

THE SWEDES IN AMERICA

1638-1900

AMANDUS JOHNSON

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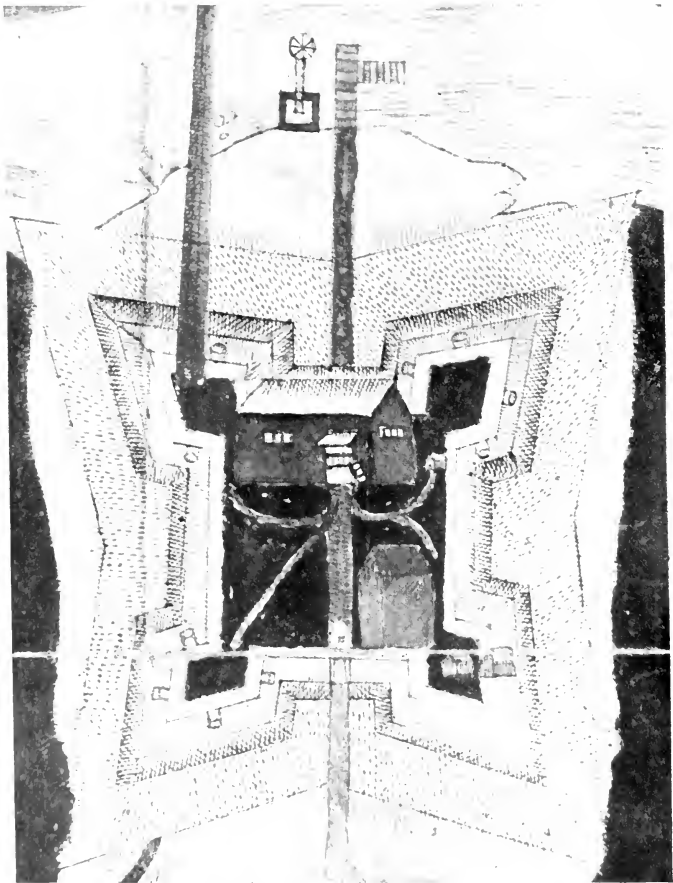
1638-1900

BY

AMANDUS JOHNSON

IN FOUR VOLUMES

VOLUME I.



Fort Christina (1654), section of Lindeström's plan of Christinchann. See below, p. 95.

THE SWEDES IN AMERICA, 1638-1900

VOLUME I.

THE SWEDES
ON THE DELAWARE

1638-1664

BY

AMANDUS JOHNSON

UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA

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TO C. A. SMITH,
THE SWEDISH AMERICAN
PHILANTHROPIST AND FRIEND OF LEARNING

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PREFACE

This volume has been prepared to meet the demands, made from time to time, for a popular edition of *THE SWEDISH SETTLEMENTS ON THE DELAWARE*. It is essentially an abridgment of the above-named work; yet in some particulars it is a new book. It is popular only in so far that foot notes and bibliographical references have been omitted: nowhere has the statement of fact been sacrificed to the embellishment of language.

The book (which was begun last summer) has been written during the spare hours of "a very full schedule" and without the noble aid, inspiration and encouragement of the author's wife it could not have been finished for another season.

The author also desires to thank the many scholars and others, here and abroad, who, in reviews and private letters, have encouraged the labor through favorable criticism of the earlier book. If this little volume is accorded the same reception by critics and readers as the large work, the labor in writing it has been well worth while.

THE AUTHOR.

Philadelphia, April, 1913.

PART I.

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



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

CHAPTER I.

POLITICAL, SOCIAL, RELIGIOUS AND OTHER CON- DITIONS IN SWEDEN, 1611-1660.

I.

The beginning of the seventeenth century marks a new era in Swedish history. The constructive statesmanship of the great Vasa (whose fruits were wasted by forty years of misrule) lived again in the famous Carl IX and in his more famous son, and during their reigns Sweden took first place among the powers of northern Europe.

The first sixty years of the century was an epoch of war. When Gustavus Adolphus ascended the Swedish throne in 1611, the armies of his country were engaged against three nations, Denmark, Russia and Poland. The King was anxious to conclude peace with Denmark, but this was refused and hostilities continued. The enemy, however, had the advantage and was able to impose hard terms in 1613, when the two belligerents were finally tired of the useless and bitter warfare.

The King could now send more troops to the aid

of his generals in Russia, and in the summers of 1614 and 1615 he went in person to lead the operations there. In February, 1617, the Russian war also came to an end by the treaty of Stolbova, where peace negotiations had been in progress for nearly a year and a half. Through this treaty Sweden acquired the territories of Ingermanland and Kexholm; and Gustavus Adolphus won two of his foremost objects,—Russia was pushed back from the Baltic, and a natural northern boundary for Finland was secured against the Cossack hordes.

Poland, having lately renewed and firmly established the Catholic religion, was ruled by a King of the Vasa house, who had a legal right to the Swedish crown. She was the leading European power in the East and the standard-bearer of Catholicism against Turks and heretics, and hence a natural enemy of Sweden; and finally she possessed territory and harbors, that had to be brought under Swedish control, if the dream of making the Baltic a Swedish inland sea should be realized by the statesmen at Stockholm. There were therefore various circumstances that might provoke hostilities; but the immediate cause of the war was Sigismund's pretensions to the Swedish throne, and his continuous refusal to recognize Gustavus Adolphus as the lawful king of Sweden. Gustavus

Adolphus therefore determined to attack the enemy in his own country, and in the summer of 1621 he set sail for Riga with a fleet of 148 warships and ten yachts, carrying about 14,000 selected soldiers on board, some being mercenaries from Scotland and Holland.

The brilliant campaigns that followed under the King and his able generals arrested the attention of Protestant Europe, and many of the new faith called upon him to become their leader against the Catholics. He expressed his willingness to champion the Protestant cause, and presented a comprehensive plan of operations, while conducting diplomatic conferences with the representatives of England and Holland to the same purpose. But King Christian of Denmark, always jealous of his northern neighbor, also offered his services in the pending struggle and, as his conditions were more moderate and his demands on the allies less exacting than those of Gustavus Adolphus, he was chosen to be the Gideon of the Evangelical Union in its fierce combat with the Catholic League.

The Swedish army and navy (both of which had been re-organized and largely increased) were therefore not yet to be used against the imperial forces. Gustavus Adolphus, hoping for more favorable times, went to finish his Polish war, and, after several victorious expeditions through which Sweden gained many advantages and extended her

territory, a six years' truce was concluded at Almark in 1629.*

King Christian, who in the meantime had lost his battles with the veteran Tilly, was forced to withdraw from the field. The time now seemed ripe for action. England and Holland were willing to submit to the plans of Gustavus Adolphus. The Protestant princes requested him to become "the defender of their heritage", and Richelieu advised him to take an active part in the contest. He negotiated with England, Holland and France, but with little result, as they gave evasive and indefinite answers. He was now fully determined, however, to enter the lists—it was a case of averting a future danger from his own kingdom—and in the autumn of 1629 he called a meeting of the council of state. This session became a turning point in modern history. It was decided that Sweden should take an active part in the Thirty Years' War.†

After large preparations Gustavus Adolphus set sail for Germany in June, 1630, with a picked army of about 13,000 men. He at once turned the

(*) These campaigns, however, did more than bring about a truce and place several important cities under Swedish sovereignty; they prepared Gustavus Adolphus and his soldiers for the greater struggle about to begin, and furnished means for its prosecution.

(†) The motives of Gustavus Adolphus for taking part in the 'Thirty Years' War are clearly stated in the minutes—they were religious, political and commercial. Cf. Fries, *Svenska Kulturbilder*, p. 19 ff.

tide of events. He rescued the Reformation and raised Sweden to a first class power in European politics, but his brilliant career was cut short on the memorable battlefield of Lützen in November, 1632.

The government was now placed in the hands of "the five high officers of the kingdom", until Christina became of age, and the war went on. Success continued for a time to follow the Swedish forces, but the spell of invincibility deserted them at Nördlingen in 1634; and the two following years were dark and full of trials for the Swedish leaders, interrupted only by a few brilliant achievements of Johan Banér. Gradually, however, the sky brightened. Swedish statesmen like Oxenstierna and Brahe and Swedish generals like Banér and Torstensson wrought success of what appeared to be disaster.

Denmark had kept aloof from an active participation in the Thirty Years' War since 1629. She had seen the increasing influence and power of Sweden and her growing commercial interests and far reaching plans with envious eyes. Only one-third of the Swedish export and import trade, it was true, for the years 1637-1643 was carried on Swedish vessels; but Swedish ships had been sent to other continents, the Swedish flag was waving over possessions in the New World, and indications were that the mastery of the Baltic would

soon pass over to the power lying north of Öresund. King Christian IV endeavored to assert and sustain Danish supremacy in the Baltic and Danish jurisdiction in the Sound. A heavy toll (amounting to over \$3,000,000 in 1639) was collected from vessels passing through the Strait, a large part of which was levied on Swedish merchandise. Besides, Swedish vessels were often confiscated, and the Danish king conducted a regular warfare in everything but in name against his neighbor. In the peace negotiations of Sweden, Denmark also played the false friend.

But the opportunity for which Oxenstierna had been waiting was come. Denmark was to be attacked and the Swedish sword was to make an end of Danish interference. The Swedish navy, which had been greatly increased and splendidly equipped through Fleming's efforts, was put in readiness, troops were mobilized and other preparations were made, the real object of which was kept so secret that not even the Swedish representative at Copenhagen knew the intentions of his government. In the spring of 1643 Lennart Torstensson, who was employed against the imperial forces in Germany, was ordered to take his army by forced marches into Denmark, that he might deliver a decisive blow, before the enemy had time to make necessary preparations. The plans were eminently successful, the Swedes being victorious

on both land and sea, and in the autumn of 1645 the Danes sued for peace. The treaty, signed at Brömsebro, gave to Sweden the districts of Jämtland and Härjedalen and the island of Gothland.

The Swedish troops could be sent once more against the imperial armies, and after various campaigns the Thirty Years' War was finally brought to an end in 1648 through the treaty of Westphalia. Sweden was compensated by German districts in the north and a money indemnity.

About a year before the termination of the Danish war (December, 1644) Queen Christina, being of age, came to the throne. During the first years of her rule she took interest in the state business, but she soon tired of the arduous duties. Her mind reverted to literature and arts. She collected books and art treasures, she called famous foreigners to her court and she sought to establish learned societies. The splendors of her court were far in excess of the resources of her kingdom. Pageants, court ballads and festivities of every description drained the treasury and occupied the time of the Queen. Gifts in estates and privileges were showered on favorites without number or discretion. Soon the five million R. D. paid to Sweden through the Westphalian Treaty were gone, and five million more had followed, leaving the nation in great debt. At last conditions became impossible. In 1654 she resigned her sceptre

to a stronger hand, and joined the church against which her father had fought.*

Carl X now grasped the reins of government. But King Casimir of Poland, who pretended to the Swedish throne, would not recognize his title to the crown. Carl was therefore forced to declare war. The Swedish treasury was empty, and the two leading parties, the nobility and the commoners, were pitted against each other in a social struggle; but the diet in 1655 granted the King permission to begin hostilities, and voted funds for his use. There was great enthusiasm over the war in Sweden. Wealthy noblemen contributed large sums to the war-fund from their own means; foreign soldiers flocked to Sweden to enlist under her victorious banners; and soon Carl X was able to move against his foe.

A period of almost incessant battles and sieges followed. Few men in history have given greater surprises to their age than Carl X; few, perhaps none, have accomplished equal results with the same means and in so short a time. In twelve months Poland lay bleeding at his feet, destined

(*) Christina was born at Stockholm on December 8, 1626. Her education was thorough and extensive. At the age of 16 she could write and speak German and Latin fluently and had a good knowledge of Greek.

In Innsbruck she formally accepted the Catholic faith in 1655 and settled in Rome for the rest of her days except at short intervals. She revisited her native land in 1660 and again in 1667 and made pretensions to the throne. She died at Rome in April, 1689.

never to regain her former power. Russia, Austria and Denmark attacked him almost simultaneously, but by a march over a frozen sea, one of the greatest feats on record, he led his army into the heart of Denmark, compelling this power to sue for a peace, that gave to Sweden the most valuable territorial acquisition in her history. The great warrior king, however, soon broke the peace, the total annihilation of Denmark being his aim, but fortune failed him for the first time. Cromwell, on whose influence he had relied, died, changing the attitude of the commander of the English fleet; France fell off, the Netherlands took sides with the enemy, and the Danish people were aroused to fight for their existence. In the midst of tremendous activities, the King became ill during a diet in the beginning of 1660, and on the morning of February 13 he died, at the age of thirty-eight.

II.

Through these wars and through her efforts to extend her power, her commerce and her trade, Sweden came in contact with the outside world to a degree unknown in her previous history since the Viking age. Swedish statesmen wove a network of diplomatic connections, which brought their country in touch with almost every important nation in the world, and the government at Stockholm stretched the webs of its diplomacy to Hol-

land, England, France, Russia, Spain, Portugal, the German States and even to Venice, Italy, Persia and Turkey.

Sweden's political and commercial relations with foreign countries concern us little in this treatise except those of Portugal, Spain, Denmark, England and Holland. Those of the three former nations will be touched upon as occasion demands, but those of the two latter (being the most important for an understanding of the commercial and political successes and failures of the Swedes during this period) need a brief sketch here.

England's policy towards Sweden was generally one of friendship. To the English of this period, "Svecia was a kingdom rich in gold, silver, copper, lead, iron, fruit, cattle, and exceeding increase of fish of the rivers, lakes and sea." In 1620 one G. Vischer (?) proposed to hire in "Swedland. . . men skilful in making pitch, tar, potash and soap-ashes" for the Virginia settlement, and Swedish cannon and iron works soon acquired fame among the English. Several English representatives were sent to Stockholm, Spens acting as a minister for both nations, and Swedish ambassadors went to London. But Swedish ships were often captured by the English, leading to complaints and complications. In 1653 Whitelocke was sent on his well-known embassy to Queen Christina. An alliance and a commercial treaty was effected in the spring

of 1654, later ratified by the Protector and the Queen. In the beginning of 1655 Coyet set out for London with instruction to work for an increase "of the good confidence, which existed between both nations", and for an agreement upon the limits between New Sweden and the English colonies.

In the summer of the same year George Fleetwood, the son-in-law of Cromwell, was sent to England on a secret mission, and on July 28 Christer Bonde made his brilliant entrance into London with his 200 followers. In this manner the friendship with England was established and continued, and no danger threatened the Swedish possession across the ocean from that direction.

Of foreign nations, except the immediate neighbors, Holland stood in closest connection with Sweden. From Holland, Sweden received many of her best and most useful citizens. Dutch soldiers served in Swedish armies, and Dutch captains and skippers commanded Swedish ships; Swedish students went to Holland to study commerce, and Swedish scholars gained inspiration from Dutch teachers; Dutch money helped Sweden to support her armies and found her commercial companies and Dutch brains developed the industries of the country, and from Holland came the first impulses for successful transatlantic trade.

The political relations between Sweden and Hol-

land were friendly as a rule before 1655. Sweden had constant representatives, correspondents, consuls and residents in Holland from an early date. Dutch embassies were sent to Stockholm and Dutch diplomatic agents resided there at various times. Several treaties were made between the two nations (1614, 1618, 1633, 1644, etc.) and in 1638 and 1639, the years that mark the beginning of the colony on the Delaware, the States drew closer to Sweden. In 1644 and 1645 Holland proved a fast friend, but the friendly relations were soon to be severed.

Holland and Sweden reached their highest political importance about the same time, and here lies the explanation of their estrangement. The Dutch became jealous of the rising power of the North. In the beginning of the century the Dutch controlled the shipping of the Baltic, half of their enormous merchant fleet sailing on its waters and over two-thirds of the Swedish imports and exports for the period 1637-1643 were carried on foreign ships, the majority of which were Dutch. Swedish statesmen, however, endeavored to wrest this supremacy from the Hollanders, and through their efforts Swedish commerce and shipping increased greatly. Sweden soon became the leading power in the north. The States, fearing this supremacy, sided with her enemies and ruined many of her great plans. When Sweden stood

almost ready to weld the three Scandinavian nations into one and make the Baltic a Swedish inland sea, Holland interfered, crushing her last hope of success. The Swedish colony on the Delaware passed over to the Dutch, and the Swedish possessions in Africa (1648-63) were captured by the same people. The Dutch now often seized Swedish merchant vessels, and for about half a century they did much damage to Swedish shipping and commerce.

III.

In this period Sweden developed a highly organized military system—in many respects the best in Europe—and the machinery of state was perfected to a degree not attained by any other European power at this early date. The government of the King lost most of its patriarchal features, and the division of labor became the watchword of the period. The military affairs of the nation were placed in the hands of the College of War, the management of the navy was assigned to the College of Admiralty (fully organized in 1634); the College of Mines (organized in 1637) superintended the mining industries; the re-organized financial system was given into the charge of the College of the Exchequer (*Kammarkollegium*, organized in 1618). “A general collector of customs”, aided by 110 assistants headed the custom-

house service and an inspector superintended the surveying of the country (these two departments being branches of the *Kammarkollegium*).

Finally a Commercial College (which has special bearing on our subject) was established to regulate, control and encourage trade.* The first plans for such a college were presented to the council of state in the autumn of 1637. Its special function should be to supervise, increase and extend foreign and domestic trade. Klas Fleming was appointed president, and Johan Beier, who for years acted as treasurer of the New Sweden Company, was made secretary. But the college was soon dissolved, and several attempts to re-organize the same failed. In 1651, however, it was definitely established as a department of the government with salaried officers and servants, and two years later, when Erik Oxenstierna became its president, the New Sweden Company and colony was entrusted to its care.

The first written constitution of Sweden, which had been prepared by Oxenstierna and sanctioned by the King, was adopted in 1634. Self government in Sweden dates from antiquity. The king circumscribed, to some extent this prerogative of the people as time went on; but municipal self-gov-

(*) For a more complete account of the *Commercial College*, see the author's *Swedish Settlements on the Delaware*, I, 15 ff.

ernment was never fully relinquished by the commoners, and the colonists, who came to the Delaware between 1638 and 1664, were accustomed to have a voice in local affairs, secular and religious. The diet also, made up as it was of the four estates (the nobility, the clergy, the peasantry and the burgesses), gave the people an opportunity of participating in the government of the whole country. This body was summoned by royal authority, as circumstances required and questions of great import arose, and the members were appointed or elected to represent the various districts of the kingdom.

The council of state became an important factor in the government during the seventeenth century. According to the constitution of 1634 it was to consist of 25 members, selected from the principal houses of the nobility. Its interests and activities had a wide scope. It discussed every feature of public life at its meetings; it decided questions of peace and war; it deliberated about foreign and domestic commerce; it considered the ways and means of trading companies; it settled disputes between city officials and between companies and individuals; it revised judgments of courts as well as court martials,—in short the entire religious, social and domestic life of the nation received its attention.

The judicial system was re-organized and per-

fect in this era with the establishment of *Svea Hofrätt* (the first supreme court). Laws were printed from time to time, commentaries, dissertations and treatises on the old Swedish as well as on the old Roman law were written and published, and foreign books on judicial subjects were translated. The old Swedish law, which at this time was made the object of study at the University of Upsala and the subject of investigation by scholars and lawyers of note, was the foundation for all proceedings; but Roman law made its influence felt, and in many cases "the law of Moses" was followed, when a paragraph in the secular law could not be found to apply to a case in question (thus several paragraphs from the law of Moses were printed as an appendix to the edition of the Swedish Law of Carl IX). It is quite probable that Printz and Rising used one or more of the ordinances and commentaries published before 1653, and we have at least one instance among the Swedes on the Delaware at which the decision of a case was referred to the law of Moses.

IV.

The Reformation had fully permeated Swedish religious thought and life even before this period. It had accomplished permanent results, and the Lutheran church, under the direct control of the government, had become firmly established. "The

Bible of Gustavus Adolphus", a revision of the old translation of 1541, was published in 1618 and several new editions were issued. "A church hand-book" was published in 1614 which continued to be used until 1693. Several enlarged and revised editions of the *Psalm Book* appeared as well as editions of Luther's *Catechism* and other translations of foreign books of worship.

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

The vigorous religious and spiritual life of the Reformation gradually gave way to a cold, narrow theology, which insisted on "orthodox Lutheranism" to the exclusion of "all other beliefs"; but foreign religions were tolerated in the larger cities, and there were churches of the reformed sects in Stockholm and Gothenburg.

The language was passing through a stage of transition. The Reformation emphasized the use of Swedish, and the reformers of religion also became reformers of the language. They endeavored to free their native tongue from foreign influence and raise it to the standards of a cultured speech

by purifying its vocabulary, standardizing its spelling and enriching its literature. The years immediately following the Reformation, however, were unpropitious for "the cultivation and growth of the national language." But Gustavus Adolphus inaugurated a new era. He advised the professors at the University of Upsala to present "the learning of the world" in Swedish, and he instructed "the antiquarian and historian of the kingdom to collect words for a complete Swedish dictionary. Primers and other books of instruction were also issued, as a result of "the new awakening." Scholars began to study their native language, to write in the same and to publish linguistic treatises about it. These efforts proved so successful and the language developed such regularity that three-quarters of a century later the letters, dispatches and instructions of the chancery of this period and the "Bible of 1618" were selected by a commission as the norm for "the regulation of the written language."

The Swedish language was divided into several dialects well defined within certain geographical areas. It was not taught in the schools, and there was no standard of authority; consequently even literary monuments present great variations in spelling and other respects. The colonists on the Delaware came largely from Upland and the north-

ern provinces, and hence they spoke the dialects of these districts*

Before the seventeenth century Sweden had no poet of importance, and few works of literary value were produced; but in this epoch of enthusiasm for everything Swedish a list of names meets us, that have received a permanent place in the history and literature of Sweden. Bureus studied the old language, collected runes, wrote a grammar and other treatises. His disciple, Georg Stiernhjelms, composed a dictionary, tried to prove that Swedish was the mother of the Germanic languages, foreshadowed Grimm's law, and earned the title of "the father of Swedish poetry." Wivallius wrote lyrics of tender sweetness and a host of other authors wrote ballads and stories. Foreign novels and romances were translated and published and folk ballads were collected. These books were not read by the people in general; but it is probable that the stories soon became common property, and we may assume that at least a few of the colonists on the Delaware had some knowledge of them.

Education measured by our present day standard was on a low level. The Reformation broke down old customs and practices and it can hardly be said that it improved the higher education and

(*) For a more complete account of the language, see the author's *Swedish Settlements on the Delaware*, I, 23-25.

culture in the nation. It took a generation to re-establish what had been changed, in some cases with too violent a hand. But the early reformers laid much stress on the education of the masses, and their efforts were not without result.

During the first half of the seventeenth century public schools were established in many places for the instruction of the people, and commercial colleges were founded, where merchants could be trained in the most necessary branches of business. Secondary schools and so-called *Gymnasier* were created, which gave courses preparatory to the university. The University of Upsala was re-organized, and new universities were chartered at Abo and Dorpat. The Royal Library in Stockholm and the University Library at Upsala date from this period; the Royal Archives and the College of Antiquity as well as the first Swedish newspapers owe their existence to this enterprising age.

Education, especially that of the people, was under the direct control of the Church, and the knowledge imparted was largely religious. The first instruction was given at home, afterwards supplemented by the Church. It was the business of the Church to see to it that her members understood her teachings, and her best men such as Paulinus, Rudbeckius and others wrote books on pedagogy and labored with much diligence "to

scatter the spiritual darkness' of their country Laymen like Per Brahe, Axel Oxenstierna, Johan Skytte, De la Gardi and Gyllengren did much to improve the instruction and organize the school system of this period. Amos Cominius (or Komensky), the great pedagogue who was several centuries in advance of his contemporaries, was twice called to Sweden for the purpose of re-organizing the schools according to his educational theories. At the expense of the government he was engaged to write a series of pedagogical works, many of which were translated into Swedish, in some cases going through a number of editions.

It is natural that such efforts should bear fruit. Even in 1632 Professor Menius of Dorpat, speaking of higher education said: "That Melancthon's prophecy was about to be fulfilled, that the liberal arts, expelled from the countries, where they formerly flourished, . . . would find refuge in the north." The thought and discussions in the earlier part of the century with reference to public education finally crystallized into the school ordinance of 1649, "with a system of instruction equal to which no other country could show a parallel, whether we refer to the completeness and thoroughness of the formal and pedagogical principles or the extent or content of the material studied."

The illiteracy of the common people continued to be great, however, and superstition and ignorance held sway over their minds. They were not always willing to accept the innovations and improvements offered, and fines and other punishments were often imposed "to compel the stubborn to submit" to the new order of things. Gradually there came a change. In 1663 Terserius asserts "that in Leksand* and mostly in East Dalarna it is counted as a monstrosity, if a boy or girl of ten or eleven years cannot read in a book." A common gunner on the expedition of the *Katt* in 1649 kept an interesting journal of the voyage, and several of the soldiers, who had served in New Sweden, sent *written applications* to the government. Twenty-seven or more out of the forty-eight colonists, who signed the oath of allegiance in New Sweden on June 9, could write. The other nineteen signed only their initials or made their marks. It is therefore certain that a fair number of the early Swedish settlers on the Delaware could not only read but also write, and the illiteracy among them was not larger, perhaps less than among the colonists of other plantations in America.

The natural sciences had received little attention in Sweden before 1600, and doctors were almost

(*) A district in Dalarna, northern Sweden (see map.)

unknown except at the court. Foreign physicians were gradually invited, however. Medical works were written, and professors were appointed to teach the subject at the University of Upsala; but it took half a century for the science to divorce itself from theology and the Bible, and not before Rudbeck (1630-1702), who as a youth of twenty-two discovered the lymphatic canal, did Sweden produce an investigator of note in this field. The barber masters (barber-surgeons) were here as in other countries the doctors and physicians. They were employed in the navy, in the army and by the people at large. They performed operations and prescribed medicine, which in many cases, however, consisted of incantations and quack cures.

V.

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

and stringent rules. He was skilled in all kinds of manual arts (*slöjd*). He made his wagons and his sleds, his plows and his harrows, his rakes and hayforks; he made his shoes of wood, birchbark or leather; he made his furniture, his wooden spoons and dippers, his cups and saucers,—in short practically everything he used; and the Swedish house-wife could weave, knit and sew skillfully. Since the common people never lost their freedom to the same extent as in the rest of Europe, poverty was less prevalent than elsewhere at this time; and Ogier, the French Ambassador, says that “the Swedish peasants were neither poorly nor inconveniently dressed and prosperity was more evenly distributed in Sweden than in other countries.”

The national consciousness was strong. There was an enthusiasm for the Swedish language and Swedish history. Foreign ambassadors at Stockholm were welcomed in Swedish—“the mother of other languages”—and foreign representatives abroad were addressed in the same tongue, if they were pretentious enough to use their own native speech. It was a period, when Swedish scholars delved into the misty past and located the cradle of the human race in their country; it was an epoch when Swedish generals led victorious armies over half of Europe; it was an age, when Swedish statesmen held the destinies of nations in their

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hands, when Swedish kings dreamed of world power, and when Swedish leaders stretched their arms across the oceans, and made settlements on two continents that were to become *New Swedens*. The enthusiasm of youth permeated the nation and drove it on to deeds, that an older power of twice its size would not have attempted. Patriotism ran high and national pride verged on chauvinism. No wonder that Gov. Printz with a handful of men talked the language of a general with an army at his back to give emphasis to his words, and that Rising with high-handed authority captured Fort Casimir!

Such were the people (and such their condition) from among whom came the colonists on the Delaware.

Conditions in Finland, whence many of the Delaware colonists came, resembled those in Sweden. The country being united with Sweden since the middle ages had absorbed much of the superior culture of its conquerors, and adopted the religion of these. It was stated in 1639 that the people could "read their pieces from the catechism and their morning and evening prayers," and a few years later a bishop of Åbo asserted that "it had come so far that almost all below twenty or thirty years were able to read their mother tongue fluently." Quite similar reports came from other bishops. The Swedish language had made great

headway among the Finns at this time, especially among the higher and wealthier classes. The peasants along the coast (even those of Finnish birth) also, as a rule, acquired a knowledge of the language, which made it easy for the Swedes and Finns to associate.

As the country was poor the Finns had a great desire to migrate, large numbers going to Sweden and other places. It was said that the Finns were lazy and indolent at home, and that they would rather spend their time above the fire-place of their primitive dwellings than clear away the forests or till their small patches of ground; but in new surroundings they became industrious and "worked for two."

The population of Sweden and Finland was about 1,000,000 in 1645, making about three inhabitants to every square mile. The entire city population was only about 125,000. It is therefore evident that there was no overflow population, compelled through lack of room, to seek new homes on the other side of the Atlantic. And yet other things being normal the reasons for migration are not always over-population in a relative sense, for what would be a large population in England or Belgium would be more than over-population in Sweden. There seems to have been an element in Sweden at this time, which could have been spared without much loss to the nation, and Governor

Rising suggested that all those who would not work should be sent to the Delaware colony, where they would either have to work or starve. The larger cities sheltered many poor who were out of work; if these would have migrated to America they would have been relieved of much suffering, opportunity would have been given them for improving their condition and the community would have been freed of a great burden.

CHAPTER II.

INDUSTRIES, COMMERCE AND TRADING COMPANIES.

I.

The military and political organization of Sweden was in advance of the age, offering models to France, Denmark and other countries, but her industrial and commercial development was just beginning. The many wars and intimate foreign relations, however, brought the nation into close touch with the greatest commercial countries of the world. It profited by experience, and made great advances during the period of Swedish rule on the Delaware. The armies needed cannon, muskets, swords and other implements of war. It was cheaper to make them at home than to import them from abroad, as raw material was to be had in inexhaustible quantities, and besides money was lacking with which to buy. The country being new and undeveloped, offered better opportunities to capitalists than the old industrial centres, and in return for special privileges, titles, landgrants, in addition to the regular remuneration that comes to the shrewd business man, wealthy Dutchmen

like De Geer, Spiring and others, were induced to invest capital in Swedish industries, and to establish manufactories of various kinds. Foreign laborers were engaged in large numbers, and Swedish mechanics were sent abroad to study the best methods used there.

As a result the products of Swedish iron works, especially cannon and firearms, became famous throughout Europe. The latter were manufactured in such quantities that in 1642, the very time when Sweden supported and equipped large armies on German battlefields, a thousand muskets, a thousand cuirasses and quantities of other implements of war "could be sold or given to Portugal." Swedish cannon had become so famous in England at the middle of the century that Whitelocke was ordered to buy them on his embassy to Stockholm in 1654.

The textile and clothing industries likewise received an impetus from the wars. To buy military clothes and other accoutrements from Holland or England appeared uneconomical, since Sweden weekly exported shiploads of wool, skins, unprepared hides and suchlike materials. Gustavus Adolphus therefore arranged a conference with representatives from the various cities and provinces of the kingdom to propose ways and means for the establishment of textile and clothing factories, so that the needs of the armies could



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

be supplied at home. Successful private factories were also operated during this period, and Countess Oxenstierna founded a clothing factory at Tyresö, which proved a paying venture. Shoe and glove factories are also mentioned at this time, but they appear to have been of small importance. Glass factories were also started. Paul Gangunkel built a factory in Bergkvarna, where window-panes and glass of every description were made. Benjamin Bonnell, later factor of the New Sweden Company, was interested in the business, and Melchior Young established glass works near Stockholm in 1643, having hired workmen abroad, probably in Holland. To aid the industry the importation of glass to Sweden was forbidden at certain times.

Copper mining reached its highest development in this period, and proved a great source of revenue for the crown, as Sweden had the richest copper mines in the world. Silver mining was also conducted with great energy, but the results were unsatisfactory.

Brickyards were common in Sweden during the first part of the seventeenth century and earlier. A considerable number of bricks were exported from Upsala, Stäk and Strängnäs. Members of the aristocracy established brickyards, where bricks were made for their large buildings, and in a few cases they also produced bricks for sale. The

colonists on the Delaware were therefore not unaccustomed to this industry.

Paper was manufactured in Upsala at an early date, and the paper makers were commanded to instruct Swedish youths in the trade. Soap works for making soft soaps as well as complexion soaps and starch, sugar and potash factories were operated on a small scale. Saltmaking was repeatedly tried. Powder was manufactured in large quantities, which in its turn gave rise to the saltpetre industry.

Brewing was an important industry, beer being the favorite beverage, and every city brewed its ale, which was named according to its strength as *spisöl*, *fogdeöl*, *svenneöl*, *sotöl*, etc.

Shipbuilding received a new impetus after 1611. The Swedish navy and merchant marine, which had almost disappeared since the days of the great Vasa, began to assume new importance, due to the wars and increased commerce. Ships were built in the native harbors, while others were bought in Holland. Officers for the vessels and carpenters for the ship-yards were hired abroad, largely from Holland. The results were soon apparent. Stockholm, which in 1611 was without a single ship (if the statement in the histories be correct) possessed 49 vessels in 1651. In the same year Gothenburg had 18, which three years later had increased to 147, while other staple towns owned 1,000 ships.

Shipbuilding tended to develop other industries, as the Swedish statesmen and leaders of industry tried to provide the necessary ship materials at home without going abroad for them. Rope-walks were operated at Stockholm, at Västervik and other places; sailcloth was manufactured at Stockholm and was also bought in large quantities from the peasants of northern Sweden, who were skilled in weaving; anchors, nails and iron articles required for the ships and shipbuilding were either made in Stockholm at the factories of the government or bought from private persons in the kingdom; masts were cut in the forests of northern Sweden and planks, boards and the like were obtained from the saw-mills in the various provinces.

Agriculture was, as it is and always has been, the most important industry of the nation. Large quantities of grain were exported, except in years of famine and failure of crops, and, between the years 1637-1642, 2,400,000 bushels were sent to foreign markets. The government also endeavored to improve farming and cattle raising. German and Dutch cultivators were invited into the country to teach the Swedes better methods of tilling the soil, and new species of grain and new breeds of cattle were introduced. German and Dutch sheep were imported, which the peasants were compelled to exchange for their own. Dutchmen skilled in butter and cheese making were induced

to settle near Gothenburg and other places, from whom the Swedish peasants learnt new and improved methods. Despite all endeavors, however, the agriculture of Sweden and Finland made slight progress during the period. The continual conscriptions removed large numbers of the farming class from the country and hundreds of farms were left untilled on account of the wars. To remedy this state of affairs the government granted freedom from taxes and other concessions for a period to those who settled on deserted homesteads; but even "such dispensations often went begging" and hundreds of once fertile fields lay for years uncultivated and covered with weeds.

The government's policy of favoring the cities at the expense of the country was one of the obstacles to the prosperity of the farming communities and the success of agriculture. The spirit of the age was commercial. As it was thought that cities alone could conduct trade to advantage, and, as the custom service was aided by the concentration of commerce at a few points, laws were made to favor urban communities. The country people were allowed to trade only with the cities, all trade among themselves being forbidden, and goods shipped to foreign ports must first be sent to the staple towns, which enjoyed special privileges. Farmers, mechanics and skilled workmen were often ordered to remove to towns or cities. In

case of refusal they were pressed into military service or carried by force to the cities and their rural homes were demolished. By these stringent means many new towns were founded, and some of the older cities became prosperous and increased in population, aiding industry and commerce.

II.

The government naturally paid much attention to the means of communication. As country roads, canals and other inland waterways were the thoroughfares of domestic commerce and of immense importance in the transportation of troops and munitions of war, the King and his statesmen paid particular attention to them. The old highways were greatly improved, new ones were constructed through the northern provinces, even as far as to the borders of Russia; and soon Sweden had one of the best road systems in Europe. When Whitelocke made his long journey from Gothenburg to Stockholm in 1654 he could write:

“The way was very good and it was much to the cheering of Whitelocke and his company in so long a journey, a time of so much hard weather and where other accommodations were wanting, to find generally such good highways...Hardly any other country affords better ways than these.”

An extensive system of canals was proposed for Finland and Sweden. The Hjälmare canal, begun

in 1629, was ready for traffic in 1640,—this at a time when England did not possess a single canal. A number of other canals and waterways were projected and, in some cases, finished in this period.

Regular communication of news from foreign countries at short intervals became a necessity in the beginning of the seventeenth century. Correspondents were therefore appointed at various important centres, and Englishmen, Hollanders, Germans, Frenchmen and even Italians were induced to enter the Swedish service, before a sufficient number of trained natives could be found for such posts. Out of this institution grew the post-office. As early as the summer of 1620 a regular postal service once a week was established between Hamburg and Stockholm, and other routes were begun. A few years later “the post-office within the country was extended ‘to all the provinces’ in the whole kingdom of Sweden.” In 1642-3 the system was reorganized, and Johan Beier, the treasurer of the New Sweden Company, was made postmaster general. Several changes occurred from time to time, but Beier remained in the service until 1654. The postal service was of great importance to Swedish commerce, since the trading companies, merchants and others interested in foreign markets, could now obtain correct and speedy information about prices and the movements of ships.

Domestic trade attained large proportions in the seventeenth century. It passed to a great extent from foreigners into the hands of native merchants, complaints even being made that too many people left their farms to become traders; but as late as 1650, however, foreign merchants controlled a goodly share of the city trade.

The export and import trade also increased greatly. A considerable percentage of Swedish shipping was in the hands of foreigners, as we have seen; but the government encouraged ship-building and the expansion of Swedish commerce through various privileges, reductions of duty on cargoes carried by Swedish vessels and other favors with such gratifying results that the tonnage of the Swedish merchant marine increased over a hundred fold during the years 1611-1660. Swedish ships went to England, Holland, Spain, Portugal, Russia and practically every port in Europe, the Barbadoes, the Canaries and to America and Africa. The principal articles of export were masts, lumber, grain, hides, copper, iron ore, cannon and other implements of war; the incoming cargoes consisted mainly of shoes, clothes, cloth, salt, tobacco and articles of luxury.

Drafts were used very extensively. Insurance was also common, and both ships and cargoes were often insured against loss. Goods and ships were

bought and sold through agents, who were paid a certain brokerage.

