Swedish books have been found here they have been much troubled about their children but had loaned them among each other with so good a result that they all can read fairly well, and none of the books granted by His Royal Majesty are not in use.

²⁷ This letter, signed by a good many colonists and written to Joh. Thelin, superintendent of "The Gothoburg Archives," was dated May 31, 1693. See Acrelius' *Beskrifning*, etc., pages 211-217.

XI., hearing that the colonists were almost desperate—so anxious were they—graciously sent ministers,²⁸ and with them books, a catalogue of which you will find in Acrelius, pages 422–426. The annual salary of those who held sacred office in the churches amounted to the sum of five hundred thalers,²⁹ and the income of the ministers' estate besides.

The expenditure for ministers was increased in 1747, when, at the suggestion and through the activity of Archbishop Jacob Benzelius, the orders of the kingdom decreed in the Assembly to create a provost (*Prost*) to take care of the churches which were formerly under Swedish government. To him (the provost) year by year, fifty pounds sterling were to be sent from the treasury. This decree still remains valid.³⁰ That venerable old man³¹ who now, among the descendants of the old colonists, performs the duty of pastor, has narrated many incidents concerning them. As generations passed they mingled first with the Indians³² and Dutch and then with other peoples,

²⁸ Under the care and auspices of Jesper Svedberg, afterwards bishop of Scara, compare Acrelius' *Beskrifning*, page 223; list of ministers, see Appendix C.

²⁹ (Bjork's relation from the same letter, *l. e.*) As far as eating, drinking, clothing, etc., are concerned they live exceedingly well, although it is six to eight times dearer here than in Sweden; there is no peasant in New Sweden however, who can not give two, three or four hundred dollars copper money for the building of a church or to the priest annually two, four, eight, yea twenty dollars in ready money so that our salary in money reaches annually 400 Riksdaler not counting the supplies for the priest's table.

³⁰ Vid. *Acreli Beskr.* Cf. *Allmanna Indragmings Station* for the year 1823, p. 427.

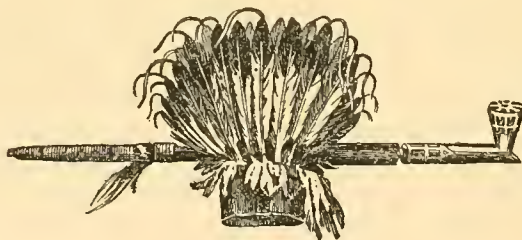
³¹ Nicolaus Collin, doctor of theology, pastor and provost of the church in America.

³² Everything is as well with these our Swedes as one would ever ask in Sweden. They live, and that I wonder at, quite peacefully and without

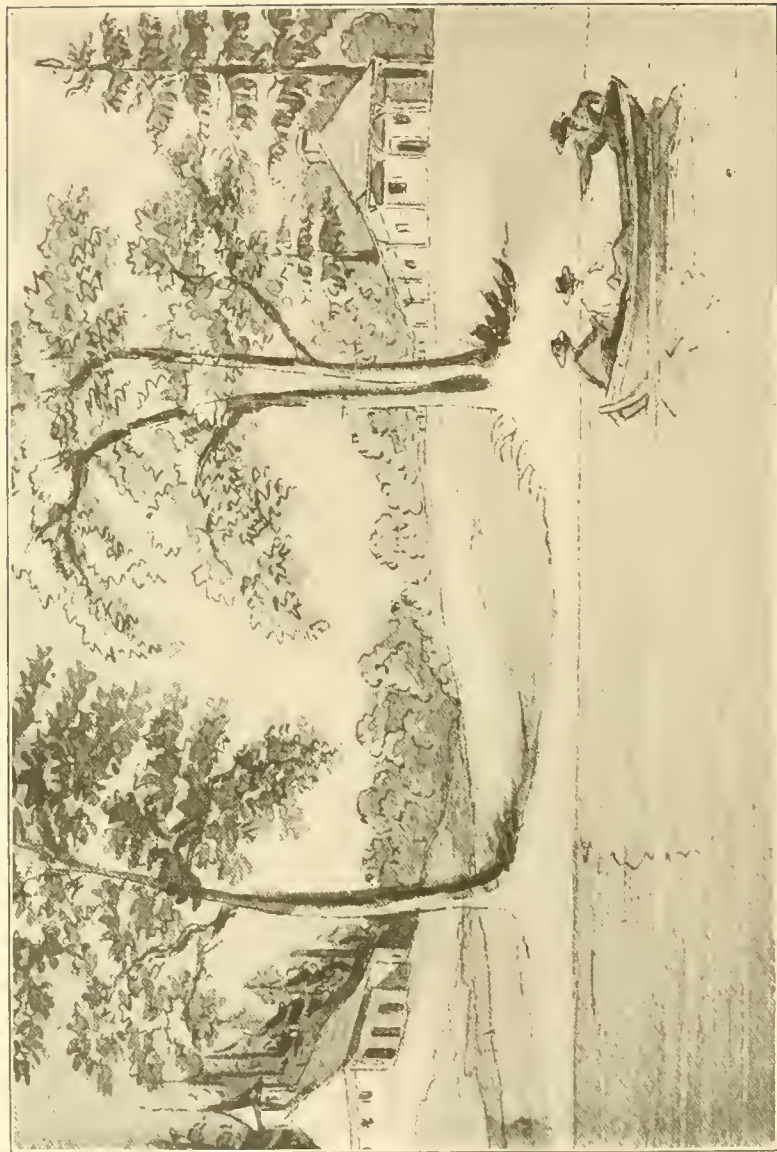
so that almost none of them speaks³³ the Swedish language, while formerly very few of them knew the vernacular. Certain words are used by them which, although they are pronounced and inflected according to English usage, still betray their Swedish origin. Almost all who are descended from the first colonists live in the country, and cultivate the fields. They will not, however, lose the memory of our language altogether, as long as their pastor is a native of Sweden. But it does not seem unlikely that this memory will be effaced when the present pastor ceases to take care of the churches. And perhaps in the near future the last monument of Sweden in America will be destroyed; and so our country will have nothing for the enormous sums of money which she sent to America, but the annals of the colony of New Sweden.

