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AND THEIR

## INTERCOURSE WITH NEW ENGLAND.

BY FREDERIC KIDDER.

WITH HELIOTYPE FACSIMILES.



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# THE SWEDES ON THE DELAWARE AND THEIR INTERCOURSE WITH NEW-ENGLAND.

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DIFFICULTY BETWEEN THE SWEDISH AND NEW-HAVEN COLONIES.

A MONG the nations who engaged in the colonization of North America were the Swedes, who, as early as 1638, made settlements on the Delaware, on territory now forming part of the present states of Pennsylvania, Delaware and New-Jersey. Their first locality was on Christina Creek, near the site of the present city of Wilmington. As they had no grant of land, and only a charter from their king, they made a purchase from the Indians, on which they relied for their title. They called their settlement New-Sweden.

At first they encountered some opposition from the Dutch, who had preceded them; but, in 1642, the government of New-Sweden had substantially the control of this territory, and John Printz, who had recently come out from Sweden, was governor. He established his seat of government on the island of Tinnaconk, since called Tinicum, now in the county of Delaware, Penn., being the earliest permanent European settlement in that state. Here he built his residence, and a fort of logs, which protected his colony and closed the navigation of the river against foreign vessels.

As the materials for the history of this colony, and particularly of its relations to the people of New-England, are exceedingly meagre, any newly discovered matter which may elucidate it becomes important, and for this purpose some original papers, which have never been published, are now brought forward for your consideration, with explanatory selections from writers of that period.

Some time in the year 1640, Capt. Nathaniel Turner, as the agent of the New-Haven colony, is said to have made a large purchase of land on both sides of Delaware bay or river. In the

following spring, a bark or ketch was fitted out at New-Haven by George Lamberton, a principal merchant there, and despatched to the Delaware, under command of Robert Cogswell. She stopped at Manhattan, where the Dutch governor cautioned Cogswell against making a settlement on the Delaware, which they claimed as within their territory, unless they would acknowledge the States-General and swear allegiance to them. Cogswell assured them they did not intend to intrude on any part of their territory, and if they found no land free from any claims, they would return or acknowledge allegiance to the Dutch government; and so he was allowed to proceed. When they had arrived there they purchased land on both sides of the bay and river, and settled two colonies, with facilities for trade with the Indians; one on the Schuylkill, and the other near where is now Salem, N. J. During that year the general court of New-Haven resolved that the plantations in the Delaware should be in combination with that town, and authorized Capt. Turner to occupy them.1

1642, May 22. "The party which Lamberton had sent the previous summer from New-Haven to the South River, having, in violation of their pledge, established themselves upon Dutch territory 'without any commission of a potentate,' Kieft, on finding how he had been cajoled, determined 'to drive these English thence in the best manner possible.' The yachts Real and St. Martin were therefore dispatched to Jansen, the commissary at Fort Nassau, who was instructed to visit the intruders and 'compel them to depart directly in peace.' Their personal property was not to be injured; but the commissary was to 'remain master,' and 'above all' to \*maintain the reputation of their High Mightinesses and the noble directors of the West India company."

"Jansen executed his orders promptly. The settlement on the Schuylkill was broken up at once. That on the Varkens' Kill, or Salem Creek, was next visited, and with the hearty co-operation of the Swedes, who had agreed with Kieft to 'keep out the English,' the intruders were expelled \* \* \* \* and sent back to New-Haven." Lamberton persisted in trading at the South river, but was arrested

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Brodhead's History of New-York, i. 321.
<sup>2</sup> There was a Fort Nassau near Albany; afterward the Dutch had a fort of the same name on the Delaware, the location of which is difficult to determine. It was on the New-Jersey side, opposite Tinnaconk, but higher up the river. See a paper on "The History and Location of Fort Nassau on the Delaware," read by Edward Armstrong before the New-Jersey Historical Society, Jan. 20, 1853, and printed in its "Proceedings," vi. 187-207.

at Manhattan, and compelled to pay duties on his cargo.' From these and other causes much difficulty occurred between the Dutch and the New-Haven colony.