Money played a larger part than ever before. The currency used in the business transactions of the company and in Sweden in general at the time was the *Riksdaler*, the *Florin* and the *Daler* (which was of two kinds, the copper and the silver *Daler*). The *Riksdaler*, the *Florin* and the *Copper Daler* were always reduced to *Dalers* in silver money in the official journal of the company, and the salaries and wages of the officers and servants in the employ of the company in Sweden were paid in "*Daler silver money*." The weights and measures used in the colony and by the company in Europe were: the *aln* (nearly two English feet), the *foot* (a little less than an English foot), the *famn* (fathom, $1 \frac{9}{10}$ of a yard) the *Swedish mile* (a little over $6\frac{1}{2}$ English miles), the *German common mile* (about $4 \frac{3}{5}$ English miles), the *tunnland* (a little over an acre in size), the *Swedish tunna* (barrel, about 33 gallons), the *lispund* (about $18\frac{1}{2}$ English pounds), the *Swedish pund or Skålpund* (pound, a little less than the English pound), the *skeppund* (generally about 400 lbs), and finally the *last*, which was about two tons or a little more, representing the tonnage of a ship.*

The old Julian calender was used in Sweden and

(*) For a more complete statement about Swedish money, weights and measures, see the author's *Swedish Settlements on the Delaware*, I, 41-42.

in New Sweden. It was ten days earlier than the Dutch calendar of the period and that of the present day. The English (we shall meet their method of designating time in the following pages) began their year on March 25. In other respects their time was the same as that of the Swedes, the only chance for confusion being that the first two months of the Swedish year were the last two of the English.

It was a period of restrictions and government supervision and of combinations and trading societies. Merchants were restricted by law to the handling of but one article of trade, except by special permission. They belonged to certain privileged societies according to their particular trade. The master-workers of practically all handicrafts were divided into guilds and corporations, which were very exclusive and guarded with the greatest jealousy against the intrusion of outsiders. "In Sweden," said Klas Fleming, "any citizen may by chance become a king, but for him to become a tanner is impossible." As time went on, however, the restrictions were to some extent removed.

III.

It was pre-eminently an age of commercial companies. Christian II of Denmark (1481-1559), who was also for a time king of Sweden, was per-

haps the first to suggest a trading company for the north, but his scheme failed. The Scandinavian countries were not ripe for such an organization. About half a century later a commercial company was chartered at Gothenburg for the purpose of conducting an extensive trade, but it failed. A general trading company was founded in 1615. Its charter was to be in force for ten years. It was to erect warehouses and to buy and sell ships as well as staple commodities in foreign and domestic markets; and it was given rebate in excises. Four years later several influential men decided to organize a commercial company, which was given a monopoly on foreign trade, and granted privileges to buy and sell all kinds of merchandise. Within the next few years several other companies were chartered, but they were all of small importance, except the copper company, which did a large business. A colonizing company was also formed, but it was dissolved after a short time. In 1624 the famous South Company saw the light of day, and five years later a French company was founded, for trade with Russia. In 1632 an ambitious plan was launched to establish direct commercial communications across the continent with India and Persia; and in 1635 some English merchants at Gothenburg applied for the privilege of establishing a commercial company. These activities continued throughout the following decade



Willem Usselinx —

Willem Usselinx.

and hardly a year passed, which did not see the formation of a trading company of some kind. The ship company established in 1646-47, the Swedish African Company projected in 1647, and the tar-company founded in 1648 were important organizations; the other plans were either of small consequence or were never executed. Several capitalists joined the above mentioned African company and in a few years its stock was relatively large. It traded in slaves, ebony and gold, and was very successful, tending to divert money from the treasury of the New Sweden Company. A tract of land was bought from the natives along the Gold Coast, where several forts and factories were erected. The colony came under Danish and Dutch rule for a short period, but was reoccupied by Sweden. It was finally captured by the Dutch in 1663, when the company practically came to an end.*

The most ambitious and the best known of these trading societies is the (already referred to) South Company, organized by Willem Usselinx, the famous founder of the Dutch West India Company. Failing to receive from his native land what he thought to be his dues, he left Holland in the beginning of 1624 with the avowed purpose of entering the service of several Dutch mercantile

(*) For a more complete list and account of the trading companies in Sweden before 1664, see the author's *Swedish Settlements on the Delaware*, I, 44-51.

houses at Danzig. On his way, however, he visited several commercial cities in the north among which was Gothenburg.

Gustavus Adolphus had attracted the attention of Europe through his campaigns in Poland, and his fame had been spread far and wide by the success of the Swedish arms in Russia. He had called many Dutchmen to Sweden and appointed them to positions of distinction and honor; and he was laboring for the commercial, political, and social uplift of his people. May we not therefore suppose that Usselinx had some faint hope of finding Sweden a more propitious place for the furtherance of his plans than the ungrateful Republic on the Zuyder Zee and King Gustavus Adolphus a more ardent supporter and a more liberal patron than the States General?

Usselinx reached Gothenburg in the autumn, and, as the King was shortly expected in the city, he determined to remain until His Majesty arrived with the view of obtaining an audience. The audience, which was readily granted, took place some time in October, 1624. It was a remarkable conference. For *six hours* the hero of the Thirty Years' War listened to "the commercial rhapsodies," diffusive expositions and marvelous plans of the great dreamer and trust-maker of the seventeenth century. Memorials and amplifications were later sent to the King, presenting in more

definite and compact form the ideas and plans, which had been discussed at the audience. As the ideas of trading companies were not new to the King, he welcomed the proposals, and made the resolute projector proffers of service and promises of support. Usselinx readily accepted the offers and with untiring activity set about to launch his schemes. On November 4 his draft of the charter was ready; a few days later the prospectus of the company was issued, and on December 21, 1624, the King gave "commission to Willem Usselinx to establish a general trading company for Asia, Africa, America and Magellanica." Usselinx, says the commission, had presented such good reasons for the probable success of his designs that the King was led to believe the company would not only be a financial triumph for the stockholders but also an important asset to his kingdom. On these grounds the commission was issued, and the "governors, stateholders, captains, mayors and councils in the cities" as well as other public servants were commanded to aid and assist the founder in raising subscriptions and otherwise.

A little later Usselinx printed "the contract for the general trading company of the kingdom of Sweden, with its conditions and terms." He referred to the wealth of Spain and the Netherlands, which had been acquired by the commercial activities in the New World, and he insisted that Sweden

had as great possibilities and was as well equipped for such a trade as any other country in Europe. He also made arrangements to have his arguments translated, so as to interest foreigners in his company.

The charter of privileges in thirty-seven articles,, which were to be in force for twelve years, "from May 1, 1627, until May 1, 1639," was signed by the King on June 6, 1626. "We have maturely considered," says the charter in the name of the King, "and as far as it is in our power we have sought to bring it about that the advantages, profits and welfare of our kingdom and of our faithful subjects as well as the propagation of the Holy Gospel might be in the highest degree improved and increased by the discovery of additional commercial relations and navigation." The company thus chartered was to make settlements (although a secondary object) on hitherto unoccupied territory and was given sole right to trade "in Africa, Asia, America and Magellanica or Terra Australia, beginning on the coast of America in the same latitude as... the Strait of Gibraltar unto the 36th degree" and no one else was permitted to sail to these parts "nor to any country or island lying between Africa and America," on pain of confiscation of ships and cargoes.

The management of the company was minutely provided for. One director, with a salary of

1,000 D., holding office for a term of six years, was to be elected by a majority of the shareholders qualified to vote, or appointed from the eligible members, for every 100,000 D. subscribed. The head department or office of the company was to be located in Gothenburg, and sub-officers were to be established at various other places.

A duty of 4 per cent. was to be paid by the company on all exports and imports (except coined or uncoined silver and gold, received in payment for merchandise); and one-fifth of all minerals discovered in the occupied territories and one-tenth of the produce of the cultivated lands in the established colonies were to be given to the government. All booty seized from pirates and other enemies was to revert to the company for the defense of the trade, unless a Swedish man o' war was present at the capture. The company was to be under the special protection of the government, and the King was to appoint a council from amongst the most prominent shareholders, which at the expense of the government was to provide for the building and garrisoning of all fortifications necessary in the colonies, establish courts of justice, make good laws, appoint governors, commanders and other officers, as well as to settle all difficulties between the colonists and the natives in the occupied districts. The company also had a right to build its own fortifi-

cations and to found cities and towns. It could make treaties with the republics and with the kings and princes of all countries lying within the limits of the charter; it had a right to defend itself against enemies, but was not to begin hostilities. Finally it was to pay Usselinx for "his services, trouble and great expense" one per mill, as long as the charter was in force. The conditions of membership were liberal and special inducements were offered to foreign investors.

The charter was soon printed in Swedish and German and freely distributed, being sent even to Venice. Usselinx had high hopes of success. He urged the reprinting of the charter in Germany and Holland, and planned to issue a French version. He obtained promises of subscription from members of the supreme court, and brought the business of the company before the diet in the beginning of 1627. The King subscribed 450,000 D., while Axel Oxenstierna, Von Falkenburg and other noblemen took a keen interest in the matter, and used their influence to favor the same. The King also appointed two of his directors to facilitate the work and to fully establish the company, and advised every citizen in the kingdom to invest capital in it according to his means.

In spite of it all, however, progress was slow. After months of labor Usselinx had raised subscriptions amounting to only about 160,000 D.,

which could not even be collected; but neither he nor the directors were daunted. It was planned to prepare a trading expedition in the near future. For this purpose Usselinx was sent to Prussia to consult with the King. He was also to collect His Majesty's first instalments and to solicit new subscriptions. In November he was sent to raise additional funds in the Baltic provinces and in Finland. Armed with letters of introduction to the royal and municipal authorities along his route, he made a tour from Dirschau around the Baltic and the Gulf of Bothnia, visiting the principal cities in these provinces, and everywhere presenting memorials and arguments about his beloved South Company.

Arriving in Stockholm in April, 1628, he expected to find that ships had been sent to Africa, and that other beginnings had been made; but in these things he was disappointed. The directors, who were to collect funds in Sweden, had tired of their labors. A losing trade had been conducted in Russia, and a glass factory, which Bonnell endeavored to establish for the company at Gothenburg, proved a failure. Rope-walks were built at Norrköping and Linköping, and, although ropes were made at the former place until August, 1637, the experiments seem to have been financial failures. An expedition to the West Indies had indeed been planned. A skipper had been engaged,

and two vessels had been equipped; but the expedition never left port, and the company was minus a few thousand D.

Under such conditions Usselinx was justly dissatisfied with the management of the company he had founded. He complained bitterly that the directors paid more attention to insignificant details than to great principals, that they seldom met for consultation, that one director collected money, disposed of it and made contracts without the knowledge of the others and finally that Christian Welshuisen was the only officer who understood his business. He therefore wished to be relieved of his services, unless radical changes were made. He still entertained some hope, however, that the company would develop into great significance if managed on a sound basis and in a business like manner. Consequently he made new suggestions. He thought that additional letters should be sent to the governors in Finland, that experienced agents and commissioners should be despatched to Norrland and other provinces of the kingdom and to Germany, France and Venice to solicit subscriptions; that the directors should be compelled to follow the charter and that the company should be granted liberty to buy and export grain. But affairs went from bad to worse. Usselinx feared that the company would dwindle down to a rope-walk and a

ship yard. As he knew little about the building of ships and the making of ropes (which could better be superintended by others), he decided to leave the country. He obtained his release in December, and in the beginning of 1629 he left Stockholm with letters to the states general and to Prince Henry. His connections with the South Company in Sweden now practically came to an end, but he did not abandon his plans, and we shall find him in many countries trying to interest the governments and the people at large in commerce and colonization.

About the time Usselinx left Sweden Gustavus Adolphus was formulating plans for the establishment of an organization with purposes somewhat different from the South Company. The King needed ships for his wars and his commerce. Capital was difficult to raise, and the state treasury was drawn upon to the utmost for other purposes. The founding of a ship company appeared to be one way out of the embarrassment and at a meeting of the representatives from various Swedish towns in the beginning of 1629 the King proposed a plan with this end in view. The suggestions were favorably received, and a company was organized, which was to equip sixteen ships. In time of peace these vessels were to be employed by the company on commercial voyages, but in cases of war they were to be placed at the disposal of the

government for free use against the enemy. They were to be ready in the spring of 1629, and should be built in Sweden as far as possible to increase and encourage Swedish shipping.

The various cities made strong efforts to build, buy or hire ships, but money was slow in coming in, due to the scarcity of money and disagreements between the subscribers. Consequently the vessels were not on hand at the appointed time. It was then decided to unite the South and the Ship companies, so as "to create in this manner a complete society and trading company, until opportunity and capital should allow the South Company to be continued and re-established." The nobility also promised to contribute 50 D. for each trooper. The union of the two companies was authorized and legalized by the King in May, 1630. The cities of Finland gradually joined the corporation, and the capital was soon considerable. In the autumn of the above mentioned year the sixteen ships were ready, although all shares had not been paid in full. Expeditions were sent to Stralsund, Archangel, and to cities in Holland and France. In the autumn of 1631 four vessels were prepared for a trading journey to Spain (the largest expedition sent out by the company), but the ships and cargoes were seized by order of the Spanish government. The following year the *Kalmar Nyckel* was purchased, and two new

ships were built to replace those which had been lost. New expeditions were also prepared, but in 1635 the affairs of the company were at a low ebb. Efforts were made by the government to raise more money, and to put new life into the organization; but the old contributors had lost their interest and new ones could not be found. Some of the remaining capital was used for the benefit of the New Sweden company, but individual ships continued to be employed for carrying freight and the *Old King David* made numerous voyages to foreign ports until it was sold in 1641.

Meanwhile Usselinx had been busy stirring up half Europe with his schemes and proposals. Obtaining new commissions he visited Stralsund, Stettin and other cities of Germany and Holland in the interest of his one grand idea. Finally seeing the futility of founding a Swedish company as extensive and important as he desired, he proposed a new plan or rather emphasized an old one (far in advance of his age) of forming an *international mercantile company*. The territorial restrictions of the old charter were to be removed, and the entire world was to be the field of activity.

An amplification or extension of the charter drawn up in 1632 was sanctioned and approved by Gustavus Adolphus shortly before the disaster at Lützen. Axel Oxenstierna, who endeavored to carry out the wishes of his ruler, signed a commis-

sion for Willem Usselinx on May 1, 1632, 'as general director of the New South Company.' Memorials and relations now followed each other in rapid succession, and soon an exceptional opportunity presented itself for advancing the interest of the new company. The convention at Heilbronn (1633) was induced to give Usselinx a hearing, who was not slow to unfold the objects and possibilities of his "trading combine" to the attending nobles. In June the famous *Argonautica Gustaviana* and *Mercurius Germanica* were published at Frankfurt-on-Main, in which were embodied the arguments presented by Usselinx in former memorials. The company was again discussed at the convention of Frankfurt in the autumn as well as at the second convention of Frankfurt in 1634. The great idea finally promised to assume more definite form, as the diet actually took an interest in it. Some changes were suggested in the charter, and promises of aid were made. It seemed that the plan would finally be embraced in earnest by forces capable of carrying it to a success. The undaunted organizer saw the prize within reach for which he had labored during a large part of his long and active life. This was on September 17, 1634. But he was again to be disappointed. The next day news arrived of the defeat of the armies of Field-marshal Horn and Duke Bernhard, and thus came to an end the hopes and labors for the second or

ARGONAUTICA GVSTAVIANA,

Das ist:

Nothwendige NachRicht

Von der Newen Seefahrt vnd Rauffhandlung;

So von dem Weilandt Allerdurchleuchtigsten / Großmäch,
tzigsten vnd Siegreichsten Fürsten vnnnd Herrn / Herrn GVSTAVO
ADOLPHO MAGNO, der Schweden / Gothen vnd Wenden König / Groß-
Fürsten in Finnlandt / Herzogen zu Esthen vnd Carlen / Herrn zu Inger-
manlandt/it. Allerglorwürdigsten Seeligsten Andenkens /
durch anrichtung einer

General-Handel-COMPAGNIE,

Societet oder Gesellschaft/

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

Amiego aber der Teutschen Euangelischen Nation / insonder-
heit denjenigen welche sich in S. R. M. Freundschaft / devotion, oder Ver-
bindnuß begeben / vnd sich dieses grossen Vortheils / bey so stilllicher Gelegenheit / gebrauchten
wollen / in vnermeßlichem Flug vnd Frommen/ auß Königlichem Willigheit / zuneigung vnd Gnade/
unterstützet worden: vnd mit dem förderlichsten/vermittelst gnädiger vernehmung des
Allerböchsten/ soergeset vnd völig in Werck gebracht
werden soll.

Darauff denn ein jedweder claren / gründlichen / vnd zu seinem Behuff satzamen
Bericht vnd Wissenschaft dieses Hochwichtigen Wercks einnehmen / vnd wie dasselbe nicht als
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Was aber für allerhandt vnterschiedene Schrifften diese Sache betreffendt /
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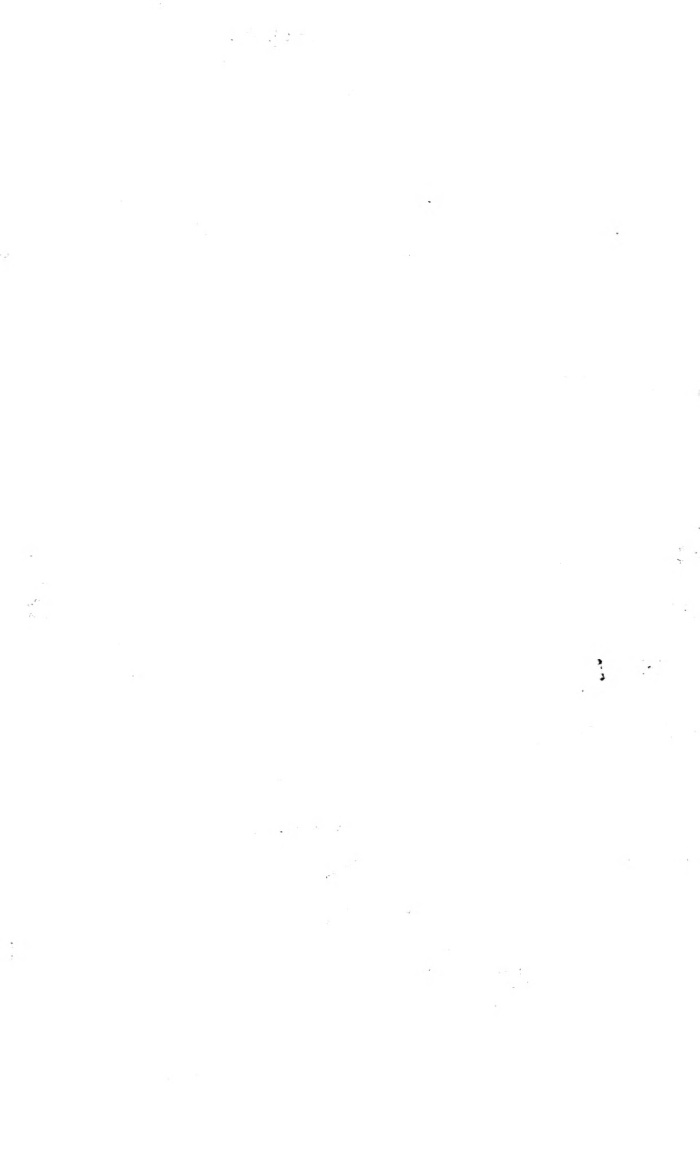
Vnd Salomo machte Auch Schiffe zu Eion Oeber / die bey Elothlig am Niser des Schiff,
Meers im Lande der Edomiter: Vnd Hiram der König zu Tyra sandte seine Knechte im
Schiff / die gute Schiffleute vnd auß dem Meer erfahren waren / mit den Knechten Salomo/
vnd kamen gen Ophir / vnd holten daselbst Vierhundert vnd zwanzig Toner Goldes / vnd
brachten dem Könige Salomo.



Gedruckt zu Franckfurt am Mayn/ bey Caspar Rodtelm
Im Jahr Christi 1633. Menck Junio.

Mit der Cron Schwedens Freyheit:

Title-page of the *Argonautica Gustaviana*.



New-South Company, which might have become of great importance and produced far reaching results in the colonizing of North America.

But Usselinx labored on. He made new proposals and wrote new accounts and relations. He was engaged in a futile cause, however, and his many projects mainly tended to fill the city and state archives of Europe with "short memorials." In the meantime other suggestions were presented to Oxenstierna, which led to more definite results, and we are now ready to trace the development of the activities, that led to the founding of *New Sweden on the Delaware*.

PART II.
*Founding of the New Sweden Company
and Colony, 1635-1643.*

CHAPTER III.

THE FOUNDING OF THE NEW SWEDEN COMPANY AND THE EARLY EXPEDITIONS TO THE DELAWARE.

I.

The South Company, as can be seen from the foregoing, had nothing to do with the Swedish expeditions to the Delaware; it was the commercial ambition of Swedish statesmen and their endeavors to interest Dutch merchants in the copper trade that led to the founding of New Sweden. Copper mining was one of the most important industries in Sweden during the first half of the seventeenth century, and the copper trade was of great significance and a source of large income to the Swedish government. The crown borrowed millions with copper as security and many of its debts to Dutch merchants were paid with this metal. But the price fell occasionally, leaving the crown a heavy loser. The Copper Company was not a success, and the trade was often dull, due to overstocked markets and the manipulation of speculators. Considering the importance of the article and the condition of the Swedish treasury at

a time, when the little kingdom was taking a leading part in one of the greatest wars of history, we are not surprised to find that Swedish statesmen paid particular attention to this trade. They were always seeking new markets for the red metal. Their plans were not limited to Europe; they looked even to America and Africa for customers. Conrad von Falkenburg, Swedish commissioner in Holland, had interviews with Dutch merchants about copper exportation to the West Indies, and made reports about it to Chancellor Oxenstierna. One of these merchants was Samuel Blommaert, a prominent businessman of Amsterdam. He had been interested in the Swedish copper trade for years, and had other dealings with the Swedish crown. He had also, together with several others, erected a brass factory at Nacka, near Stockholm. In 1635 his connections with Swedish affairs became closer. Oxenstierna, finding after the misfortunes of 1634-1635 and the miscarriage of his son's mission in England that there was no "choice but to accept Richelieu's predominance," set out for Paris to effect an agreement with France. On his return in April he visited The Hague and spent some time at Amsterdam in May, where he had interviews with some of the principal merchants and exporters of Holland. Being especially desirous of improving the copper and iron trades, as business was poor, he naturally



Axel Oxenstierna. (H.)

called on Samuel Blommaert, who was apparently well acquainted with the subject.

Oxenstierna's interview with Blommaert had large results: it became the starting point for the founding of a colony. Markets for the principal metals of Sweden were the main subjects of discussion. The thoughts of Oxenstierna were again directed westward by Blommaert, and here we have the germ of the New Sweden Company. Presenting "three points" for the extension and increase of the Swedish copper and iron business, Blommaert particularly emphasized the desirability of establishing commercial relations with Guinea, where, in his opinion, profitable markets could be found for copper and iron wares. He proposed that the crown of Sweden should give *Octroy* to a company with special and exclusive trading privileges in Guinea and on the coast of Africa.

Being assured of reward and permanent employment in Swedish service Blommaert undertook to send regular reports to the Chancellor. On June 3 (n. s.), 1635, shortly after Oxenstierna's departure, he sent his first letter, which summarized the various opinions and observations already set forth at the interview, and he continued to report at brief intervals throughout the summer and autumn, referring in almost every letter "to the Guinean navigation."

II.

In the autumn a new element was introduced, giving fresh vigor to the plans of Swedish transatlantic trade: Peter Minuit had an interview with Blommaert. Minuit, born at Wesel on the Rhine about 1580-5, was of Wallon or French descent. His education, probably received at the Gymnasium of Wesel, seems to have been Dutch and French. He appears to have had little knowledge of German, for he writes Dutch and in Dutch characters even to Oxenstierna (although his spelling is sometimes German), and it is extremely improbable that he would have used that language in writing to the Swedish chancellor, had he known German. He married the sister of Henrick Huygen and knew and associated with many of the wealthiest and most influential Hollanders of his time. It seems that he removed to Amsterdam about 1624 (or earlier) on account of the Spanish oppression. The following year he was appointed General Director of New Netherland, but he was recalled after a period of seven years, due to a change of policy in the management of the Dutch West India Company. Returning to his native land in the summer of 1632, he found it was harassed with war, making it impossible for him to obtain suitable employment there. As he was a man of great energy he could not be idle. Having

a minute knowledge of the west coast of North America and particularly of the Delaware territory, he realized the opportunities for beginning a profitable trade there. The Delaware formed an outlet for the beaver trade of an extensive area. He had registered a colony at the mouth of the river in which Blommaert was a large shareholder, and he had purchased land on Blommaert's behalf along the sea on the east side of the river. The Dutch West India Company acquired a right to these tracts from the owners about the time Minuit returned to Europe, but it was not powerful enough to properly guard the river against intruders and its trading expeditions thither were small and far between. It seems probable, therefore, that Minuit offered his services to Blommaert in founding a new colony farther from the sea, which by its more favorable location would monopolize the beaver trade with the Indians. Be this as it may, Minuit's plans found in Blommaert a ready supporter. The latter realized the possibilities. He had hopes of obtaining permanent employment from the Swedish government. He was dissatisfied with the management of the Dutch West India Company, and Minuit had just cause for complaint against the same body. Why not, therefore, found a Dutch-Swedish opposition company, which, under Swedish protection, could send trading expeditions to the Delaware? This should

be easy, as Swedish statesmen were interested in the West Indian trade and anxious to extend Swedish commerce; and Dutch capitalists could be readily found to finance such a venture.

Almost immediately Blommaert transmitted the project to the Chancellor, before whom Minit was willing and anxious to explain his proposals in person. Reports were also sent to Peter Spiring, the Swedish agent in Holland, who conferred (May, 1636) with Blommaert and Minit about "the new navigation" and the copper trade to Africa and Guinea. They expressed the belief that a successful company could be formed, if special privileges were guaranteed, and Spiring "gave them good promises."

Minit, who had been requested to visit Oxenstierna at Stralsund before the latter's return to Sweden, was detained, forwarding a memorial as a substitute, in which we have the first written "project of New Sweden" and the name used for the first time. "The English, French and Dutch", he says, "have occupied large tracts of land in the New World. Sweden should no longer abstain from making her name known in foreign countries." The opportune moment had come for the nation to begin a small enterprise, which would grow into great magnitude. A voyage should be made to certain places in the neighborhood of Virginia, New Netherland and other districts ad-

jacent, which were to be occupied and called *New Sweden*. A ship of 120 to 200 tons burden, carrying twelve cannon and a crew of from 20 to 25 men, was necessary. The cargo for trade with the Indians would cost between ten and twelve thousand florins and should consist of "adzes, hatches, kettles, *duffels* and other merchandise." Supplies and provisions for twelve months should be furnished. The Swedish government should send twelve soldiers to garrison and guard the places to be occupied, and it should provide ammunition and a bark or yacht, which could be used in the colony for the purpose of trade. The entire expense of the expedition would be about 16,000 florins, half of which would be contributed by Minuit, who also offered to become leader and director of the enterprise. A charter should be given by the crown of Sweden to the participants, prohibiting all others from sailing to these parts for twenty years on pain of confiscation of cargo and ship, also granting the new company exemption from duty in Sweden on incoming and outgoing goods for a period of ten years. The memorial was dated at Amsterdam on June 15, 1636, and probably reached Oxenstierna a week or so later.

Shortly after its arrival the chancellor prepared to leave for Sweden. Peace negotiations were closed for the moment, and his presence in

Stockholm was of the utmost importance. The government there wavered. The war was becoming more and more unpopular, and the people were wearied of the many extra taxes and ever recurring conscriptions. Oxenstierna's enthusiasm was needed to encourage the drooping spirits, his influence and unquestioned authority were wanted to give force and emphasis to the orders and acts of the government. About July 4, he embarked at Stralsund, and on the thirteenth he was in the Swedish capital. With his arrival new life was instilled into the machinery of state. Almost immediately changes were noticed in every department. The conflicting interests of the different estates were to some extent united; many branches of the government were re-organized and new departments were added; the finances were placed on a firmer basis; steps were taken to improve and aid the industries, and commerce and trade were encouraged.

When Oxenstierna had attended to the most urgent matters of state he returned to the commercial plans of Blommaert and Minit, and "presented some propositions drawn up by Spiring. . . concerning another Guinean company" at a meeting of the council of state on September 27, 1636. It seems that the council ventilated the matter at further sessions, for when Spiring departed from Sweden in October, he was instructed to confer

with Blommaert and other Dutchmen about the organizing of a trading company. He was also authorized to engage Blommaert as a commercial agent for the Swedish crown. In the autumn of 1636 and in the early part of the following year Spiring arranged new conferences with Minuit and Blommaert about the proposed voyages to America as well as the expedition to the coast of Guinea and other places. Spiring held that the activities of the new company should be directed towards the Gold Coast, where copper would find ready purchasers and where big profits could be expected. He called the New Sweden project, as outlined by Minuit, a small undertaking, and intimated that the profits would accordingly not be large. But neither Blommaert nor Minuit were in sympathy with Spiring's ideas; their desire was now to found a colony on the Delaware. It was accordingly decided to form a company for trade and colonization on the coast of North America "from Florida to Terra Nova" (Newfoundland). Spiring wished to ascertain the opinions of other merchants and experts on the subject; but Blommaert and Minuit objected to this and advised complete secrecy, until the localities selected for colonization were occupied, fearing that their intentions would become known to the Dutch West India Company and their plans killed in the hatching. Minuit as it seems pre-

sented charts and maps of the Delaware region, which in his opinion offered singular advantages, and thither the first expedition was to be sent. Half of the capital required was to be raised in Holland, the other half in Sweden. Minit was to lead the expedition and manage the colonial affairs. Blommaert was to direct the business of the company in Holland; he was to buy goods for the expeditions and make other necessary preparations, and he was to outline the programme of the company, and draft the papers and proposals for privileges to be laid before the Swedish government. Finally he was to correspond with Fleming in Sweden, and make frequent reports to him.

Meanwhile reports had been sent to the government by Spiring about his activities on behalf of "the new navigations." These reports imparted new interest to the subject in Sweden, and Klas Fleming was appointed to take charge of the work at the capital.

III.

In the early part of 1637, when definite conclusions had been reached by the Dutch participants, Minit was sent to Sweden to superintend the preparations of the expedition as well as to give all necessary information to Fleming and other members of the government interested in the new company. Shortly after his arrival in Stockholm,



Klas Fleming.

however, he became ill, somewhat delaying the work.

About the beginning of May Minuit was able to resume his duties. The original plans having been altered, the council of state decided to furnish two vessels and a sloop and to fit out a larger expedition than the memorials called for. Consequently the preliminary preparations in Sweden consumed more time than the Dutch organizers expected. Other circumstances also caused delays. Finally the government granted a charter, which (together with other papers) Minuit carried to Amsterdam in August, when he returned there to complete the preparations.

Blommaert had been busy during the summer buying cloth and other merchandise for the Indian trade. He had also engaged a number of experienced sailors, as these were difficult to hire in Sweden. The sailors and officers together with a large part of the cargo were sent to Sweden in the summer; and on August 22, Blommaert wrote that "the rest of all necessary supplies was being shipped to Gothenburg and Minuit with two barbers and other officers was going on the same vessel."

The preparations in Sweden advanced slowly, although Fleming did his utmost to get the expedition under way. Ammunition and considerable cash was supplied by the government. Two ships (also furnished by the crown), the *Kalmar Nyckel*,

commanded by Captain Anders Nilsson Krober, and the *Fogel Grip*, commanded by Lieutenant Jacob Barben, were at last ready and set sail from Stockholm about the middle of August. They arrived at Gothenburg about three weeks later, for in the beginning of September, Minit was busy loading the boats. The cargoes consisted of several thousand yards of duffels and other cloth, several hundred axes, hatchets and adzes, several hundred knives, dozens of tobacco pipes, mirrors and looking glasses, gilded chains and finger rings, combs, ear-rings and other ornaments,—all for the Indian trade. Spades, hoes and other implements of agriculture were also included for the use of the colony.

Probably half of the sailors were Hollanders, the other half, Swedes. The majority of the soldiers sent to garrison the forts were Swedes, commanded by Måns Nelsson Kling. Henrick Huygen, a relative of Minit, was appointed commissioner of the colony. Jan Hindriksen van der Water was skipper on the *Kalmar Nyckel*, and Michael Symonsen was first mate, who, in case of Minit's disablement, should take command. Andreas Jöransson was skipper on the *Grip*. Memorials and instructions were given to the officers, and several secret articles were drawn up for Peter Minit, giving minute details as to his journey. He was to sail in the summer, taking course "be-

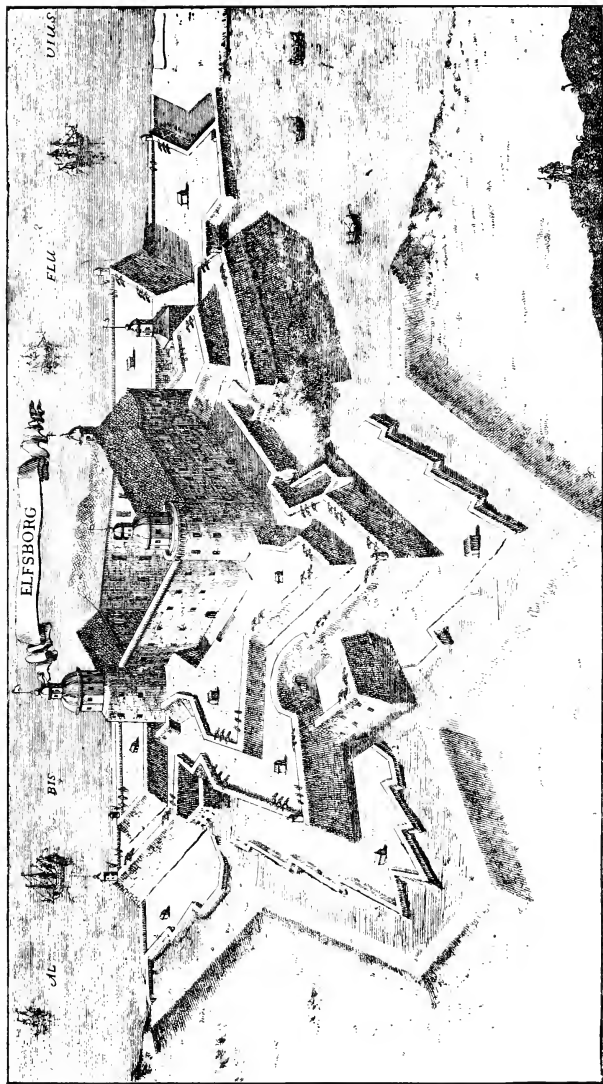
hind England and Scotland'', and crossing the ocean about the 44th degree. His first destination was to be Sable Island, if such a course were possible. The island was to be thoroughly explored and carefully mapped and sketched, with clear indications of all rivers, harbors and roads. It was to be called Christina and occupied in the name of the Swedish crown, by the erecting of the Swedish coat-of-arms. Minuit was to hunt the black foxes reported to be plentiful on the island, and he was to capture calves or cattle, which were to be taken to the South River. Having performed his duties at Sable Island, he was to proceed to the South River, buying *sawant* from the Indians along the coast. In case, however, the wind proved too westerly for such a course, he was to go by way of the Caribbees between Cuba and Spaniola and thence to the South River.

Arriving there he was to sail up to the Minquas Kill, where he was to establish communications with the Indians. Having done so he was to explore the river as far as the Sankikan Kill, "seeing to it that his people did no harm to the savages," and he was to buy the land on the west side of the Delaware between the aforesaid two streams. He was to erect the Swedish coat-of-arms at the northern and southern limits of the land, which was then to be called *New Sweden*. His basis of operations was to be the Minquas Kill, where he

was to erect a stronghold, giving it, with the firing of cannon, the name of New Stockholm. He was to begin the beaver trade with the Indians, and he should buy cattle, horses, sheep, goats and pigs at New Amsterdam for the establishment of his colony.

After completing his business in the South River, he was to proceed on board the *Kalmar Nyckel* to the coast of Florida. Here he was also to take possession of land in the name of the Swedish government by erecting the Swedish coat-of-arms and by calling the territory *New Sweden*.

A letter containing thirty-two articles directed to the commander as well as the sailors and soldiers was also given to Minuit. The officers and men were to keep good watch day and night and they were always to be prepared for every emergency, having their arms in readiness to fight if necessary. Stealing was to be severely punished, no fighting between the sailors was to be allowed and all drunkenness was strictly prohibited, breakers of this rule being put into irons for three days. Playing at dice as well as all other games of chance were forbidden; no one was to barter on his own account, or to handle goods belonging to private merchants. Prayers were to be conducted morning and evening, and any one absent from these exercises without due cause would be fined six *styvers*.



Fort Elfsborg near Gothenburg.

The preparations dragged on in spite of all the efforts of Fleming and Minit and the cold northern winter was gradually advancing, threatening to retard the expedition for months. In the beginning of November, however, the two gallant little vessels left the harbor of Gothenburg with the first Swedish-American emigrants on board and were soon ploughing into a heavy sea. Fearful storms separated the ships and only after "a month's cruising about" did the *Kalmar Nyckel* arrive at Texel, leaking, minus its prow and a mast. A week later the *Grip* arrived, also badly used. The suffering of the poor people must have been intense, and it was fortunate that repairs and contrary winds gave them a chance to recuperate.

The ships were repaired with all speed, a new pilot was assigned to them and about December 20 everything was in readiness for the continuation of the voyage; but contrary winds interfered a few days. In the meantime Kiliaen van Rensselaer, a friend of Minit, availing himself of the occasion, sent several cases of merchandise on board the *Kalmar Nyckel*, and engaged passage for six colonists. Towards the end of the month the wind turned, and on December 31 (n. s.), the last day of the year, 1637, the little expedition gave itself "to the broad ocean with its dead calms and howling tempests, its tornadoes and its billows mountain high."

We know nothing about the journey across the Atlantic—Minnit's diary and log are lost; but the ships reached the Delaware in good condition, and sailed up the river about the middle of March, 1638.*

Having established his colony according to his instructions, Minnit left the Delaware some time in June on board the *Kalmar Nyckel*, destined for the island of St. Christopher. Arriving there he exchanged his cargo of wine and distilled liquors for tobacco. While in the harbor Minnit with his skipper was invited as a guest on board "the *Flying Deer* from Rotterdam." A sudden storm arose which drove the ship out to sea. She was heard of no more, and Minnit with the other passengers disappeared for ever. The *Kalmar Nyckel* was also blown out of port, but she returned with some other ships, having suffered only slight injury. After waiting for Minnit, a few days the vessel set sail for Europe. About the beginning of October she arrived in the North Sea near the coast of Holland, where she was again overtaken by a severe storm. The carpenter was forced to cut the main mast, and the vessel was so severely damaged that it became necessary to put into Vlie for repairs. Here the ship was seized by officers of the Dutch West Indian Company, as the skipper refused to show his commission, and

(*) See below, p. 92ff.

import duty was demanded on the cargo. Word was sent to Spiring, who presented a protest to the States General. His intercession became unnecessary, however, for the ship was liberated, as soon as it was ascertained that the skipper sailed under the authority of the Swedish crown (the relations between Sweden and Holland being very cordial at this time).