any heavy taxes. The savages and our Swedes are like one people; but the savages have during the last few years disappeared to such an extent that where there were before a thousand there are now hardly ten. They are daily exterminated through strong drink, contagious diseases and fighting among themselves. Bjork's letter, *l. c.*

³³ The priest Collin's letter to Professor Auriwillius dated Philadelphia, May 12, 1823: "No Swedish priest will come after me, as the old colonists' descendants have lost the language of their fatherland as well as other both spiritual and temporal advantages through mixing with people of all nations and religions. No emigration from Sweden can become considerable, and should be dissuaded, which I have done for thirty years in letters to many places in Sweden.



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THE SWEDISH LUTHERAN CHURCH (WICACOA) ON THE DELAWARE, REPLACED BY GLORIA DEI A. D. 1700.

APPENDIX A.

PROMEMORIA.

Concerning New Sweden in America.

(From the Palmskold Manuscript collection Academia Upsala, Volume LXXIV., pp. 325-328.)

Anno 1640.—Hindrich Hockhammar and Jost von Bogartz and their consorts obtained permission to found new colonies in New Sweden. *Vide* the Latin Registry, 1640, fol. 3.

Anno 1642, August 15.—Lieutenant Colonel Johan Printz was appointed governor over New Sweden with an annual salary of 1,200 Riksdaler. Regist., 1642, part 2, fol. 240.

Anno 1642, August 15.—Governor Printz received the government's letter to the Counsellor of the Exchequer providing that half his salary be paid in merchandise. Regist., fol. 930.

Anno 1642, August 15.—400 Riksdaler were appropriated for Governor Johan Printz' journey to New Sweden. Regist., fol. 939.

Anno 1642, August 15.—The Governor of New Sweden Johan Printz was given instruction as to his administration on the journey as well as afterward in the new country. Regist., 1642, part 2, fol. 930.

Anno 1642, August 30.—Directions according to which the Administration in New Sweden should be paid and maintained. Regist., fol. 990, de Anno 1642, part 2.

Anno 1648, January 20.—The Governor of New Sweden, his subordinate *Guamison* (Jamieson) and other public servants received an open letter to the effect that

they were to receive their salaries and maintenance from the excise on tobacco, His Majesty's and Crown's tertial of all confiscated tobacco and fines on unlawfully imported tobacco, or if that proved insufficient to receive the balance from other means of the Crown. Regist., 1648, p. 60.

Anno 1653, December 12.—Commissary Johan Rising was sent to New Sweden with a memorial, by which he was to be guided on the journey. Regist., 1653, fol. 2189.

Anno 1653, December 12.—An order was sent to the Governor of New Sweden, Johan Printz, to obey the commands of the General Commerce Collegium. Regist., fol. 2185.

Anno 1653, December 12.—A letter was sent to Cammar Collegium concerning 1000 Riksdaler for Commissary Johan Rising for the use of fitting out and journey to New Sweden. Regist., fol. 2186.

Anno 1653, December 12.—The Secretary of the General Commerce Collegium Johan Rising was appointed Commissary and Assistant Councillor in New Sweden, and was to receive 1200 Daler silver money not counting what he was to receive from the South Company. Regist., fol. 2187.

Anno 1653, December 12.—The General Commerce Collegium was ordered to take over the interests of the South Company³⁴ and His Majesty, and to manage the same lawfully for the benefit of His Majesty and others interested. Regist., fol. 2187.

Anno 1653, December 12.—A letter was sent to Gov-

³⁴ This patent was granted to the Southern Society (*Soder Compagniet*) as early as the year 1641, and was confirmed in the years 1644, 1645 and 1647. In the year 1649 it was taken away. Compare Von Stiernman, "Saml. of Kgl. Bref. och Stadgar," Vol. II.

ernor Johan Printz concerning his journey home. Regist., fol. 2189.