Winthrop, in September, 1643, says:—"Other affairs were transacted by the commissioners of the United Colonies, as writing letters to the Swedish governor in Delaware river, concerning the foul injuries offered by him to Mr. Lamberton, and those people whom New-Haven had planted there, and also to the Dutch governor about the injuries his agent there had also offered and done to them, as burning down their trading house, joining with the Swedes against them, &c. But this was inserted in the letter which the general court sent to him in further answer of that which he sent to them as is expressed here before. \* \* \*

"And we gave also commission to Mr. Lamberton to go treat with the Swedish governor about satisfaction for those injuries and damages, and to agree with him about settling their trade and plantation. Swedish governor demeaned himself as if he had neither christian nor moral conscience, getting Mr. Lamberton into his power by feigned and false pretences, and keeping him prisoner, and some of his men laboring by promises and threats to draw them to accuse him to have conspired with the Indians to cut off the Swedes and Dutch, and not prevailing these ways then by attempting to make them drunk, that so he might draw something from them, and in the end (though he could gain no testimony), yet he forced him to pay [blank] weight of beaver before he would set him at liberty. He is also a man very furious and passionate, cursing and swearing, and also reviling the English of New-Haven as runagates, etc., and himself, with his own hands, put irons on one of Mr. Lamberton's men, and went also to the houses of those few families planted there, and forced some of them to swear allegiance to the crown of Sweden, though he had no color of title to that place, and such as would not, he drave away, etc. All these things were clearly proved by Mr. Lamberton's relation and by other testimony upon oath, but this was before he was sent with commission."2

In the spring of 1644 (1643. 1.7), Winthrop writes: "At this court came letters from New-Haven, and withal an answer from the Swedes and Dutch to the letters of the commissioners of the Union

Brodhead's History of New-York, i. 337.
 Journal (Savage's 2d ed.) ii. 169-70. See also the "Acts of the Commissioners of the United Colonies," Sept., 1643, Plymouth Colony Records, ix. 13.

sent in the 7th month last. The Dutch still maintained their right to the land at Hartford and their complaint of injuries. The Swedes denied what they had been charged with, and sent copies of divers examinations upon oath taken in the cause, with a copy of all the proceedings between them and our friends of New-Haven from the first; and in their letters used large expessions of their respect to the English, and particularly to our colony. And Mr. Eaton desired a copy of our patent to show the Swedish governor (at his request) and a new commission from the commissioners of the Union, allowing them to go on with their plantation and trade in Delaware River and Bay."

The records of the Commissioners of the United Colonies, Sept. 19, 1643, contains the following entry concerning this matter:

"Vpon informacon and complaynt made by Mr Eaton and Mr Gregson to the comissioners of sondry injuries and outrages they have received both from the Dutch and Sweads both at Delaware Bay and elswhere the p'ticulers wth their proofes being duly considered. It was agreed and ordered That a I're be written to the Sweadish Gou'nor expressing the p'ticulers and requireing satisfaction weh l're is to be vinderwritten by John Winthrop Esqr. as Gou'n of the Massachusetts and President of the Commissioners for the vnited Colonies of New-England. And whereas the Dutch Gou'nor wrote to the Gou'nor and gen'all Court of the Massachusetts complayneing against Hartford as by his I're dated the xxth of July last appeares vnto weh Mr Winthrop in p't answered the second of August referring to the Gen'all Court for the Massachusetts and to this meeting of the Comission's for a further & full answere. It was thought fitt that in that answere the wrongs donn both to Hartford and New-Haven be expressed requiring answere to the p'ticulars: and p'fessing that as wee will not wrong others, so we may not desert our Confederates in any just cause." 2

The following is a copy in English of one of the examinations3 referred to by Winthrop. The original translation is in my possession.

Winthrop's Journal, ii. 189.

Winthrop's Journal, ii. 189.
Plymouth Colony Records, ix. 13.
This examination was, no doubt, made to satisfy the English, and probably took place in the Swedish fort then called Fort Gottenburg. The members of this, probably the first, Mixed Commission ever convened on this continent, were selected from the Swedish, Dutch and English nations. Brief notices of the members are here given:
John Printz came over with the second colony and landed at Christina in 1642, bringing a commission from Christina queen of Sweden, as governor of New-Sweden. He seems to have been a man of ability and energy.—See Hazard's Annals of Penn.
Capt. Nathaniel Turner came in 1630, requested admission as freeman of Massachusetts in Oct. of that year, and was sworn in July 3, 1632; constable in 1632, deputy 1634–1636; went against the Pequots in 1637; removed in 1638 to New-Haven, and was a freeman there in 1639; in 1640, one of the purchasers of Stamford; in 1641 appointed superintendent of the colony interest on the Delaware and permitted to go there; in January, 1646,

### "Translated out of the duch copy.

" Anno 1644 Jan 16.