In December Spiring caused four officers from the *Kalmar Nyckel* to appear before Peter Rutens, a notary public, in Amsterdam to report under oath about Minit's proceedings in New Sweden.

The circumstances attending the land purchase were especially emphasized and related in detail, as they formed the basis for the maintenance of the Swedish title to the new land against possible protests and contention of the Dutch West India Company. A document was drawn up in Dutch giving the testimony of the four men, "in the sight and presence of the honest Cornelius Vignois and David Willet, called in for this purpose as creditable witnesses." A certified translation into German was also made.

The *Grip*, having cruised about in Central American waters for a period, left New Sweden towards the end of April, 1639, and arrived at Gothenburg about the beginning of June, an exceedingly fast journey for those days.

When the *Grip* returned it was possible to estimate the success of this first venture of the company. Pelts valued at 15,426 florins and tobacco estimated at 7,423 florins made up the cargo of the two ships, while the expenses reached the sum of over 46,000 florins. The expedition therefore proved a financial failure as far as the immediate returns were concerned. The Dutch shareholders, who were dissatisfied even before the ships left Europe, on account of the late start and the heavy expense, were now thoroughly discouraged and desirous of withdrawing from the company. They refused to contribute to a second expedition, but were finally persuaded to do so.

IV.

As early as the spring and summer of 1638 Fleming made proposals for a second voyage, and in the autumn, when some of the results of the first voyage became known, he advised the sending of a large expedition to the new colony. A little later the council resolved that the *Dove* and other ships "which were suitable should be employed for the benefit of the company." At this time Fleming also invited Willem Usselinx to Stockholm as an adviser, but the veteran projector of companies was detained in Germany, it seems, and could not go. Furthermore he thought that the New Sweden colony would never be a success, since not much

besides peltries and tobacco could be purchased there.

When the papers, Indian deeds and other documents, from New Sweden arrived in Stockholm, Fleming's enthusiasm was still further kindled. The preparations for a new voyage, which had rested for a while, were at once resumed. The colony was to be populated. Funds were to be raised by selling the stock of the South Company or otherwise, and an able manager was to be engaged, who could take charge of the work. Fleming ordered a certain ship bought by the city of Norrköping to be rebuilt at Västervik for the transportation of "cattle and people", and he proposed the repairing of other vessels for a journey. He suggested that Swedish colonists should be prevailed upon to migrate, and that some Dutch might be allowed to settle in New Sweden, so that the land would be speedily peopled.

A successor to Minit could not be found, however, and Usselinx, who had been requested to suggest a proper person, wrote that he "knew of no one he could recommend." But a factor was appointed at Gothenburg in the person of Timon van Schottingen, who "as a capable person was to manage the West Indian trade" at that place. He was to have a salary of 200 D. annually, beginning on January 1, 1639. Hans Weis was also commis-

sioned to aid in the preparations, and he manifested great interest and diligence in the work.

Captain Cornelis van Vliet was appointed commander of this *the second expedition*. He had been in Swedish service for about ten years (being skipper on the Loeff expedition, 1632-3), and he seems to have gained the full confidence of Fleming and other members of the government. "The Crown and Queen", says his instruction, "having made a serious resolution not only to continue the Virginian navigation but to carry it on with more vigor than before", desired him "to go to the West Indies on board the *Kalmar Nyckel* to find out the location of the colony." He was charged to learn the condition of the inhabitants, their trade and occupation, the kind of clothing they used and the articles they most needed; he should observe the fisheries and the best way to populate the country and finally he was to hire several officers and sailors in Holland for the journey.

After long delays money was furnished to Blommaert, who purchased supplies and a new cargo. As these were about to be loaded into the *Kalmar Nyckel* (the vessel was still at Amsterdam), orders were received from Fleming that the ship should intercept, and if possible, capture Count Kurtz, who was on his way to Denmark and Poland on a diplomatic mission for Emperor Ferdinand III. The return voyage was thus unduly deferred. The

supplies, being partly consumed by the crew in Holland, were completely exhausted when the ship plowed into the port of Gothenburg in June, 1639. About the same time the *Grip* also cast anchor in the harbor. Consequently the treasury of the company was drained by the long pay rolls of the returning officers and men who demanded their wages. But the preparations went on, although Fleming's intentions were not carried out, and only one vessel, the *Kalmar Nyckel*, was to be sent. Money was supplied from the customs at Gothenburg, and after some mishaps the ship was in readiness for its second voyage.

Meanwhile great efforts to gather colonists had been made. Several governors and other officials had been enlisted to look for emigrants. Governor Hindrickson of Elfsborg was especially requested to engage some artisans, such as blacksmiths, shoemakers, brickmakers, carpenters and others, three or four of them to be married, who should take their wives along to cook, make beer and wash for the settlers. As it was difficult to find people willing to migrate on their own accord, it was decided to deport to America, with their families and property, deserted soldiers and others, who had committed some slight misdemeanor. After one or two years they were allowed to return, if they so desired. We do not know how many such col-

onists were sent on the vessel, but their number must have been very small.

Several new officers went to New Sweden on this expedition, among whom were Rev. Torkillus, Commander Ridder, Van Dyck and Van Langdonk. The Rev. Reorus Torkillus was commissioned to look after the spiritual needs of the settlement. He had been educated at Lidköping and Skara and had been employed as lecturer and chaplain in Gothenburg before his charge in New Sweden. He became the pioneer of Lutheranism in the new world and the first Lutheran clergyman within the United States. Peter Hollender Ridder was appointed commander at Fort Christina. Ridder entered the Swedish service about 1635 and was employed in various capacities before his present appointment. His instruction, which was dated July 1, 1639, directed him to rule over the people gathered at Fort Christina, and "to work for the good and success of the company and the crown." Joost van Langdonk was sent out as factor in the place of Henrick Huygen, and Gregorius van Dyck, whose name will often be found in the following pages, was to serve as assistant commissioner.

Fleming at first intended to ship over a large number of horses and cattle, but, as the settlers had no fodder, it was later thought advisable to wait until the following spring. "Only four mares and

two young horses and a number of farming implements are now sent over", writes the admiral, "so that the colonists can make a trial with seeding in the autumn."

In the beginning of September the *Kalmar Nyckel* left the harbor for its long journey "with people, horses, fodder and provisions." In the North Sea she sprang a leak and had to run into Medemblik for repairs. Twice the ship set sail, but was twice compelled to return to harbor, as the repairs had been badly done. The vessel was then taken to Amsterdam, where it was discovered that various frauds had been perpetrated. The captain was removed from his service, and Pouwel Jansen appointed in his place. Some new sailors were also hired and paid two months wages in advance. Finally the ship was again ready, but new troubles were in store for it. A great storm swept over the coast on December 27 still further delaying the expedition. Consequently the expenses were increasing, and the total cost of the voyage had now reached nearly 16,000 D. On February 7, however, the ship glided out of the harbor under full sails, setting course through the English Channel and thence probably direct across the ocean.

Fleming and Blommaert were unfortunate in their selection of officers for the expedition. Joost van Langdonk cared little for the vessel, and left her to the charge of Van Dyck

and the lieutenant. On the journey Van Langdonk and the skipper passed their time in smoking and drinking and in scolding Van Dyck and the Swedes. They were especially bitter against the Lutheran religion, even forbidding Van Dyck to attend service, and they treated Rev. Torkillus in a most disrespectful manner. "As our preacher came", wrote Van Dyck, "in order to make prayer, they ran away, as if they had seen the devil. And when, on March 17, a youth asked for a little wine for the preacher who was sick I am ashamed to write the answer [he got]." The factor and the skipper managed things to suit themselves, and took no council with the other officers. Consequently the discipline was poor, and drunkenness was common, the steward himself being intoxicated daily.

The ship encountered severe storms, causing great hardships to the people and cattle; but she arrived safely in New Sweden on the seventeenth of April, 1640. She was speedily made ready for her return journey and on or shortly after May 14 she left the colony with a large cargo, destined for Sweden. She reached Gothenburg about the beginning of July. Here Hans Weis took charge of the ship, until her cargo was sent to Stockholm, where it was to be sold. Several colonists returned to Sweden on the *Kalmar Nyckel* in 1640, among whom were Henrick Huygen and Måns Kling.

The Dutch members desired to withdraw from the company, when the first expedition returned; but their investments forced them to remain. They reluctantly agreed to pay for half of the provisions and cargo bought in Holland for the second expedition, but they would incur none of the expenses of the *Kalmar Nyckel* on her outward voyage in the winter of 1640. They were stockholders in the Dutch West India company, and their membership in the Swedish organization was becoming uncomfortable for them.

The Swedish government finally decided to buy the Dutch shares. In February, 1641 "His Excellency the Treasurer said that the government has found it expedient to release the Dutch participants from the New Indian or Florida company, since they are a hindrance to us." The Dutch stockholders agreed to be satisfied with 18,000 florins, which was a little less than the money they had furnished, above the proceeds of the first voyage, and on February 20 Peter Spiring was instructed to pay them the above sum.

The company was now operated entirely by Swedish capital. It was re-organized and several new officers were engaged. Blommaert, although no longer a stockholder, continued to aid the expeditions until he severed his connections with the Swedish crown, and Peter Spiring and other Swedish agents in Holland served the company, as

before, in various capacities. Sometime in 1640 Johan Beier was appointed treasurer at Stockholm, and late in the summer Benjamin Bonnel was made factor. He was to have a salary of 600 D. a year, besides traveling expenses and his duties were to sell all cargoes coming from America and to manage the company's tobacco-trade in Sweden. In January 1641 Hans Kramer was engaged as bookkeeper at a salary of 400 D. a year. Klas Fleming remained president and director, and continued to sign the memorials and instructions for the other officers.

About this time a certain Robert Smythe (an English merchant), having observed that Oxenstierna "was a lover of the foreign trade" which had been established with America, offered his services to the chancellor, and selected thirty Swedes (among whom were two students from Upsala and two noblemen), willing to go on an expedition. He stated that New Sweden could be settled by foreign people, if desirable privileges, freedom from duty for some years and religious liberty, were granted and he made various suggestions concerning Swedish commerce and trade. Nothing, however, seems to have come out of his plans, but one of his suggestions soon materialized—"a colony of foreign people" was about to be planted in New Sweden under special privileges.

however, he became ill, somewhat delaying the work.

About the beginning of May Minuit was able to resume his duties. The original plans having been altered, the council of state decided to furnish two vessels and a sloop and to fit out a larger expedition than the memorials called for. Consequently the preliminary preparations in Sweden consumed more time than the Dutch organizers expected. Other circumstances also caused delays. Finally the government granted a charter, which (together with other papers) Minuit carried to Amsterdam in August, when he returned there to complete the preparations.

Blommaert had been busy during the summer buying cloth and other merchandise for the Indian trade. He had also engaged a number of experienced sailors, as these were difficult to hire in Sweden. The sailors and officers together with a large part of the cargo were sent to Sweden in the summer; and on August 22, Blommaert wrote that "the rest of all necessary supplies was being shipped to Gothenburg and Minuit with two barbers and other officers was going on the same vessel."

The preparations in Sweden advanced slowly, although Fleming did his utmost to get the expedition under way. Ammunition and considerable cash was supplied by the government. Two ships (also furnished by the crown), the *Kalmar Nyckel*,

commanded by Captain Anders Nilsson Krober, and the *Fogel Grip*, commanded by Lieutenant Jacob Barben, were at last ready and set sail from Stockholm about the middle of August. They arrived at Gothenburg about three weeks later, for in the beginning of September, Minit was busy loading the boats. The cargoes consisted of several thousand yards of duffels and other cloth, several hundred axes, hatchets and adzes, several hundred knives, dozens of tobacco pipes, mirrors and looking glasses, gilded chains and finger rings, combs, ear-rings and other ornaments,—all for the Indian trade. Spades, hoes and other implements of agriculture were also included for the use of the colony.

Probably half of the sailors were Hollanders, the other half, Swedes. The majority of the soldiers sent to garrison the forts were Swedes, commanded by Måns Nelsson Kling. Henrick Huygen, a relative of Minit, was appointed commissioner of the colony. Jan Hindricksen van der Water was skipper on the *Kalmar Nyckel*, and Michael Symonsen was first mate, who, in case of Minit's disablement, should take command. Andreas Jöransson was skipper on the *Grip*. Memorials and instructions were given to the officers, and several secret articles were drawn up for Peter Minit, giving minute details as to his journey. He was to sail in the summer, taking course "be-

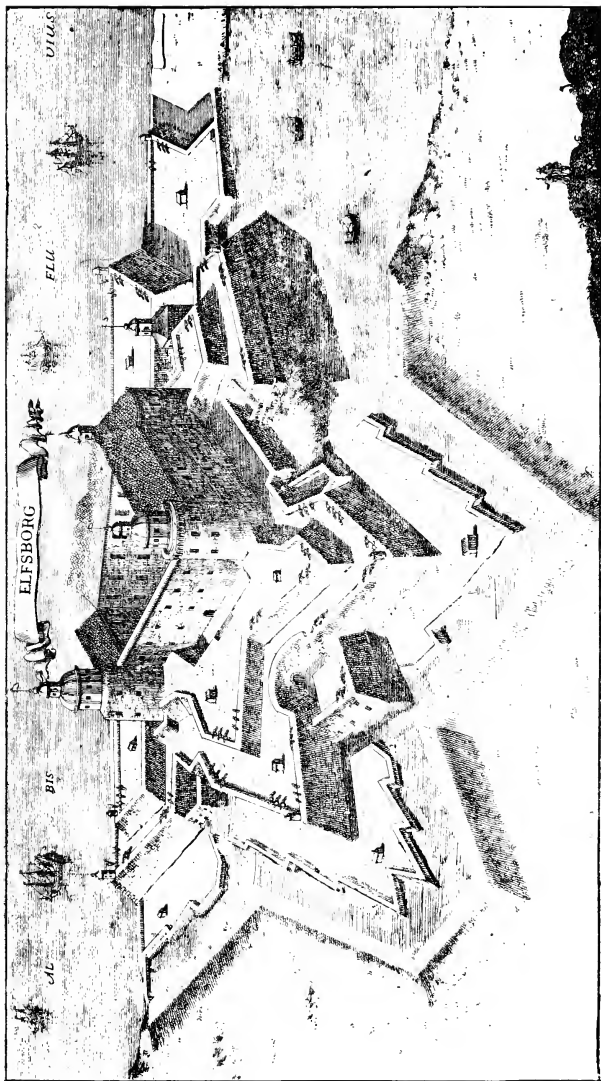
hind England and Scotland", and crossing the ocean about the 44th degree. His first destination was to be Sable Island, if such a course were possible. The island was to be thoroughly explored and carefully mapped and sketched, with clear indications of all rivers, harbors and roads. It was to be called Christina and occupied in the name of the Swedish crown, by the erecting of the Swedish coat-of-arms. Minuit was to hunt the black foxes reported to be plentiful on the island, and he was to capture calves or cattle, which were to be taken to the South River. Having performed his duties at Sable Island, he was to proceed to the South River, buying *sawant* from the Indians along the coast. In case, however, the wind proved too westerly for such a course, he was to go by way of the Caribbees between Cuba and Spaniola and thence to the South River.

Arriving there he was to sail up to the Minquas Kill, where he was to establish communications with the Indians. Having done so he was to explore the river as far as the Sankikan Kill, "seeing to it that his people did no harm to the savages," and he was to buy the land on the west side of the Delaware between the aforesaid two streams. He was to erect the Swedish coat-of-arms at the northern and southern limits of the land, which was then to be called *New Sweden*. His basis of operations was to be the Minquas Kill, where he

was to erect a stronghold, giving it, with the firing of cannon, the name of New Stockholm. He was to begin the beaver trade with the Indians, and he should buy cattle, horses, sheep, goats and pigs at New Amsterdam for the establishment of his colony.

After completing his business in the South River, he was to proceed on board the *Kalmar Nyckel* to the coast of Florida. Here he was also to take possession of land in the name of the Swedish government by erecting the Swedish coat-of-arms and by calling the territory *New Sweden*.

A letter containing thirty-two articles directed to the commander as well as the sailors and soldiers was also given to Minuit. The officers and men were to keep good watch day and night and they were always to be prepared for every emergency, having their arms in readiness to fight if necessary. Stealing was to be severely punished, no fighting between the sailors was to be allowed and all drunkenness was strictly prohibited, breakers of this rule being put into irons for three days. Playing at dice as well as all other games of chance were forbidden; no one was to barter on his own account, or to handle goods belonging to private merchants. Prayers were to be conducted morning and evening, and any one absent from these exercises without due cause would be fined six *styvers*.



Fort Elfsborg near Gothenburg.

The preparations dragged on in spite of all the efforts of Fleming and Minit and the cold northern winter was gradually advancing, threatening to retard the expedition for months. In the beginning of November, however, the two gallant little vessels left the harbor of Gothenburg with the first Swedish-American emigrants on board and were soon ploughing into a heavy sea. Fearful storms separated the ships and only after "a month's cruising about" did the *Kalmar Nyckel* arrive at Texel, leaking, minus its prow and a mast. A week later the *Grip* arrived, also badly used. The suffering of the poor people must have been intense, and it was fortunate that repairs and contrary winds gave them a chance to recuperate.

The ships were repaired with all speed, a new pilot was assigned to them and about December 20 everything was in readiness for the continuation of the voyage; but contrary winds interfered a few days. In the meantime Kiliaen van Rensselaer, a friend of Minit, availing himself of the occasion, sent several cases of merchandise on board the *Kalmar Nyckel*, and engaged passage for six colonists. Towards the end of the month the wind turned, and on December 31 (n. s.), the last day of the year, 1637, the little expedition gave itself "to the broad ocean with its dead calms and howling tempests, its tornadoes and its billows mountain high."

We know nothing about the journey across the Atlantic—Minnit's diary and log are lost; but the ships reached the Delaware in good condition, and sailed up the river about the middle of March, 1638.*

Having established his colony according to his instructions, Minnit left the Delaware some time in June on board the *Kalmar Nyckel*, destined for the island of St. Christopher. Arriving there he exchanged his cargo of wine and distilled liquors for tobacco. While in the harbor Minnit with his skipper was invited as a guest on board "the *Flying Deer* from Rotterdam." A sudden storm arose which drove the ship out to sea. She was heard of no more, and Minnit with the other passengers disappeared for ever. The *Kalmar Nyckel* was also blown out of port, but she returned with some other ships, having suffered only slight injury. After waiting for Minnit, a few days the vessel set sail for Europe. About the beginning of October she arrived in the North Sea near the coast of Holland, where she was again overtaken by a severe storm. The carpenter was forced to cut the main mast, and the vessel was so severely damaged that it became necessary to put into Vlie for repairs. Here the ship was seized by officers of the Dutch West Indian Company, as the skipper refused to show his commission, and

(*) See below, p. 92ff.

import duty was demanded on the cargo. Word was sent to Spiring, who presented a protest to the States General. His intercession became unnecessary, however, for the ship was liberated, as soon as it was ascertained that the skipper sailed under the authority of the Swedish crown (the relations between Sweden and Holland being very cordial at this time).

In December Spiring caused four officers from the *Kalmar Nyckel* to appear before Peter Rutens, a notary public, in Amsterdam to report under oath about Minit's proceedings in New Sweden.

The circumstances attending the land purchase were especially emphasized and related in detail, as they formed the basis for the maintenance of the Swedish title to the new land against possible protests and contention of the Dutch West India Company. A document was drawn up in Dutch giving the testimony of the four men, "in the sight and presence of the honest Cornelius Vignois and David Willet, called in for this purpose as creditable witnesses." A certified translation into German was also made.

The *Grip*, having cruised about in Central American waters for a period, left New Sweden towards the end of April, 1639, and arrived at Gothenburg about the beginning of June, an exceedingly fast journey for those days.

When the *Grip* returned it was possible to estimate the success of this first venture of the company. Pelts valued at 15,426 florins and tobacco estimated at 7,423 florins made up the cargo of the two ships, while the expenses reached the sum of over 46,000 florins. The expedition therefore proved a financial failure as far as the immediate returns were concerned. The Dutch shareholders, who were dissatisfied even before the ships left Europe, on account of the late start and the heavy expense, were now thoroughly discouraged and desirous of withdrawing from the company. They refused to contribute to a second expedition, but were finally persuaded to do so.

IV.

As early as the spring and summer of 1638 Fleming made proposals for a second voyage, and in the autumn, when some of the results of the first voyage became known, he advised the sending of a large expedition to the new colony. A little later the council resolved that the *Dove* and other ships "which were suitable should be employed for the benefit of the company." At this time Fleming also invited Willem Usselinx to Stockholm as an adviser, but the veteran projector of companies was detained in Germany, it seems, and could not go. Furthermore he thought that the New Sweden colony would never be a success, since not much

besides peltries and tobacco could be purchased there.

When the papers, Indian deeds and other documents, from New Sweden arrived in Stockholm, Fleming's enthusiasm was still further kindled. The preparations for a new voyage, which had rested for a while, were at once resumed. The colony was to be populated. Funds were to be raised by selling the stock of the South Company or otherwise, and an able manager was to be engaged, who could take charge of the work. Fleming ordered a certain ship bought by the city of Norrköping to be rebuilt at Västervik for the transportation of "cattle and people", and he proposed the repairing of other vessels for a journey. He suggested that Swedish colonists should be prevailed upon to migrate, and that some Dutch might be allowed to settle in New Sweden, so that the land would be speedily peopled.

A successor to Minuit could not be found, however, and Usselinx, who had been requested to suggest a proper person, wrote that he "knew of no one he could recommend." But a factor was appointed at Gothenburg in the person of Timon van Schottingen, who "as a capable person was to manage the West Indian trade" at that place. He was to have a salary of 200 D. annually, beginning on January 1, 1639. Hans Weis was also commis-

sioned to aid in the preparations, and he manifested great interest and diligence in the work.

Captain Cornelis van Vliet was appointed commander of this *the second expedition*. He had been in Swedish service for about ten years (being skipper on the Looff expedition, 1632-3), and he seems to have gained the full confidence of Fleming and other members of the government. "The Crown and Queen", says his instruction, "having made a serious resolution not only to continue the Virginian navigation but to carry it on with more vigor than before", desired him "to go to the West Indies on board the *Kalmar Nyckel* to find out the location of the colony." He was charged to learn the condition of the inhabitants, their trade and occupation, the kind of clothing they used and the articles they most needed; he should observe the fisheries and the best way to populate the country and finally he was to hire several officers and sailors in Holland for the journey.

After long delays money was furnished to Blommaert, who purchased supplies and a new cargo. As these were about to be loaded into the *Kalmar Nyckel* (the vessel was still at Amsterdam), orders were received from Fleming that the ship should intercept, and if possible, capture Count Kurtz, who was on his way to Denmark and Poland on a diplomatic mission for Emperor Ferdinand III. The return voyage was thus unduly deferred. The

supplies, being partly consumed by the crew in Holland, were completely exhausted when the ship plowed into the port of Gothenburg in June, 1639. About the same time the *Grip* also cast anchor in the harbor. Consequently the treasury of the company was drained by the long pay rolls of the returning officers and men who demanded their wages. But the preparations went on, although Fleming's intentions were not carried out, and only one vessel, the *Kalmar Nyckel*, was to be sent. Money was supplied from the customs at Gothenburg, and after some mishaps the ship was in readiness for its second voyage.

Meanwhile great efforts to gather colonists had been made. Several governors and other officials had been enlisted to look for emigrants. Governor Hindrickson of Elfsborg was especially requested to engage some artisans, such as blacksmiths, shoemakers, brickmakers, carpenters and others, three or four of them to be married, who should take their wives along to cook, make beer and wash for the settlers. As it was difficult to find people willing to migrate on their own accord, it was decided to deport to America, with their families and property, deserted soldiers and others, who had committed some slight misdemeanor. After one or two years they were allowed to return, if they so desired. We do not know how many such col-

onists were sent on the vessel, but their number must have been very small.

Several new officers went to New Sweden on this expedition, among whom were Rev. Torkillus, Commander Ridder, Van Dyck and Van Langdonk. The Rev. Reorus Torkillus was commissioned to look after the spiritual needs of the settlement. He had been educated at Lidköping and Skara and had been employed as lecturer and chaplain in Gothenburg before his charge in New Sweden. He became the pioneer of Lutheranism in the new world and the first Lutheran clergyman within the United States. Peter Hollender Ridder was appointed commander at Fort Christina. Ridder entered the Swedish service about 1635 and was employed in various capacities before his present appointment. His instruction, which was dated July 1, 1639, directed him to rule over the people gathered at Fort Christina, and "to work for the good and success of the company and the crown." Joost van Langdonk was sent out as factor in the place of Henrick Huygen, and Gregorius van Dyck, whose name will often be found in the following pages, was to serve as assistant commissioner.

Fleming at first intended to ship over a large number of horses and cattle, but, as the settlers had no fodder, it was later thought advisable to wait until the following spring. "Only four mares and

two young horses and a number of farming implements are now sent over", writes the admiral, "so that the colonists can make a trial with seeding in the autumn."

In the beginning of September the *Kalmar Nyckel* left the harbor for its long journey "with people, horses, fodder and provisions." In the North Sea she sprang a leak and had to run into Medemblik for repairs. Twice the ship set sail, but was twice compelled to return to harbor, as the repairs had been badly done. The vessel was then taken to Amsterdam, where it was discovered that various frauds had been perpetrated. The captain was removed from his service, and Pouwel Jansen appointed in his place. Some new sailors were also hired and paid two months wages in advance. Finally the ship was again ready, but new troubles were in store for it. A great storm swept over the coast on December 27 still further delaying the expedition. Consequently the expenses were increasing, and the total cost of the voyage had now reached nearly 16,000 D. On February 7, however, the ship glided out of the harbor under full sails, setting course through the English Channel and thence probably direct across the ocean.

Fleming and Blommaert were unfortunate in their selection of officers for the expedition. Joost van Langdonk cared little for the vessel, and left her to the charge of Van Dyck

and the lieutenant. On the journey Van Langdonk and the skipper passed their time in smoking and drinking and in scolding Van Dyck and the Swedes. They were especially bitter against the Lutheran religion, even forbidding Van Dyck to attend service, and they treated Rev. Torkillus in a most disrespectful manner. "As our preacher came", wrote Van Dyck, "in order to make prayer, they ran away, as if they had seen the devil. And when, on March 17, a youth asked for a little wine for the preacher who was sick I am ashamed to write the answer [he got]." The factor and the skipper managed things to suit themselves, and took no council with the other officers. Consequently the discipline was poor, and drunkenness was common, the steward himself being intoxicated daily.

The ship encountered severe storms, causing great hardships to the people and cattle; but she arrived safely in New Sweden on the seventeenth of April, 1640. She was speedily made ready for her return journey and on or shortly after May 14 she left the colony with a large cargo, destined for Sweden. She reached Gothenburg about the beginning of July. Here Hans Weis took charge of the ship, until her cargo was sent to Stockholm, where it was to be sold. Several colonists returned to Sweden on the *Kalmar Nyckel* in 1640, among whom were Henrick Huygen and Måns Kling.

The Dutch members desired to withdraw from the company, when the first expedition returned; but their investments forced them to remain. They reluctantly agreed to pay for half of the provisions and cargo bought in Holland for the second expedition, but they would incur none of the expenses of the *Kalmar Nyckel* on her outward voyage in the winter of 1640. They were stockholders in the Dutch West India company, and their membership in the Swedish organization was becoming uncomfortable for them.

The Swedish government finally decided to buy the Dutch shares. In February, 1641 "His Excellency the Treasurer said that the government has found it expedient to release the Dutch participants from the New Indian or Florida company, since they are a hindrance to us." The Dutch stockholders agreed to be satisfied with 18,000 florins, which was a little less than the money they had furnished, above the proceeds of the first voyage, and on February 20 Peter Spiring was instructed to pay them the above sum.

The company was now operated entirely by Swedish capital. It was re-organized and several new officers were engaged. Blommaert, although no longer a stockholder, continued to aid the expeditions until he severed his connections with the Swedish crown, and Peter Spiring and other Swedish agents in Holland served the company, as

before, in various capacities. Sometime in 1640 Johan Beier was appointed treasurer at Stockholm, and late in the summer Benjamin Bonnel was made factor. He was to have a salary of 600 D. a year, besides traveling expenses and his duties were to sell all cargoes coming from America and to manage the company's tobacco-trade in Sweden. In January 1641 Hans Kramer was engaged as bookkeeper at a salary of 400 D. a year. Klas Fleming remained president and director, and continued to sign the memorials and instructions for the other officers.

About this time a certain Robert Smythe (an English merchant), having observed that Oxenstierna "was a lover of the foreign trade" which had been established with America, offered his services to the chancellor, and selected thirty Swedes (among whom were two students from Upsala and two noblemen), willing to go on an expedition. He stated that New Sweden could be settled by foreign people, if desirable privileges, freedom from duty for some years and religious liberty, were granted and he made various suggestions concerning Swedish commerce and trade. Nothing, however, seems to have come out of his plans, but one of his suggestions soon materialized—"a colony of foreign people" was about to be planted in New Sweden under special privileges.

V.

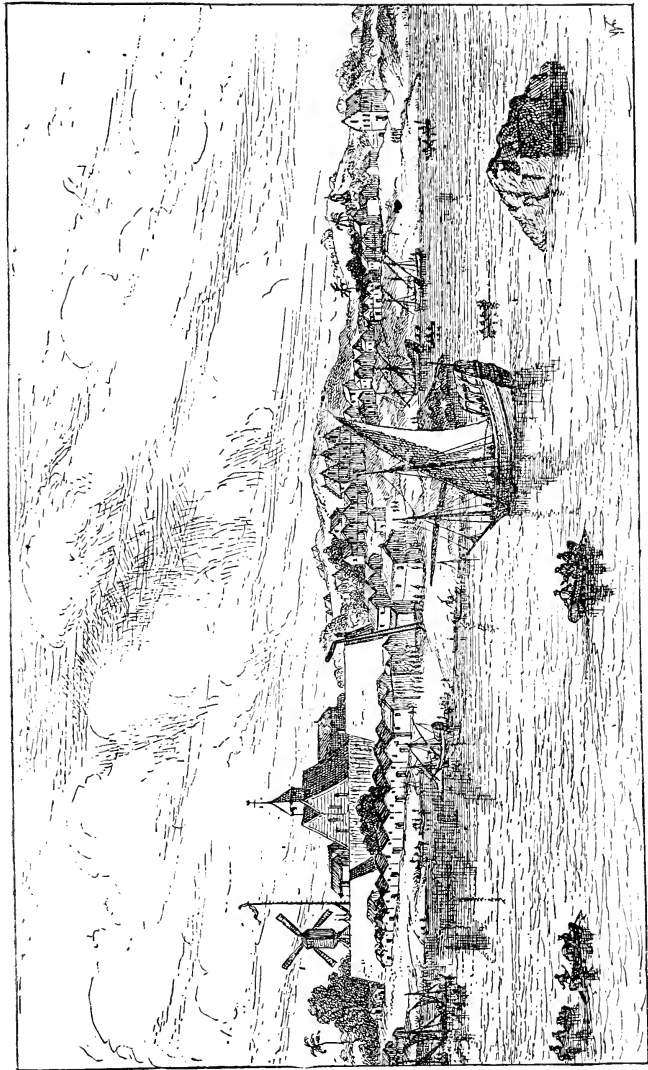
It was Minnit's intention to settle a large number of Dutch colonists in New Sweden, but his idea died with him. A similar plan, however, originated from another direction. "Certain people in Utrecht, seeing that the burdens on the land fell heavier for every year and that the farmer could hardly meet his expenses", determined to go to New Netherland, but satisfactory terms could not be arranged with the Dutch West India Company. It was then decided to seek permission to locate in New Sweden under a so-called *Patronat* government. Several influential stockholders of the Dutch company, interested in the Utrecht people, applied as patrons, through Blommaert, to the Swedish government for necessary rights and privileges. As there was great delay in Sweden a special agent, Joost van Bogaert, was sent to Stockholm to lay the matter before the council of state. On January 24, 1640, a charter was finally issued by the government. The original draft was made out to Godard van Reede, Heer van der Nederhorst; but his name was later withdrawn and Hendrik Hooghkamer's substituted in its place. The charter stated that the colony should be placed on the west side of the South River at least "four or five common German miles" (about twenty English miles) above Fort Christina; that

is to say about four to nine miles below Philadelphia. The patrons should be granted as much land on both sides of the river as was necessary for their settlement, on the condition, however, that it be improved within ten years. If the lands at first chosen proved unsatisfactory, other places could be selected with the consent of the Swedish governor. The *patrons*, their associates and their posterity, should enjoy and possess "for ever as an allodial or hereditary property" all fisheries, woods, minerals, springs and other natural resources, as well as "wind mills and other such advantages and utilities", which were already found there or would be established. They were granted the right to found all kinds of manufactories; they could carry on commerce, and, with ships built in New Sweden, they were at liberty to trade in the West Indies, on the coast of Africa and in the Mediterranean Sea. They were assured religious liberty, but were admonished to avoid all strife and unnecessary disputes. They were under obligation to support as many ministers of the gospel and school masters as the number of inhabitants made necessary, and they should especially appoint persons, who had the conversion of the poor pagans at heart. They were granted authority to exercise "higher and lower justice in their district", to establish and issue statutes and ordinances, to appoint magistrates and officers, and to

“use the titles and coat-of-arms of their colony” on all official documents; but they were to acknowledge the jurisdiction and sovereignty of the Swedish crown and of the governor of New Sweden, and all statutes and laws passed by them were to be approved by the aforesaid governor. They were to be under the protection of the Royal Swedish Government, but they were to suffer no encroachments upon their liberties by the same; they were to pay a tax of three florins a year for each family, as an acknowledgment of Swedish authority, but they were to be free for ten years from duties, excises and all other contributions. After the expiration of that period a duty of five per cent., or more, if necessary, was to be collected on all exports and imports for the support of the government and the defense of the colony. The inhabitants and their descendants were never to be pressed into military service, but they were expected to aid in defending the settlement against attacks. Finally they were guaranteed exemption “from all confiscations of their property” and fines, imposed for various reasons, were never to exceed 100 florins or 40 R. D., but the government reserved the right to meet out “all kinds of punishments other than fines according to the nature of the offence.”

Joost van Bogaert, who was hired to act as agent in the colony at a yearly salary of 500

florins, paid by the Swedish government, departed from Sweden in the early spring of 1640 to take charge of the Utrecht expedition. The *patrons* intended to dispatch "two or three ships with people, cattle and other things belonging to agriculture", so as to establish a firm settlement, which was later to be augmented by a great number of colonists. But difficulties arose and finally only one ship was prepared. Hollanders were at this time prohibited by law from entering the service of foreign powers and severe punishment was prescribed for the breaking of the statute. Consequently Bogaert found it impossible to execute his commission. But Peter Spiring readily obtained permission from the States General to equip a ship in the Netherlands and to hire Dutch sailors, as the relations between Denmark and Holland were becoming strained and the States were bidding for the friendship of Sweden. The Dutch West India Company, however, endeavored to frustrate the Utrecht plan without offending the Swedish government. To this effect a report was circulated that the garrison at Fort Christina had deserted for want of sustenance and repaired to New Amsterdam. Another rumor was floated that the *Kalmar Nyckel* had been captured by Turks on its second voyage. The first article of the Dutch charter, which granted to the West India Company



New Amsterdam, about 1650.

sole right of trade within the limits of New Netherland, was also a serious obstacle. The Company excepted the territory surrounding Fort Christina out of respect for Sweden, but "those, who settled on other places of the South River outside of Minquas Kill, should be treated as trespassers of the *Octroy* and would not only have their ships and goods confiscated, but would also be prosecuted." Dutch skippers were therefore unwilling to let their ship for fear of confiscation.

In spite of all interference, however, a ship carrying twenty-five cannon and fifty colonists was ready to lift anchor on July 28, 1640. The date of sailing is uncertain and the circumstances of the voyage across the ocean are unknown, but the ship reached Christina on November 2. She left the colony a month later with a cargo of skins, the property of the New Sweden company. The skins were sold in Amsterdam for 5,360 florins.*

VI.

Meanwhile activities had been in progress for a new voyage from Sweden, and a cargo (again bought in Holland) had been stored at Gothenburg. Fleming once more planned to fit out a large expedition, and the government hoped that "New Sweden would in time redound to the benefit and honor of the Swedish Crown and to the prosperity

(*) Cp. also p. 109ff., below,

and improvement of its citizens." Governor Hindrickson, who had aided former expeditions, was instructed through letter to "collect people with wives and children, cattle and horses, and all other goods, and prevail upon them to go to" the colony. A great many Finns had for half a century or more migrated to northern Sweden, where they lived a vagrant, unsettled life by hunting, fishing and destroying the forests. As their numbers increased complaints against them became frequent, and their removal from the country was often demanded. Since voluntary emigrants failed to appear it was decided that some of these vagrant Finns, who could not be entrusted with uncultivated farms, should be compelled to settle at Fort Christina. But even these efforts proved insufficient and it became necessary to order Måns Kling, who knew "what a splendid and productive country New Sweden was", on two different occasions "to collect and hire a multitude of roving people, that nowhere have a steady residence and dwelling." Johan Printz, later governor of the colony, was likewise asked to look for skilled workmen and young people, willing to go to America, and at least one colonist, the bookkeeper Karl Jansson, came through him.

The colonists of northern and central Sweden assembled at Stockholm, where the ship *Charitas* was being prepared for the voyage. The *Charitas*

left the capital on May 3, 1641, en route for Gothenburg with thirty-five souls on board, and she cast anchor near Elfsborg about the beginning of June. Here the trusty *Kalmar Nyckel*, the second ship of the *fourth expedition*, was being put in a seafaring condition.

It seems probable that the *Kalmar Nyckel* carried the majority of the settlers, while the horses, goats, cattle, sheep and the farming implements were stowed in the *Charitas*. The majority of the sailors and soldiers on the vessels were Swedes, but the officers with one or two exceptions were Dutchmen, and there was a sailor boy from Dublin among the messmates. The expedition went to sea in July, touching at Holland and France, and on August 19 the colonists said farewell to the shores of Europe. The voyage was a stormy one. Two of the emigrants and some cattle died, and when the vessels arrived at Fort Christina, November 7, "the remaining people were very weak and powerless."