Anno 1654, May 3.—The English envoy *Bulstrode Whitelockius* in Upsala gave the assurance that English in Guinea and America should treat the Swedes in a friendly manner and desist from injuring them. The original exists *ad acta*.

Anno 1654, December 23.—The members of the American Company received privileges in the tobacco trade. Regist., fol. 2141.

Anno 1655.—How the Dutch, in August and September, attacked the Swedish colony in America can be seen by Commissary Rising's relations. Exists, *ad acta* to the year 1655.

A complete description of New Sweden and the benefit Sweden would derive by continuing a first class colony in that place, also arguments to the contrary are put down in writing by Johan Rising, dated Elbingen, June 3, 1656. The original exists *ad acta*.

Proofs as to Sweden's right to the country New Sweden in the West Indies, exists *ad acta* without date.

Anno, 1656, July 17.—A treaty between Sweden and England was drawn up at Westminster which states among other things in § 9 that the right was granted to Swedish subjects to settle in America. The original exists *ad acta*.

Anno 1667, July 18/28.—A treaty between Sweden and the Netherlands was drawn up at the Hague, which states among other things in § 6 concerning the American controversy that those who had suffered damage would be reimbursed.

APPENDIX B.

Relation of the unexpected attack made by the Dutch under P. Stuvesant, Director of N. Netherlands, on the Swedish Colony in *N. Svecia*. Wherefore His Royal Majesty's of Sweden loyal subjects, who have undergone such violence most humbly petition for His Royal Majesty's protection and for reparation for injuries and losses suffered. (*Ex. Coll. Palmsk. Mscr., l. c.*)

The Dutch under P. Stuvesant's command came up the South River, where *N. Svecia* is situated, August 30, 1655, from the North River, where *Manhatans* or N. Amsterdam is situated, with seven ships and six to seven hundred men and cast anchor before fort *Elfsborg* then in ruins. They passed fort *Casimir* the day after, and stopping a short distance above it, landed and commenced at once with threats and menaces to demand the fort from its commander *Swen Sküthe*; they also began there to throw up some works. Although we had previously, upon information from the savages that the Dutch were coming, to the best of our ability supplied fort *Casimir* with people and necessities and although we had drawn up a written resolution to defend the fort, in case of an attack by the Dutch—still Captain *Sküthe*, who was stationed there was first to send out to their ships when near enough and find out if they came as friends and to warn them in any event not to pass the fort, as otherwise he would fire on them, which they in that case were not to consider as hostile. But if they came as friends for the purpose of treating with us about the country and its boundaries, he was to give them the Swedish watchword and assure them of our friendship and good will.

Captain *Sven Skütthe* has in spite of all that, allowed the Dutch ships to pass the said fort, without warning or shot, by which they gained the advantage not only of the fort but of the whole river and cut off connection between the forts by placing between them their troops as far as *Christinae Kijl*. He gave up the fort to Stuvesant by a detrimental agreement wherein he had forgotten to fix a place, whither he, his people and baggage should go; he signed the agreement on a Dutch ship and not in the fort or some neutral place. Consequently Stuvesant seized the people and took most of them to *Manahans*, whereby we, who were farther up the river, were weakened and did not even know that Fort Casimir had so unexpectedly surrendered. We sent however in the meanwhile on the first of September nine or ten of our best freemen down to Fort Casimir for its defence. When they arrived early in the morning at *Christinae Kijl*, they found the Dutch there, who went at them fifty to sixty men strong and demanded them to surrender.

Our men put themselves on the defensive and a *schermützel* [skirmish] took place, in which our men were taken prisoners, with the exception of two who escaped in the boat. The Dutch shot many times at them but did not hit them, and there was given from the fort a piece loose on the Dutch whereupon they went into the forest. They afterward treated those of our people whom they had taken, hard and annoying enough. The same day was Factor *Hindr. Elzvii* sent from *Fort Christina* to learn about the meaning of his arrival and his intentions, and to dissuade him from further hostility, and we would not suppose that he would disturb us in His Royal Majesty's and our principal's rightful property. But since he, Stuvesant,

had got possession at such small cost of said Fort Casimir, whither we had previously sent our best people, and had stripped ourselves in Fort Christina to a great extent of people, ammunition and provisions, and since he showed himself toward *Elzvi* in no other manner than that he claimed the whole river and country, and much was not wanting, but that he had kept *Elzvi* as a spy, we, having learnt this, assembled all the people we could get together in Fort Christina for its defence and worked with all our might both day and night on the rampart and gabions.