The vnderwritten examination was vpon the letters of the governor of New-england to the governour of New Sweden. it was taken vpon oath in the prence of

The Governor John Printz

Comis Hendrick Huygen Capitaine Turner Capitaine Mons Clinge Mr Isaack Alerton Wachtmeister Gregory Von Dyck' Secretary Carl Janssen

Questio 1. The governour asked the English if he had done the any iniustice. They answered noe.

Quest. 2. The governour asked them if he had drove the English fro hence & would have driven them from their Goods & plantation. they answered Noe.

Quest: 3. The governour asked them if he had copelled them by force of armes to sweare to the Crowne of Sweden. They answered Noe.

Quest: 4. The gover asked if he had spoken any evill of the English nation or had reproached them. They answered Noe.

### John Nolin examined.

Quest. 1. The govern asked him if he had hired him to give false witnesse agt m' Lamerton. he answered No.

Quest. 2: The governour asked mr Timen & Jeffery Hermer, if he did send them to that end to m' Lamerton (vnder pretence to seeke for a golden chaine) that they might finde an occation wherby the govern' might take away m' Lamertons life. They answered vpon oath no.

Sailed with Capt. Lamberton, Mr. Gregson and others for London, but never heard from afterward; a man of enterprise and public spirit. One of his daughters married Thomas Yale. Isaac Allerton, one of the original members of the Plymouth Colony, was one of the most enterprising merchants of New-England in his day. At the date of this examination he was a resident of New-Haven. Subsequently he resided in New-Amsterdam, but in 1647 returned to New-Haven, where he died in the latter part of 1658, or carly in 1659.—See His. AND GEN. REGISTER, viii. 265, for a sketch; also the Bio. Dictionaries, and Brad-Fowl's New Playment's Playment's New Playment

Ins. AND GEN. REGISTER, vin. 205, for a sketch; also the Bio. Dictionaries, and Branford's New-Plymouth.

Carl Janssen is called "Secretary," but I do not find his name mentioned elsewhere. In 1635, Jans Janssen, of Ilpendam in North Holland, was commissary at Fort Nassau. It is possible that Carl was a relative. The family name is common in the Manhattan records. Christian Boy was probably either an officer in one of the forts, or the commander of a vessel. Hendrick Huygen was the Swedish commissary at this time, and is foren spoken of by the Dutch writers as a prominent man in the controversies between them and the Swedes.

Mons Clinge, sometimes written Mounce Kling, here styled "Capitaine," in 1648 was "lieutenant of the Swedish fort on the Schuylkill." His name occurs frequently in the histories of that region.

Gregory Von Dyck, styled "wachtmeister," or quartermaster, probably served in that capacity at the fort.

In the manuscript the letter win the

In the manuscript the letter y in these names has a diæresis over it.

Quest: 3: The governor asked J: Nolin if his wife had given beere & wine that he should testify falsely agt mr Lamerton. he answ. vpon oath No, but on the contrary that he had beere & not wine given him vpon his owne desire no otherwise then that he should speake the truth admonishing him therby, that if he were found false it should resk him life.

Quest: 4. Mr Tymen & Jeffery declard that they had heard fro the Indian Prince his brother, & an Indian named Pors [?] that mr Lamerton would have hired the Indians to kill vs here, wth many circustances to it, as yt mr Lamerton would to that purpose sell them pieces & powder, & this did they heere them speake in mr Lamertons presence, & to this they testify upon oath.

Quest: 5. Jo: Nolin was asked if the govern did offer him silver & gold to testify falsly ag<sup>t</sup> m Lamerton. he answered vpon oath, No.

Quest: 6. It was demanded of Jo: Nolin whether the governor himselfe did put the bilboes vpon his hands. he answered, No."

Though it is not expressly stated, there can be little doubt that John Nolin was the person upon whom Winthrop asserts Gov. Printz put irons with his own hands.

This examination was very important. It was, no doubt, satisfactory to the United Colonies, and perhaps opened the way for the intercourse which followed the next year. It also refuted the allegations against Gov. Printz which Winthrop had recorded, no doubt from the reports of interested parties. Harmony seems to have been restored between the Swedish and English colonies. The letters of Winthrop and Printz, which we print below, show a very friendly feeling.