Huygen tried his best to buy a cargo for the ships, but the fur trade had been ruined by the English, and only a small quantity of tobacco could be obtained. The ships returned to Sweden about November 29, 1641, by way of Rochelle, France. After loading a quantity of salt into the ships at Rochelle the captains sailed for Holland. As usual provisions were almost exhausted, and the men

and officers clamored for pay. Money was supplied through Spiring, and assistance was given by Blommaert and Trotzig, enabling the vessels to proceed to Sweden. They ran into Gothenburg about April 15, and arrived at Stockholm in the early part of June, 1642.

About this time all reference to Samuel Blommaert in connection with the company ceases, and in the autumn he severed his relations with the Swedish government, for on October 7, 1642, the minutes of the council say that Blommaert's salary could be used for the paying of two new commissaries, "since he *now* withdraws from the service."

VII.

The trade of the company in Europe was not an entire success. The first cargoes of skins were sold in Holland at a good price, but the peltry trade in Sweden was not remunerative. The tobacco trade, however, soon assumed great proportions. A storehouse was rented, where tobacco and skins were stocked under the charge of Bonnell, who began his work as factor shortly after his appointment. In spite of prohibitions and ordinances smuggling and illegal trade was conducted on a large scale. Yet the company's tobacco trade went so well that several ship loads were imported from Holland, and the profits amounted to over

14,000 D. The heavy expenses of the expeditions, however, not only wiped out these earnings, but even left a deficit of over 32,000 D., and when the *Charitas* and the *Kalmar Nyckel* returned from New Sweden in June, 1642, the company was obliged to borrow 3,000 R. D. for immediate expenses.

We have come to the end of the first period of the company's life. It is now in place to see what was done on the Delaware, and how the colony planted there grew and developed.



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

CHAPTER IV.

THE FOUNDING AND FIRST PERIOD OF THE COLONY, 1638-1643.

I.

It is not now possible to say, who was the first European to visit the Delaware. Perhaps the Irish or Scotch saw its waters in the early centuries of our era, if the legends of their American voyages be true. Perhaps some bold Viking in the eleventh century ventured as far south along the New England coast as the 39th degree, when the Norsemen planted colonies on this continent, and, according to tradition, established churches here. Possibly some lonely Frenchman or Portuguese driven out of his course by accident touched the lordly Delaware, years before Columbus set sail from Cadiz; or it may be that some Norman, Briton or Basque, coasting along the North American continent on his way to the cod-fisheries of Newfoundland, saw the famous river, long before Hudson made his memorable voyage. Cabot, might have passed within sight of Cape Henlopen in 1497; that Verrazzano sailed by the

Delaware in 1524 is quite certain. It has been stated "that the coast of New York and the neighboring districts" were known to the Spaniards almost a century before Hudson came here. Estévan Gomes "is said to have visited the country at latitudes 40 and 41 degrees north" in 1525, and a year later Lucas Vasquez de Aillon and Matienzo made landings, and explored the country south and east of New York. De Costa thinks that the French visited New York harbor prior to 1562, and it has been claimed that they had a fort on Castle Island within the present limits of Albany. Is it not, therefore, reasonable to think that they may have visited the Delaware? Bradford wrote in 1627 that the Dutch traded on the Hudson "this six or seven and twenty years." If so, may we not suppose that some Dutch skipper eager for gain would search for new fields of traffic with the natives, and on his way southward find the "mighty river"? All this merely goes to show, how utterly impossible it is to determine, who was really the first European to get a glimpse of the river, where Dutch, Swedes and English were later to contend for the mastery.

In 1609 we tread on firm and historic ground. Henry Hudson, an Englishman of London, undertook to discover a short route to Asia by the north for the Dutch East India Company. On Saturday, March 25, 1609, he set sail in the *Half Moon*,

Robert Jewitt being second mate; and on August 28, at seven in the evening, he "anchored in eight fathoms of water" in Delaware Bay, "weighing at the break of day" the next morning. Returning to Europe in October, he arrived at Dartmouth in November, whence he sent a report to the Dutch East India Company.

This report kindled the interest of Dutch merchants, and several expeditions were sent to the land visited by Hudson. The English were also navigating these waters, and in August, 1610, Captain Samuel Argall anchored in the Delaware, naming the South point of the bay "Cape de la Ware." About this time the English of Virginia began to call the mouth of the river Delaware Bay in honor of their governor,—a name which was soon applied to the entire river.

In the spring of 1616 Cornelis Hendricksen was sent from New Amsterdam (the Dutch trading post at present New York) in the *Onrust* (Restlessness) to explore the coast southward. He discovered "certain lands, a bay (the Delaware) and three rivers", making it probable that he ascended to the mouth of the Schuylkill or at least to the Minquas Kill. On his return to Holland in the same year he presented a report and a figurative map, the first of the Delaware known to exist. The river was soon called the South River by the Dutch to distinguish it from the North River or the

Hudson. In 1620 Cornelis May of Hoorn sailed up the Delaware, where he discovered "some new and fruitful lands," and after him the Dutch called the mouth of the river *New Port May*.

The year 1621 is an eventful one in the history of the Delaware country. The Dutch West India Company, organized by Willem Usselinx, was chartered in June, and from now on trading expeditions were sent at intervals direct to the South River.

In 1623 Captain May of Hoorn erected Fort Nassau on the east side of the river a little below present Camden to protect the beaver traffic and to keep out traders, who had no permit from the West India Company. In a few years, however, the stronghold was deserted. In 1631 Samuel Blommaert in company with others, having purchased certain tracts from the natives, planted a colony on the west bank of the Horn Kill; but all the settlers, except one man, were killed by the Indians, shortly after their arrival, and in 1635 the title was sold to the Dutch West India Company.

English and French vessels likewise visited the river for barter with the natives. Two different royal grants given to Englishmen included the Delaware and attempts at settlements seem to have been made by the English. It has also been said that King Charles I transferred his interests in this territory to Sweden about 1634.

In the summer of 1633 Fort Nassau was re-occupied by the Dutch. A house was built and other improvements were made. About this time the new commissioner Arent Corsen purchased a tract of land on the Schuylkill from several Indian chiefs, and seems to have erected a blockhouse at a place convenient for the beaver trade. But the fort was soon deserted for the fourth time. In 1636 or 1637, however, a new garrison of about twenty men was stationed there with Jan Jansen as commissioner and Peter Mey as assistant, and this force was maintained when the Swedes arrived in the spring of 1638.

II.

About the fifteenth of March the two little ships of the Swedes, the *Kalmar Nyckel* and the *Fogel Grip*, appeared in the bay. "Nature was sleeping", the trees were bare, and the loveliness which summer imparts to the Delaware shores was absent; but, if the legend be true, the beauty of the region in spite of its disadvantages impressed the pioneers, who landed at a particularly charming spot, which they called the Paradise Point. From there the ships undoubtedly proceeded with the first favorable wind.

Arriving at the mouth of the Minquas Kill, Minuit turned westward into this stream. He sailed up as far as present Wilmington, casting

anchor before "a wharf of stones," where the fortress was later built. Indians had pitched their wigwams there, and it was particularly suitable for a landing place. The Swedish salute of two guns was given, and Peter Minuit, went ashore with some of his men. Thereupon the director accompanied by Sandelin, Lucassen, Måns Kling and some soldiers, made a journey up the Minquas Kill for several miles in the sloop to reconnoitre and to establish connections with the Indians. He also went some distance on foot into the woods with his followers, but "saw no sign of Christian people." Soon after Minuit's return to the ships several Indian chiefs, probably with a large following, appeared, attracted by the reports of the Swedish cannon. A conference about the sale of land was immediately arranged. Small gifts were distributed to the chiefs, and they "were asked if they were willing to sell the [Minquas] River and as many day's journey of the land lying about it as would be requested. This the chiefs agreed to with the common consent of the different Indian Nations." On the twenty-ninth of March, 1638, five sachems, Mattahorn, Mitatsimint, Erupacken (probably the same as Elupacken), Mahomen and Chiton, "appointed by the whole assembly", were invited into Minuit's cabin on the *Kalmar Nyckel*, where they sold as much "of the land in all parts and places of the

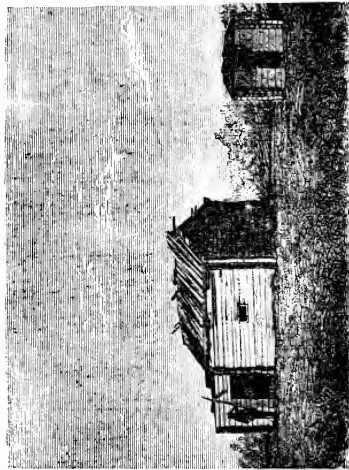


Landing-place of the Swedes, showing the "wharf of stones," also the stone in the back-ground erected by the Delaware Society of Colonial Dames of America to mark the location of Fort Christina. The above picture was taken by the author in February, 1910.

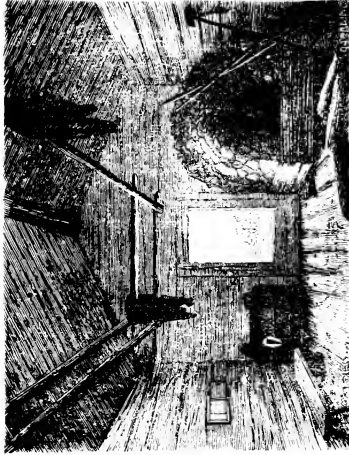
river, up the river and on both sides, as Minuit desired." Deeds were prepared in Dutch and their contents were explained to the Indians by Andreas Lucassen, the interpreter. "For value received in merchandise the Indians ceded and transferred the title of the land with all its jurisdictions and rights to the Swedish Florida Company under the protection of the great Princess, Virgin and Elected Queen of the Swedes, Goths and Wends." When the Indian chiefs had traced their totem marks on the documents, and Peter Minuit, Måns Kling, Henrick Huygen, Andreas Lucassen and Jacob Evertssen Sandelin had signed their names below, the merchandise specified in the contracts was distributed among the Indians, who in turn, to legalize the sale, presented beaver skins and *sewant* to the Swedes. The deeds are now lost, but the extent of the purchase can be ascertained from other documents. Mitasimint sold his lands lying west of the Delaware below the Minquas Kill southward to Bontien's Point or Duck Creek, a distance of about forty miles; and the other chiefs sold their hunting grounds above the Minquas Kill to the Schuylkill, a distance of about twenty-seven miles. In each case the purchase stretched westward indefinitely. Minuit had also been instructed to buy the land as far up as Trenton Falls, but for some reason he neglected to do so.

When the purchase had been concluded the sachems with Minit and his soldiers and officers went ashore. The coat-of-arms of Sweden was then raised on a pole "and with the report of cannon followed by other solemn ceremonies the land was called New Sweden", while Minquas Kill was christened the Elbe. Minit undoubtedly arranged another conference with the chiefs before their departure, and won their goodwill by distributing additional gifts.

As soon as a site for a stronghold had been selected the director set his men to work, preparing timber and other materials. The fort was built on a cape about two miles from the mouth of the creek, where nature provided an excellent wharf, and it was particularly well situated for defence against the Indians. It was surrounded by marshy ground except on the north-west side, where it could be approached by a narrow strip of land. On the south flowed the river, (where a bridge was built for the convenience of passengers and freight) and ships could be moored within a few steps of the walls. The stronghold was built in the form of a square with sharp, arrow-head-like corners, three of which were mounted with artillery; and it was considered able to withstand the attack of a large number of Indians. Since it was two miles from the banks of the Delaware, the fortress was unable to command that river, and



Finnish *pörte* and bath-house of the eighteenth century built of hewn logs. (From Tavastland, Finland, R.)



Interior of the *pörte* from Tavastland having the fireplace to the right. R.

Minuit seems to have selected this spot to avoid a collision with the Dutch as much as possible, until the colony could assert its authority.

About May 10 the ramparts, which were constructed of palisades and earth, were completed. Guns were taken from the *Kalmar Nyckel* and mounted on the walls; the Swedish banner was raised on the flagpole, and "with the report of cannon the fort was named Christina." Two houses were erected inside the palisades, one of which was probably used for a dwelling house, the other for a magazine or store house. They were built of unhewn logs, and the dwelling house had loopholes and probably two or more little windows. The roof was gabled and most likely covered with small timbers split in two. In the corner of the dwelling a fireplace was made of bricks brought over on the ships. Rough benches, chairs and tables were constructed from split timber, and it is likely that beds of some sort were made.

The Swedes came in contact with the Dutch shortly after their arrival. In the beginning of April Minuit sent his sloop up the river to examine the position and strength of the Hollanders, and to establish relations with the Indians north of the Schuylkill. The sloop sailed above Fort Nassau unobserved, but on its way back to Christina it was discovered by the greatly sur-

prised Dutch commander, who at once set about to ascertain the identity and business of the newcomers. Shortly afterwards Minuit himself attempted to pass the Dutch stronghold; but the garrison was now on the alert and "Peter May sailed down" to meet him. May demanded to know the reasons for his presence in the river, and wished to see his commission, warning him not to pass the fort. Minuit refused to exhibit his papers, "saying that his Queen had as much right there as the company", and desired to proceed on his journey. He was compelled to return to his camp, however, and he probably made no further attempts to go above Fort Nassau.

Peter May reported the occurrence to Governor Kieft and, when Jan Jansen, who had been absent at New Amsterdam for some time arrived at the South River about the middle of April, he immediately protested in writing against the Swedish occupation. Minuit replied to the protest, styling himself "Commander in the service of Her Royal Majesty of Sweden", and paid no heed to Jansen's warnings. When Governor Kieft was informed that the words of his commissary had no effect, he drew up a protest himself "against the landing and settling of the Swedes on the Delaware." He reminded "Peter Minuit that the whole South River of New Netherland had been many years in their possession and secured by



An Indian family according to Lindeström. From Lindeström's *Geographia Americae*. (Preserved in the Rikssarkiv, Stockholm.)

them above and below by forts and sealed with their blood", and informed him that the Dutch would not suffer him to intrude between their forts and that "the blame for all future mishaps, damages, losses, disturbances and bloodshed", which might arise as a consequence of his actions, would fall upon him. The protest was read before Minit, but he made no reply to it, and continued his work as before.

As soon as circumstances allowed Minit made provisions for selling his cargo. The *Grip* was dispatched to Jamestown in Virginia to exchange her merchandise for tobacco, but the captain was denied freedom of trade. The vessel remained in the harbor "about ten days to refresh with wood and water." She returned to Fort Christina in the beginning of May, unloaded her cargo and spread sails again on the twentieth to prey on Spanish commerce. The commander also endeavored to begin trade with the savages, and soon succeeded in establishing connections with the River Indians as well as the Minquas.

The Indians with whom the Dutch and Swedes came in contact belonged to two large families, the Algonquian and the Iroquoian. The Algonquian tribes were spread over a very large area. They occupied the eastern coast of North America from Newfoundland and Nova Scotia to the 35th degree in Carolina, stretching westward to the

Pacific coast and northward to the Hudson Bay, except a wedge-like territory along the St. Lawrence river, Lake Ontario, Lake Erie and parts of Pennsylvania, New York, Ohio and Maryland, which were inhabited by tribes of the Iroquoian family.

The Indians of the Delaware basin, New Jersey, Delaware and districts of New York and Pennsylvania formed the most important confederacy of the Algonquian stock. They called themselves Lenâpe or Leni-Lenâpe which means real men. "The Lenâpe or Delawares proper", who inhabited New Sweden, were divided into three tribes, the Minsi or Munsee, the Unami and the Unalachtigos. The Swedes, who called them "Renappe" (Lenâpe), "the River Indians" and "Our Indians," bought most of their lands from them. They supplied large quantities of maize, fish and venison to the settlers, but their beaver and *sewant* traffic was small, "since they were poor and had nothing but corn to sell."

About seventy-five miles west and north from the Swedish settlements, tribes of the Iroquoian stock had their villages and forts. The Delawares called them Mingwe, which means treacherous, and this name was adopted by the Dutch, who applied it distinctively to the south-eastern Iroquoian tribes, with whom they came in contact on their first trading expeditions to the South River.



Delaware Indian woman of to-day in costume. Photographed at Bartlesville, Oklahoma. Cut used through the courtesy of Dr. Gordon of the University Museum.

The Swedes recognized two divisions, the Black and the White Minquas. The White Minquas were the same as the Susquehannas, who came down to the Delaware along the Minquas Kill (hence the name) to trade with the Dutch, Swedes and English. They had been greatly reduced in strength through wars with the five nations and with the Delawares, but they seem to have been in allegiance or at least on friendly terms with the Indians of New Sweden in 1638-1655.

The Black Minquas (so called "because they carried a black badge on their breast") seem to have been the Conastogas of western Pennsylvania and the Eries west of the Ohio River, who came down the Schuylkill as far as the Delaware to trade.

In his description of the Indians Campanius Hohn, largely using Lindeström, says that the Minquas lived "twelve miles [80 English miles] from New Sweden and they were daily with the Swedes bargaining. The way to their country was bad and stony, full of sharp granite rocks among morasses, hilly and at some places crossed by streams, so that the Swedes had to walk and march in water up to their arm-pits, when they had to go there (which generally happened once or twice a year) with frieze, kettles, axes, hoes, knives, mirrors and corals to exchange for beavers and other valuable peltries. They lived on a high

mountain which was hard to climb. They were strong and hardy, both young and old, a tall and brave people." This description seems to refer particularly to the White Minquas.

When the Swedes and Dutch spoke of "the Minquas Country" they referred to a district inland, north and west of New Sweden, about 50 to 150 miles. Trading expeditions by both Swedes and Dutch were made into this country, often more than 150 miles from the settlement. The Minquas supplied most of the beaver skins, and they always called themselves the "special friends and protectors of the Swedes."

Bands of these different Indian tribes came to barter with the Swedes in April and May, and the Dutch governor complained that Minuit monopolized the trade and "attracted all the peltries to himself by means of liberal gifts."

The country was not an entire wilderness, when the Swedes arrived. The Delaware Indians, being largely agricultural, had cleared big tracts near their villages on which they planted corn. In 1654 Lindeström wrote that the savages had cultivated their corn fields at Trenton Falls until the soil was too poor to yield good crops. Quantities of corn were also planted by the natives near the Schuylkill, at the Horn Kill and other places. The settlers adopted many practices from the savages; and Indian corn often proved a valuable

article for the sustenance of the colonists, who early learnt to cultivate and use it.

“Two barrels of wheat and two barrels of seed corn” and perhaps other grains had been taken over on the ships, and when the proper time came plots of ground were prepared around the fort and on the mainland, which were sown and planted with Indian corn.

When the storehouse was ready, provisions were taken from the ships and quantities of fish, deer, turkeys, geese “and all sorts of suchlike provisions” were laid up. Måns Kling was given command of the fort with its garrison of twenty-three men, and Henrick Huygen was left in charge of the merchandise and provisions.

When Minit had provided for the maintenance and safety of the garrison and the fort, he began to prepare for his return voyage. He made a map of the river and sketches of the fort, and drafted a report to the government. In due time the skins purchased from the Indians and the cargo intended for the tobacco trade were loaded into the *Kalmar Nyckel*, and about June 15 the director left his little settlement. Huygen continued the Indian trade after Minit’s departure, and exchanged a large number of skins and a quantity of corn for merchandise and *sewant* in the autumn and spring of 1638 and 1639. At this time English and Dutch merchants from the north began to

trade with the Swedes. They offered all kinds of supplies to the settlers, but always asked very high prices. Commercial relations were also established with the English of Virginia and Maryland.

During the late spring and early summer the *Grip* cruised about in West Indian waters, searching Spanish prizes. In June the ship was at St. Christopher, sometime later "she spied the Spanish silver fleet together with one Peter van Bruggen", and went to inform Admiral Jol about it (while Van Bruggen watched the course of the Spaniards). Later she went to Havana and from there to the South River, arriving at Fort Christina early in 1639. Nothing more is known about this expedition. Years afterwards the skipper was accused of reaping all the benefits from the cruise, and a negro slave seems to have been the only addition it made to the colony's wealth. On April 10 the *Grip* was ready to set out for Europe with its cargo of furs, but contrary winds delayed the departure until the end of the month.

The colony was then left to itself, awaiting supplies and reinforcements. The traffic with the Indians continued, and Governor Kieft reported to his superiors that the Dutch trade had "fallen short full thirty thousand [florins], because the Swedes, by underselling, depressed the market."

A new ship was expected towards the end of 1639, but the little garrison waited in vain.

The friendly relations with the Indians were maintained, and it seems that the autumn of 1640 passed without disturbance. Governor Kieft had no orders to oppose the Swedes and his forces on the South River were inadequate; but he tried to persuade them to abandon their stronghold and leave the country. According to his own words he was successful, and "the Swedes were resolved to move off" and go to Manhattan; but "on the day before their departure a ship arrived with reinforcements." About a year elapsed after the sailing of the *Grip* and nearly two after Minuit's departure, before the next ship came from Sweden, and the colonists had some cause for alarm; but it is hardly probable that they decided to remove from the settlement and repair to New Amsterdam. So important a fact would have been mentioned by Ridder or Van Dyck in their letters to the Chancellor and the Vice-Admiral. At any rate, when the second expedition arrived at Fort Christina on April 17, 1640, Peter Ridder, the new commander, found the colony well preserved. The ship brought new settlers, a few domestic animals, large supplies for the people and the Indian trade, additional soldiers, new officers and a minister of the gospel. Måns Kling surrendered his command to Peter Ridder; and Henrick Huygen

prepared an inventory of the goods in the fort, and delivered the keys of the storehouse and the books into the keeping of Joost van Langdonk.

III.

Shortly after his landing, Ridder inspected the country for several miles around the fort. In his opinion it was well suited for cattle-raising and farming; but the seed had spoiled on the journey, and little new ground could be planted or sown, before other supplies were received. The fort was in poor condition, the walls being ready "to fall down in three places"; but the skipper forbade him to make any extensive repairs, and he had no orders from Sweden to do so. He mended the cracks and improved the parapets, however, wherever necessary, reporting that "on the land side the wall ought to be lengthened and on the water edge it should be raised." Moreover supplies of cannon, powder and bullets were wanted for the proper defence of the fort. As the stronghold was located too far from the Delaware to be of much service, he recommended that a new one be built near the river, "so that the crown's fort would be the key to New Sweden." Ridder also suggested that the national coat-of-arms of stone or wood be sent over and placed above the gates of the fort. Within the paling three new houses

were built for the shelter of the people, and two old ones were moved to the east embankment.

“Two horses and a colt which were in the colony fared well”, but three more mares for work and breeding were needed. Ridder further requested the company to ship over several cows and “two pair of strong oxen” on the next expedition, as there was plenty of pasture and more than enough work, oxen being most serviceable on the plantations. He complained bitterly that he had not a man, able to build a common peasant’s house or saw a board of lumber. The general condition of the colonists was such he said, that “it would be impossible to find more stupid people in all Sweden.” Carpenters and other workmen were therefore sorely wanted. Ridder’s complaints were overestimated, for we know that he built some houses, but they give a fair idea of the class of settlers that were in the colony before 1641. Ridder also proposed to make bricks, “for there was good clay to be had”, and to manufacture lumber, as there was an inexhaustible supply of trees and splendid water power. In addition he made a list of desirable and essential commodities, such as “glass windows”, steel, hemp, salt, brandy, a few barrels of tar, grain for seeds (as rye, barley, beans, peas, cabbage), turnips and parsnip seed and provisions for a year.

The friendly intercourse with the Indians begun

by Minit were continued by Ridder. The latter distributed gifts among the chiefs, and assured them of his good will and kindly intentions, which was reciprocated by the savages in their usual way. The Indian trade was renewed in May, shortly after the arrival of the *Kalmar Nyckel*, causing great injury to the Dutch; and a big cargo of furs was bought from the natives, largely through the efforts of Huygen.

The relations with the Dutch, however, were anything but cordial. On the day after his arrival in April, 1640, Van Langdonk was prevented from passing Fort Nassau. Commander Ridder then prepared his sloop, and went up the stream with a favorable wind. Three cannon balls and a musket bullet were fired across the bows of the vessel from the Dutch stronghold; but Minit continued his journey. On the twenty-fifth of April he went ashore and delivered some letters to the Hollanders, but was unfavorably received. On May 2, the sloop was sent above the Dutch trading post for the fourth time "to see what they would do." Jan Jansen, the Dutch commander, again pointed his guns at the vessel and fired a few balls across her course. He also protested against "the intruders", claiming that the whole river belonged to the Dutch West India Company. Ridder answered the protests, which in turn were followed by Dutch counter protests. Ridder could easily

have opposed any attempts of the Dutch to be masters of the river, as Fort Nassau was garrisoned by only about twenty men; but he preferred to follow his instructions and keep on as good terms with them as possible.

As the barter with the Indians had been lively during the spring, the ship could be quickly dispatched on its homeward journey with reports, journals, memorials and lists by Van Dyck, the commander and others. Huygen, who had been very successful in his dealings with the aborigines, and who had proved himself an honest and faithful servant of the Swedish crown and company, returned to Sweden to make an oral report. Måns Kling, as well as a number of soldiers, also left the settlement, but the colony was somewhat augmented by the late arrivals, to what extent, however, is unknown. On May 14, 1640, the little colony was again left to take care of itself. The *Kalmar Nyckel* spread her sails and pointed her prow towards Europe, bearing the blessings and hopes of the lonely pioneers for a safe voyage and speedy return with new supplies and new settlers.

The limits of New Sweden were greatly extended in the spring and summer of 1640. It appears that Van Langdonk had instructions to buy land north of the Schuylkill, but he was prevented, as we have seen, from passing the Dutch fort. Ridder was more successful. During a confer-

ence with the Indians in April, somewhere south of Trenton Falls, he purchased the land on the west bank of the Delaware from the Schuylkill up to present Trenton (or about forty-miles of river frontage). The purchase price in merchandise and liberal gifts were distributed among the chiefs; the usual ceremonies followed, and four limit-poles were erected, one near the mouth of the Schuylkill, the other three at the upper boundary of the tract. About the same time or a little later Ridder acquired title to a territory south of Duck Creek "from the rightful owner", the Sachem Wickusi.

The harmony between the Dutch and Swedish officers in Fort Christina was not the best before 1640 and it did not improve after the arrival of the *Kalmar Nyckel*. Van Langdonk lacked the qualities necessary for a commissary in New Sweden. He was not in sympathy with the Swedes, nor was he on friendly terms with the commander. Quarrels and strifes were therefore common, and the general discipline was bad. Provisions were low in the summer and autumn of 1640, and the Indian trade was poor. Under such conditions little could be accomplished and the settlement merely existed.

November 2 was an eventful day in Fort Christina; the Dutch immigrants from Utrecht disembarked. We may suppose that their arrival some-

what improved the conditions. Van Bogaert delivered his commissions and papers to Ridder, and the Dutch colonists were settled "on beautiful land" a few miles below present Philadelphia, being lodged in the fort and the dwellings of the Swedes, however, until they could erect their own houses and necessary farm dwellings. They undoubtedly had cattle and various supplies with them, and they cleared land and prepared fields during the winter. Their ship, which was quickly made ready for her journey back to Holland, went to sea about December 3.

The winter of 1640 and 1641 and the following summer came and went, but no ship from Sweden made its appearance. The colony suffered another drawback in the spring and summer of the last mentioned year. A company of traders from New England came into the river and ruined the Indian traffic. Some merchants and planters of New Haven, finding that their colony was inconveniently situated for barter with the Indians, looked for other places, where they could settle and establish trading posts. Two or three of the principal ones, who had sent ships to the Delaware for years, observing that this vast territory was but sparsely colonized and that the Swedish and Dutch forts and trading stations did not control the river nor the country, decided, perhaps in the autumn of 1640, to extend their activities more

systematically to this locality. Accordingly Theophilus Eaton, George Lamberton, Nathanael Turner and several others formed a Delaware Company for the purpose of trade and colonization on the South River. Two agents, Lamberton and Turner, with assistants were sent in the spring of 1641 "to view and purchase part of the Delaware" not yet occupied by Christian nations. The bark or sloop, which had been fitted out for the expedition during the winter, arrived in the bay about April 1. Turner and Lamberton then "sailed up the river in order to select a convenient spot for erecting a stronghold and making a settlement; and, when a suitable landing place had been found, they endeavored to obtain a title to the land". But the Indians refused to deal with them, says Governor Winthrop. A Pequod sachem, however, interceded in their behalf, whereupon the owner "entertained them and let them have what land they desired." "In the presence of witnesses" Lamberton and Turner contracted "several deeds of bargain and sale of land on both sides of the Delaware." The tracts extended "from a small river or creek called Chesumquesett (Raccoon creek) northward, where the land of the said Usquata, Sachem of Narratacus, doth begin, unto the seacoast southward" on the east side of the Delaware and "from a riverlet called by the Indians Tomquicke unto another riverlet on the

west side of the great river called by the English Delaware.”

Having discovered the intentions of the English, Ridder prepared his sloop and sailed down the river to thwart the designs of Turner and Lambertson. He landed at a certain *kill* in the neighborhood of the wig-wams of Wickusi, who professed to be the true owner. The sachem was called, “a bargain was made with him”, and he was given “good remuneration” for the land. A pole with the arms of Sweden upon it was then set in the ground in the presence of Wickusi and other Indians, and a Swedish salute was fired from the sloop. It seems, however, that the full amount stipulated in the deed was not paid at the time, for in 1647 claims were presented to Printz.*

When Ridder had planted his limit-poles, he sent Van Dyck to the English “with information that the land had been purchased by the Swedes and that that was the reason why the shots had been fired.” He also protested against the English trade in the river. But Turner and Lambertson paid no heed to the Swedes and went on as before. A few days after the purchase, Usquata removed the Swedish coat-of-arms and carried them to Fort Christina, but, as soon as Wickusi became aware of it, he sent a messenger to the Swedes, requesting

(*) The Swedes claimed some time later that they bought the land “from the rightful owner three days before” the English purchase.

them to "put up the coat-of-arms again", as *they* had bought the land from the real owner. From Varkens Kill Lambertson and Turner proceeded to the Schuylkill, where they bought another tract of land extending a few miles along the eastern shore of the Delaware north of Philadelphia.

In the meantime the English built a blockhouse and some dwellings at Varkens Kill. The settlement numbered twenty families, in all sixty persons. They were probably mostly traders, but some of them went there for the purposes of agriculture and tobacco planting, and it is likely that they laid out small gardens and farms around their log cabins as early as in the summer of 1641.

IV.

In October, 1641, the long expected succor was approaching New Sweden. In the first week of November the *Kalmar Nyckel* and the *Charitas* sailed up the Delaware and on the seventh they anchored in front of Christina. The first few days were occupied in nursing the sick people, caring for the animals and unloading the goods. Most of the articles which Ridder had asked for were on the ships, a better class of colonists arrived and a period of prosperity was in sight. On the fifteenth of November an inventory was made by Langdonk, who delivered the goods under his charge into the hands of his successor. The store

was very small, only a few hundred bushels of corn, some 4,000 fish hooks, about 600 axes and a few other small wares being on hand. But large supplies were now carried into the warehouse. Only six beaver skins were in the salesroom and Huyden was unable to buy furs from the Indians, since the English had ruined the trade, consequently the ships returned almost empty towards the end of the month.

The garrison was strengthened by several soldiers and Måns Kling arrived in the capacity of a Lieutenant. A few freemen, who intended to begin new plantations came on the ship, besides a preacher, a tailor, a millwright and perhaps a blacksmith and other skilled workmen.

Five horses, eight cows, five sheep and two goats were landed alive, but two horses and one cow died soon after the arrival of the ships. The pigs, which had been taken over on previous voyages or bought from New Amsterdam, increased rapidly, and many of them ran wild. They were shot in the autumn, and the pork was smoked and salted for winter food. Ridder himself shot a pig eight miles from the fort, and eight others were captured alive at the same place. Hunting was an important means of obtaining provision, especially in the autumn and winter, and the settlers always carried their guns with them. Fishing was likewise important, but Ridder complained that neces-

sary fishing implements were lacking (hooks, nets and probably spears, being the commonest fishing implements). Nets and fishing tackle were imported on later expeditions and the supply of fish became more plentiful. Thousands of hooks were sold to the Indians, who in turn supplied fish to the freemen. New dwellings were built outside the fort, plots for settlements were selected and new land was cleared and prepared during the winter for farms and tobacco plantations.

In the spring the English continued their activities, and the Delaware Company of New Haven sent another vessel with colonists and supplies to the South River. After touching at Varkens Kill the ship (in command of Robert Cogswell) proceeded to the Schuylkill, where Lambertson had erected a log house. The lively traffic with the Indians was renewed and much damage was done to the fur trade of the Swedes and Dutch.

We have seen that the Dutch interfered with the Swedish operations, when Minuit and Ridder arrived. But in 1642 the Swedes and Dutch were drawn closer together and made common cause against the English. Jan Jansen, through orders from his superiors, proceeded to the Schuylkill with armed men, probably assisted by Ridder; and, since the English were unwilling "to depart immediately in peace", he burnt their store-house and dwellings, and sent the settlers as prisoners

to Manhattan. Lamberton, however, "who was on his guard" escaped with his vessel. The damages sustained by the English were estimated at £1,000, and, if this is not too exaggerated, the settlement must have been considerable.

The English settlement at Varkens Kill was undisturbed. It was situated some distance from the Dutch and English forts, far from the paths of the fur trade, and was probably too strong for the weak forces at the disposal of Ridder and Jansen. The English assured Commander Ridder, however, that they would submit "to the one who was strongest and most able to give them protection", and when Governor Printz arrived they were incorporated into the Swedish colony, as we shall see.

Sir Edmund Plowden, who had been given a grant including the eastern shore of the Delaware, made preparations to send settlers there in 1641. He protested against the doings of the New Haven Delaware Company, and, through the aid of Parliament, interested the English of Virginia in his venture. On the eighteenth of March, 1642, Governor Berkeley addressed a letter and protest to "the right worthy Governor of the Swedes and to Henrick Huygen in charge of the South River", giving a short account of the real and imaginary discoveries, settlements and occupations of the English on the Delaware and their rights there,

and admonishing the Swedes to submit to the authority of the English crown and to "recognize the title and dominion" of Governor Plowden. The letter goes on to say that Sir Edmund Plowden wished to establish "friendship and good peaceable correspondence" with the Swedes, and that he desired them "not to sell or give to the native Indians there any arms or ammunition, nor hinder the free trade, passage, residence or commerce in the said South River." The protest probably elicited a reply from Ridder, and there was the end of the matter.

The land in the neighborhood of Fort Christina had greatly changed in the spring of 1642. New cottages could be seen around the trading post; new clearings were beginning to break the monotony of the forests, and grain was sprouting from the fresh furrows. Tobacco was cultivated here and there, and vegetables of various kinds were growing for the supplies of the colony. We know nothing about the crops of New Sweden in 1642, but a windmill was built near or within Christina, where flour was ground throughout the autumn and winter. "Sickness and mortality", says Governor Winthrop, "befell the Swedes in 1642"; but there is no mention of it in the extant Swedish records, nor do the preserved documents give us any information of other internal events before the arrival of Governor Printz.

It is a curious fact that Joost van Bogaert, with the exception of a single reference in Plantagenet's *New Albion*, "disappears from history" with his settlement after 1642. It therefore seems possible that Bogaert and some of his people died in that year. We may then assume that the surviving Dutch colonists gradually removed to their countrymen at Fort Nassau or in New Amsterdam (a few possibly settling among the Swedes), for Printz makes no mention of these Dutch in his reports, which he surely would have done, had their colony been intact in 1643.

"The houses which the Swedes erected for themselves, when they first came here, were very poor", says Kalm, "a little cottage built of round logs with the door so low that it was necessary to bend down when entering. As the colonists had no windows with them small loopholes served the purpose, covered with a sliding board, which could be closed and opened. Clay was plastered into the cracks between the logs on both sides of the walls. The fireplaces were made from granite boulders found on the hills, or, in places where there were no stones, out of mere clay. The bakeoven was also made inside the house." This description, based on the accounts of an old settler, gives, I think, a fairly accurate picture of the dwellings in New Sweden before Printz arrived. As time went on more pretentious buildings were erected.

As to the administration of justice in the colony during this period we know nothing, but it is probable that courts were held at Christina from the beginning of the settlement in 1638.

Facts about the religious life are also meagre before 1643. Rev. Reorus Torkillus who arrived in 1640 conducted services in Fort Christina in accordance with the Swedish Church law. He was abused by some of the Dutch who were of the reform faith, and in his letters to the council he complained of his troubles with "those who confessed to the Calvinistic heresy"; but harmony seems to have been restored after Van Langdonk's return to Europe. In November, 1641, Rev. Christopher arrived. He had no commission to serve in the colony; but, as the work was too much for Rev. Torkillus, he remained until 1643, doing the duties of a clergyman, and when he returned to Sweden he was paid by Beier for his labors. It is probable that Reverend Torkillus conducted services in the fort, while Christopher looked after the religious needs of the freemen and servants, who lived in the neighborhood of the stronghold.

One of the houses built by Minuit undoubtedly did duty as a "meeting-house" for a time, but it is quite certain that a chapel was erected about 1641 or 1642, when a mere dwelling was too small for the accommodation of the colonists. It was an age when religion was taken with great serious-

ness, and when duties of worship and piety were the first requirements of a community; when generals began their reports and letters to their superiors in the name of God and ended them with His blessings, when politicians *prayed* for success and pirates began their expeditions only after the grace of Heaven had been invoked to favor their undertakings, and we may feel certain that the authorities in Sweden did not fail to instruct Ridder to build a place of worship, and that he obeyed the order, although we have no record to tell the tale. We know that there was a house of worship in the colony in 1643, for Brahe, answering Printz's letter of April 12, admonished the governor to decorate their "little church in the Swedish custom". Since a church in those days could not be built in a month and a half, it must have been there before Governor Printz arrived.

PART III.

The Reorganized New Sweden Company and Its
Activity; Social, Economic and Political Life
in the Colony, 1643-1653.

CHAPTER V.

THE REORGANIZED AMERICAN COMPANY AND THE EXPEDITIONS TO NEW SWEDEN DURING THE ADMINISTRATION OF GOVERNOR PRINTZ.

I.