The day after which came on the second of September were numbers of Dutch seen on the upper side of *Christinae Kijl*, but they did not seem to be doing anything in particular, except that they had on the third in morning put up a flag on our sloop, which laid there pulled up on shore, and they seemed to take up their quarters in a house nearby. We sent for that reason Lieutenant *Sven Hook*, with a drummer over there to learn what they had in mind and for what reason they stayed there and for what we should consider them. When he now almost had crossed the *Kijl*, he asked them from the boat if he might come to them free. They answered Yes, and he then asked them if he after accomplished business might free withdraw from them. They answered to that also Yes, which we all heard in Fort Christina and can bear witness to. Consequently the drummer rowed the boat ashore and did not touch the drum, as the Lieutenant already has obtained parole and he knew of no hostility, therefore was he careful with the drum. Both consequently went ashore and an officer came and took them up to a house a short distance away, where they had previously quartered themselves. They sent then our lieutenant down to *Stuvesant* pretending

that he was a spy, in consequence of which Stuvesant imprisoned him and threw him in the hold of the ship, but the before mentioned Captain *Frdr. König* kept the drummer and his drum with him. They acted therefore toward our messengers contrary to all honest people's laws and customs.

On the fourth the Dutch at night had made gabions around the house on the upper side of *Christinae Kijl*, and they built later a battery and fortified themselves there. This some of us interpreted that the Dutch were going to usurp the country as far as that *Kijl* and for that reason throw up a fortress there. We did not yet believe that they would without any known reason attack us, as they had presented no protest, and because of the friendly relations existing between our countries, particularly as we had up to that time received no message or letter of complaint.

On the fifth the Dutch ships proceeded to the *3rd Hock*, where they stationed their people, who later went over to Timber Island and afterward from that place Ostwer Great Falls and thus surrounded Fort Christina on all sides. They placed their ships down at the mouth of the *Kijl* and their troops camped on the west side of said fort. When we then blew off a couple of pieces to scare them, they discharged a few shots overhead from Timber Island, where they also had quartered themselves in a house. From the west side they gave us whole volleys letting us hear that they had arrived there. We prepared ourselves, therefore, to make the best defence in our power in case of an attack, for we were still not positive what the Dutch had in mind. Sometime later an Indian came to us with a letter from Stuvesant, in which he in a haughty manner claimed the whole river and that

I with all the Swedes should leave, or else live under Dutch protection; threatening me otherwise with the consequences. To this I answered shortly by a letter sent back with the same Indian stating that as the demand he had made was very strange, I would send him an answer by a special messenger. After that we all considered what to do if the Dutch would attempt to take up by storm or attack us by shooting, and it was resolved, that we now should hold ourselves as hitherto on the defensive, and do for our defence what we could. Because of our reduced strength we decided not to invite an attack, but to wait until they would shoot or storm, when we would defend ourselves as long as we could, and leave the future results to our Gracious Government.

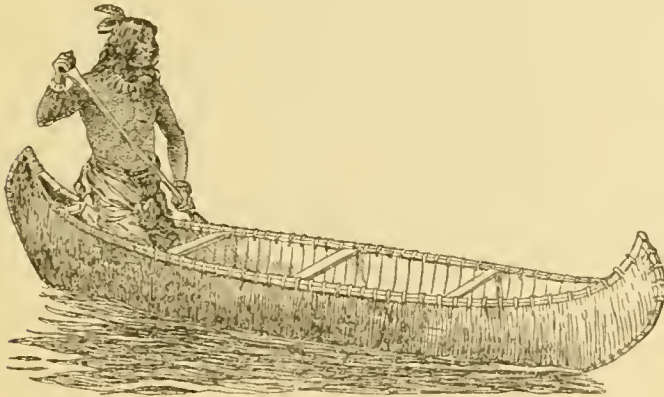
The Dutch now daily began to annoy us and kill our cattle, goats, swine and chickens; tore down the houses, pillaged outside the fort, and up the river they plundered many of everything and stripped some to the bare skin. At K. *Gotheborg* they robbed Mr. Papegoia's wife and many others of all that they owned, who had their property deposited there at Court.

Subsequently they have daily approached nearer to F. Christiania (which was small and weak and was situated in a mean place and could be commanded by surrounding heights), and put up in front of it two batteries, in addition to those on the upper side and on Timber Island, and there placed everywhere their flags. They also hoisted their flag on our ship in *Fish Kijl*. These hostilities, injuries and affronts we had to suffer with great indignation, as we could not prevent them owing to our lack of strength in men and powder, of which latter we had no more in stock than sufficient for hardly one more loading of

our pieces. Notwithstanding this we were of the opinion that they at last would become reasonable, and for that purpose sent our messenger on the seventh down to Stuvesant at Fort Casimir with a written commission, whereby we sought to deter him from further hostility. We protested against his enmities and actions with regard to our rightful property. He did not give any reason or explanation why he disputed our rights on the river. We also pointed out the displeasure it might cause the two sovereigns, and that consequences of great importance might follow, also that we had made up our minds to defend our rights with all our might, and that he would be responsible for the results. We remonstrated with him to cease all hostility and withdraw his people from Fort Christina. All this made no impression on him, for he continued to claim the whole river, and would listen to no compromise, clearing himself by the answer that he had received such orders, and that they who had given them he held responsible. On the ninth he then wrote me a letter, in which he refuses any compromise, denies our right on the river, disregards our proofs, calls our occupation a usurpation and turns one thing and another to his advantage. Then we resolved to defend ourselves and wait to see what he would do. He advanced day and night with his works directly under the fort, and because of our small force of about thirty men we could not make a sally or hinder him from gaining positions, from which he could take the fort, and no one could have stood on the walls scot free. Therefore as he pressed us more and more every day and threatened us with utter ruin, and because of our lack of strength, and as his works were now superior to ours, our men proposed to go out to Stuvesant