### II.

#### THE EXPEDITION TO DISCOVER THE GREAT LAKE.

Winthrop, under date of 1. 21. 1643, that is, March 21, 1643-4, says: "Divers of the merchants of Boston being desirous to discover the great lake, supposing it to lie in the northwest part of our patent, and finding that the great trade of beaver, which came to all the eastern and southern parts, came from thence, petitioned the court to be a company for that design, and to have the trade which they should discover, to themselves for twenty-one years. The court was very unwilling to grant any monopoly, but perceiving that without it they would not proceed, granted their desire; whereupon having also com-

mission granted them under the public seal, and letters from the governor to the Dutch and Swedish governors, they sent out a pinnace, well manned and furnished with provisions and trading stuff, which was to sail up the Delaware river so high as they could go, and then some of the company, under the conduct of Mr. William Aspenwall, a good artist, and one who had been in those parts, to pass by small skiffs or canoes up the river so far as they could."1

The action of the General Court is recorded as follows: - "1643-4, 7th March. The petition of Mr Valentine Hill, Capt. Rob't Sedgwick, Mr Willi: Tinge, Treasurer, Mr Franc. Norton, Mr Thom: Clarke, Josua Hewes & Willi: Aspinwall is granted them.

"First, they are established a free company of adventurers wth liberty to admit & take in any went they thinke meete for the advancement of the worke, & any that will may come in within this monthe; but none after, except they app've of them; they are granted power to make such wholesome orders for the well managing of their trade as is granted to such companies in other parts: 21, that whatsoever trade they shall discover in those parts win three yeares next ensuing (if the Lord so blesse their endeavors) they may enioy it solely to themselues & the rest of their company for twenty & one yeares after such discovery is made, wth full power & authority from this Court to inhibite & restraine any other p'son or p'sons whatsoever, during the tearme aforesaid, that shall attempt any trade (by them discoved) without the warrant of the aforesaid company; or if they have or shall intermeddle, as aforesaid, that then it may bee lawfull for the company in a legall way to seize upon such goods so traded: & lastly, they are granted the Corts letters, under the publique seale, unto the Dutch or Swedes, or any other they may necessarily have to do wth in the p'secution of this discovery or trade for the furth countenancing of their p'ceedings."2

This gives us the names of the adventurers in this expedition and their charter from the government of the colony, which shows that they intended to locate within the Massachusetts patent.

I have in my possession the original draft of Gov. Winthrop's letter to the Swedish governor, mentioned in my last extract from his Journal, and the reply of Gov. Printz thereto. Both letters are in

Journal, ii. 193.
 Mass. Col. Rec., ii. 60.

Latin, the usual official language of that period, in such cases. The text of Winthrop's' letter is as follows:

L'ris tuis humanissimis (colendissime Dñe) aliter respondendi, in presentiaru non datur facultas, quam, quod acceperim, & in illis, erga nos & Anglorū gentem, beneuolū amicissimumą' animum gratanter p'eeperim: vnde, & ex antiqua arctissimaq' illa inter Anglos & Suecos necessitudine, facile sibi p'suasū habeat Dās Gubernator Suecorū, se suosq' oīēs Anglos in hisce terris, pari studio & beneuolentia prosequi, & in honore habere, semp' curaturos. Quod vero Literarū tuarū & exemplariū p'tes attinet, Responsū plenū & p'ticulare, a proxima Comissionaria conuentiõe expectare possis. Interim spero (quod etiam a Dominatione tua peto) vt oīā, inter vos & confæderatos n'ros Neuhauenses, suma pace et concordia, transigantur negotia. Vale.

Tuæ Dignitatis amicissime Studiosus

J. W.

The following is the text<sup>2</sup> of Gov. Printz's letter to Gov. Winthrop:

Generose Dn: Gubernator:

Salut:

Literas tuas cum harum exhibitore, Dño Wilhelmo Aspinwalds, ut illum mihi habeam commendatum sonantes, libenter accepi, &

¹ This was the first and rough draft of the letter. It has at the bottom, in the writer's ordinary hand, the following memorandum: "Sr I pray p'use & correct whr you see Cause," addressed to some friend, who made two slight alterations. The corrections somewhat resemble Dunster's hand-writing. The letter is endorsed by Winthrop thus: "Lra ad Gub: Suecoru (1) 21—43," i.e.: Mar. 21, 1643-4. It is often extremely difficult to decipher Winthrop's writing, but in this instance his Latin is quite plainly written except in some final letters. We make the following translation.—[Editor of Register.]