After the second expedition (in 1640) the New Sweden Company was entirely under Swedish control, and the stockholders were all Swedish citizens, born or naturalized. But Swedish capitalists were unable to conduct so great an enterprise without aid from the crown, and Von der Linde and De Geer were too cautious to enter upon so doubtful a venture and too busily engaged in other fields of activity to find time for planting colonies on the Delaware. The finances of the company were now in a deplorable state, and something had to be done. Fleming corresponded with Blommaert and others on the subject, and several plans were proposed. The affairs of the company were also discussed by the council of state as well as by the stockholders and officers and after several conferences it was decided to recommend to the Government the following :

1. That the company be re-organized and a capital of 36,000 R. D. be issued.

2. That the crown should subscribe 6,000 R. D. of the stock, the old South Ship Company 18,000 R. D. and a number of private people 3,000 R. D. each.

3. That the main office of the company be located in Gothenburg, and a bookkeeper be employed there.

4. That the governor and other officers be paid from the tobacco excise in Sweden.

At the final decisions of the government the above principles were followed, except that Stockholm instead of Gothenburg was made the head office, with a staple under the charge of a commissary at the latter place. "In August, 1642, the royal government and respective stockholders resolved to furnish a capital of 36,000 R. D. in the New Sweden Company", and on the twenty-eighth of August the various accounts were entered into the journal of the company, thus completing the re-organization of the "new trading society."

The relation of the crown to the re-organized New Sweden Company stands forth in a clearer light than to the "Old New Sweden Company of 1637." The government now being a stockholder had a legal right to interfere with the management of the company and to suggest plans of procedure and methods of work. Since the charter did not

clearly define the principles to be followed, it is evident that many of the decisions of the crown should seem quite arbitrary. Most of the expeditions to the colony were determined upon in the council of state, and the ships used on the expeditions were selected by order of the crown. But this was only natural. We need but remember that all the private stockholders were members of the council except Spiring, who, however, held a high office in the service of the government. The council meetings were the most convenient place for discussing the company's business, as it could there be considered in connection with other commercial affairs, thus relieving the stockholders from holding special conferences.

No new charter seems to have been given in 1642, but the company enjoyed the special privileges granted to it five years before. Fleming remained the director and all the old officers were retained.

II.

During the above mentioned re-organization preparations were begun for a new expedition, and the arrival of Ridder's reports concerning the English settlements and the condition of the country gave new impetus to the activities. Three vessels were to be despatched to the colony and the government assumed all the expenses of the journey, except the board and wages of the colonists

and civil officers and servants. Provisions and supplies were bought in Holland and in Gothenburg, but no cargo was purchased for the Indian trade, as that would have delayed the expedition. The preparations advanced slowly, however, and not till autumn were definite orders given by the government.

It was decided to relieve Ridder of his post and to appoint Johan Printz *Governor of New Sweden*. Printz was a *character*, a man of a checkered career. The son of a clergyman, he prepared for a learned vocation, studying Latin, philosophy, theology and what not in Swedish schools and German universities. However, partly by force of circumstances, partly by choice, he entered military service, an honored profession in this military age. He rose, by degrees, under many masters and in many countries. Finally having served in Swedish armies about 15 years, he was assigned to an important post as commander of Chemnitz. Being forced to surrender, however, in 1640, and returning to Sweden without a passport from his superior, he was arrested in Stockholm and removed from his command. He then lived in retirement on his estate until his new appointment in 1642. In July of this year he was knighted, and restored to full favor with the government.

The instruction for Governor Printz was discussed and outlined in the council of state (sug-

Revel. Stat der Cronen Næw

1614

De 21. Augusti... Stat der Cronen Næw... 31 Augusti Anno 1614

Table with 2 columns: Description and Amount. Rows include '1. Hænselsæt... 800', '1. Lehnmand... 192', '1. Sæpænsæt... 72', '1. Sæpænsæt... 96', '1. Sæpænsæt... 72', '1. Sæpænsæt... 60', '1. Sæpænsæt... 1152', '1. Sæpænsæt... 110', '1. Sæpænsæt... 96', '1. Sæpænsæt... 120', '1. Sæpænsæt... 72', '1. Sæpænsæt... 48'

Summa... 3020

Bøddens Amt i Næstvede. Schylden

1614

De 21. Augusti... Bøddens Amt i Næstvede... 31 Augusti Anno 1614

Table with 2 columns: Description and Amount. Rows include '1. Hænselsæt... 400', '1. Lehnmand... 192', '1. Sæpænsæt... 72', '1. Sæpænsæt... 96', '1. Sæpænsæt... 72', '1. Sæpænsæt... 60', '1. Sæpænsæt... 1152', '1. Sæpænsæt... 110', '1. Sæpænsæt... 96', '1. Sæpænsæt... 120', '1. Sæpænsæt... 72', '1. Sæpænsæt... 48'

Summa... 3020

The budget of New Sweden, first two pages of the *Monatgelderbuch*, kept by Hans Kramer. Preserved in N. S. I. (R. A.), Stockholm.

gestions being made by Spiring and others), and on the fifteenth of August the document was signed by Per Brahe, Herman Wrangel, Klas Fleming, Axel Oxenstierna and Gabriel Bengtsson Oxenstierna. The commission of Printz as governor was signed the same day. 400 R. D. were granted to the governor for traveling expenses and as a recompense for his lost time in waiting for the ships to sail. A new budget to be supplied from the tobacco excise was also drafted, providing for the wages of the officers and soldiers.

Christer Boije, Johan Papegoja, the Rev. Johan Campanius and several others were engaged to serve in New Sweden and Gregorius van Dyck returned to the colony on this expedition. A number of new men were also enlisted to replace the Dutch soldiers and servants in Fort Christina, to eliminate the quarrels and dissensions that had been frequent there.

Efforts were also made to collect emigrants. A certain blacksmith, Michel Nelsson, who had been engaged by Beier to seek for minerals in New Sweden, went to Värmland in June to hire laborers. In addition to this, letters were written by the council to several governors of the kingdom, instructing them to prevail upon people to emigrate (those of good repute to be requested to take their families with them). But few expressed their willingness to go, and mere persuasion was

found inadequate. The council of state therefore resolved that poachers and deserted soldiers should be condemned to serve in the colony a number of years. Even these measures, however, proved insufficient, and in August several governors of the northern and central provinces were requested to capture such Finns in their territories as were known to be destroying the forests and doing damage to the woods at the mines. These people with their families were to be kept in readiness for transportation to Gothenburg within three weeks after August 1. Later it was also ordered that citizens unable to pay their debts should be deported.*

In the course of the summer it was found expedient to equip but two ships. These, the *Fama* and the *Swan*, were fitted out at Stockholm, whence they set sail on the sixteenth of August, with Rev. Campanius and other emigrants on board, arriving at Gothenburg on the twelfth of September. The *Fama* was in poor condition, making it necessary to paint her and repair her in other ways. These, together with other obstacles, delayed the expedition several weeks, causing the company much expense, as the servants and settlers had to be fed and housed. Governor Printz,

(*) The principles followed were that persons, "who had not committed such crimes that other people shunned their company", could be sent to New Sweden.

who with his family went by land, probably arrived at Gothenburg about the beginning of September, where the other passengers were awaiting the sailing of the vessels.

Finally, towards the end of October, everything was in readiness. The colonists were reviewed and taken on board, and on the first of November the *Fama* and the *Swan* weighed anchor. On the fourteenth they braved the Spanish sea and towards the end of December they lowered sails in the harbor of Antigua. Here the passengers spent their Christmas holidays. They were well received by the inhabitants and the English Governor entertained Governor Printz, Rev. Campanius and the other officers at his own house. The colonists were under way in the beginning of the year, "having as many oranges and lemons as they could take with them," and arrived in Delaware Bay about the end of January, 1643. Here a fearful snow storm overtook the vessels. The *Fama* ran ashore, losing her main masts, sprit-sail and three large anchors. The other vessel also suffered damages, and part of the cargo was ruined. The expedition was delayed for two weeks through the mishap, and did not reach Fort Christina until February 15.

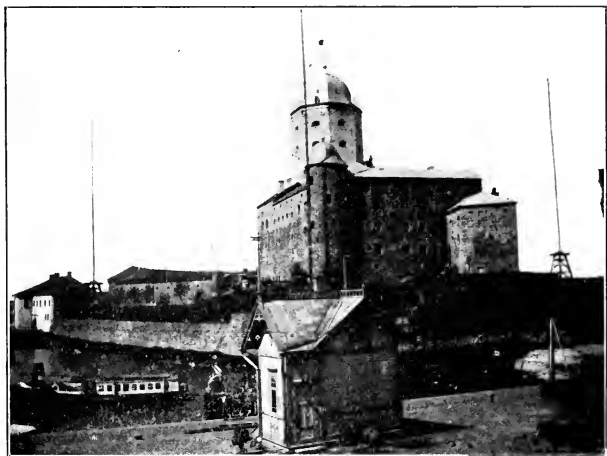
The ships having been prepared for the return voyage in the spring departed from the colony about April 14 with some homeward bound people

(including Johan Papegoja) and large cargoes of beaver and otter skins. The vessels went by way of Portugal, where a quantity of salt was loaded into the *Swan*, and about the end of July they anchored in the harbor of Gothenburg. The documents, letters and reports from the colony reached Stockholm overland August 1. The cargoes of peltries and salt were brought to the capital in the ships to be sold there and the council of state resolved that the salt should be duty free.

Peter H. Ridder returned from the colony with the ships. He was employed by the government in various undertakings and important missions for over a score of years. In 1669 he retired to northeastern Finland in the capacity of commander of Viborg Castle and died there about 1691.

III.

Since the *Fama* and the *Swan* carried no cargo to New Sweden for the Indian trade, it was planned to send out a new expedition at an early date and preparations were under way before the ships sailed in November. Admiral Fleming (assisted by Beier, Kramer, Schottingen, Trotzic and Spiring) was untiring in his activity, giving orders and directing the work. Trotzic bought provisions and goods in Holland for several thousand florins, Schottingen purchased cloth, ready-made



Castle at Viborg, Finland, over which Peter H. Ridder was made commander in 1669. See *The Swedish Settlements*, II, p. 692. (Photographed by the author in July, 1909.)

clothes, shoes, stockings and the like in Gothenburg, and Beier and Kramer procured axes, saws, mill-stones, cloth and such things in Stockholm.

As usual it was difficult to find emigrants and the council again decided to send timber thieves and game poachers to America. Johan Papegoja, who had concluded to return, hired a number of soldiers in the autumn. The barber-surgeon Hans Janéke was engaged at this time, and he was given 60 D. for the preparation of his medicine chest. It appears that two or three colonists came from Finland, and Johan Matsson and the noblemen Knut and Per Liljehök were among the passengers.

Since the ships which carried Printz to New Sweden returned to Stockholm before the departure of the next (the fifth) expedition, it was decided to use the *Fama* for the new voyage. Another ship, the well-known *Kalmar Nyckel*, was fitted out by the company for a trading journey to the Caribbean Islands. Large quantities of "wooden bottles," wooden basins, wooden spoons, lumber, tar, and other products and manufactured articles were furnished for the voyage in Sweden and Finland. Brandy and wine and other supplies were purchased in Holland "for the tobacco trade in the Caribbean Islands." The two vessels sailed out of Gothenburg harbor on December 29.

It is probable that both kept the same course for some time, but they must have separated before arriving in American waters, the *Kalmar Nyckel* going to the Caribbees.

On the twenty-seventh of February the *Fama* was off the American coast and on the eleventh of March her sails were furled before Christina in New Sweden. About the middle of June she was ready for her return-voyage, but contrary winds or other circumstances delayed the sailing. On or shortly after July 20 her anchor was weighed and she set out for Europe with a large cargo of tobacco and skins.

After a two months' voyage the ship put into Harlingen to revictual. From there she was to have sailed to Sweden, but as the war with Denmark was in progress, it was decided to unload the cargo in Holland. A permit to unload was refused, however. Not only that. The ship was seized by the Dutch West India Company and a duty of 8 per cent. was demanded in addition to the ordinary import excises. After many protests and conferences about the matter, Peter Spiring succeeded in freeing the vessel.

In the meantime the *Kalmar Nyckel* also arrived. When the ship parted from the *Fama* westward bound in the beginning of 1644, she proceeded directly to the Caribbean Island, where the cargo was exchanged for tobacco. The ship left

the islands on its return journey late in the summer or early in the autumn. She touched at Dover, to obtain supplies. From there she went to Harlingen, where she was seized by orders of the Dutch West India Company. She was released, however, at the same time as the *Fama*.

The cargoes of the two ships were sold by Lucas Arentzen. The beaver skins on the *Fama* realized 15,000 florins, and the tobacco on the *Kalmar Nyckel* brought 8,666 florins. But the net proceeds were reduced by Arentzen's commission as well as by freight charges and other expenditures. The expenses due to the seizure of the ships were also considerable, and Arentzen paid more than 3,000 for supplies and provisions.

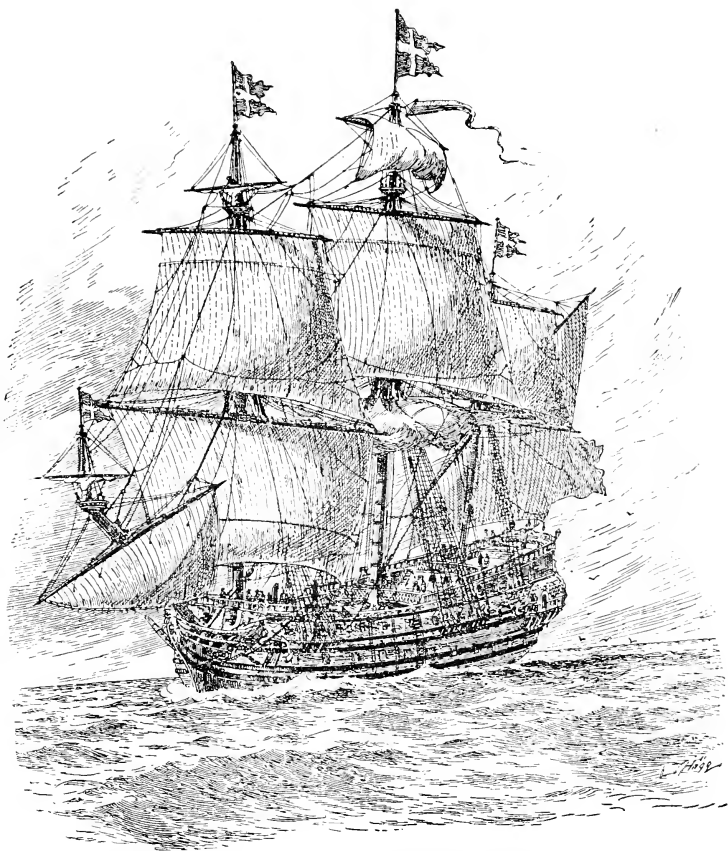
IV.

Printz and Papegoja sent earnest requests for more colonists and additional supplies with the *Fama* in 1644. But events in northern Europe of far greater importance to the welfare of Sweden than the little colony on the South River were occupying the minds of the statesmen at Stockholm. Sweden was fighting one of her most successful wars with Denmark. Every ship that could be used was pressed into service. The *Swan* and the *Charitas* which had made journeys to New Sweden took part in the battle of Fehmern, and when the *Fama* and *Kalmar Nyckel* reached Gothenburg in

the summer of 1645 they were fitted out for participation in the struggle. On August 7 the *Kalmar Nyckel* engaged the Danish ship *St. Peer* in a bitter fight between Copenhagen and Malmö. Only twelve men of the Swedish vessel survived the encounter, and M. Johansson, who had made several journeys to New Sweden and Virginia as secretary, was badly wounded.

Under such conditions no ships could be spared for expeditions to America. The war not only hindered and delayed preparations for a new journey, however; it also removed the staunchest and warmest supporter of the colony,—Fleming was killed in July, 1644, by a stray bullet from a Danish battery.

Chancellor Oxenstierna was now the unappointed director of the company, but he was too busy to think of the colony and its needs. He was appointed peace commissioner in 1644 to the lengthy conferences, which lasted about a year and a half. He wrote most of the documents with his own hand, and he “had to fight, not only against the enemies and the peace mediators, but also against the opposition peace party in the Swedish council.” In consequence the affairs of the company were “in great confusion.” Letters and reports from Printz were sent to the chancellor, who was too busy to look after them; and hence the other officers of the company in Sweden were ig-



Scepter, the flagship of Admiral Klas Fleming on which he was killed. From G. Unger's *Il. sv. sjökrigsh.*, I.

norant of the conditions in the colony. The papers and documents of Printz were finally sent to Kramer and Beier, who made some efforts to comply with the requests of the governor. Since a cargo could not be safely sent from a Swedish port to America during the war, it was planned to ship supplies direct from Holland to New Sweden. But Spiring, who had been instructed to execute these plans, could not do so, as "the cargoes of the *Fama* and *Kalmar Nyckel* were seized and there were no other means on hand."

On the thirteenth of August, 1645, peace was made with Denmark and ships could be used for commercial journeys. A new expedition was to be prepared at once, and the government was to pay all expenses. In his report of 1644 Governor Printz asked for a large number of soldiers and colonists, and it seems that there were actually some serious intentions of complying with his request. In the Royal Archives at Stockholm is preserved "an estimate of the provisions necessary for three months for 1,000 persons small and big," consisting of 400 men, half of whom were to be soldiers, the other half colonists, 400 women and 200 children. The provisions for so many would have cost about 8,000 R. D., and at least three or four vessels would have been needed for the transportation of this number. So much capital could

not be raised, and the project appears to have received but little attention.

But preparations for an expedition on a smaller scale went on. The *Gyllene Haj* was purchased in Holland with full rigging, and a large cargo was bought there. In March the ship sailed for Gothenburg, whence it was to proceed to America at an early date. The *Fama* was also to be prepared; but for some reason the *Gyllene Haj* made the voyage alone. In May, 1646, the *Haj* weighed anchor and spread her canvas for Christina on the Delaware. She had a stormy voyage, and did not arrive in the colony before October 1, having lost her sails, top-mast, and several implements. "The master of the ship, the mate and all the crew except one man were sick, so that according to their reports they would all have been lost, if they had not reached land when they did." The sailors were long in recovering, and the vessel was not repaired until December. The return voyage was delayed by ice in the river, and the departure was not made until the beginning of March. The circumstances of the homeward journey are unknown, but the ship reached Gothenburg in June, and in the autumn she proceeded to Stockholm with her cargo of tobacco.

V.

Cargoes for a new expedition had been ordered before the *Haj* returned to Europe in 1647 and, since the crops in New Sweden largely failed in 1646, a quantity of rye-flour was purchased for the needs of the colony. Orders were given to fit out the *Fama*, but she was found incapable of making the long journey, and the *Swan* was selected instead. In the early summer Beier and Kramer were busy in Stockholm preparing the vessel, and on August 12 she had gone to sea. She probably arrived at Gothenburg towards the end of the month. In the meantime the cargo for the Indian trade had been shipped from Holland and placed in the care of Hans Macklier. Johan Papegoja, who acted under instruction to collect colonists and hire soldiers, was but moderately successful, and few emigrants embarked on the ship. This expedition was prepared in less time than usual and the vessel set sail on the twenty-fifth of September. The expedition seems to have escaped violent storms and to have suffered no casualties, as the vessel arrived in first class condition at Fort Christina some time in the autumn.

The *Swan*, having been prepared in the early spring, left Fort Elfsborg on May 16 with a valuable cargo of skins. On the nineteenth she passed Cape Henlopen, making for the open sea, and on

June 13 she was within view of Plymouth, having crossed the Atlantic in less than a month. On the seventeenth the passengers sighted Jutland and the Scandinavian shores. The ship proceeded to Stockholm without entering the harbor of Gothenburg, and arrived at the capital on July 3.

The journals, account-books and salary rolls, covering the period from February, 1643, until March, 1648, were taken to Sweden on the *Swan* by Måns Kling. They were delivered to the book-keeper Hans Kramer, who copied them into the official books of the company, and made an inventory of the assets and liabilities. From the balance-sheets it was found that the liabilities were 41,331 R. D. and the assets 31,332 R. D., showing a loss of 9,399 R. D. It was thus clear that the finances of the company were not in the best condition. The tobacco excise, which had been assigned to meet the salaries of the officers and soldiers in the colony amounted to only about one-half of the annual budget and even this money (except 1,000 D.) was used by the government for repairs in the Royal Palace at Stockholm. As many complaints were made, the Queen finally resolved that the excise money due the company should be turned over to the treasurer, and other arrangements were made to relieve the financial embarrassment.

VI.

On April 6, 1648, letters from New Sweden were read in the session of council in which Printz again asked for more colonists and merchandise, and in the summer came a letter from Papegoja with the *Swan* in which he requested permission to return to Sweden unless ships and people would soon arrive. As a result of these reports and letters it was decided to send out another—the ninth expedition.

Early in 1649 the government was requested to fit out the *Kalmar Nyckel* at its own expense and at the earliest opportunity (as the admiralty was several thousand D. in arrears to the company). But the *Kalmar Nyckel* was old and unserviceable and it became expedient to repair and equip the *Katt* (the *Cat*) “for the journey to Virginia.”

Reports of wonderful opportunities for settlers in New Sweden were at this time circulated among the people through letters or oral communications, and after 1648 emigrants in abundance were willing to embark on the ships. There is, for instance, a petition in the Royal Archives presented by one Mats Ericksson from Värmland on behalf of 200 Finns, “who requested Her Royal Majesty to send them to New Sweden for the cultivation of the country.” New Sweden was still, however, looked upon as an undesirable place for officers and sol-

diers in the employ of the crown. In July, 1648, Lars Kagg wrote to the chancellor that 300 men of a certain regiment, who had remained at home out of stubbornness, should be punished in order to set an example to others. "And as one finds," he said, "that they have a great dread of New Sweden, it would be profitable to send some of them there, when a ship sails back." It is likely that a number of these drafted and disloyal soldiers were ordered to New Sweden on the ninth voyage.

Some seventy colonists including many women were selected from a large number of applicants. Among the more prominent of these were the Rev. Matthias Nertunius, the book-keeper Joachim Lycke with his family, the barber-surgeon, Timon Stidden, Commander Hans Amundsson with family, Johan Rudberus, and Hans Persson. Hans Amundsson was sent to the colony in the capacity of a commander. Cornelis Lucifer was captain on the vessel and Jan Jansson Bockhorn was first mate.

After, as it would seem, much unnecessary delay the cargo was loaded into the ship at Gothenburg. Cannon and large quantities of ammunition according to the lists and specifications of Governor Printz were also put on board and provisions estimated for twelve months were stored in the holds.

The ship was ready to sail on Sunday, July 2,

1649, "but some hindrance occurred." On the following day, however, she ran out of the harbor under a favorable north-west wind. The course led close by England, through the Spanish sea and "the Eastern Passage." Drawing near to the West Indian Islands the captain decided to land at Antigua for the purpose of replenishing the supply of fresh water. No fresh water could be had, but the Swedes were kindly treated by the English Governor. From Antigua they proceeded to St. Christopher, where they laid to on August 21. Here water and other refreshments were plentiful and freely given by the governor of the island. Thereupon the ship-council resolved to buy a few lasts of salt at St. Martin and on the twenty-second of August they cast anchor there. On Saturday evening August 26, they were again ready to continue their voyage. As soon as the captain came on board he ordered sails spread, but one of the passengers was missing, and Amundsson and the other officers implored the captain not to leave port before all the passengers were on the ship. In the night, however, when Amundsson was asleep, he weighed anchor. An excellent wind filled their canvas all that night and the next day, and the ship sped straight on its way like a modern steamer. But on the second evening they came into dangerous waters. About two o'clock at night the schooner struck a cliff with a crashing

noise. Instantly everybody was on deck. Amundson and other officers anxiously requested the captain to lower sails and bring the ship to, but, like Dumas' Captain Chubin, he simply answered "it will all pass over." A second shock was felt, however, and again the officers clamorously demanded the captain to furl sails and proceed no further; but he said: "I am well acquainted here, it will all pass over." But there was a third shock and a crash and a long cry; a cliff had penetrated the prow and the ship stuck on a rock. In the hope of floating her they threw the ballast over-board. Later the water and salt from St. Martin were given to the waves, but the ship remained on the cliff. As day approached the people could see land about thirteen miles away, a small uninhabited island, some eighty miles from Porto Rico. Thither women and children were taken in life-boats, but the men stayed on the ship. In the meantime a severe storm arose making it necessary to cut down the masts to prevent the wind breaking the ship in two. The following morning the provisions were removed from the ship and she was abandoned by the men, who joined the women on shore. The ship-wrecked ones were now, however, in a miserable plight, as they "could not find a drop of water on the island." "We had to lick the stones with our tongues," says

the narrator of their misfortunes. Such was their condition for eight days.

“On Thursday following which was August 31,” a small bark passed within a mile or two of the island. The Swedes fired two distress signals for help, but the bark set its course on Porto Rico to report. From there two Spanish ships were sent to the Swedes, who were asked what people they were and whence they came. In response the Swedish pass was produced; but the Spaniards pretended never to have heard of Sweden and challenged the unfortunate people to fight or surrender, says Rudberus. Water and other refreshments were given to them, however, and they were taken on board their foundered ship. The Spaniards promised Amundsson that both cargo and provisions would be left undisturbed, but, getting on board the Swedish clipper, they took everything in sight. Not being content with this, they pulled the clothes off their victims, men and women alike, to seek for money and other valuables.

On September 1, the Swedes were ordered to the pumps, as the ship was leaking. Rev. Nertunius, who also took part in the pumping, had on a pair of old trousers and carried some money in his stockings. In order to deceive the Spaniards, making them believe that he had on no trousers, he let his shirt hang outside, and stood in this

manner pumping water, which caused great merriment among the Swedes. When the Spanish commander, however, discovered that he was a clergyman, he gave him some clothes and a cap, "but they called him *papistam perro Lutheran.*" On September 3, the shipwrecked people were landed in the city of Porto Rico, and led to the market place "with drums and pipes and great noise." "A large fire was made on which all the Swedish books were burnt." Amundsson complained of their treatment before Governor de la Riva. The latter assured Amundsson that had he (De la Riva) been present personally, the property of the Swedes would not have been taken and their treatment would have been of a different kind—a rather useless consolation. He promised to set the Swedes free; but their goods and possessions could not be restored. Shortly afterwards the Swedes despatched letters and two representatives to Stockholm to report their condition and request the government to send a vessel to their aid. In the meantime a Dutch captain, Diedrick Diedricksen, arrived at Porto Rico with a cargo of slaves. He promised to give the Swedes passage on his lugger either to America or to Holland, but as he was about to sail the governor made a prize of him, took his money and decided to send his ship to the King of Spain as a gift. The Swedes then obtained permission to go on the

vessel to Spain. A passport was prepared for them, and they were instructed to be in readiness for embarking. On the governor's assurance they carried their possessions to the pier, but when they were about to depart the governor was ill. He issued no orders and the city council decided to allow no one, except Amundsson, to go on board. Amundsson refused to leave without his people, but he was compelled to remain on the ship. Soldiers took his family on board, "and left us with great lamentation and cries standing on the shore," says Rudberus.

As time went on other colonists found means to leave the island, and in April, 1650, a happy opportunity presented itself for the remaining ones to depart. The city captured a little bark, which was purchased by Rudberus and Jöran Dufva. The governor issued passports for them and provided some provisions. Towards the end of April or the beginning of May, the remnant of the shipwrecked Swedes, in all twenty-four souls, set sail. Their object was to reach St. Christopher, whence they hoped to be able to go with some Dutch skipper either to New or Old Sweden. Near the island of St. Cruz they met a French bark, the officers of which boarded their vessel. The Swedish passport was greeted with derision and torn to pieces, but the Spanish passport was preserved. The Swedes were then taken ashore. Their few be-

longings were divided among the French, who "fought like dogs over it," and, if the account of Rudberus be true, the Swedes were submitted to the most inhuman torture. They were conducted to the governor, who searched their clothing for money and other valuables. In order to intimidate the unfortunate people (and for his own amusement) he caused some of the Swedes to be bound to posts, and commanded his soldiers to discharge their rifles near them. The women, who were kept in a room by themselves, "cried out aloud and wept bitterly, fearing their men had been killed." Later Rudberus, Jöran Dufva, one Andreas and the mate were bound with their hands on their backs and suspended on hooks about a yard from the ground for two nights and two days, until "their bodies were blue and the blood pressed out of their fingers."

"Now our women and boys had concealed some money and pearls down in the ground," says Rudberus, "which became known to the French, wherefore they tortured and tormented us fearfully, screwed off the fingers with pistol locks, burnt the feet of the women on red hot plates, sold us all away in the country, the one here, the other there, and also forbade anyone to speak to the other." A certain woman, of whom the governor was enamored, was killed by his command,

after he had illicit relations with her against her will. Many other atrocities were committed.

In the meantime a Dutch bark put into St. Cruz for a supply of fresh water. The bark was made a prize by the French, but it was later returned to the skipper, who set sail for St. Christopher. At the time of his arrival there, two brothers Johan Clausen from Rotterdam and Andreas Clausen from Amsterdam, were in the harbor trading with tobacco. The skipper related to them the miseries and the sufferings of the Swedes. Touched by the story they asked permission from the governor to bring the imprisoned Swedes from St. Cruz. The governor doubted the report, as he had had no news of the matter, yet he gave them a passport together with an order for the release of the prisoners, if they should be found. One of the brothers provided the ship, and the other supplied provisions and sailors. When they reached St. Cruz only five out of the twenty-four were alive, Johan Rudberus, two women and two children. The women and children were at once placed on board the ship, but Rudberus had been sold to a captain for 500 lbs. of tobacco. He managed to escape, however, through the aid of a German, and went on board the ship at night; but he was discovered by the owner, who demanded and received his 500 lbs. of tobacco for the claim of "his slave." They left the island the same day. The day fol-

lowing the two women and the oldest child died. The other child was then given to the care of a French woman, but did not live long. At St. Christopher "Captain Johan Clausen put me on board his ship, and took me safely to Holland, and there showed me much kindness," says Rudberus. Only nineteen of the colonists besides a few officers and soldiers ever saw their native land again. Rudberus, who was among the last to reach Sweden, arrived at Stockholm in the autumn of 1651. Amundsson having landed safely in Spain with his family went thence to Holland (where we find him in July) and from there to Stockholm. Lycke and Rev. Nertunius made their way to the capital. Timon Stidden managed to reach Amsterdam with his wife and five children, but in the most miserable circumstances. From Holland he was taken to Sweden by Captain Boender. Lycke, Amundsson and Rev. Nertunius made oral reports at Stockholm, and numerous others corroborated the doleful tales.

When the Thirty Years' War had been brought to a close, Sweden, anxious to gain the friendship of all nations, sent Mathias Palbitsky to congratulate the King of Spain on the conclusion of peace, and to establish a fast friendship between the two countries, as well as to arrange trade relations. Before Palbitsky departed news arrived from the shipwrecked Swedes in Porto Rico. An inventory

was made of the damages, according to which the loss of the government was estimated at 4,670:43 R. D. and private accounts "of persons in the service of the crown" at 297:24 R. D., making a total sum of 5,069:19 R. D. (but the claims of the company were omitted). This bill was delivered to Palbitsky for presentation to the Spanish King.

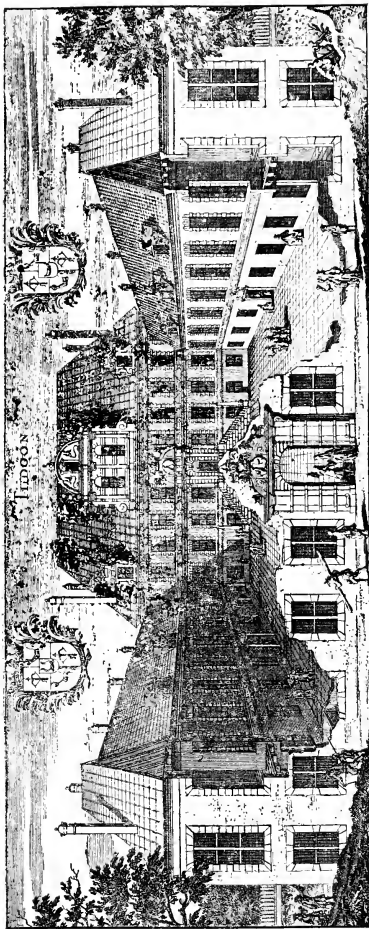
Palbitsky's mission was successful. The King took up the question at once, wrote to the governor of Porto Rico, and consulted with his West Indian commercial council about it. In the autumn he again wrote to the governor, and informed his "commercial house at Seville" that the ship must be released and the prisoners set free. But the King's letter had no immediate effect. The Swedes had by that time left the island or died; and, as there was no one to press the claims the governor would not pay it.

The matter was allowed to rest for a while, but in 1653, when preparations were begun for a new expedition to the Delaware, it was decided that one of the ships should go by way of Porto Rico to claim damages for the *Katt*. Hans Amundsson was appointed to collect the bills and command the expedition, but he was later removed from his commission, and Elswick appointed in his stead. A new estimate was made, which with interest footed up to the sum of 33,669:19 R. D. Elswick

was instructed to present these claims at Porto Rico; and, if the Spaniards would not pay all, he should accept part of the amount and leave the rest to be paid later.

Elswick arrived at Porto Rico on June 30, 1654. He was well received by the authorities, being called into the presence of the governor upon his arrival and he seems to have been confident of success. Having worked four days upon his documents and accounts and added many private bills, he presented a claim of 52,206 R. D. This was a much larger sum than the King of Spain had ordered to be paid, and more than the governor could raise. Elswick would not accept the Spanish estimates, and no agreement could be reached. On the fifteenth of August the Swedish vessel left the island without accomplishing its mission. No further effort seems to have been made at least not for a time, and in 1763 the claim against Spain had not been collected.

The expedition of 1649, which Printz was so anxiously awaiting, and which, had it arrived in New Sweden, might have had considerable influence on the history of the colony, was thus not only entirely useless, but tended to cripple the company and curtail its activity. Had the ship arrived in New Sweden, the events of 1651 might not have taken place. Fort Casimir might not have been built, and possibly Stuyvesant's expedi-



Tidö palace, Oxenstierna's country seat. From *Sveecia Antiqua*.

tion of 1655 would not have been made; for then Rising would have had no fort to capture, and Stuyvesant no capture to avenge.

VII.

As soon as news of the shipwreck reached Stockholm, the officer of the company thought of sending a cargo from Holland to the Delaware at an early date. Several thousand florins were sent to Peter Trotzig, "as a beginning," for which he was ordered to buy goods, and in September "it was daily expected that a resolution would be passed by the council of state to send a cargo from Holland to New Sweden." But for some cause no such resolution was passed and no cargo was prepared.

At the same time preparations were also begun for a new expedition to New Sweden. There seems to have been money in the treasury of the company. The *Gyllene Haj* which had been riding at anchor since 1648 was painted and repaired, but the preparations were discontinued. The reasons are not clear. Perhaps the government was at fault. Oxenstierna who was now old lacked his former activity and capacity for work, and Queen Christina paid more attention to court festivities, balls and pageants than to matters of state.

In the autumn of 1650 letters again arrived from Governor Printz, stating that he had heard

nothing from Sweden, although he had written four times. The condition of the country was good, but there was a great want of people. In November Sven Skute, who had been sent to make a report, arrived in Stockholm; but neither the letters of Printz nor the presence of Skute seem to have given much impetus to the efforts that were being made on behalf of the colony, and nearly a year passed before preparations were begun for a new journey.

In the autumn of 1651 there was again some activity in the matter. Large quantities of goods were shipped to Gothenburg, but months passed by, and no expedition was in sight. In the spring of 1652, however, the government showed signs of interest in its little forsaken colony on the South River, and on March 16 the Queen was present in the council chamber to discuss the colonial business. Lieutenant Skute and several others, acquainted with the condition in New Sweden and the doings of the company, were called into the chamber to give reports and express their opinions. Plans were then formulated for aiding Governor Printz. Colonists were now easily obtained, for many had expressed a desire to settle in America. Some Dutch had also applied for permission to settle on the Delaware, and the chancellor was of opinion that they should be allowed to do so, provided their number was not too large. It

was also suggested that the Commercial College should assume "the care of the trade to New Sweden," and its members were to present plans for the development of the colony and the cultivation of the land.

On March 18 the Queen was again present in the council chamber, and it appears that the session was considered important. Letters from Governor Printz were read, reporting that Stuyvesant had "invaded New Sweden, bought land from the Indians already purchased by the Swedes, and erected a fort" within Swedish limits. The governor also complained bitterly against "the outrages" of the Dutch, saying that Stuyvesant disrespected Her Royal Majesty's authority, obstructed the traffic, demanded toll from strangers, stirred up the Indians against the Swedes, and personally incited the freemen of New Sweden to renounce their oath of allegiance and join the Dutch under pain of being driven "from house and home." Immediate relief was therefore requested, and some soldiers with two warships were asked for to be stationed in the Delaware for two years. The first business of the council was to discuss these reports. The point to receive most attention was of course the Dutch hostilities. It seems that some of the councillors proposed to dispatch a force at once to the Delaware to drive the Dutch from the river, as the minutes of the

council say: "then Her Majesty's idea was that the States General should first be approached for a settlement." No immediate steps were taken, and the subject was dropped for the time being with the chancellor's remark "that the case was well worth considering." As may be inferred from the Queen's statement, the matter led to some diplomatic correspondence; but the Dutch representative at Stockholm as well as the States General gave evasive answers to the Swedish government, and the matter was allowed to rest.

A few days after the above conference the Queen ordered the admiralty to fit out the *Swan* for a "new journey to the West Indies." But as the ship was too old the company prepared its own vessel, the *Gyllene Haj*. The officers were active in the spring and summer, but the ship still lay at anchor in Gothenburg harbor when autumn came.

In the winter new letters arrived from Governor Printz. The Dutch pressed hard upon him. They had settled forty families on the crown's territory, and the English also threatened to appear in the river with great force. For five years he had had no merchandise to sell to the Indians, who consequently were becoming restless and dangerous. The colonists were dissatisfied and many had deserted. Water had damaged the grain and supplies must be bought from the Dutch and English at double prices. The neighbors said openly that

the settlement was forgotten and entirely neglected by the home government. On top of it all Printz was ill and indisposed to remain.

These letters introduced another period of activity at Stockholm on behalf of the colony. In May Kramer made an inventory of the stores at Gothenburg, which were ready to be shipped, and in June several expenses are recorded in connection with preparations for a journey. About the same time Kramer had the *Gyllene Haj* painted, rigged and thoroughly repaired. Disappointment, however, was again in store for those interested in New Sweden. The journey was abandoned, and an interval of inactivity again ensued. Nothing more was done the following winter, spring and summer. In the autumn of 1653 new interest was manifested in the colony and the American trade, but this belongs to a later chapter.