and to try to make him reasonable, especially as our provisions were scarce and could not last longer. Of the few men we had in the fort and which we had gathered at random, some suffered from illness, others were refractory and a few had deserted over the walls, fearing that trouble would follow. For that purpose we went out on the thirteenth, and met Stuvesant and *Nicatus de Sylle* between the fort and their nearest entrenchment, where we then greatly protested against his procedure and hostile actions and answered there by word of mouth his first before mentioned letter, strengthening our cause with such reasons as best we had and could, and held with them a long conference, but without avail, for the Dutch still stood firm and demanded Fort Christina and the whole river. To this we answered that we would defend ourselves to the last and would wait for them. We told them plainly that they had made an unreasonable intrusion into our rights and that we intended to appeal to our government for redress for violence suffered. With that we left them and returned to the fort, where we exhorted the people to firmness and encouraged them in the best manner we could. The Dutch were now almost ready with their works and directed the pieces of all the batteries on us. On the fourteenth they called through a drummer and a messenger with hard language for Fort Christina's surrender within twenty-four hours. We called then all the people of the whole fort together and received their unanimous opinion thusly: that as we had no strength for a defence, when the Dutch had such works over the fort, as our fort and people were not strong enough to sustain an attack, and as we had such a scarcity of powder and other necessities, and as all hope of outside

relief was gone, all our men decided that we should try to come to some arrangement acceptable to the Dutch, such as is to be seen in the acts. As we wished first to consider the terms, it was the next day before we sent a messenger out to the Dutch. Because of our weak condition and scarcity of necessities, we were compelled to yield to superior force and came to an agreement with Stuvesant, such as appears in the original among the acts, and gave up to him on the fifteenth the often mentioned Fort Christina, providing that all pieces and effects belonging to the crown and the company should be compensated for by the Dutch, according to an inventory to be held when asked for, also providing satisfactory redress for our sovereign's right to place and country. We, and as many Swedes as wished to return, should be taken over free to Sweden, for we considered it would be better that the people were taken home to serve the fatherland than to leave them in misery, and without provisions. They would in that case have to go in the service of the Dutch or English and thus be of no use to their fatherland.



APPENDIX C.

LIST OF MINISTERS WHO WERE SENT FROM SWEDEN TO AMERICA.

Reorus Torkillus, of *Ostergothland*, accompanied *P. Menewit*, remained in America until his death; died in 1643, aged 35.³⁵

Johannes Campanius, M.A., of Holm; after he came to America with Superintendent John Printz, during the six years he remained there, learned to know the language of the natives, and the geography of the country. Pastor in *Frösthult* and *Hernevi*, died 1683, in the eighty-second year of his age. He published *Luther's Catechism* in the *American Virginian Tongue*.³⁶ It was set up in type at Holm, 1696 (octavo), a glossary of the *Barbaro Virginieirum*, there in the same year (octavo).

Laurentius Lock, who arrived while Superintendent Printz was governor of the colony, for twenty-two years had charge of the churches at *Tennakough* and *Christina*. Afterwards he handed over the former charge to a certain *Fabritius*, a native of Germany. He himself served the latter up to the year of his death, 1688.

Israel Holgh,³⁷ came to America some years later, but immediately returned to Sweden. Appointed Pastor in *Odh, West Gothia*.

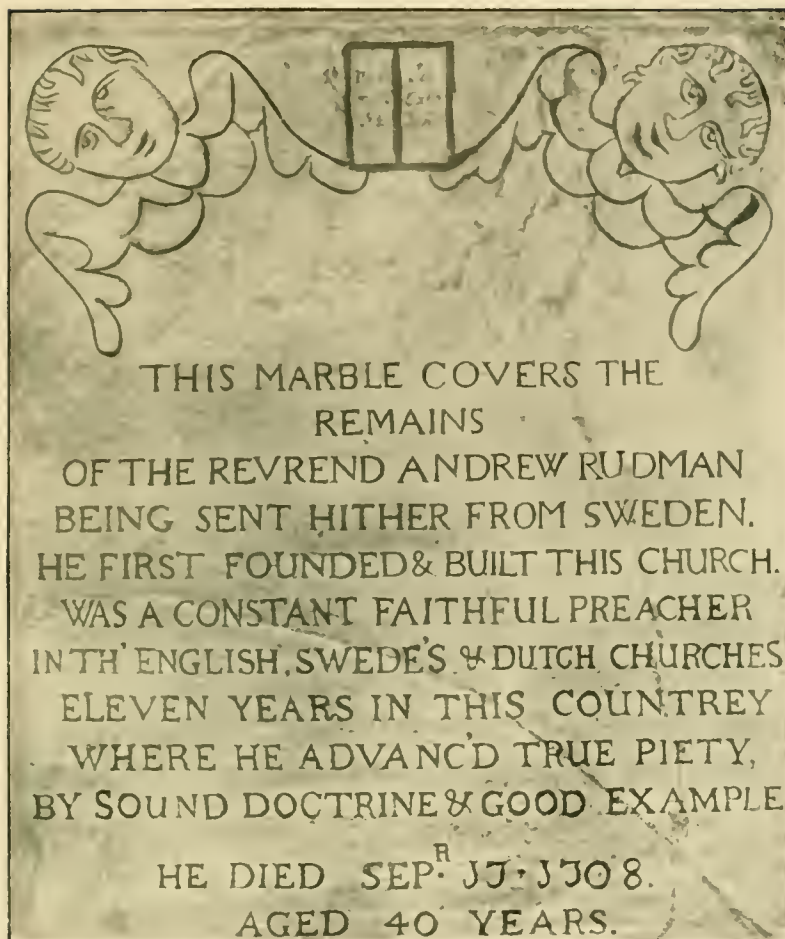
Peder, accompanied Governor J. Rising to America,