<sup>&</sup>quot;I have not the power at the present time, most estimable Sir, of replying to your very obliging letter further than to say, that I received it and thankfully perceived in it a benevolent and very amicable disposition toward us and the English nation: hence, and on account of the ancient and very intinate relations between the English and Swedes, you, Mr. Governor of the Swedes, may easily persuade yourself that all the English in this country will be solicitous at all times to conduct themselves toward you and your people with like zeal and good will, and treat them in an honorable manner. But in respect to certain parts of your letter and copies of papers, you may expect a full and particular response at the next meeting of the commissioners [of the United Colonies]. In the meantime, I hope (what I also ask of your government) that all business between you and our New-Haven confederates may be carried on in perfect peace and harmony. Farewell. Your Honor's very devoted friend, J. W."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> We make the following translation of Gov. Printz's letter, the text of which is given above. - [Editor of Register.]

<sup>&</sup>quot; Noble Governor:

<sup>&</sup>quot;Noble Governor:
"Greeting:
"I gladly received your letter by the bearer, Mr. William Aspinwall, signifying that I should regard him as commended to me, and as nothing could have been more grateful to me than to do this in such a way as that he may understand that this your recommendation has been of great service to him, therefore, without delay, and on the spot, I wrote to the officers here in our fort that they should not in any manner hinder him, or in any way molest him, but that they should permit him to go and return freely and safely, and that wherever his business might call him, they should cheerfully assist his journey, under the public faith

quemadmodum mihi nihil magis gratum fuerit, quam hoc ita efficerem, ut is hanc tuam recommendationem sibi plurimum profuisse intelligat; ita citô citius, standoq' pede officiarijs, hic in nostris propugnaculis scripsi, ut illum haud quovis modo impediant, vel vlla molestià afficiant, sed sine incluso transitu, tutô ire & redire permittant, ubiq' necessitas postularetur, fide et securitate publica, alijs suo itineri rebus necessarijs haud gravatim juvant. Et ne aliquis ei vim contra jus inferat, vnum ex subditis meis, usq' ad propugnaculum Belgicum Nassoviæ condonavi, sed quapropter, per oras Belgicas ei non pertransire concessum, id ipse coram revelare potest. Si quid est in quo, Dão Gubernat: post hac tutius possum gratificari nihil sum recusaturus. Vale.

Dat: Tinnakungs 29 Junij 1644

T. G.

[Address]:

Colendo.

Officiose colens. JOHAN PRINTZ.

Generoso & Clariss: viro Dño Johanni Wintrop, Nov: Anglia Gubernatori &c.: meritiss: amico cum primis

Officiosiss:

[Endorsement by Gov. Winthrop]: From the Sweds Gouern' (4) 29-44.

Brodhead under this year, speaking of Lake Lyconnia, says: "The Boston merchants now began to covet a participation in the

and security, in any other necessities. Moreover, lest any one should do him violence I sent one of my subjects with him as far as the Dutch forts at Nassau; but why he is not permitted to pass through the Dutch country, he can make it known in person. If there is anything after this, Mr. Governor, in which I can prudently gratify you, I shall not at all refuse to do it.

Farewell.

Given at Tinnaconk, 29 June, 1644.

Respectfully and officially. Respectfully and officially, JOHN PRINTZ."

[Address]:
"To the noble and very illustrious man,
Mr. John Wintrop, Governor, in
New-England, &c.: a friend worthy of the highest regard.

Most respectfully."

Most respectfully."