VIII.

During this decade (1643-1654) the company engaged in the trade of salt and copper besides its usual beaver and tobacco traffic. The copper was sold in Holland and the salt in Finland. The beaver trade was comparatively small, and only one large cargo of skins, that of 1648, was shipped to Sweden from the colony.

The consumption of tobacco increased enormously in Sweden from 1638 to 1643, and smug-

gling was a profitable business. The ordinances of the government were disregarded, and tobacco "in large quantities was secretly brought into the country by sea and land." In the beginning of 1643 conditions were going from bad to worse. In April the government published a new ordinance. Tobacco imported by others than the company would be confiscated and a fine of four öre silver money per lb. would be imposed on the owner of the tobacco or on "the skipper on whose ship the tobacco was found," in case the owner could not be discovered. Accordingly the New Sweden Company continued to be the sole importer and was to be the exclusive distributor of tobacco in the kingdom directly or through agents.

In June, 1643, a tobacco company was organized which was given exclusive right for six years to sell tobacco in any part of Sweden or its dependencies. During these years the New Sweden Company was to sell its tobacco to the Tobacco Company, which on the other hand promised to buy all its supplies from the former concern. The contract further stipulated that the Tobacco Company was to supply every locality of the kingdom and to employ residing burghers in the different cities as agents, as far as these could be found, except at Kopparberget, where it had a right to station its own salesmen and erect its own public stores. All kinds of tobacco were included under

the contract; but the New Sweden Company retained the privilege of selling powdered tobacco or snuff to apothecaries, who in turn could sell it to the public.

In June Bonnell sold about 23,000 lbs. to the Tobacco Company which continued during the next five years to buy large quantities annually. As the supply from New Sweden was insufficient, Bonnell ordered thousands of pounds from Holland. Complaints were soon heard, however, that tobacco was imported and sold in quantities, against the mandates of the government. New resolutions were issued, but the illegal importation was not checked. Finally, in the autumn of 1649, the government withdrew the privileges given to the New Sweden Company, and permitted the free importation and sale of tobacco by everyone, whether Swede or foreigner, on payment of duty. As a result the Tobacco Company was practically dissolved.

But it soon became evident that unrestricted importation of tobacco was impracticable. Tobacco was smuggled into the kingdom in larger quantities than ever, and the excise was materially reduced. It was therefore decided to restore the old privileges to the New Sweden Company. A new Tobacco Company was also organized, and fresh regulations were published. But all efforts to regulate the trade and prevent smuggling were

of no avail. In April, 1653, the privileges of the New Sweden Company were once more annulled, and the tobacco trade was again free.



Johan Printz, Governor of New Sweden. From the portrait presented by King Gustaf V. to the Swedish Colonial Society.

CHAPTER VI.

THE SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC LIFE OF THE COLONY UNDER GOVERNOR PRINTZ, 1643-1653.

I.

Commander Ridder, with his few soldiers and colonists, was quietly passing the winter of 1642-3 at Fort Christina. The new year's festivities were over. An occasional hunting expedition, the daily morning and evening prayers, and now and then an Indian visit were almost the only diversions in the monotonous life. Storm and snow swept over the territory of New Sweden on the sixth and seventh of February, and the colonists remained around the fire-places in their log cabins. But the sun appeared again, the snow melted, and all was as before, half spring, half winter, for the climate of the Delaware is generally undecided at this time of the year.

About the beginning of February we may suppose that the Indians carried news to the little settlement that ships had appeared in the river. Were these Swedish vessels or Dutch? Of course the Indians did not know. But hope revived the

drooping spirits; the vessels might be from Gothenburg. Eager eyes spied the Delaware for days and about noon on February 15 two ships plowed slowly up the river with a slight breeze astern. Every man in the fort watched the sails. There was a bustle and hurry everywhere. The news spread, and the colonists came running in from their plantations. Sure enough the Swedish colors were displayed from the topmasts. In an instant the gold-blue cross-banner was flung to the breeze on the flag pole of Christina fort, and a shout of welcome greeted the *Swan* and the *Fama*, as they passed the mouth of Fish Kill. At two in the afternoon the ships anchored in Christina harbor, and the passengers and sailors went ashore. Rev. Torkillus with his entire flock stood on the bridge to receive them, and Governor Ridder surrounded by his little staff did homage to the arriving governor, while some Indian lurking behind the pine trees on the island was watching the scene. The passengers were greeted with tears of joy, and the hand-shakings seemed never to cease. But to work, to work! There were cargoes to be unloaded and horses and cattle to be landed. Until evening the work went on. Shelter was sought for the new-comers, but some slept on the ship for want of room in the dwellings. The fires were fed longer than usual that evening, and the candles or fir-torches were kept burning till morning hours.

News from Sweden, from relatives and friends was desired, the progress of the war, the victories won by Swedish armies, what new decrees had been issued, what new taxes levied, who among the relatives and acquaintances of the colonists had been drafted and sent to German battlefields—such and a hundred other questions we may be sure were asked. And when the settlers were told of the great victories at Glogau, at Schweidnitz and at Breitenfeld, and the glorious exploits of Torstensson and Banér, their patriotism rose within them, and they were proud of belonging to such a nation and of being its representatives in the New World. But the journey across the ocean was not forgotten. The sufferings on the way from Gothenburg to Godyn's Bay were related, and the storms and mishaps of the Horn Kill were described. Gradually the night came on; the fires went out; the tired travellers were soon asleep and all was quiet.

In the early morn everybody was at work again. In the afternoon all the people were assembled in Fort Christina. Ridder delivered his authority to Governor Printz, and the instructions and orders of the Swedish Government were read in the presence of the people. Within the next few days the commissioners were busy, making an inventory of the merchandise in the storehouse and preparing for the return voyage of the ships.

Spring was rapidly approaching. The newly arrived freemen were anxious to begin the erection of buildings and the clearing of forests, and the governor desired to select the location for a new fort. For these reasons as well as to be able to make a report from personal observation, Governor Printz, in company with Ridder, some soldiers and perhaps an Indian guide, "passed over the territory of New Sweden first from Cape Henlopen unto Bomkin's Hook and thence all the way up to Sankikan." This inspection gave the governor a good idea of the land. He took notice of the parts most adapted for farms, and as soon as possible the new colonists were assigned places for clearing ground and building homes.

To safeguard the colony against attacks, however, were the first duties of the governor. His instruction directed him to build "a new stronghold either at Cape Henlopen or on Jaques' Island or at any other suitable place, so that the South River could be closed and guarded by it. He was ordered to keep the title of the territory at Varkens Kill intact and to assert the authority of the Swedish Government over the English residing there. To erect a fortress near the British settlement would be one of the most effective means of asserting this authority, and the stronghold could serve the main and additional purpose of closing the river against intruders. Accord-

ingly about March 1, a convenient spot was selected on the eastern shore of the Delaware, a little south of Mill Creek on an island of Upland (the present "Elsinburg Fort Point"), and preparations for laying the foundation timbers were at once begun. The work was rushed to such an extent that on May 6, foreign vessels were compelled to strike their flag before the fort. When the cannon had been placed in position a Swedish salute was given, and the stronghold was called *Fort Elfsborg*. It was an earthwork constructed "on the English plan with three angles close to the river," and "the carpenter made a beautiful gate to it." "Eight twelve-pound iron and brass guns and one mortar," the largest ordnances in the colony, were planted upon its walls. It was the best garrisoned fort of New Sweden and Sven Skute, next in rank to Printz, was placed in command.

In the spring of 1643 the English settlement at Varkens Kill was on the point of breaking up, being harassed by sickness. It is therefore probable that these colonists were not unwilling "to swear allegiance to the crown of Sweden" when Gov. Printz arrived. At any rate some remained "as Swedish citizens" and continued to cultivate their maize and tobacco.

Printz lived at Christina for a few months, but he had a right to choose his place of residence, and

as soon as the work at Varken's Kill was under way, he began the erection of a dwelling on Tinicum Island, and made provision for the fortification of the place. This fortress was ready towards the end of July or the beginning of August and the name *New Gothenborg* was given to it. It was "made of hemlock beams, laid one upon the other," and it was armed with "four small copper cannon." It was built near the water's edge on a high point of Tinicum, and its guns commanded the river. As it was not favorably located for protecting the little settlement on the island against Indian attacks, a large storehouse was built on the land side, in such a manner that the soldiers could hold the savages at bay from there, if the war cry should ever startle the peaceful community.

A blockhouse was also built on an elevated part of Upland, about twelve miles north of Christina, where some colonists had been given land, and Christer Boije was placed in command there.

In the meantime Fort Christina was repaired and put in a state of defence, but the armament remained the same as before. The principal storehouse continued to be there, and it was the center of activity in New Sweden for a long time.

Governor Printz also turned his attention to other matters. About the middle of April he made his first report to the government concerning the



Storehouse, (now at Skansen, Stockholm), showing the extended "balcony" and the "log-ladder" leading up to it.

condition of the colony and the situation and nature of the land. He found that "it was a remarkably beautiful country with all the glories a person could wish for on earth, and a pity and regret that it was not occupied by true Christians. It was adorned with all kinds of fruit-bearing trees. The soil was suitable for planting and sowing, and if Her Majesty would but make a serious beginning, the colony would soon become a desirable place to live in."

Printz was anxious to make proper use of this "suitable soil" and of the many advantages found there, and it is probable that land was allotted to some of the colonists as early as March. New settlements were made at Finland, Upland (Chester), Tequirassy, Tincum and Province Island (within present Philadelphia), and here the freemen labored to found new homes surrounded by fertile fields. Tincum Island was cleared and prepared for Printz's private use, and a plot of ground was set aside on the mainland for the company, where the hired or indentured servants worked.

A strange sight met the eye of the savage chief, who visited the western banks of the Delaware from Christina to New Gothenborg in the spring of 1643. His ancient hunting grounds were being transformed; his primeval forests were giving way to fields and cultivated acres. The stillness of the early morning was broken by the sound of

the woodman's axe, whose echoes, answered from various quarters, were interrupted now and then by the crash of falling trees. For a moment all was quiet, the woodman looked at the felled tree as if to measure its length, then the axe was again put into play, the branches and limbs were stripped from the trunk and thrown into a pile to be burnt, the trunk was measured and the top cut off, —a log fit to be placed in the wall of a new building was ready. Gradually the branches and other rubbish were burned or removed from the clearings, and the freemen in due time sowed their grain or planted their corn and tobacco.

Printz was instructed to plant tobacco, so that it would not be necessary to buy it from the English merchants, when the ships returned to Sweden. But Ridder advised the governor to plant corn in large quantities, saying that "one man's planting would produce enough corn for nine men's yearly food." With this in view Governor Printz planted corn on almost all available ground in 1643; but a number of small tobacco patches were also prepared, and an expert tobacco planter was engaged at a wage of thirty-five florins a month. The Swedish freemen probably followed the example of their governor, largely planting corn on their fields and but little tobacco. It is likely that they also sowed at least some grain.

The English at Varkens Kill principally cultivated tobacco.

Printz was instructed to keep peace with his neighbors, as far as possible, and to give free and undisturbed course to the correspondence already begun by his predecessor. He was to try to supply the Indians with such articles as they needed and desired, and he was to endeavor to win their trade by underselling the English and Dutch. He was to treat them with humanity and kindness, and to prevent his people from doing them any harm, so as to gain their confidence and good will. The beaver traffic was to be conducted for the benefit of the company, and freemen and others were prohibited from trading with the savages. In all this Printz was successful as long as means were at his disposal. He arrived in New Sweden on February 15. In May he had begun dealings with the Indians, and presents worth twenty-two florins, large for those days, were presented to the Minquas to induce them to trade with the Swedes, as well as to inspire their confidence. At the same time *sewant* valued at 607 florins were exchanged for 972 bushels of Indian corn, and additional gifts were given to some Indians for carrying the corn to Christina. Many other commercial transactions were made with the natives during May.

The *Swan* and the *Fama* were probably ready to set sail for Europe in April, although but a small

cargo had been obtained. Several officers and soldiers left the colony on the vessels, some, however, with the intention of returning. Printz sent his first relation, made requests for large supplies and more people, and despatched Johan Papegoja to give an oral report.

Since the *Swan* and the *Fana* carried only small cargoes to the colony in 1643, Printz found it necessary to buy cloth and other merchandise from the English and Dutch. In May John Willecox, who had been informed of the arrival of the Swedish expedition, came from Virginia, and offered a great variety of goods for sale at reasonable prices. On May 22 he sold a bark of 10 lasts burden, 2 fowling pieces, 82 yards of sail cloth, 862½ yards of *sewant*, 144 knives, 3 kettles, 15 axes and a variety of other things, in all valued at 7,224 florins. Henrick Huygen, who was now making strenuous efforts to obtain cargoes for the returning ships, bought 3,000 lbs. of tobacco from a "Virginian merchant by the name of Moore", then trading in the river. Towards the end of May a commercial journey was made to New Holland. Henrick Huygen and Christer Boije were sent there to buy supplies for the colony, and to capture several deserters. Beaver skins and *sewant* were used for the current expenses of the voyage, for beaver skins and *wampum* were the currency in these early days. Huygen's board,

1644 Juli 10

July 10 July 1644

Hans

Decheln bekendingt afgevoert door Afrekening van
 d'hooglofftycke vroom vromden west goudvinding
 ontvany en int begift hancer stadswyden linc
 nofflimenten byt goud en warden gyt goudvinding
 Jan printz en Hendrick

den cont	R ^l	Inquidend.	- 200	Op h. l. v. B. d. d.
den dito	- 2	Inquidend.	- 203	Op h. l. v. d. d.
den dito	- 3	Inquidend.	- 430	Op dijlingz B. d. d.
den dito	- 4	Inquidend.	- 91	Op h. l. v. B. d. d.
			120	Op dijlingz B. d. d.
den dito	- 5	Inquidend.	- 109	Op h. l. v. B. d. d.
den dito	- 6	Inquidend.	- 21	Op dijlingz B. d. d.
den dito	- 7	Inquidend.	- 200	Op h. l. v. d. d.
den dito	- 8	Inquidend.	- 200	Op h. l. v. B. d. d.
den dito	- 9	Inquidend.	- 200	Op h. l. v. B. d. d.
den dito	- 10	Inquidend.	- 200	Op h. l. v. d. d.
			67	Op dijlingz B. d. d.

Summa 2137

77 oxgoufde tabackspand en 2046's 88 met
 de goudnummers

R ^l	1	42	57	21	00	103
	2	43	58	22	01	104
	3	44	59	23	02	105
	4	45	60	24	03	106
	5	46	61	25	04	107
	6	47	62	26	05	108
	7	48	63	27	06	109
	8	49	64	28	07	110
	9	50	65	29	08	111
	10	51	66	30	09	112
	11	52	67	31	10	113
	12	53	68	32	11	114
	13	54	69	33	12	115
	14	55	70	34	13	116
	15	56	71	35	14	117
		13	14	17	15	

Summa - 77 oxgoufde.

Deu Afrekening warden alle goudvinding
 en goud

20 oxgoufde Inquid 7200 & taback met 104
 goudnummers

R ^l	14	20	26	32	38
	15	21	27	33	39
	16	22	28	34	40
	17	23	29	35	41
	18	24	30	36	42
	19	25	31	37	43
	6	6	6	6	6

Summa - 20 oxgoufde
 Johan Printz
 Hendrick Huygen

Bill of lading, showing the number of beaver skins and hogsheads of tobacco shipped from New Sweden in July, 1644. Original, signed by Johan Printz and Hendrick Huygen, preserved in N. S. I. (R. A.), Stockholm.

which consisted of smoked pork, bread and butter and peas, cost nine beaver skins, valued at sixty-three florins and for his lodgings at the inn in New Amsterdam he paid five skins. The sails of the bark, which had been torn by the wind, were repaired at the cost of six beaver skins. Several purchases of cloth and *sewant* were also made.

The deserted settlers could not be captured immediately, as they were in hiding about twenty miles from New Amsterdam. They had been discovered by some Indians, however, who informed Huygen of their whereabouts. There was an understanding between the governors of the neighboring colonies that deserters should be detained and returned, or at least given up when officers arrived to fetch them back. Accordingly the Dutch governor placed no obstacles in the way of Huygen and Boije. In fact the Dutch provost marshal was employed to capture the runaways, who were taken to the Swedish sloop and guarded by Dutch soldiers, until the vessel sailed for New Sweden.

In the beginning of May an English bark sailed up before Fort Elfsborg. The fort was in course of construction, and Printz was there to superintend the work. The governor demanded the pass of the skipper and the crew, and "when he observed that they were not right in their errands he took them (yet with their own will) to Christina to buy flour and other provisions from them, ex-

aming them until a maid confessed and betrayed them." Thereupon they were arrested, and an inventory was made of their goods. They were servants of "Governor Edmund Plowden", who was then in America. In the winter or early spring of 1643, Plowden bought one-half part of a bark from Phillip White at Kikitan. About May 1 he loaded his ship with flour and other provisions and sailed from Heckemak to Kikitan with a crew of sixteen people. But the skipper conspired with the sailors against him, and made for Cape Henry instead of Kikitan. On their way, however, they landed Sir Edmund on Smith's Island "without food, clothes and arms, where no people nor other animals except wolves and bears lived." Two young noblemen, having been educated by Plowden, escaped from the bark and remained with their master. Four days later an English sloop by chance sailed within calling distance of the island, and rescued the unfortunate victims. Plowden was taken to Heckemak, where he soon recovered, although "he was half dead and black as the ground." Shortly afterwards the sloop which rescued the party was sent out to look for the criminals, carrying letters, not only to Governor Printz but to all the governors and commanders along the coast. The vessel visited New Sweden some time in the summer. Printz delivered the prisoners, bark and property to the English com-

mander, and presented a bill of 425 R. D. for incurred expenses. The prisoners were taken to Virginia, where the principal instigators were shot as traitors. Edmund Plowden, although not successful in his attempts at settlements on the Delaware, gave commission to English ships to trade freely in the river; but Printz "allowed none of them to pass Fort Elfsborg."

In June and July William Cox and Richard Lord traded in the South River and sold large quantities of goods to the Swedes. Lamberton also continued his trade there, even after his plantation on the Schuylkill had been destroyed; and about the middle of June he arrived in the Delaware with his pinnace the *Cock*. On June 22, 1643, he presented a protest to the Swedes, asserting that he had bought the lands on the Schuylkill from the rightful owner, and in a second protest he laid claim to the land at Varkens Kill. It is not known whether or not Printz answered these protests, but he was soon given an opportunity for testing these rights and definitely disproving them, at least from his point of view.

Lamberton was riding at anchor with his ship the *Cock* about three miles above Fort Christina, where he was trading with the Indians. Early in the morning on June 26, as the governor came from his prayers, Timon Stidden and Gotfried Harmer brought a report that Lamberton had

bribed the Indians to murder the Swedes and Dutch and to destroy their settlements. The governor immediately set about to investigate the report. He sent Stidden and Harmer as spies on board the Pinnace, and wrote a letter to Lamberton, stating that a savage "the day before had stolen a gold chain from the governor's wife, and that the governor did entreat Mr. Lamberton to use means to get it again of the Indians." Since many savages were about to trade with Lamberton the following day, the Swedish agents desired to stay on board the vessel over night, "so that they might see those who came to barter their skins and try to discover among them the one who had stolen the chain", he being easily recognized by a "mark in his face." Their request was granted, but of course no Indian with "a mark in his face" appeared. Through a second letter Lamberton was induced on some "fained and false pretences" to appear in Fort Christina with his men. The English were arrested on their arrival and put into prison for about three days. In the meantime preliminary examinations were conducted by Governor Printz, Van Dyck and others, who tried to draw all information they could from Lamberton's men concerning the "planned massacre." Lamberton's Indian interpreter, John Woollen, was specially subjected to close examination, but nothing definite could be ascertained.

The English were finally set free, presumably on the promise that they would appear at the court of inquiry to be held in Fort Christina within a few days. The court was called on July 10, 1643, and was made up of English, Swedish and Dutch commissaries. The subject of inquiry embraced three main paragraphs: 1. Lambertson's title to the Schuylkill (being most important); 2. the English title to Varkens Kill; 3, the accusations against Lambertson personally. After lengthy examinations and the hearing of witnesses, the court handed down its decision. In the first place the court found that "four approved witnesses, on oath and by relating circumstances, had proved that Lambertson in truth had bribed the Indians to kill the Dutch and Swedes"; but since he would not confess to the charge, the court at the request of the plaintiff dismissed the case. Secondly the court was agreed that "it had been completely established from the documents that Lambertson by right possessed no place at, in or around" Delaware River. Thirdly since Lambertson now, a second time, had purchased beavers from the Indians without a commission, the court had a right to confiscate not only the beavers but his other goods and ship as well. Yet leniency would be observed also in this particular and only a double duty would be demanded on the 400 beavers in Lambertson's possession, with the understand-

ing, however, that if he traded in the river a third time without permission, his ketch and cargo would be confiscated. After the dismissal of the court Lambertson paid the duty "of twelve pounds sterling in the hundred" on his purchases as well as a few other bills and returned home with his people.

The Swedes were busy during the summer completing their cottages, and caring for their small plantations. Hay was cut in June and July, and the grain was harvested a little later. We have no means of knowing, what the summer of 1643 was like nor what the grain crop yielded; but the corn crop was poor. Printz writes: "I got as well on the one plantation as on the other from the work of nine men, hardly one man's nourishment." The Swedes undoubtedly learnt from the Dutch and Indians how to cultivate and use the corn, and it is probable that later years brought better results. The tobacco crop was fair. The English colonists at Varkens Kill, who had sworn allegiance to the Swedish crown, could sell some 2,451 lbs. from their growth of 1643, and the expert tobacco-planter, engaged by Printz, "showed good proofs of his skill."

In agriculture as in other respects the customs of Sweden and Finland were largely adhered to by the colonists in New Sweden. "Old rye", says Per Brahe in his *Oeconomia*, "should be sown from Olaf's Mass until Lar's Mass and New rye is

sown in August.”* A great deal of rye was thus put into the ground in Sweden and Finland. The grain sprang up, and the fields stood green for some time in the autumn. When the frost came the sheep were often let loose to graze on the rye acres, if the sprout was thick and long enough. The winter months covered the field with a white sheet of snow, protecting the roots of the grain against the severe cold, and when the sun melted the snow and brought warm weather to the north, the rye sprouted again.

This method was now to be employed in the colony on the Delaware. Indian corn could be planted without plowing or much work, but for rye the ground had to be broken and somewhat prepared. There were too few horses and oxen in the colony for farm work, and too little grain for seed, but the deficiency could be supplied in New Netherland. Accordingly another journey was made thither by sea towards the end of August. Henrick Huygen was again in charge, and beaver skins were the ready money, as on the former trip. Huygen bought 7 oxen in New Amsterdam for 124 beaver skins, valued at 868 fl., and 1 cow for 22 skins worth 154 fl. He also purchased 75 bushels of rye for 32 beaver skins. Some of the cattle were led across the country to New Sweden by two Hollanders, who received 5 beaver skins for their

(*) See the author's *Swedish Settlements*, I, 313.

labors; the other oxen were taken by sea to the colony on Governor Kieft's sloop, also at the cost of 5 beaver skins.

The seed and the oxen arrived rather late, and it probably took some time (perhaps towards the middle of October) before the plantations were ready to be sown. One bushel of seed is usually required to the acre. At this rate at least 75 or 100 acres were put into rye in the fall of 1643 on the farms belonging to the company. The free-men also sowed winter rye on certain tracts, but to what extent is unknown. In the late autumn more ground was cleared and prepared for fields. The oxen could now be used for skidding the logs into piles to be burnt, or for hauling the timber, and the building of houses was made easier.

In September a journey was made to New England to buy supplies for the winter. Some Dutch and English merchants also came to the colony during the autumn for purposes of trade. The Minquas and other Indians likewise bartered with the Swedes, but the trade was not large. In October the well known Peterz. de Vries visited Governor Printz and was hospitably entertained.

Late in the fall "neither Christian nor savage traders came to New Sweden." Fort Elfsborg was completed, and several thousand feet of oak planks were bought from the English for use in the stronghold, while the other forts were repaired.

Barns were built for the shelter of the cattle, and the dwellings of the freemen were improved. Many of the swine that ran wild were shot, and hunting expeditions brought in a supply of deer, wild geese and other game. Some provisions were also bought from the Indians. In December wood was cut to last till spring, and ale was brewed and other preparations made for Christmas.

The supply of food was poor in 1643, and the hard labor and change of climate was too much for the people. As a result many of the settlers were ill in the summer and autumn. Printz supplied Spanish wine and various other articles to the sick at the different forts and settlements, and did his utmost to alleviate their suffering; but one officer, five soldiers, three freemen and ten servants, besides the Rev. Torkillus, died between July and December.

The illness of the people was a great drawback to the colony, and caused the governor to abandon many of his plans. In the spring of 1643 timber had been cut and sawed at Elfsborg for a keel-boat or barge, and work was begun on it in June. The indisposition of the carpenters delayed the construction, and later "the Indians set fire to the island during the night and burnt some of the timber."

We have now no means of knowing, how Governor Printz and his colonists spent their first

Christmas and New Year in New Sweden, for on these things the governor did not think it worth while to enlarge; but these holidays were probably observed with more strictness than before and "in the good old Swedish manner." The winter seems to have been passed quietly. The grain was thrashed and ground, logs were cut for new dwellings, barns and graineries; and when sowing time came the area of "improved land" had somewhat increased.

We have seen that Lambertson and his men were unfairly dealt with, at least in their opinion. When they arrived in New Haven they complained of ill-treatment at the hands of the Swedish governor. The complaints were presented to a court held in New Haven on August 2, 1643. Lambertson made an oral relation of his experiences before the court, and accused Printz of "reviling the English of New Haven as runigates" and of trying by threats, the promise of gifts and by "attempting to make them drunk to press the witnesses to testify that Lambertson had hired the Indians to cut off the Swedes." John Thickpenny, "mariner in the *Cock* with George Lambertson, being duly sworn and examined," was called upon to testify before the New Haven court. He gave a long report of the "outrages" committed by Governor Printz, and testified on oath that the Swedes tried to make John Woollen drunk, so as

to make him confess what he did not know, and by threats of execution on the charge of treason and by promise of gifts endeavored to make him reveal something about Lamberton's dealings with the Indians.

It was decided to present the complaints before a general court held at Boston in September, and Theophilus Eaton and Thomas Greyson, members of the New Haven Delaware Company, were appointed to argue the case. Eaton and Greyson summarized the complaints before the general court, which took up the matter among its first transactions. It was decided "that a letter be written to the Swedish governor, expressing particulars and requiring satisfaction." Accordingly Governor John Winthrop, "as Governor of the Massachusetts and President of the Commissioners for the United Colonists of New England", wrote a lengthy letter to Governor Printz, setting forth the English title to the whole continent and to Delaware Bay in particular, and complaining that the English already settled on the South River had been driven away from their property or forced to "bind themselves by an oath to the Swedish Crown." The complaints of Thickpenny and Lamberton were repeated in brief, and satisfaction was demanded for the injuries done "to the allies of New Haven." "If you afford

this satisfaction", says Winthrop in closing, "New Haven will send at the first opportunity those who will treat with you concerning the division of the boundaries and the exercise of trade." Special envoys were to be sent to New Sweden to deliver the letter, and "Lamberton was given commission to go and treat with the Swedish governor about satisfaction for his personal injuries."

Captain Nathanael Turner, who apparently had been appointed to deliver the letter to Governor Printz, arrived at Christina in the beginning of 1644. The governor was greatly concerned about the matter, and seems to have called a court almost immediately to disprove the accusations against him.

The court was convened in January, 1644. A copy of the minutes (in Dutch) reads as follows: "Anno 1644, on January 16, the following case was examined on oath upon the letters of the governor of New England to the governor of New Sweden in the presence of the following good men: Governor Johan Printz, Captain Christer Boije, Captain Måns Kling, Henrick Huygen, Gregorius van Dyck, Carl Jansson, Nathanael Turner, Isaac Allerton." The witnesses called before the court denied the accusations against Governor Printz. John Woollen also confessed that he had in no manner been prevailed upon by any of the Swedes

to testify falsely against Lamberton. On the contrary he had been admonished to speak the truth and told "that, if he were found false, it would risk him his life." The other charges against Printz were similarly denied by the witnesses, and the English at Varkens Kill "confessed in the presence of the messenger" that they had not been driven off nor urged to become Swedish subjects, but of their own accord were "inclined to devotion to Her Royal Majesty." The testimony of Timon Stidden and "Gottfried Harmer, the merchantman", also substantiated the Swedish charges against Lamberton that he had promised to sell arms and powder to the Indians, an act against the laws of all Christian peoples.

Copies of this examination and court procedure as well as that of the previous year were sent to Governor Winthrop, accompanied by a letter in which the "Swedes denied what they had been charged with and used large expressions of their respect to the English and particularly to the Massachusetts Colony." Governor Winthrop acknowledged the receipt of the letters and documents on March 21, "accepting and thankfully receiving the spirit of good will and greatest friendship displayed towards the English people", and stating that he was not at liberty to reply at length, but that "a full and particular response

[could be expected] at the next meeting of the commissioners [of the United Colonies].”*

II.

The year of 1643 was successful commercially and otherwise, but the colony suffered a setback in the beginning of 1644. The Swedes lacked merchandise and the anticipated expedition failed to arrive. As a result the company sustained a loss of over 20,000 fl., for the beaver trade went to the Dutch and English, who had merchandise in abundance. The Dutch and English traders continued to visit the colony with their cargoes, but they demanded and received very high prices, as the Swedes had no alternative but to buy from them.

In March the *Fama* at last arrived with a large cargo. A quantity of cloth and stockings had been ruined, while lying in a cellar at Gothenburg, but a large number of articles necessary in the settlement were landed safely, among which may be mentioned three large saws for a saw-mill, eight grind-stones, one pair of stones for a handmill, one pair of large mill-stones, five anchors, six pumps with necessary repairs and a hide of pump leather, twelve small and eight large augers, four compasses, thirty-six blocks, two hundred and fifty

(*) For a detailed account see the author's *Swedish Settlements*, I, 382 ff.

copper kettles, several barrels of lime and pitch, a few thousand bricks, two hundred barrels of flour, twenty barrels of Spanish salt, ten hogsheads of French wine, one hogshead of brandy, several hundred yards of cloth for flags and for clothes for the people, ten gilded flag-pole knobs, three hundred pairs of shoes, two hundred pairs of stockings, one hundred and forty-five shirts, besides a variety of other goods and merchandise. Johan Papegoja, two young nobleman, Per and Knut Liljehök, the barber-surgeon Hans Janeke, a number of soldiers and a few colonists arrived on this expedition; but the population was only slightly increased, since others returned to Sweden with the ship. In the spring of 1643 Printz applied to the government for a grant of Tinicum Island. The council of state complied with his request, and a "capital donation of that place called Tinnaco or New Gothenborg for Printz and for his lawful heirs", dated November 6, 1643, was on the vessel.

Towards the end of March Huygen inventoried the stock in the storehouse. The Indian trade could begin anew. Messengers were sent to the aborigines with gifts for the chiefs and *sachems*. The traffic was so lively that 300 beaver skins were bought in the Schuylkill before the *Fama* sailed, and several hundred skins were purchased at other trading posts. Yet the greater part of the cargo

had to be made up of tobacco. Only about 5,000 pounds were available in the colony, but English merchants, being informed of the matter, came to the rescue, and offered for sale several thousand pounds more than were necessary. These merchants also sold quantities of other goods, partly for beavers, partly on credit.

But trade and commercial activities were not allowed to interfere with agriculture and other domestic duties. The old plantations were enlarged during the winter and early spring, and the forest had been removed on comparatively big areas when seeding time came. New ground had been cleared "in the Schuylkill", where a strong block-house was erected for the safety of the settlers who resided there. The block-house probably served the double purpose of a dwelling house for the lieutenant and his men and of a store house and trading post. It was located on "the island in the Schuylkill", where Korsholm was later built, "and little stone cannon* were placed upon it." Lieutenant Måns Kling was stationed there, but without soldiers, as the freemen and servants of the place were called upon to do service in case of need. As time went on several dwellings seem to have been erected in the neighborhood of the block-house.

When planting time drew near the newly cleared

(*) Iron cannon throwing stone bullets.

plots were broken, and the slow steady oxen could be seen plodding their way among the stumps, where the plough, "turning over the sod," prepared the soil for the grain, while laborers were at work, planting tobacco at several openings in the wood. Since the Indian corn failed to produce desired results and since it could be bought cheaply from the savages, none was planted this spring; and all the corn plantations of the previous year were put into tobacco. There were now three large plantations in New Sweden besides one or more smaller ones. The most important field was at Upland, where twelve men, including the expert planter, were engaged. Christina was the next largest tobacco tract, and eleven planters were stationed there, while seven men were employed to cultivate the plant near "the block-house in the Schuylkill."

Not only was agriculture improved and placed on a more prosperous footing with the arrival of Printz, but cattle and horse raising was looked after. The swine which had been allowed to run wild were partly kept in pens or herded by Anders Mink and his son. The horses were always grazed on enclosed pastures, but the cattle were allowed to roam at large through the woods in the neighborhood of the settlements herded by Sven Svensson. The sheep were probably confined within fenced areas, as it was difficult to keep them away

from the fields under cultivation, and the goats were likely chained to posts, and moved from place to place, or allowed to follow the cattle or sheep. We may assume with a fair degree of certainty that the orchards and other smaller tracts were enclosed with wooden fences to keep out the cattle, when these were driven home at night. The cattle were kept in "the barn-yard" during the night to prevent them from being lost. In Sweden the milking was done by the women, but men often did it in the colony, where they were compelled to perform all kinds of "women's labor."

In accordance with his instruction Printz also attempted to establish manufactories. Two of the three regularly employed carpenters had been ill most of the winter and spring of 1643-4, but the third one was kept busy on lighter work, and, as soon as the others were able, they made "two large beautiful boats, one for use at Elfsborg the other at Fort Christina." The boats were built near Fort Christina, where a wharf had been erected, the first on the Delaware. At this place Lauris, the Cooper, and Lucas Persson made barrels, wooden milk pails, tubs, tobacco casks "and other cooper's articles." There were two blacksmith-shops in New Sweden at this time, one at the Upland settlement and one within the walls of Fort Christina. The blacksmith Michel Nilsson worked at the former place and Hans Rosback at

the latter. These two men made new tools and farm-implements, and did the necessary repairs in the colony.

New Sweden was now on a prosperous footing. As summer approached the conditions greatly improved. With the new supplies health and happiness returned to the people, and the hope for the future was bright. The colony had been re-organized and divided into districts, which were well protected by three strong forts and two block-houses against the savages and the attack of foreign vessels.

Two sloops and two large boats were available for trading expeditions to the neighboring colonies and for the transportation of goods; and it is likely that the freemen had small boats and canoes for fishing and for going from place to place. The windmill ground most of the corn bought from the Indians as well as the grain harvested in the colony. In June Printz wrote that "Anders Dreijer was continually in the mill", and it is probable that he continued his work there throughout 1644.

Much was still wanting in the settlement, however, and Printz asked for a brickmaker, a wagon-maker, a tanner, a mason and a fortification engineer (?) besides 20,000 bricks and various other supplies; and Papegoja suggested that the company should send over more "good axes, good

thick iron spades, good hoes to hoe up the ground with and another kind of broad hoes with which to hoe the grass." But the most pressing need was for people. "There is a great cry for people, for here are few," says Papegoja, and Printz likewise complained that there were entirely too few colonists.

Several improvements were also suggested by Printz. The soldiers and servants were often supplied from the goods bought from foreign merchants, who visited New Sweden, but the governor found this system to be impractical, since the company in this manner not only reduced its profits but at times even suffered a loss. Hence he proposed the erection of "a trading place and a shop," supplied "with all sorts of provisions, small wares, cloth and other goods." "A wise and faithful man [should be appointed to superintend it], who could give them on their salaries as much [of the goods] as each one needed." The trade with the Indians could not be conducted to advantage without a supply of *sewant*. As the South River Indians were poor and had little or no "money," the Swedes were compelled to buy "*sewant* from New Amsterdam and from New England, where it was made." Here it could be bought cheaply from the savages, and, in order that the company might be able to watch the market and buy the wampum direct from the makers,



Black and white *sewant* (wampum) of the Delawares on strings. From the Heye Collection, University of Pennsylvania. Photograph used by the courtesy of Dr. Gordon.

Printz suggested that a "faithful agent" should be permanently stationed at the above mentioned places.

In 1643 the Dutch at Manathans captured several Spanish prizes valued at over 50,000 R. D., according to their own statements, and Printz was of opinion, since New Sweden was better situated, being nearer the Spanish colonies, that it would be to the advantage of the government to have a good and well armed ship in the river for the purpose of preying on the "Spanish silver fleets." Governor Printz embodied his suggestions in a long Report, and made a list of the things necessary in the settlement, as the *Swan* was about to set sail in June.

In his instruction as well as in private letters from Sweden, Printz was admonished to be on friendly terms with the natives. He endeavored to follow these directions, and he was invariably successful in keeping peace with the red men; but he had no great confidence in them. In a letter to Per Brahe he describes them as follows: "They are big and strong, well built men; paint themselves terribly in the face, differently, not one like unto the other, and go about with only a piece of cloth about half an ell broad around the waist and down about the hips. They are revengeful, cunning in dealings and doing, clever in making all kinds of things from lead, copper and tin and also carve skilfully in wood. They are good and quick

marksmen with their arrows" and above all are not to be trusted.

The relations between the Swedes and the Indians were not always peaceful. The savages had attacked the Dutch and English colonies with success in 1644, and the tribes in New Sweden became proud and pretentious. In order to impose upon them and make them believe that a large number of Swedish settlers were about to arrive, Printz "told them the whole year" that he expected ships with a great many colonists and large supplies. Finding, however, that only one ship arrived with few colonists, the savages took courage, "fell in between Tinicum and Upland, and murdered a man and [his] wife on their bed; and a few days later they killed two soldiers and a workman." "But when the chiefs saw that Printz assembled his people to avoid future attack, they were frightened, collected from all parts, excused themselves, saying that it had happened without their knowledge, and sued for peace." Peace was granted them on the condition, says Printz, "that if they hereafter committed the least offence against our people, then we would not let a soul of them live." The treaty was signed by the chiefs and likely by the Swedes, and gifts were exchanged according to the Indian custom. But Printz wrote that "they trust us in no wise, and we trust them

still less"; and Papegoja said that the colony was in great danger from the savages.