³⁵ Concerning him and his successors, see Campanius, page 106 (*loco citato*, place cited). Compare Acrelius, place cited (here and there) *passim*.

³⁶ A copy is in the Krauth Memorial Library Seminary of the Evangelical Lutheran Church at Mt. Airy, Philadelphia.—J. F. S.

³⁷ No records of Rev. Holgh—Peder or Matthias—so far as known in Pennsylvania.—J. F. S.

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TOMB OF REV. ANDREAS RUDMAN IN FRONT OF THE CHANCEL GLORIA DEI
(WICACOA) CHURCH, PHILADELPHIA.



but remained there barely two years, having been made pastor in *Smoland*.

Matthias, came in 1656 on board the ship *Mercury*, but returned after two years, having secured a position as Pastor in *Helsingia*.

Jacobus Fabritius,³⁸ M.A., preached his first sermon at *Wicacoa*; but after five years had elapsed, lost his eyesight; so the care of the church lay neglected. At this time, perilous indeed for sacred matters, a countryman of ours, *Carolus Springer*, of *Holm*, read the Scriptures in the presence of the people in place of a discourse.

When the colonists petitioned for ministers, there were sent from Sweden, with consent of King Charles XI., in 1696,

*Andreas Rudman*³⁹ and *Ericus Bjork*, together with *Jonas Auren*, who was to be their assistant; they arrived in the year 1697.

THE CHURCH AT WICACOA.

Andreas Rudman, M.A., of *Gestricia, Helsingland*, undertook, for the most part, the care of this Church, and built new churches at *Wicacoa* in place of the churches at *Tennakough* and *Wicacoa*, which had gone to ruin. In 1702 he handed over this office to *Andrea Sandel*. Died 1708.⁴⁰

Andreas Sandel, M.A., *Rosland*; provost 1714; pastor in *Hedemora*, 1719. Died 1744.

Jonas Lidman, M.A., of *West Gothland*, came to

³⁸ Vide "German Pietists of Provincial Pennsylvania," Sachse, 1895, pp. 30, 69, 252.

³⁹ Rudman. Vide Sachse's "Pietists," also "Justus Falckner, Mystic and Scholar." Philadelphia, 1903.

⁴⁰ Died in Philadelphia, September 17, 1708. Buried in the Chancel of Gloria Dei Church at Wicacoa.—J. F. S.

America in the year 1719; provost, 1723; returned home, 1730.

His position being vacant, *J. Eneberg* took care of the church.

Gabr. Falk, of *West Gothland*, finally arrived in America in 1733. He was ordered to resign his office in the same year. (Compare *Acrelius*, page 269.)

Johannes Dylander, crossed over to America in 1737; dear to all his hearers, honored by all, died 1741.

Gabriel Naesman, M.A., of *Dalekarlia*, arrived at the church in 1743, after various fortunes. Went away 1751. Appointed pastor in *Christianstad*.

Olavus Parlin, M.A., of *Angermannland*; sent 1749; Pastor and Provost, 1756; died 1757.

Carolus Magnus Wrangel, D.D., a nobleman of *Westmannland*; sent in 1759; returned to Sweden in 1768. Court Preacher (literally, supreme in sacred things to His Majesty the King; abbreviated in the text, S. R. M:ci a Sacris supremus); pastor and provost in *Sahlå*; died 1786.

Andreas Goeranson, M.A., of *Dalekarlia*; sent in 1766; undertook his duties, 1767; returned to his native country, 1781. Provost in *Rattwick*, 1785; died 1800.

Nicolaus Collin, of *Upland* (see below); pastor 1786.

CHURCH AT CHRISTINA.

Ericus Bjorck, of *Westmannland*; saw to it that in place of the ruined church at *Tranhukén*, situated a fourth of a mile from the fort, a new church was built at Fort Christina. Provost in 1711; returned home 1714; pastor in *Fahlun*, died 1740.