¹ The patents known as Laconia and Lygonia, from a similarity of names have often been supposed to be identical, but were entirely distinct; and in this case should we not infer that "Lyconia" should have been written Laconia. The Laconia patent was granted by the Council of Plymouth to Gorges and Mason, Nov. 17, 1629, and embraced "all those lands and countries bordering upon the great lake or lakes and rivers known by the name of the river and lake or rivers and lakes of the Iroquois," no doubt meaning Lake Champlain. The Lygonia or Plough Patent was avery different thing. It was forty miles square, and covered territory between Cape Porpoise and Cape Elizabeth. The date of the grant, as also the names of the grantees, are unknown. The Laconia patent was supposed to bear date Aug. 10, 1622, and to embrace other territory than this, till the Maine Historical Society procured a copy of the patent of Aug. 10, 1622, when it appeared that this was called the "Province of Maine," not of "Laconia." This patent is printed in the Popham Memorial Volume, pp. 121-3.

fur trade on the Delaware. It was imagined in Massachusetts that the chief supply of beavers came from 'a great lake, supposing it to lie in the north-west part' of their patent, and this lake, which they named 'Lake Lyconnia,' it was now thought should be 'discovered.'"1

This extract would seem to imply that these adventurers must have been in possession of the patent known as the "Laconia Grant" to Mason and Gorges, which was given Nov. 17, 1629, and was brought out by Walter Neale in 1630 and attempted to be located, but without success. In Willis's History of Portland, it is stated that George Cleeves came over in 1637 as agent for Gorges, and that he also "brought a protection under the privy signet for searching out the lake of Iracoyce and for the trade in beaver."2

Now is it not probable that some Boston merchants may have purchased this patent, which was intended to be located on a western lake (probably Champlain), and got up this expedition to reach it? The people in England, as also the colonists, had a very indefinite knowledge of the country as well as of the lakes and rivers on the west of New-England. In this respect they were for a long period very much behind the French of Canada, who, a generation before, had become familiar with these great bodies of water and their communications.

It seems that the professions of friendship by the Swedes and Dutch did not protect the English adventurers from New-England in their efforts to penetrate to the beaver country, for we learn that when Aspinwall and his party approached the Swedes, they were fired upon from the fort and stopped. The governor, upon complaint of Aspinwall, acknowledged the bad conduct of his lieutenant, and promised "all favor" in future. The Dutch, higher up the river, refused them leave to pass, and thereupon they returned, but before they left the river the Swedish lieutenant made them pay 40 shillings for the shot he had fired at them. The news of this was brought to Boston, July 20, 1644.3

We further learn that this expedition for trade and discovery failed, owing to the drunkenness and alleged unfaithfulness of the master of the Boston pinnace after it entered the river. this instance the adventurers recovered of the master "200

History of New-York, i. 383.
 Willis's Portland, i. 31, quoting York Records, i. 140.
 Winthrop's Journal, ii. 218-9.

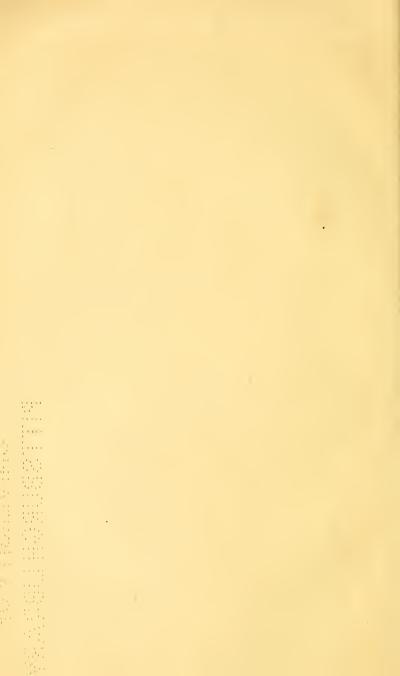
pounds," which Winthrop thinks was too much; "for it was probable," he says, "they could not have proceeded."

In the next year, another trading expedition from Boston met with disaster. After they had secured a valuable cargo of "skins, otter, &c.," their bark was boarded by a band of Indians under pretence of a desire to trade, who killed the master and three others, rifled the bark, and carried away a boy and the interpreter. To the latter they gave forty skins, twenty fathoms of wampum and other things, and kept their two prisoners about six weeks. They were released through the intervention of the Swedish governor, who sent them to New-Haven by a bark of that place. They reached Boston July 14, 1645; "the man as a prisoner." <sup>2</sup>

Winthrop's Journal, ii. 229.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., ii. 250.





Condonavi, sod quassosster, ner cras Belgicas of non sostransice concessum, id af Coram revolare potest. si gmid of in que Fro Bubesnat: post bac bust Juny abyt Sati Simalungs 29



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Salut:

Generose Dn: Gubernator.

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