Governor Printz continued to treat the Indians with consideration, and always avoided friction during his governorship; but this was of necessity and not out of kindness nor love for them. He was a warrior with a warrior's ideas, and the best way in his opinion to solve the Indian problem was to exterminate "the Americans." Accordingly he proposed in view of the troubles of 1644, that a force of 200 soldiers should be sent to his aid, with which he would be able to "break the neck of every Indian in the river." Such a course would be no loss to the beaver trade, he said, but rather the reverse, for these Indians (the Delawares) were poor, and had only maize to sell; and it would open the way for an unmolested trade with the Black and White Minquas. It would also strengthen the title to New Sweden, for when the Swedes "had not only purchased the river, but also won it with the sword; then no one, whosoever he be, Hollander or Englishman, could now or in coming times make pretentions to this place." It is possible that these ideas were inspired by Governor Kieft, and that the two governors planned concerted action. Fortunately, however, the request of Printz for 200 soldiers was not granted by the government at Stockholm. We might otherwise

have had the bloody history of New Amsterdam repeated in New Sweden.

As a result of Indian troubles and lack of merchandise, the trade was slack during the summer and early autumn, only a few sales being recorded. The English merchants returned in the fall to collect their outstanding accounts as well as to trade, and Isaac Allerton sold fourteen bushels of barley for seed, one pair of mill-stones and a Dutch bushel measure. Other English and Dutch traders exchanged lumber and ammunition for beaver skins and tobacco. A journey to New England was also undertaken with the sloop, but little is known about this expedition.

The usual work occupied the colonists during the summer—the cultivation of tobacco, the cutting of hay and the harvesting of the grain. A good crop was laid up, as the weather was favorable for grain in 1644. About 6,920 pounds of tobacco were dried and stored. At the rate of 7 stivers per pound the tobacco would be worth 2,422 florins. As 29 men had been engaged in cultivating the tobacco, making 83½ florins the amount realized on the labor of each man, the result does not seem to have been very satisfactory.

III.

In the beginning of 1645 the traffic with the Indians began anew and in the early spring mer-

chants from the neighboring colonies again arrived to collect old bills and to sell their cargoes.

When the warm weather returned the freemen's labors of former years repeated themselves. The fields were sown with grain, the gardens were planted with seeds, and the cattle were left to wander through the woods or across the grassy meadows under the care of the herdsmen.

In the summer Governor Printz ordered the sloop to New Amsterdam to buy cattle and provisions. Nine oxen were purchased for ninety-six beavers and one horse for thirty beavers. "A pair of mill-stones for the wind mill" was obtained for two beavers, and twelve barrels of lime for one skin. In the autumn 449 beaver skins were bought from the savages at the Schuylkill, and an Indian guide was sent to invite the Minquas to the settlement for trading purposes. But the traffic could not be conducted with much vigor, as there was a want of merchandise. The governor and colonists waited for ships and supplies from Sweden, but the summer came and passed, the grain grew and was harvested, and no ships nor supplies arrived. John Wilcox, Jeremiah Clerk and Mr. Spindle relieved the most pressing needs by their cargoes, and furnished some merchandise for the peltry trade.

In spite of various drawbacks, however, the colony grew in prosperity. The windmill was re-

paired for the autumn grinding. The oxen and the horse bought at New Amsterdam enlarged the possibilities of agriculture, and the fields were somewhat increased. A piece of land, not "properly bought from the Indians," had been occupied, giving rise to disputes with two chiefs, who demanded pay for the tract. On September 20, 1645, four yards of cloth and about nine yards of *sewant* were presented to the chiefs for their claim. This seems to have settled the question, and the colonists were henceforth undisturbed in their possession.

The winter of 1645 was now approaching. Provisions were purchased from the neighbors and the Indians, and all kinds of necessary supplies were provided for the cold weather. Omens seemed more favorable than previous years, and the settlers were happier than ever before in their new home. But a month before the Christmas holidays a terrible misfortune befell the little colony. It was on the 25th of November, 1645. The governor had gone to rest in Printz Hall; the soldiers and settlers of New Gothenborg had withdrawn to their quarters for the night; the lights in the dwellings were extinguished; all was quiet and peaceful. The gunner Sven Vass was on duty as watchman; but Vass fell asleep and left his candle burning. Between ten and eleven an alarm was given,—the candle had set fire to the fort. The

people rushed out of their dwellings to save what could be saved. But the flames grew with great rapidity, the powder chest exploded with terrible force. In a short while nearly everything was consumed in the storehouse. Printz Hall also burnt down, and the governor lost property to the value of 5,584 R. D. When morning dawned on the island of Tinicum, the little settlement there had greatly changed its appearance. Nothing but the barn remained. Cold set in, and the river froze over, preventing aid from reaching the unfortunate colonists who suffered terrible hardships, being cut off from the mainland from December until March. But warmth came at last, and connections were established with the other settlements.

Sven Vass was tried at a regular court in 1646. He was found guilty by Printz and the jury, and a verdict to that effect was pronounced. The case was reopened the following year, and "on February 8, 9, 10, 11, Anno 1647, . . . a legal court was held in New Gothenborg in New Sweden . . . at which an inquiry was made about what was consumed in the fire on the night of November 25 between 10 and 11 o'clock when New Gothenborg was burnt." Before this court Vass was re-examined, and in March he was sent in irons to Sweden together with all the records and minutes in the case, and the execution of the verdict was

referred to the pleasure of Her Royal Majesty and the Right Honorable Company.

The fort and dwelling houses on Tinicum were gradually rebuilt, and the foundations were laid for a new church. The church was built of logs, and 2,000 clap boards were bought for the roof from some English in August. The belfry was probably built a few feet away from it, a custom common in Sweden and Finland in olden times. The church was fitted out somewhat in the style of the churches in the mother country. Simple decorations were used, and the alter was beautified with "a silver cloth," purchased for the sum of thirty-seven and one-half florins. A burial place was laid out near the church, probably in front of it, and perhaps a fence was erected around it. The "handsome church" was ready in the autumn. September 4 was a day of rejoicing and thanksgiving. The colonists assembled in their new temple, and after a sermon and amid appropriate ceremonies, the Revs. Campanius and Fluviander officiating, the house of worship was dedicated for divine services. The cemetery was consecrated the same day. A month and a half later "the first corpse . . . , that of Katarina, the daughter of Andreas Hansson was buried there."

Printz Hall was also rebuilt "very splendidly . . . with an orchard, a pleasure house and more such things." Churchill states in one of his

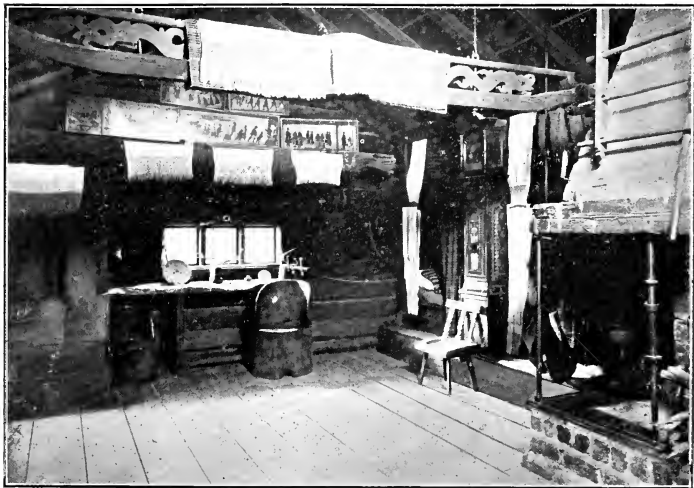


Mora house from Dalarne, Sweden. Now at Skansen, Stockholm.

novels that the bricks used in building Carvel's house were brought from England, and legends have been circulated that Old Swedes Church (*Gloria Dei*) was built of Swedish bricks. It has likewise been said, as late as 1909, that Printz Hall was built of bricks imported from Sweden. On the other hand it has been denied that bricks were shipped here at all. We have already seen that about 500 bricks were carried over on the first journey, and in 1643, "6,000 bricks together with half a last of lime were consigned to Governor Printz for the need of the country in New Sweden." A few bricks were taken here as ballast on some of the expeditions, but these were used for making fireplaces and chimneys, and Swedish bricks were in no case used for building houses. Printz Hall was built of logs. It was two stories high and so arranged that it could be defended against attack. The lumber shipped over on the *Fama* was used for the interior of the mansion, and ovens and two or more fireplaces with chimneys were constructed of bricks. The mansion had several rooms lighted by "windows of glass," and it was not devoid of comfort, we may even say of luxury. The governor's library was estimated at 200 R. D., and curtains and the like were valued at 120 R. D. (\$780, a respectable sum for such decorations in those days).

There was no cause for friction between Printz

and the Dutch agents when he arrived in 1643. On account of his troubles with the New Haven people he sought the friendship of the Dutch, who reciprocated his advances, as it was also to their advantage that the English be kept out of the river. The English had already caused trouble on the northern boundaries of New Netherland. Their intrusions in the South River tended to restrict the territory and hem in the colony of the Dutch and might form a basis for future operations of a more dangerous kind. For this reason the Dutch realized the importance of keeping out the English even with the aid of the Swedes. Printz secretly distrusted them, however, and foresaw that trouble was sure to come; but he was a shrewd diplomat, and expressed himself in the highest terms of friendship and good will towards them. When he arrived Willem Kieft protested against the Swedes, and claimed the entire river for the Dutch West India Company; but Printz in turn refuted these claims "with as good reasons as he could and knew how," and the Dutch governor finally dropped the "protesting." The two governors corresponded with one another frequently, and Governor Printz wrote to Sweden in 1644, that "the Dutch have been on friendly terms with us since I came here, especially their commander at Manhattan, Willem Kieft." Jan Jansen, the commander of Fort Nassau, was likewise on good



Interior of the *Mora house*, showing the fireplace, the clock, the bedsteads, the clothes-hangers, the carpenter's bench, and the chairs.

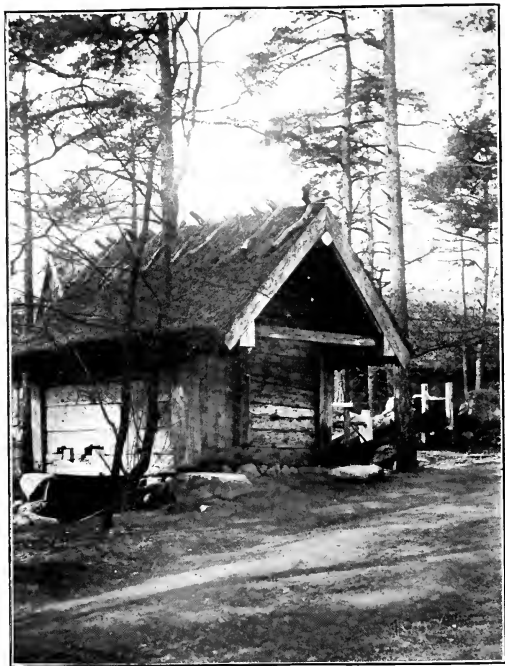
terms with the Swedes. He was one of the commissioners in the court which tried Lamberton, and he joined readily in all actions undertaken against the English.

In spite of this friendship Printz complained that the Dutch did not have proper respect for Her Royal Majesty's power. They usurped as much as they could with all authority and advantage, and carried on their traffic without restraint. They traded at Fort Nassau and on the Schuylkill under commission from the Dutch West India Company. They were allowed to pass freely up and down the river, but were compelled to strike their flags before the Swedish forts. Printz could have prevented them from passing Fort Elfsborg by his cannon, but he had no instructions to keep them out of the river nor to hinder their trade. He also endeavored not to offend the Dutch in his dealings with the Indians, and he managed to erect a trading post on the Schuylkill, where he conducted an extensive beaver trade, without exciting their ire. "At times they loosened their tongues and protested vigorously against these encroachments," but it never went beyond words. The Dutch were not strong enough to drive out the Swedes, and the two nations were on friendly terms in Europe.

In 1643 and again in 1644 the governor asked for more definite instruction in regard to the Dutch, but none were sent him. As soon as the danger of

English encroachments was removed, he observed less caution in his dealings with his nearest neighbors, but while Jan Jansen was in command at Fort Nassau the relations between the rival settlements continued to be friendly. For form's sake the Dutch commissary protested against the activities of Printz, and the Swedes went on building block houses and extending their Indian trade, paying little heed to the Dutch protests. The Dutch garrison (of twenty men) at Fort Nassau remained about the same. Jan Jansen did not try to extend the territory of the West India Company, and Governor Kieft was satisfied with the limits of his colony, giving Printz little cause for complaint.

But complaints against Kieft's leniency in his treatment of the Swedes began to be heard in Holland, and he was accused of allowing his southern neighbors to usurp the South River. Other things also foreboded a change in the Dutch regime on the Delaware. The change came in the autumn of 1645. Jan Jansen was recalled, and on October 2 (12), Andraes Hudde was appointed his successor. Hudde arrived at Fort Nassau on November 1 (11), 1645, and now begins a new era in the Dutch-Swedish relations in America. He was a more active and aggressive commissary than Jansen and Governor Kieft now showed more concern about his trading posts on the South River.



Swedish "water-mill," now erected at Skansen, Stockhol m.

Governor Printz had warned the company that if supplies were not speedily sent to Fort Christina the losses would run into thousands, but he waited, months passed and not even news came from Sweden. Accordingly the Indian trade was very poor the first half of 1646, partly on account of the severe weather but more particularly due to the Dutch traders, who had merchandise in plenty; and some deer skins and a few bushels of corn were the only purchases made from the savages from January until June. During the spring, and autumn grain and other supplies were bought from the English, and Printz sent his sloop to New Amsterdam for provisions, although he was on unfriendly terms with the Dutch. In addition the crops were so poor that it was necessary to buy winter rye in New Netherland for seed.

In spite of unfavorable circumstances, however, new land was occupied, and some improvements were made. The old windmill was unsatisfactory and became quite insufficient, when the fields increased. Accordingly the governor built a dam, and erected a water mill on a convenient place, a short distance north of New Gothenborg, "no doubt at Cobb's Creek, a tributary of Darby Creek," where the water offered sufficient power for the driving of a water wheel, large enough to turn a pair of mill stones. A miller was stationed there continuously for a number of years. The

colonists took their grain to the mill, where it was ground for a certain toll. A blockhouse was built near the mill to protect the colonists, who settled in the neighborhood, and the place was called Mölndal, "because the mill was there." A short distance south of Mölndal another blockhouse was erected at this time which was called *New Vasa*.

IV.

In October, 1646, there was joy in the settlement. The *Gyllene Haj* cast anchor before Fort Christina. The ship carried large supplies for the Indian trade and for the colony's need. Some new settlers and soldiers also arrived. These were all ill on account of the troublesome journey, but they recuperated quickly after landing. The governor had hoped to be released from his post, as soon as his term of three years service had expired, but the government could find no one suitable for the place, and the Queen commanded him to remain in the country. He had now managed the colony for nearly five years, and "these years were longer and more arduous to him than all the previous twenty-four years he had served his fatherland." Therefore, when he read the Queen's letter he "became sad, but as he saw the signature by her Royal Majesty's own hand he was so happy that he no longer remembered his former sadness." A special day of thanksgiving was ordered, and the

colonists came together in the new church at Tini-cum to praise God with a holy "*Te Deum* for His grace in having given the fatherland a Queen who was of age."

The outlook was now brighter. The inhabitants of New Sweden could prepare for the winter with more eagerness than formerly, and could celebrate their Christmas with more joy in their hearts than in 1645. Duffels, corals, axes, kettles and a thousand other trinkets and valuables were available for the beaver trade. Several presents were given to Indian chiefs shortly after the arrival of the ship, and not many weeks later Henrick Huygen and Van Dyck with eight soldiers and an Indian guide marched 230 miles into the Minquas country to renew the old friendship with the Minquas and to re-establish the trade. Rich gifts of mirrors, corals, combs and the like were presented to the chiefs, who promised to traffic freely with the Swedes and to discontinue the beaver trade with the Dutch entirely. A few purchases of beaver skins and corn were made from the savages in the beginning of 1647, and the sloop was sent down the bay "to try to trade"; but the success was small and the traffic was slow in recuperating. It was therefore necessary to buy tobacco for the cargo of the *Haj*. The sloop was sent to Manhattan twice for the victualling of the ship on its long voyage and for provisions in the colony. The prepar-

ations for the return of the vessel were completed about the middle of February, and a little later the vessel set sail. The Rev. Fluviander* who arrived with Governor Printz in 1643, and a few colonists returned home, and Johan Papegoja was again sent to the mother country at the request of the officers and soldiers to report. Printz made a list of articles which he needed, and again suggested many improvements. He requested the company to send over a brickmaker as well as carpenters and other laborers, for he had a large barge almost ready, but was forced to postpone its completion until the arrival of more skilled workmen.

Printz also prepared a long report, dated February 20, 1647, to the New Sweden Company concerning the condition of the colony at this time. The population was still very small, only 183 souls in all. The freemen had improved their conditions since 1643, but the soldiers and servants were dissatisfied and desired to go home. Twenty-eight freemen were settled on farms or plantations, but we do not know the extent of their fields nor the number of cattle, sheep and other domestic animals they had. Sixteen oxen, one cow and a horse had been purchase at New Amsterdam for the company, but two of the oxen had either died or

(*) For an account of the services of Rev. Fluviander, see the author's *Swedish Settlements*, I, 371-72.

been sold to freemen, for in February the company owned only fourteen of these animals. The cattle imported from Sweden by the company had increased to ten. As to the swine, goats and sheep belonging to the company we know nothing, but it is probable that there was a good supply of them at this time. The horse purchased from the Dutch fared well, and was used for work on the land and by Printz in going about the settlements. In the previous autumn he ran away, but he was caught by an Indian, who was richly rewarded for his trouble.

Ever since the arrival of Hudde the relations between the Dutch and Swedes had been strained. Hudde bought land from the Indians, which had been purchased by the Swedes, and traded with the savages without any consideration for Printz. In the autumn of 1646 the Dutch attempted to make settlements north of present Philadelphia. A letter instructing Hudde to buy this land was received, while the owner was absent hunting; but Hudde, who would not risk being anticipated by Printz, took possession of the lands two weeks before the purchase was made. When the owner returned from his hunt on September 12, deeds were drawn up and signed. "Having concluded the purchase, the proprietor went with Hudde in person, and the honorable company's arms being fixed to a pole was set in the ground on the extreme

boundary." The purchase included Wicacoa (Philadelphia), and stretched northward along the river for some miles. The Dutch freemen soon erected a dwelling and a blockhouse on the land; but when Printz became aware of it he built a guard house in the neighborhood of the Dutch, and sent "his quartermaster and other Swedes to tear down and destroy the Dutch buildings."

Protests and counter protests followed in rapid succession. On October 13 (23), Hudde sent a final answer to Printz's counter protest. The protest was delivered to the Swedish governor by Alexander Boyer and two soldiers, who appear to have been treated rather uncivilly by Printz. According to the Dutch the governor did not even answer Boyer's salutation of "Good morning," and threw the document to the ground, commanding one of his inferiors to take care of it. Paying no attention whatever to the Dutch deputation, he proceeded to consult with some English from New Haven, and when Boyer requested an answer to carry back to his superior "he was pushed out of doors, the governor having taken a gun from the wall, as he could see, to shoot him." Hudde's account, however, must not be taken too literally, and there is no likelihood that the gun incident has any foundation in truth. The events were reported to Governor Kieft, but nothing could be done. The garrison at Fort Nassau was too weak to allow

anything but words to be employed against an adversary like Governor Printz, and the force at New Amsterdam could not be diminished.

In the fur trade, however, the Dutch continued to have the upper hand, but when the ship arrived Printz improved his opportunities. The blockhouse on the Schuylkill, which had been built as a protection against the Indians, could not oppose the Dutch nor keep out their trading vessels. The Swedish governor therefore decided to build a fort by which he could regulate and monopolize the Indian trade, and maintain his jurisdiction against his neighbors. The stronghold was erected near the blockhouse "on the south side of a very convenient island about a gunshot from the mouth of the Schuylkill". Logs and timbers had been cut in the previous autumn and the early part of 1647, and in February the fortress was almost finished. It was called *Fort New Korsholm* as it was located on an island (*holm*, meaning island), and Måns Kling, the commander of the old blockhouse, was given charge of it. A gunner and a few soldiers were also stationed there.

Some new dwellings were built by the Swedes in the spring, and on the twenty-first of May, Printz purchased a certain tract of land from the Minquas. The land extended "on the west shore from Philadelphia to Trenton Falls and twenty-four yards of cloth, sixty-five yards of *sewant*, six axes,

four kettles, seven knives, five pounds of corals, two silvered chains, four hundred and fifty fish-hooks, besides a number of other trinkets, were given for the district. It was bought from two chiefs, Siscohoke and Mechekyralames, of the Minquas (Mantas?) Indians, and Printz "set his fence thereupon."

It appears that tobacco raising was discontinued after 1646, as it proved unprofitable. Grain and Indian corn were now the staple products, and New Sweden had become an agricultural rather than a commercial colony, due to lack of support from the mother country and the nature and inclination of the settlers. The Indian trade, which had been of small account, during the winter, was renewed in the early spring. Huygen was again sent into the country of the Black Minquas with merchandise. The good will of the chiefs was as usual bought by handsome gifts, and the journey was very successful, resulting in the purchase of several hundred skins. The sloop was sent into the Schuylkill and down to the bay, and the peltry traffic was continued throughout the summer with good profits. The English merchants who visited the river exchanged their wares for quantities of beaver skins, supplying new merchandise to the Swedes, with which they could buy peltries. An English bark valued at 200 florins was purchased by Governor Printz for 98 skins. Another jour-

ney was made to New Amsterdam to buy Indian corn, and Knut Persson was sent to New England to exchange merchandise for *sewant* and oxen. Persson returned to Christina in the early autumn.

In August the beaver trade was renewed with the Black Minquas, and a supply of maize was bought from the river Indians. It seems that the crops were poor in 1647, for in October 100 bushels of peas, 120 bushels of rye and a quantity of corn-flour were purchased from William Whiting. Little is known of the internal history of the settlement from March, 1647, until the beginning of 1648. A Christian Indian named Ondaaiondiont, from the Catholic mission of New France, visited the Swedes on his way to the Andastoes in 1647. He is said to have criticised the life of the Swedes and to have reproached them of thinking more of the beaver trade than of converting the savages to Christianity.

In January, 1648, the *Swan* anchored in Christina harbor with one of the largest cargoes ever sent to New Sweden. Johan Papegoja returned on this ship, and Rev. Lock was among the passengers. Printz now confidently expected his recall, as he had made new appeals to the government; but he was again disappointed and directed to remain, until another could be found for his place.

The supplies which arrived on the ship for the

colonists and soldiers greatly improved their comfort. Printz displayed his usual activity. New land was allotted to the freemen, and large quantities of timber were prepared at the Schuylkill during the winter months. The island of Mekekanekon near Trenton Falls was bought from an Indian chief, and three different trading journeys were made inland into the Minquas country for over 150 miles. This trade was so successful that more than 1,200 skins were obtained for the cargo of the *Swan*.

In the spring "a list of the people who were still alive in New Sweden" was prepared. It contains but 79 names including the slave, since only the adult male inhabitants are enumerated. The officers and soldiers were all anxious to return home; but the life of the freeman was more tolerable than before, and many seem to have reached a certain degree of prosperity. In May the *Swan* returned to Sweden. The colony now lost two or three of its most faithful servants, and a few freemen and soldiers. Printz sent his *fourth relation*, and other documents (all of which seem to have been lost), and on the day before the vessel sailed Papegoja wrote to the chancellor, requesting permission to leave the country and enter the naval service, unless more colonists soon arrived. The account books and journals in which the monthly salaries of the officers, soldiers and servants and

their accounts with the company and with the governor were entered and in which the sales, purchases and transactions with the laborers and savages were recorded from 1643 until May, 1648, were also sent to Sweden on the *Swan*. The account book, which contains a record of all goods bought and sold in the colony and given to the Indians in the above mentioned five years, is now preserved in the Archives of the Exchequer at Stockholm in good condition. The *Schuldtboeck* (written in Dutch) in which the individual accounts of the colonists were entered is now preserved in the Royal Archives. The book is defective, the upper front corners of the pages being moulded away and other parts being unreadable. It contains several facts not found elsewhere and many interesting details concerning the trade of the colony.

The Reverend Johan Campanius Holm, who after serving "well nigh five years with great danger of death night and day in a heathenish country among ferocious pagans," was granted a benefice in Sweden, "able to support him with his wife and numerous little children," and he returned to the mother country on the *Swan*. He has deservedly become the best known of the early Swedish preachers in America. He performed his ecclesiastical duties with seriousness and zeal, and was often "obliged without any regard to the weather

to go from one place to the other to visit the settlers with the Word and the Sacrament"; he labored for the conversion of the Indians, who came to listen to his sermons in silent wonder, and he translated the Lutheran Catechism into their language for the first time. Being a man of a broad education, he had wide interests; he made "astronomical observations," noted the length of the day, collected facts about the climate and other phenomena, and gathered material for a *Description of America and the Indians*, and was a farmer as well. It is therefore not surprising that he left a lasting memory in the settlement, and for nearly two centuries a legend was circulated "to the effect that . . . he journeyed into the country among the [savages] and made his way to Sweden by land." *

V.

Governor Printz had seen his happiest days on the Delaware, and the remaining years of his rule were full of troubles and disappointments. Peter Stuyvesant had replaced Governor Kieft as director of New Netherland. He was a man of tremendous energy, scrupulously faithful in discharging his duties and over zealous in promoting the interests of his superiors, and he was not to be accused of allowing the Swedes to usurp the

(*) For a more complete account of Holm., see the author's *Swedish Settlements*, I, 372-73; II, 560-61, 678-79.

river without a protest. He supported his commissary at Fort Nassau with all power, and encouraged the Dutch trade there.

During the winter Printz was active collecting building material in the Schuylkill. News about it reached Governor Stuyvesant, who at once ordered his commissary to settle down beside the Swedes, in case they should come to build and settle on any new and unoccupied places. Accordingly Hudde secured new titles to certain lands from two Indian chiefs, who told the Swedes in the Schuylkill to depart from their homes, as they had come there "in a sneaking way" without permission from the right owners. He also prepared to build a fort. Printz having obtained information about the doings of his neighbors, sent seven or eight men the same day under command of Huygen to deliver a protest against the Dutch, and to enquire on what authority and by what orders they presumed to build there. But the Indians were ill disposed towards the Swedes, who were unable to remove the Dutch, and Hudde "pushed forward the unfinished work and had the house surrounded by palisades." The new stronghold was called Fort Beversreede, as it was to control the beaver trade in the Schuylkill. Some freemen also prepared to settle there and fruit trees were planted near the blockhouse. Måns Kling, however, soon approached the place "with

24 men" fully armed with loaded guns and lighted matches, "destroyed the fruit and cut down the trees in front of the fort." Stuyvesant finally determined to go to the South River himself, but his journey was deferred. In his place he sent two officers, next to himself in command, "Vice-Director van Dineklage and Mr. de la Montagne with orders and commands to transact the business [on the South River] to the greatest benefit and advantage of the Honorable Company." Old titles were renewed, and several Dutch freemen were assigned land on the Schuylkill. Hans Jacobsen prepared to build there in June, but Gustaf Printz, who had been instructed to prevent him, went there and ordered him to tear down with his own hands what he had built. On his refusal to do so Printz tore it down himself and burnt the material. In the autumn Governor Printz built a log house in front of the Dutch fort, which was thus completely shut off from the river. He also gave strict orders to his commander at Fort Korsholm "not to allow any post or stake to be set in the ground and to prevent by friendly words or by force" any attempts of the Dutch at building. He also stationed two men in the river to keep a close watch. The Swedish governor was clearly holding more than his own in these quarrels. The Dutch appealed to New Amsterdam, but received no aid.

In 1649 Governor Printz bought a small district on the eastern shore of the Delaware, a narrow strip north of the former limits of New Sweden, between the Mantas and Raccoon Creeks. The commercial activities, if we are to believe in Dutch reports, were very lively at this time. Hudde writes in 1649 "that the trade in beavers with the savages amounts at present to 30 or 40 and more thousands of beavers during one trading season." Since the Swedes monopolized the trade (to the exclusion of others) it is to be inferred that their beaver traffic approached the above sum in 1649; but these estimates must be greatly exaggerated, and the Indian trade in New Sweden could hardly have reached one-fourth of the above mentioned sum annually.

In 1650 the troubles with the Dutch increased, and neither news nor supplies came from Sweden. But the year proved prosperous, as the weather was favorable to the grain. The Dutch abandoned Fort Beversreede, and Stuyvesant was somewhat uneasy, as he was aware that a ship with a large cargo was expected by the Swedes. In July, however, Augustine Herrman brought news that the ship had stranded at Porto Rico and been captured by the Spaniards. Stuyvesant took pains to inform the Swedes of the disaster. But Printz did not lose heart. At this time a Dutch vessel was in the river ready to return to Europe, offering

him an opportunity to write letters to the Queen, to the chancellor, to Brahe and to Trotzig in which he urged them to send over new supplies, additional soldiers and more colonists. He had written five times to Sweden in the last two years and three months, but had received no reply either from the mother country or from the company's agents in Holland. He reported that large territories had been purchased from the Indians, although the Dutch protested against it daily, but there were entirely too few colonists to improve the land. He had the upper hand in the quarrels with the Dutch, and had resisted their attempts at settlements within the Swedish boundary line. The freemen were in a prosperous condition and "all well except in a few cases"; they were mostly provided with oxen and other domestic animals, which were increasing and growing more numerous yearly; they cultivated the land in earnest and could sell over one hundred barrels of grain; they not only had fields of rye and barley, but also prepared orchards and planted valuable fruit trees which grew splendidly; their greatest trouble was the lack of servants and some of them desired wives. In addition to these letters Sven Skute was sent to Sweden to explain the conditions more fully and, if possible, to awaken the company and government to action.

The Indians continued to be friendly, but the

trade went almost entirely to the Dutch. Traders from Virginia and New Amsterdam visited the settlement as before, "daily offering for sale everything one's heart can desire, although at treble prices"; and in 1650 English merchants from Barbadoes came to the Delaware with their goods. In December Gyllengren in company with other officers was sent to New Amsterdam to procure some supplies there, and he purchased "divers merchandise amounting to the sum of 158½ good winter beavers."

The summer and autumn of 1650 and the winter of 1651 passed quietly, and there were few disturbing elements. The summer of 1651 was favorable for the crops, and the colony harvested "very beautiful grain besides all other valuable fruits, and nothing was needed but more colonists."

The dispute with the Dutch, however, took a dangerous turn in the autumn. Stuyvesant had become tired of the many complaints which came from the South River. Twice he had determined to go there, but each time he had been hindered. In the spring of 1651 he again had in mind to proceed in person to Fort Nassau, but urgent duties once more detained him. He knew that the forces at the disposal of Printz were small and his resources limited. It was therefore likely that a single ship would be able to restore the balance of

power to the Dutch, check "the insolence" of the Swedes and prevent merchants from trading in the river without a permit from the Dutch West India Company or from Stuyvesant. Accordingly a vessel was sent to the South River in the beginning of May. "On May 8," says Printz, "a ship with cannon and people well armed arrived here from New Amsterdam. The vessel placed itself half a mile (about 3½ English miles) below our Fort Christina, closing the river so that no ship could proceed unmolested either up or down." But Governor Printz was not daunted. He made ready his little yacht, and ordered it with people, cannon and ammunition down the river to meet the Dutch. It seems that the captain had been instructed by Stuyvesant not to provoke or begin hostilities, for when the Swedish yacht appeared "he tried no hostility against" it, but withdrew his ship, and returned to Manhattan. "And thus," says Printz, "we secured the river open again."

It was now clear to Stuyvesant that effective measures must be taken and a large force must be employed, if he were to be able to cope with the active and alert governor of New Sweden. He at once began to prepare a new expedition. He did it all on his own authority, however, without even advising the directors about it, and the preparations were conducted so secretly that Printz was unaware of his danger before the Dutch ap-

proached. Stuyvesant marched across the country with 120 men, and arrived at Fort Nassau on June 25, where eleven ships (four well armed), which had sailed around the coast, met him. To impress the Swedes with his strength he cruised with his little fleet up and down the river, "drumming and cannonading." Against such a force Printz could accomplish nothing. He manned his yacht with thirty men, and followed the Dutch, but he "did not dare to attempt anything" of a hostile character. Governor Stuyvesant sent letters and messengers to Printz, claiming the entire river by first possession and discovery and certain lands by purchase, effected years before the Swedes arrived. Printz in turn answered these protests, and presented arguments for the Swedish claims.

In the meantime Stuyvesant arranged several conferences with the Indians, and gained their good will through gifts and promises. He also obtained title to the land on the west side of the Delaware from Minquas Kill down to the Bay. The chief Peminacka, "as the present and ceding proprietor," speaking for the other chiefs, presented the land as a free gift; his only stipulation being that "whenever anything was the matter with his gun, it should be repaired for nothing, and when he came empty among the Dutch they should remember [to give] him some maize." As

this land had been bought by the Swedes, Printz at once called a conference of the Indians, who formerly owned it, and disproved the Dutch title. Protests and copies of deeds were thereupon sent to Governor Stuyvesant, but he paid no heed to these papers. Having ordered the force, which came across the country, on board his little fleet, he sailed down the river to a convenient spot on the west bank between Christina and Elfsborg, and landed 200 men there. The erection of a fort was immediately begun on a peninsula near the present New Castle. The stronghold was completed about August 1. It was about 210 feet long and about half as wide. 12 pieces of ordnance were placed on its bulwarks, and it was well provided with ammunition. It was called *Fort Casimir*, for what reason is not quite clear. Fort Nassau was demolished, and its cannon were taken to the new fort. Fort Casimir commanded the river, and from now on all traders were compelled to pay duty to the Dutch. Two warships were also stationed in the Delaware to aid the garrison in enforcing Stuyvesant's decrees. During his stay Governor Stuyvesant broke down "Her Royal Majesty's arms and pole, made prizes of Virginian barks, and compelled the English to pay duty or recognition on the goods they had sold to the Swedes for four years" past.

When the directors of the Dutch West India

Company heard of Stuyvesant's expedition, they were greatly surprised, and expressed concern about the consequences. "God grant," they wrote, "that what your Honor has done may turn out for the best. We cannot express our opinion of it, before we have . . . heard how the complaints of the Swedish governor will be received by the Queen." The directors had made some overtures about fixing the boundaries on the South River by a treaty with Sweden, but no definite action seems to have been taken.

VI.

The Dutch were now masters on the Delaware. The two warships undoubtedly returned to New Amsterdam before the winter set in; but Printz had not a sufficient force to regain what the Dutch had taken and his instruction cautioned him to begin no hostility. He made the best of the situation, however, concentrated his forces, and awaited new arrivals from Sweden. Fort New Elfsborg was abandoned and left to decay, as it was no longer the key to the river. The garrisons of Mōlndal and New Korsholm were also withdrawn. The Indians fell off from the Swedes on account of the activities of Stuyvesant. The beaver trade was monopolized by the Dutch, and the trade with foreign merchants was poor. The settlers were dissatisfied, and there were few on

whom Printz could depend in an emergency. "For three years and nine months" the governor had had "absolutely no orders nor assistance" from the mother country, and he was becoming nervous about the situation. On the first of August he made reports, imploring the government and the company to send new cargoes by the following spring. But the spring of 1652 passed, bringing neither ship nor succor from Europe.

Printz, however, made use of every means at his command. The carpenters were kept busy, mending the forts and building boats, when they were not employed in the erection of houses. A sloop had been built at the wharf of Christina for which sails were brought over on the *Swan* in 1648. It was used by Printz on official business, and the expenses connected with its construction and rigging out were charged to the admiralty. The governor had requested the company to station a vessel in the river, which could be used for various purposes; but his letters were not even answered. Consequently he determined to build a ship himself and in August, 1652, he wrote that "the ship was ready on the river except for sails, tackle, cannon and crew, that were too expensive to hire and buy here." The vessel was of about 200 tons burden, a large boat for that time, and it seems that Printz intended to use her in defend-

ing the river, as well as for preying on Spanish commerce.

Heavy rains did damage to the grain in 1652, and "the troubles were daily increasing," "but the freemen had bread enough." On August 30 Printz again wrote to the authorities in Sweden. The Indian trade was ruined, since the Swedes had no cargoes to sell; the savages showed signs of unrest; the Hollanders pressed hard upon the settlement, and the foreigners expressed the opinion that the government at Stockholm had entirely forsaken its people in the wilderness. Printz was ill and unable to exert his former energy. The Swedes themselves were dissatisfied, and many deserted. In April and again in July the following year Printz dispatched new letters and reports. Supplies and people must be sent, he says, or "the labor and expense which has been applied on this well begun work will come to nought." To emphasize the urgency of his needs he also sent his son Gustaf Printz to the fatherland.

In the autumn the situation reached a crisis, and a "revolt" arose against Governor Printz. Several colonists, who had real or imaginary grievances against the governor, presented a written supplication of eleven articles, signed by twenty-two settlers. The document states that the colonists were "at no hour or time secure as to life and property"; it complained that the settlers were

prohibited from trading with either the savages or Christians, although the governor never neglected an opportunity of traffic with these parties; the governor was charged with and accused of passing judgment in his own favor against the opinions of the jury; he was accused of forbidding the colonists from grinding their flour at the mill and of withholding from them the use of the "fish-waters, the trees in the woods, the grass on the ground and the land to plant on, from which they had their nourishment." On account of these and other troubles the petitioners said they "were obliged to send two men to Her Royal Majesty and the Honorable Company in the mother country to ascertain if they were entirely neglected . . . and what they should do, since they were not able to seek their sustenance in this country." The petition kindled the wrath of the governor. Anders Jönsson, who appears to have been the leader of the opposition, was arrested, tried and "executed on a charge of treachery on August 1, 1653." Rev. Lock was also involved in the disturbance, but for some reason his freedom and office were not interfered with.

Two days after the execution of Anders Jönsson, the governor replied to the charges. The petitioners were addressed as rebels, and their petition was answered point for point. Only the fur trade with the savages was prohibited and only

two islands belonging to the place of the governor's residence were set aside for Printz ("and this was done . . . before Kingsessing was colonized," hence they had no right to complain); "everyone had liberty to grind on the mill for toll, but at certain times only, since the miller dared not remain at the mill continually on account of the savages." Printz also denied all other charges, referring to the documents, minutes and judgments for a justification of his acts; and he was very willing to have two men go to Sweden, "the sooner the better."