Andreas Hesselius, M.A., of *Dalekarlia*; sent in 1711;

THE PENNSYLVANIA-GERMAN SOCIETY.



REV. ERIC TOBIAS BIÖRCK

OF WESTMANNLAND, SWEDEN; PASTOR AT CHRISTINA, 1697-1710; PROVOST 1711-1714;
RETURNED HOME 1714; DIED 1740.



provost, 1719; recalled, 1723; pastor in *Gagnaf* (Gag-uaf); died 1733.

Samuel Hesselins, M.A., of *Dalekarlia*; a brother of the preceding; sent 1719; remained in America to the year 1731; pastor at *Romfertuna*; died 1755.

Johannes Eneberg, began his duties as pastor in 1733; returned to Sweden 1742.

Petrus Tranberg, M.A., sent from Racoon and Pennsneck, 1742; died 1748.

Israel Acrelius, D.D., of Rosland; sent to America, 1749; remained there until the year 1756; provost in Fellingsbro; died in the year 1800, aged 86.

Ericus Unander, sent to Christina from Racoon and Pennsneck, 1756.

Andreas Borell, M.A., of *Upland*. Ordered by the Ecclesiastical Consistory of Upsala to direct his services to the Swedish Churches in Pennsylvania, 1757; he arrived there, 1759. Pastor, 1762; in 1765, by royal diploma, he was made provost of all the Swedish Churches in America; in this office he died, 1767.

CHURCHES AT RACoon AND PENNSNECK.

Jonas Aurén,⁴¹ of *Wermeland*; called to these churches in 1706; he took care of them to the time of his death, 1713.

Abrah. Lidenius, of *Holm*; sent in 1711; made pastor, 1714; returned to his native country, 1724; provost in *Umea*; died 1728.

Petrus Tranberg and *Andreas Windrusfoa*, sent 1726; divided the territory, assigned to them so that each served his own congregation up to the year 1728, when Windrutva died. *Tranberg* was sent to Christina.

⁴¹ Auren. Vide Sachse's "Pietists" of provincial Pennsylvania.

Then no one had charge of sacred things there until 1748, when

Johannes Sandin, M.A., as sent from Sweden, appointed provost; died that same year (1748).

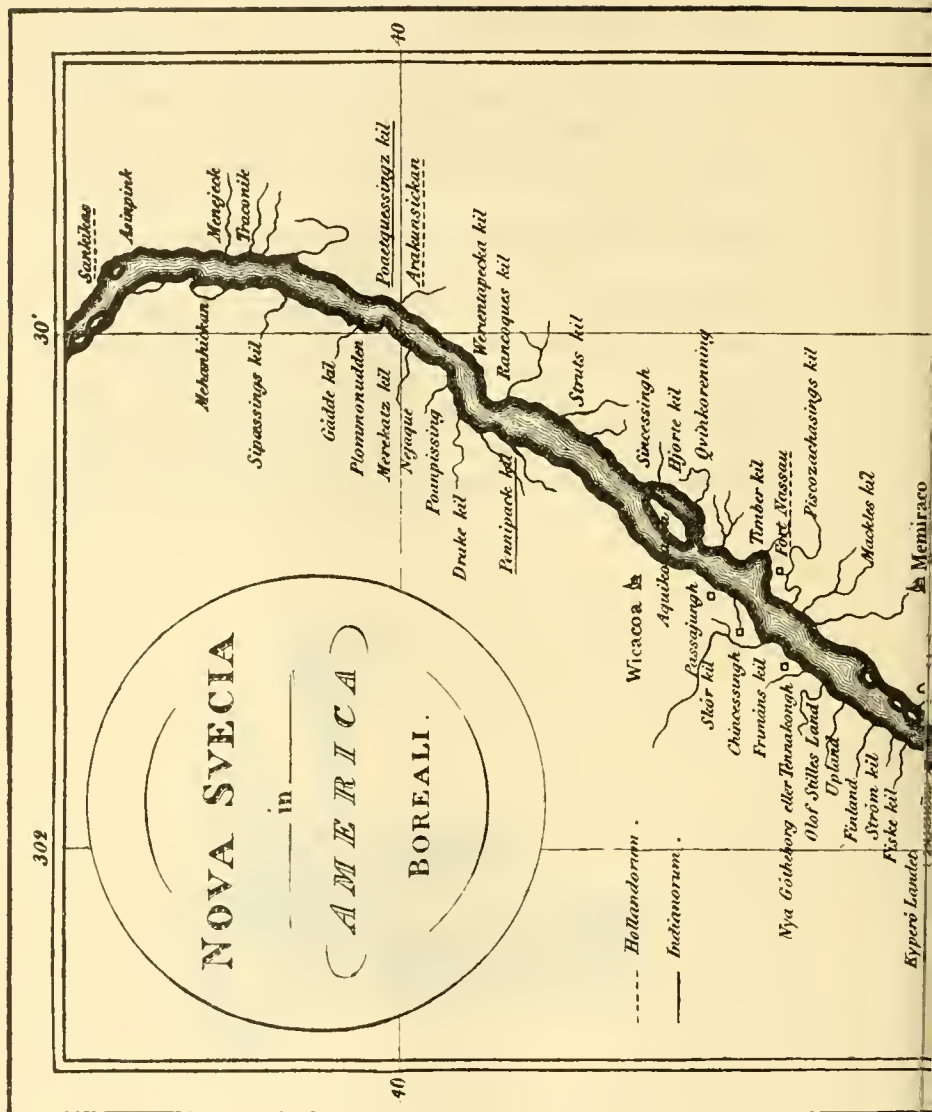
Ericus Unander, sent in 1749; pastor in *Christina*, 1756.

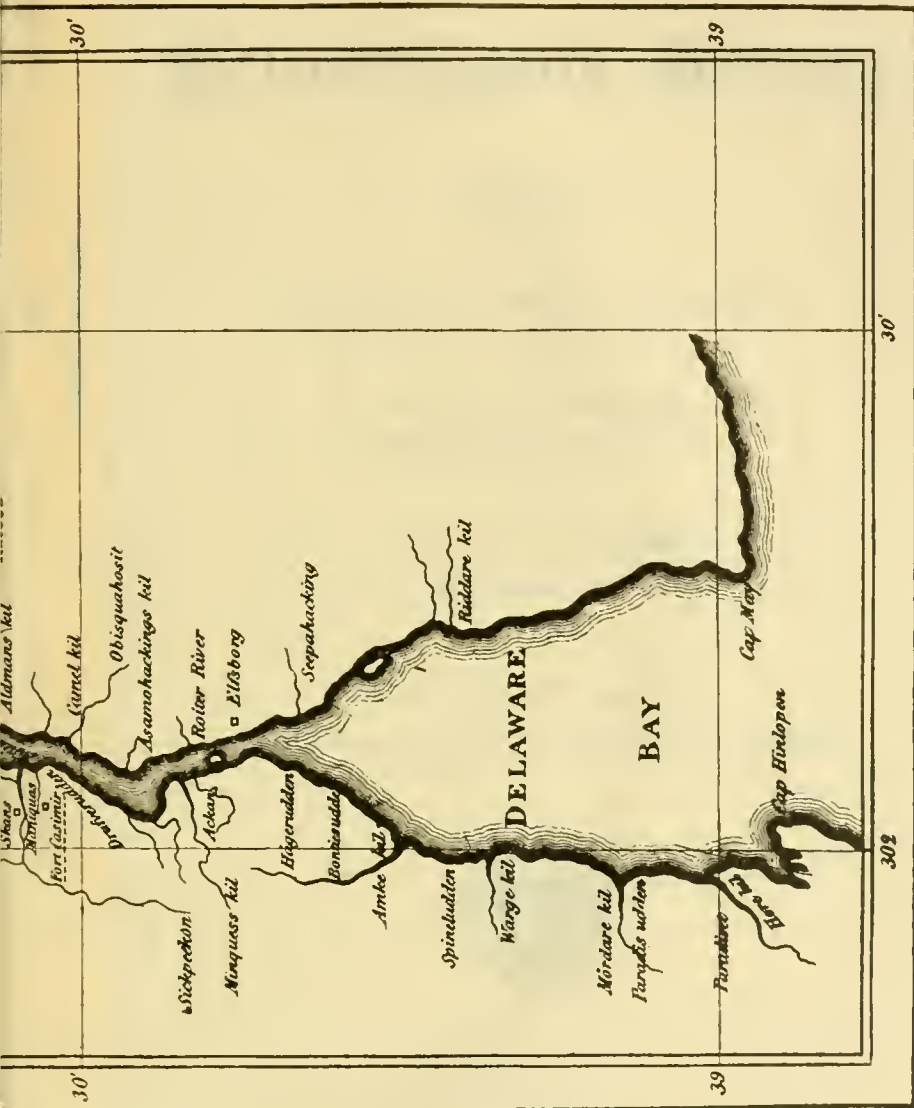
Joh. Lidenius, son of *Abraham* (see above) was made pastor in place of *Unander*, 1756.

Johannes Wicksell, of *Holm*; sent, 1760; arrived at the Church at last, in 1762; left American soil in the year 1774. Provost in *Munktorp*, died 1800.

Nicolaus Collin, D.D., of *Upland*, sent 1771; pastor, 1778; provost and pastor in *Wicacoa*, 1786. Now eighty years old, he still bears his responsibilities, unimpaired in mind, with great distinction.







A Contribution to
Pennsylvania History

MISSIVES
TO
REV. AUGUST HERMAN FRANCKE
FROM
DANIEL FALCKNER
GERMANTOWN, APRIL 16, 1702
AND
JUSTUS FALCKNER
NEW YORK, 1704

*SUPPLEMENTED WITH A
A GENEALOGICAL CHART OF DANIEL FALCKNER*



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