But the answer did not satisfy the petitioners, who were silenced only for the time being. In a later document presented the following year, the old charges against Governor Printz were repeated and new ones were put forth. The freemen, says the complaint, were set to work on his plantations; they built his houses and made planks, which he appropriated for his own use without remuneration; they were compelled to harvest his grain before their own, and their sleds were taken from them in harvest time, so that their grain was spoiled by the rain. "Thus," continues the charge, "we have been treated more contrary to law than according to law. For example Clemet the Finn had a hand-mill together with Anders, Johan and Måns, the Finn. [Later] Clemet bought the

mill from the other Finns; and, when he got the mill, he went after it and fetched it to himself in his house. As this [had happened] he immediately made it known to the governor. Then, when Clemet came to church, on a common day of prayer, the governor called Clemet to himself before the sermon, and asked him why he had taken the mill? Clemet answered: 'the mill is mine.' Then the governor said, 'you rascal, shall you take the mill without asking me?' With this he seized Clemet, struck him firstly in the hall and followed him with blows and strikes until he fell down, and yet further he struck him on the ground, so that he lost his health through it. In addition he threw him into the church, and the day after he let him be brought into the chest [prison] at Christina, where he lay for eight days. When he had recovered somewhat he [the governor] took him out and let him do work for some weeks." Such and other equally grave or graver charges were laid against Printz, but we must make allowance. That some of the charges were true goes without saying, but the majority were undoubtedly unfounded. Acrelius gives the correct view when he says "that it is probable that the Swedes, after they came to this *Canaan* and got a taste of an unknown good, tired of such labor as was nothing

more than was usual at home, and thus conceived an unmerited hatred to their governor.”*

Printz discharged his office as governor with no small ability, but he was at a great disadvantage on account of inadequate and insufficient assistance. He petitioned several times for “a learned and able man who could administer justice and attend to the law business.” Very intricate cases came up and “it was difficult . . . for one and the same person to appear in court as a plaintiff as well as a judge.” But Printz waited in vain for an assistant, and did his best under the circumstances. His government was at times harsh and probably tyrannical, but it required a strong hand to manage the rough and unruly element. The majority of the colonists were peaceful and law abiding, but there were those who had little regard for order and law. In 1650 Printz reported that he had not thirty men under his charge whom he could trust, and some time earlier Papegoja wrote that “it was very hard for him to remain here, for he received only rebuke and ingratitude for everything he did; and besides the soldiers cherished secret hatred towards him, and if they could find

(*) Tradition of the tyranny of Printz lived on among the settlers for generations. In 1759 Acrelius writes: “Some blame was put on Printz that he was too strict with the people, made slaves of the Swedes, kept them to work on the fort and his Tinakongh estate. And although this gossip is still circulated, it can nevertheless not be looked upon otherwise than as groundless.” *Beskrif.*, p. 82; the author's *Swedish Settlements*, I, 465.

a small fault in him, they would likely murder him." Papegoja's complaints are undoubtedly exaggerated, but go far to prove that we must not take the accusations against Printz *too* literally. Very serious charges were similarly made against Stuyvesant, Kieft and other governors of New Netherland, often without foundation.

Governor Printz, however, was finding his position quite untenable in the autumn of 1653, and at last determined to go to Sweden in person to present the needs of his settlement. Elaborate preparations were made for his departure. Indian chiefs were called to Printz Hall about the end of September. Speeches were made, small gifts were distributed among the savages, promises of friendship were renewed, and Printz gave the aborigines assurances that large supplies would arrive within a few months, for he went himself to the fatherland. When all arrangements had been completed, the people were assembled in the church for farewell services, after which Governor Printz formally delivered his authority to Johan Papegoja, promising the colonists to "present himself there in person or send over a ship with a cargo" within ten months from October 1. About the beginning of October he went to New Amsterdam with his wife and four daughters, and there he took passage on a Dutch vessel, hoping to be in Sweden in about two months. Henrick

Huygen and about twenty-five settlers and soldiers also left the colony with Printz.

After the departure of Printz several Swedes applied for permission to remove to New Netherland, but Stuyvesant did not dare to accept them, before he had been advised about it by the directors of the company. Accordingly he wrote to Holland for instructions. The directors replied that they "could not see why it should be refused and denied for the influx of free persons should be promoted by all resolute and honest means." Nevertheless it was left to Stuyvesant's judgment to do what he saw fit.

PART IV.

The Last Period of the Colony Under
Swedish Rule, 1653-1655.

CHAPTER VII.

RENEWED EFFORTS IN BEHALF OF THE COLONY AND THE TENTH AND ELEVENTH EXPEDITIONS.

I.

Letters of Printz to Brahe and Oxenstierna, dated April 26, 1653, were received in the late summer of that year. The authorities were finally impressed with the fact that the settlement could no longer be neglected. The council of state discussed the colonial enterprise at several meetings, and the Queen once more instructed the commercial college to take over the management of the company. Fortunately Eric Oxenstierna, who in August, 1652, had been appointed general director of the college, returned to Sweden in the summer of 1653. He was greatly interested in the colonial work, and at once made efforts to send out a new expedition. Further consultations were held in the council, and it was at last decided that the various requests of Printz should be granted. As the admiralty was still in arrears to the company for several thousand R. D., it was proposed that the government should prepare the ships for the

next journey. The Queen agreed to the plan, and instructed the admiralty on August 13 to fit out the *Wismar* for a voyage to New Sweden. The Queen had decided, says the instruction, to send three hundred colonists and a large cargo to the South River in order that the colony should not go to ruin. On the same day the war department was ordered to supply ammunition for the colony according to an enclosed list.

For some reason "the crown's ship the *Örn* lying at anchor in the harbor at Stockholm," was selected for the voyage in place of the *Wismar*; and Captain Jan Jansson Bockhorn, the mate on the unfortunate *Katt* expedition, was appointed to sail the vessel. In addition to the *Örn* the company arranged to prepare the *Gyllene Haj*.

As prospective emigrants had not applied in sufficient numbers, due to the ill-fated journey of 1649, which had been reported far and wide, Captain Sven Skute was appointed to hire soldiers and laborers, and to prevail upon others to go as settlers. On August 25 an instruction in six paragraphs was issued for him. He should hire fifty soldiers, including those already engaged, especially such as had a trade, and he was to collect 250 colonists "of whom the greatest part must be good men, fewer women and fewest children." He was to offer the soldiers at the most four R. D. a month, less if possible, and he should especially

endeavor to find farm hands and colonists, who were willing to go without pay; but such as needed financial aid, he was to promise a certain sum, always as small as possible and in no case more than 30 D., copper money annually, until they could be settled on lands in New Sweden. He was to gather as many as possible at Västerås, sending them at once to the capital, that they might embark on the *Örn*. From Västerås he was to proceed to Värmland and Dalsland, since it had been reported that "a good many of those, who dwell in the large forests" of these provinces were willing to go to New Sweden.

The people from Västerås gradually made their appearance in Stockholm, where a number of other men who had been hired by Hans Kramer (among them a millwright engaged at a wage of 40 D. a month). Twelve boys from the building college of the city of Stockholm were also sent to New Sweden at this time. The *Örn* left Stockholm on October 8. Touching at Helsingör, Copenhagen and other ports, she arrived at Gothenburg on November 8. The soldiers and colonists were now rushed to the city to be in readiness for embarking, and the cargo was loaded onto the vessel. Admiral Anckerhjelm, who had been appointed by the commercial college to superintend the preparations for the expedition, showed great diligence. He bought most of the goods with his own money, and sup-

plied large sums to the sailors. Upon the arrival of the ship he had new barrels made for packing purposes and cabins built for the people. Disputes arose between the officers, threatening to retard the work, but his interference restored order.

In the meantime the *Gyllene Haj* was detained at Stockholm. She was not in a sea-faring condition, making expensive repairs necessary. By the middle of November she was ready to receive her cargo, however; but there was still a delay of several weeks. It seems that Hans Amundsson was greatly to blame. He had been appointed captain of the ship in August, but was old and unfit for service.

At this time Gustaf Printz arrived in the capital. He had left America on the ship *Marie* with a cargo of tobacco, and touched at Portsmouth in September. The vessel was seized by order of the commissioners of customs in London, but Printz managed to reach Stockholm, where he appeared before the commercial college, and reported the condition of the colony. This gave further impetus to the preparations, and a letter was written to Governor Printz, requesting him to remain in the country, as assistance would be sent immediately and he would be rewarded for his service.

While preparations were in progress for pro-

visioning the ships and gathering colonists, steps were taken for the re-organization of the company and the further development of New Sweden. Printz was to remain in the colony, but his request for an assistant, who could aid in the "law business," was to be granted, and Johan Rising, the secretary of the commercial college, was appointed to this position. Rising, who was greatly interested in economic and judicial questions, had studied abroad, and paid close attention to the colonial policy and commercial activity of Holland. He had visited England, and become acquainted with English economic theories and colonial views, and he had been engaged by the Swedish government to write a treatise on commerce, trade and agriculture, being considered an authority on these subjects. He was of a practical bent of mind, and a patriot whose thoughts were ever occupied with problems, that concerned the welfare of Swedish shipping, Swedish trade and Swedish colonies; and he was therefore particularly well equipped and apparently most suitable for the position of councillor and assistant to Governor Printz. Rising severed his connection with the commercial college about the end of October, and on December 9 the government issued a commission, formally appointing him to his position, as well as defining his duties and powers. On December 12 a number of other documents

concerning Rising's appointment were issued by the government, and an order was sent to the college of the exchequer, assigning 1,500 D. for his travelling expenses. In addition to this he was knighted, and a large donation of land in New Sweden was given to him. About the middle of December a lengthy instruction was prepared by the commercial college, and a memorial relative to his long voyage was signed by the officers of the college. He was to proceed to Gothenburg without delay. On his arrival there he was to inform the magistrates of the new regulations, which had been issued concerning New Sweden, and he was to prevail upon private people to send merchandise on the ship for trade in the colony. He was to have free passage to Christina for himself and ten to twelve peasants without expense, except that he must pay for their provisions. He was to supervise the ships during the voyage, and he should see to it that divine services were held, that the captains followed their instructions, and that the cargoes were well preserved. He should take the shortest route to New Sweden, and not go by way of the Canaries unless absolutely necessary.

Several other officers were likewise engaged to go to New Sweden at this time. Among these were Peter Mårtensson Lindeström and Elias Gyllengren (who returned to the colony in the capacity of lieutenant). Lindeström was appointed

GEOGRAPHIA

AMERICÆ,
eller

INDIÆ OCCID.

=talis Beskrifningh, Om den ytter-
sta Dalen In America, medh Geographiske Car-
ter och Delinationer, öfver Virginien, No-
væ Sveciam, Novæ Hællavium, och Novæ
Angliam, Væstom och västan till Novæ Sveciam, och
om den nya vorlden, Cart öfver Fort Entrepot
Siggrot, Den Indianiske, occidentaliske wildes
Contrafæctur samt Fort Christina Gulägring
af Bohndawen, samt Den Americaniske och Den occi-
dentaliske wildes grannskrivt tillstånd, Vthi 29
Capitel författat om allasunda ting in America,
som myckat sällsamme, lustige, godlige, och drott-
wilige äro till att läsa, Swilket nöffällande

Registratur,

Title-page of Lindeström's *Geographia Americæ*. Original preserved in the Riksarkiv, Stockholm.

engineer. On October 31 the commercial college issued a recommendation for him, which states that "since the bearer, noble and well born Per Mårtensson Lindeström, has humbly applied for a recommendation, having, with the consent of his parents, determined to go to New Sweden for further experience," the college presented him to the favor of the governor. Lindeström attended the University of Upsala in his youth, and was later employed as secretary in the college of mines for two years. Returning to the university to complete his studies, he specialized in mathematics and the art of fortifications, until he "was ordered to go to New Sweden."

Sven Skute, who also returned to the colony on the *Örn* was appointed "captain of the landspeople." His instruction states that he was to superintend the embarking of the people and the loading of the goods, that he was to look after the cargoes and provisions and have charge of the soldiers, and that he was to keep a diary of the journey.

Some of the officers went to Gothenburg with the *Örn*, but Rising made the journey by land. He left Upsala on December 19, and arrived at Gothenburg December 27.

The authorities seem to have feared that grave danger was threatening the colony, and provisions were made for every extremity. "In case," says

the memorial given to Rising, "contrary to expectations, Printz should have left the country, [or it should be found] that our forts on the river are captured by someone, then he [Rising] shall demand their return in the name of Her Royal Majesty, and seek in every possible manner to get them into his possession again, otherwise settle and fortify some other place in the river. If this could not be done, he should consult with the captains about what was best," and then either settle the colonists in some other place in America or return again [to Sweden]."

Before sailing Rising was informed of Printz's arrival in Europe, and, fearing that the settlement was captured, he looked about for other places suitable for the founding of a colony. "With Ankerhjelm," he says, "I have discussed the possibilities of getting a foothold in Florida. He stated that he well knows there are large tracts there which are not occupied; but, because the Spaniards are appropriating everything to themselves [in that territory] and on account of the ferocity of the savages, he [thought] no one could plant [successful] colonies there [unless frequent reinforcements were sent]. [He] therefore considered it wisest . . . to settle somewhere on the South River," in case it should be necessary to select new territory.

The *Örn* was ready to depart in the beginning of

January. The soldiers and colonists were reviewed near Gothenburg. Their passes were examined, and "persons of evil repute were mustered out and regulated." Colonists were now plentiful, and about a hundred families had to be left behind for want of room in the vessel. On January 5 the wind was favorable, and everything was in readiness; but the *Gyllene Haj* had not made her appearance. Large supplies were expected with the vessel, and it was found necessary to await her arrival, since the provisions of the *Örn* had been nearly consumed.

After long delays the *Haj* finally left Stockholm on November 23 with forty-one persons on board and a supply of provisions. Contrary winds seem to have interfered, for on December 17 the ship was at Dalarön, only a short distance from the capital. On the thirtieth she was in the Sound, where six sailors with a servant and a prisoner deserted. Four new sailors were hired, and the vessel again set sail about January 2; but she failed to reach Gothenburg in a reasonable time, the wind being contrary. On January 17, she arrived at last, leaky and in bad condition." Through the negligence of the sailors she had run on banks in the Sound and broken her main mast and anchor.

Provisions and supplies were immediately transferred to the *Örn*, which was ordered to pro-

ceed with the first favorable wind, leaving the *Haj* to follow as soon as possible. But the wind was contrary for many days, causing further delay and expense. On January 26 there was a ray of hope, the wind was turning and Rising ordered that the anchor should be weighed the following morning. At daybreak on the twenty-seventh the soldiers and colonists swore their oath of loyalty to the Swedish crown and the New Sweden Company "under a banner made for this purpose." But disappointment was again in store for the emigrants. The wind turned, delaying the vessel another week. On February 2, however, the wind filled the sails, but it took almost a day to clear the harbor on account of the ice. After two days sailing the vessel reached Skagen. Here a strong northerly wind drove her back again towards Jutland, where she became leaky, having a large hole in the bow, which greatly alarmed the passengers. "The leak was mended as well as possible" (causing much trouble on the way, however), and on the sixth they again had a favorable wind. Their intention was to sail north of Scotland, perhaps to avoid English and Dutch warships; but when they arrived "at the end of Scotland" they faced a terrible storm, which drove them back along the coast. On the morning of February 16 they had gone as far as the Straits of Dover; but the captain was confused, since he had been unable to

make observations for a number of days. He soon discovered that they were near Calais, and cast anchor there. Peter Lindeström tells a "traveler's tale from the visit": pies made from the flesh of human beings were offered to the Swedes for sale. A barber, finding it profitable business, murdered his customers by placing them above a trap door, which gave way, when a spring was pressed, and landed his poor victims in the cellar. Here they were killed and sold to the pie baker. Let those that travel beware!

From Calais the *Örn* took a westerly course through the English Channel. In the Straits of Dover the Swedes were intercepted by an English warship. Having established their identity, however, they were well received, and an English pass was given to them. They were also offered water and other refreshments, but Captain Bockhorn, being ill disposed towards the English, declined, although his water supply was exhausted. The Swedes were therefore compelled to seek water elsewhere before leaving Europe. In the meantime the wind turned, driving the *Örn* back past Dover to Deal, where fresh water was finally obtained but "at a cost of money." On February 22 their sails were swelled, but at Folkestone they encountered head winds. On the twenty-fifth, however, a favorable breeze arose, which soon changed to a storm, and on the twenty-seventh they

ran into Weymouth harbor to replenish their supplies. A contrary gale blew for several days, giving the Swedes an opportunity to see the town and recuperate after the rough voyage. They were well treated by the local governor, who entertained the Swedish officers in his castle until midnight. "One evening the city musicians also . . . honored us," says Lindeström, "with a serenade of most delightful and pleasing music, so that we had to open our purses."

"On the third of March they sailed out of Weymouth, while there was quite a good wind out towards the Atlantic Ocean." On the ninth of March they were off the coast of Portugal, where they came within hail of three Swedish ships from Gothenburg on their way to Setubal to fetch salt. Later they encountered terrific storms. Many of the passengers and sailors became ill, and several died. On the nineteenth they fortunately reached the Canary Islands. Captain Bockhorn with some of the best sailors went ashore to exhibit the pass, but he was detained over night, causing much anxiety among the Swedes. At noon the following day he returned, however, accompanied by Governor Don Philipo Disalago, who came with three yachts "and a large suite" and showed the Swedes every kindness. The governor invited Rising with his staff to dinner. When the hour for dinner approached a negro slave was ordered

to attend each Swedish officer with a sun shade on the way to the palace. The banquet was sumptuous. "I am not able to do justice in describing the magnificent treatment we received...from the governor," says Lindeström. "Although there was no meat, bread or suchlike on the table, yet the dinner was so magnificent that we had never seen the like before. . . . It consisted entirely of confections and different kinds of wine." Toasts were exchanged and the festivities lasted towards midnight.

The passengers and sailors were likewise permitted to land the following day, but when they left the ship to go on shore

"the town people collected, made a great noise, and picked up stones, which they threw at them, so that some of the Swedes received serious injuries. Rising then sent Lieutenant Gyllengren and Peter Lindeström to the governor to make complaints, whereupon he commissioned one of his principal servants to send an officer with several drummers beating the drum all round the city and at the entrance of all streets to proclaim peace, and that, if any person dared to attack the Swedes in any manner whatsoever, he should forfeit his life."

This had the desired effect, and from now on the Swedes were unmolested. Refreshments of various kinds which were supplied to them revived their spirits. The majority recuperated, "but many died in the harbor."

On March 25 they gave a farewell salute to the

Canaries, being favored with "a north-east wind." Fresh supplies, increased by quantities of fish and sea crabs caught on the journey, added somewhat to the comfort of the passengers, but as the heat increased on their south-western course violent disease broke out among the passengers, some being so affected with dysentery and intermittent fever "that they jumped into the sea. . . . Those who did so in the day time were pulled out again, but those who jumped through the port holes at night were not rescued." But "*Nulla calamitas sola,*" exclaims Lindeström, who goes on to relate that three Turkish ships pursued them for some distance with the purpose of attacking them. Every man able to hold a gun was ordered on deck, and brandy was distributed to strengthen them. As the Turks discovered the great force on the vessel, they withdrew, leaving the *Örn* to go on its journey. After the Turks had disappeared thanksgiving services were conducted on board.

When they approached the Caribbees, three weeks later, it became necessary to land, "for their misery was increasing daily"; and on Sunday, April 16, they put into the harbor of St. Christopher. After the Sabbath services Captain Skute with some soldiers went ashore to present their passport to Governor Everett, who received them well, and sent them several boats full of re-

freshments. On April 17, the officers were invited to dinner by the widow of the former governor, now the wife of George Marsh. On the following day Rising hired two horses from Marsh, and rode, with Lindeström, to the residence of the French Governor General, a distance of twenty-five miles, to inquire about the shipwrecked Swedes at St. Cruz. The governor received them very courteously, saying that the Swedes had left long before, but if any still remained they would be free to depart. When Rising returned, his people were very ill, longing for fresh food. To mitigate their suffering he bought a large ox ("for three pieces of Holland cloth"), which was butchered and roasted and distributed among them.

On April 19, they continued the voyage, and twelve days later were close to the American coast. In the morning of May 2 they entered the Bay of Virginia. Here a severe thunderstorm overtook them. The sails were quickly removed; yet the ship turned on her side with the masts in the water, making it necessary to cut the main mast, before the ship righted herself. "Several men on the upper deck were thrown into the sea and lost." As a result of the misfortunes the Swedes were delayed several days in the bay. On the fifth they again turned north with a favorable wind, but the weather was cloudy, making it impossible for the mariners to take their bearings. On the ninth day

of sailing, the captain, thinking that they had passed the Bay of New Sweden, gave orders to go south again. On the twelfth they arrived at Cape Henry, supposing they were in the mouth of the South River. In the bay they experienced another gust of wind. The ship was pressed down till her nettings were almost under water. Her masts stood, but the fore and mizzen sails snapped from the rigging like paper and were carried far out to sea.

After an unsuccessful attempt to establish connections with two English vessels, which fled from them in the belief that they were pirates, information as to their whereabouts was gained from an Englishman, who came on board the *Örn*. The passengers were now very sick, some dying daily, but the fresh water, which was brought on board, revived them a little. On May 16 they continued their journey, and reached New Sweden Bay two days later. "Here the wind again betrayed them," but on May 20 the sails were swelled, and in the evening they arrived before Fort Elfsborg, where they cast anchor.

When the commander of Fort Casimir observed the *Örn* riding at anchor before Elfsborg, he raised the Prince's flag and sent Andrian van Tienhoven with four freemen on board the ship "to ascertain whence she came." They remained on board over night, "being well treated," and

from these Rising learnt the condition of the Swedish colony and the weakness of the Dutch fort. He told the Dutch that he would demand the surrender of Fort Casimir, which had been placed on land belonging to the crown of Sweden, while they in turn assured him "that they cared not who possessed the fort as long as they were allowed to dwell there safely and freely."

As the wind was favorable the following morning (Trinity Sunday) Rising gave orders to proceed. In a council which was held on board it was decided that they "should try at this opportunity [to gain possession of Fort Casimir], yet without force and hostility but with proper remonstrances . . . of their rights." At about eleven o'clock the ship anchored before the Dutch fort, whereupon Rising sent Captain Sven Skute and Lieutenant Elias Gyllengren ashore "with three files of Musketeers" to demand the surrender of the stronghold. Commander Bicker, who saw the uselessness of resistance, met the Swedes on the shore, "welcomed [them] as friends, and brought Sven Skute into the fort" for a conference. Skute presented the Swedish rights to the land and fort, "promising Bicker, his soldiers and colonists all liberty and good offers," if he would capitulate without resistance. Bicker, however, desiring a little time for consultation, "sent Van Tienhoven on board the *Örn* with three others to request

three days delay. In the meantime Gyllengren marched his soldiers into the fort, as the gates were open and poorly guarded. "When the Hollanders wanted to use their guns," they were told to put them down again, "and thus the Swedes took possession of Fort Casimir without hostility." A Swedish flag, taken from the *Örn*, was then raised above the fort instead of the Dutch, which, it is said, "Bicker caused his own boy to haul down." Thereupon another salute was fired from the *Örn*, answered by the guns of the fort. The name was changed to Fort Trinity "because it was taken on Trinity Sunday," and Lieutenant Gyllengren with some soldiers was ordered to remain there. Twenty-one houses surrounded the fortress, some of which were occupied by freemen. The fort at the time of its surrender was garrisoned by nine soldiers, and armed with thirteen cannon; but there was no powder and the muskets were with the gunsmith.

After the capture the conditions were read to the Dutch, upon which they would be taken under the protection of the Swedish crown. "They were well satisfied with their remonstrance," promising to appear at the earliest opportunity before the Swedish council to swear their oath of allegiance.

On May 22 the *Örn* arrived at Christina. About a month and a half later the ship was ready to return to Sweden, and on July 15, the sails were

loosened from the yards, and opened to invite the breeze. The return voyage was a long and dangerous one. The ship went to St. Martin for repairs, thence to Firth, and arrived at Gothenburg about July 24.

II.

In the beginning of 1654 as soon as the *Örn* had gone to sea preparations for the *Gyllene Haj* were begun again. But matters progressed slowly, and as late as February 10 Ankerhjelm reported that the ship was leaking. The admiral seemed to have had doubts as to the success of the journey. "I know not how the voyage with the *Gyllene Haj* will turn out," he wrote; "the captain pays little attention to the ship, and each officer, is, I understand his own master, so that one will not give in to the other. A short time ago a soldier gave the mate two black eyes, on account of which I have placed the former under arrest on the crown's ship *Hercules*."

Captain Amundsson, who had been appointed head of the expedition, was finally removed from his post, as he had proved himself utterly incompetent. It seems, however, that too many duties had been assigned to him, and two men Sven Höök and Hendrick von Elswick were assigned to his post. Höök was to command the vessel on the voyage, and to supervise the ship-building in New

Sweden. Hendrick von Elswick, who had been recommended by Rising to the position of "head merchant" in the colony, was to have superior command on the voyage, and was to argue the claims of the *Katt* expedition before the governor of Porto Rico.

As Captain Hans Amundsson had private claims in Porto Rico to look after, he was permitted to go on the *Haj* with his family and two servants, promising to assist Elswick as much as he could.

In the beginning of March, definite information reached the commercial college that Printz was in Holland on his way home. A commission, appointing Johan Rising director of New Sweden and Sven Skute, commander of the military forces, was drafted in the beginning of March, and entrusted to Elswick, who was to deliver it on his arrival in New Sweden.

Obstacles of many kinds delayed the expedition. Elswick found that the ship was poorly armed and without ammunition. Time was consumed before these things could be supplied. Finally a ship carpenter and a couple of sailors were lacking. Both Elswick and Admiral Ankerhjem did their utmost to supply these wants, but days and weeks passed, and the ship had to ride at anchor, waiting for insignificant necessities. Finally, on March 31, Elswick's luggage was brought on board, the people took their oath of allegiance, and a good

wind was the only thing lacking. "But some of the people were bad", the mate was incompetent and a "rascal", and many things foreboded an unhappy journey.

A few of the emigrants, who could not find room on the *Örn*, went with this ship, and a number of soldiers and servants were also on the boat. Unfavorable weather delayed the *Haj* for another two weeks, but on April 15 she at last got under way "with a good wind." Three days later contrary winds compelled the Swedes to run into a Norwegian harbor, but on the following day they were able to resume their journey, and arrived at Villa Franca of the Azores on the thirteenth of May. Here they remained for a week, replenishing their stores of water and provisions. The seal of their letter from the King of Spain, was broken by the governor of the island, who suspected their mission to Porto Rico, and other troubles met them.

During the night of May 20 the anchor was heaved, the *Haj* was covered with canvass and the ship was soon making for America. But calms and irregular winds were encountered, and many of the passengers became sick on the wearisome journey. After three weeks the water-supply became very low, but the Swedes were fortunately drawing near the Caribbees and on the seventeenth of June they landed on the island of St. Christopher—twenty-eight days after their departure

from Villa Franca. On June 26, when new supplies had been brought on board, they continued their journey, arriving at Porto Rico four days later. Governor Jacobus de Aquilera "waited on the shore with his *Carethe* and many prominent persons, immediately sending a large boat which took ... [Elswick] ashore." The passengers and crew went ashore the following day (July 1). Hans Amundsson died on the island July 2, and was buried outside the city. The mate attempted "to run away," but was kept in irons in the prison by Elswick until the ship sailed.

On August 15 the *Haj* left Porto Rico for New Sweden. The people were well, supplies were plentiful, and all were in a happy mood; but the expedition was destined to fail in its purpose. By a mistake the ship passed Delaware Bay, and "through carelessness or rather wickedness of the mate" she was led into "an unknown passage behind Staten Island towards the Raritans Kill," where she was siezed by order of Director Stuyvesant. The officers of the ship were arrested and kept in custody for some time. Elswick protested orally and in writing against the action of the Dutch; but to no avail. The *Haj* and its cargo remained in possession of the Dutch West India Company. The name of the ship was changed to *Biemen*, and she was used "for the West Indian trade." The majority of the passengers and crew

of the ship, including the carpenter, remained in New Amsterdam, persuaded thereto by Stuyvesant. When Elswick had done all in his power to effect a settlement he left for New Sweden.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE COLONY UNDER RISING AND PAPEGOJA, 1653-1655.

I.

Conditions in the colony did not improve after the departure of Printz. Several settlers, having been politely refused citizenship in New Netherland, applied secretly to the authorities in Virginia and Maryland for permission to go there. Here they received a hearty welcome, and fifteen settlers deserted to the English colony on the south. When Papegoja became aware of their flight, he hired Indians "to bring them back"; but they resisted, "and put themselves on the defence against the savages who had been sent after them, [so that two] ... were struck down, whose heads were brought into Fort Christina." The assistant commissary, Gotfried Harmer, seems to have been the leader. He wrote letters to some of the Swedes after his arrival in Virginia, advising them to leave the colony and join the English. It was also said that Henrick Huygen played false to the Swedes. Nothing further is known of the

events in New Sweden from October, 1653, until May, 1654, except that the Indians fired Fort Korsholm.

On Sunday morning, May 21, 1654, the colonists on their way to church were startled by the roar of cannon. It was the *Örn* giving the Swedish salute before Fort Casimir! A ship had arrived at last! "Vice-Commissary Jacob Svensson with some Swedish freemen" was ordered down the river to confirm the hopes. A little later the yacht bringing Vice-Governor Johan Papegoja was sailing down the stream. As soon as Rising had made provisions for the proper maintenance of Fort Casimir he sailed up to Christina. The emigrants "were now very ill on the ship, and the smell was so strong that it was impossible to endure it any longer. It was therefore agreed that Papegoja should bring the people ashore in the morning with the sloop, the yacht and other crafts, which was accordingly done on the twenty-second. Some of the people were distributed among the freemen up in the river, others taken to Fort Christina, where they were nursed with all care." The sailors were also so sick and weak that "they could not lift the anchor nor row the boat, without the aid of the old colonists."

In the afternoon of May 23, Bicker accompanied by the Dutch soldiers and colonists of the Sandhook presented himself at Fort Christina. The

new and liberal concessions granted to settlers in New Sweden were read to them, and contrasted with the less favorable privileges enjoyed in New Netherland. The injuries they had caused the Swedes were recounted; but these would all be forgotten, and they would be treated as friends and good neighbors, if they would swear allegiance to the Swedish crown and the New Sweden Company, and become faithful subjects of Her Royal Majesty. "Thereupon all begged pardon" for what they had done in the past against the Swedish colony, "blaming everything on to General Stuyvesant," and expressed "with one mouth" a desire to remain in New Sweden as Swedish subjects. "They then took the oath in the open air with a waving banner overhead," signing their names to the documents, after which they were welcomed as subjects of the crown, and invited to join in a festive meal in honor of the occasion. Two of the Dutch were ordered to leave, as they were undesirable citizens. Another Hollander, "Alexander Boyer, was declared to be an evil and ill reputed man, but [he] had a Swedish wife. Simon Lane and Thomas Brown, two Englishmen, were also placed in the same register. There was some hesitation about these three, whether they should be accepted or not, but on their large promises that they would be faithful and honest" they were allowed to stay.

Rising, being anxious to learn how Stuyvesant would regard the surrender of the fort, sent a messenger to the Dutch governor on May 27 with a letter, informing him that Fort Casimir had been summoned to surrender according to the commands of Her Royal Majesty, and that the Dutch colonists had "repaired under the obedience of the government of Sweden." "Since this is a matter of greater consequence," the letter goes on, "than can be decided among servants who must only obey orders, the sovereigns on both sides have to settle this matter among themselves, and agree among themselves about it."

The instructions and memorials given to Rising before his departure from Upsala in December, 1653, authorized him, in case Governor Printz had left the country or would not remain, to take charge "of the political and judicial affairs of the colony," leaving the military management in other hands. Rising, as well as other officers, were indisposed the first few days after their arrival, due to the hardships and inconveniences of the journey and the change of climate, yet the day following his landing he called the officers, soldiers and freemen to Christina, and caused the orders and instructions to be read in their presence. Thereupon he formally assumed the leadership of the colony with the title of Director of New Sweden, and appointed Sven Skute and Johan

Papegoja his assistants. The new royal privileges concerning the settlement were also proclaimed. Private colonists were granted the right to trade freely with neighbors and Indians, they could buy land direct from the savages or from the company, and, by paying an export duty of 2 per cent., they could export every form of produce as well as "gold and silver" (other minerals being excluded) to Sweden and its dependencies duty free. Land bought by an individual freeman from the company or from the savages would become his unqualified perpetual property, and he "would enjoy allodial privileges for himself and his descendants for ever."

"After the sermon" on June 4, "the freemen were [again] assembled, and it was presented to them how Her Royal Majesty intended hereafter to continue the colony through the South Company by sending good and early succor." A general day of fasting and prayer was proclaimed for the ninth "over the whole land." On that day everybody "went to church at Tinicum and after the services the freemen, old and young, were called together." They were told once more that additional aid was expected from Sweden, and that the outlook for the future was bright. Since there had been mutinies and much trouble during Printz's time, it would be necessary to examine into the various charges and counter-charges

which had been made, and it was hoped that all the inhabitants of New Sweden from now on would act as "true subjects of Her Royal Majesty and honest colonists." An oath of allegiance and promise of good conduct was thereupon read to them and signed by forty-eight persons, eight of whom were widows of freemen.

By the arrival of the *Örn* the population of New Sweden was increased more than five⁰fold. About twenty-five colonists and soldiers left the settlement with Printz, while others deserted, so that the total number of inhabitants were only about seventy when Rising arrived. About three hundred and fifty embarked on the *Örn* at Gothenburg; but nearly one hundred died on the journey, and a few succumbed in the colony shortly after their landing, making the total population about the middle of July only "three hundred and sixty-eight souls with the Hollanders and all." But so large an increase without additional provisions and merchandise for the trade made the situation critical. To relieve the condition "the council found it expedient to butcher one of the company's young bulls, of which the lands' people and ship's people received one-half part each, and were refreshed by it." The relief, was only temporary, however. The illness of the people continued for weeks. To aggravate matters disease spread to the Indians, who "avoided all communication with

the Swedes for a time and consequently brought them few supplies of meat and fish." One of the first duties of the council was therefore to obtain "provisions for all the people, since they were entirely destitute, and would either die of starvation or desert. Hence it was resolved that Vice-Commissary Jacob Svensson should be sent for this purpose to North [New] England, as he had good and intimate friends there . . . On July 21, Jacob Svensson returned with the sloop from Hartford, New England, bringing grain and provisions purchased from Mr. Richard Lord."

Rising endeavored to regain the confidence and good will of the Indians. He sent merchandise down to the Horn Kill for trading purposes and distributed presents among the savages for the confirmation of the land purchase in that part of the river. He also called the Indians living above Fort Christina to appear for a conference.

"On Saturday, June 17," says Rising, "twelve sachems or princes of the Renapi, that is the natives who dwell on the western bank of our river, came together [in Printz Hall] on Tinnicum, and when they had all seated themselves," an oration was delivered to them on behalf of the Great Queen of Sweden through Gregorius Van Dyck, the interpreter. They were reminded of the former friendship, which existed between themselves and the Swedes, and they were assured that it would be for their mutual benefit to renew the old compact. "If any bad man," the speech went on, "had given them suspicions that we have evil in mind against

them (as was whispered among them), they should not believe such a one, but if they would make and keep a treaty with us, we would keep it irrevocably. Then we reminded them of the land, which we had bought from them, that they should keep the purchase intact, whereupon they all unanimously answered with one sound 'Yes.' Then our presents were brought in and placed on the floor before them, but they indicated that the presents should be portioned out to each one, which we also did. And each sachem was given one yard of frieze, one kettle, one axe, one hoe, one knife, one pound of powder, one stick of lead and six awl points. To the other followers, who were sixteen or twenty in number, some of each kind was given. When they had thus received it, some of them went out to take counsel what they should answer. [When these returned] their field-marshal called Hackeman spoke in their behalf, saying to them. 'See how good friends these are, who have given us such gifts, reproaching them that they had spoken ill about us, and at times done us harm. Now, however, they promised that hereafter they would all be our good friends and stroked himself a few times down the arm as a sign of great friendship.' " Then he expressed his thanks for the gifts on behalf of them all, "and said that, if they had hitherto in the time of Governor Printz been as one body and one heart, striking his breast [as he said it,] they would hereafter be as one head with us, grasping his head [and] twisting round with his hands, as if he wished to tie a secure knot. Thereupon he made a ridiculous comparison saying that as a *calabash* is a round growth without crack or break, thus we should hereafter be as one head without a crack." Then the Indians were asked "if they all meant it thus, whereupon they all made a cry of assent. Thereafter the Swedish salute was fired from a couple of cannon which pleased them much. Then they fired with their guns and promised that they would do us no harm, nor kill our people nor cattle. [They also] offered us permission to build a fort and house at Passayunk, which is their principal place of abode, where the great-

est number of them live, and they promised that they would keep all our land purchases [intact] . . . The land deeds were thereupon brought forth (although only some of them were at hand, the rest [being] at Stockholm), but only the names signed to them were read. When the savages heard their names, they were much pleased; but when anyone was mentioned who was dead, they bent down their heads." A defensive league was thereupon made, the Indians promising that they would regard the enemies of the Swedes as their own enemies, and that they would report any danger to the settlement, which they might by chance hear of. But, although they were well satisfied with the Swedes, "yet they remarked that they had received sickness from the ship, through which they feared that all their people would perish." Fire had been seen around the ship at night, and the savages believed that an evil spirit had come in the vessel. "A chief sitting on a table asked for a boat for two medicine men, who should go down to take the spirit away," but no boat seems to have been available. "We gave them, however, the best comfort we could," says Rising, "that the Lord God [would help them], and, if they put their trust in him, the plague would not harm them."

To further satisfy the Indians "two large kettles and other vessels" full of *sappan* or porridge of Indian maize were placed before them upon the floor, and some strong drinks, "which they love exceedingly," were given them. During the conference they were much offended because Van Dyck contradicted them, but he appeased them by praising their qualities, and they left Printz Hall well satisfied and in the best of humor.

On the morrow, which was Sunday, a sachem of

the Minquas, called Agaliquanes, "a brother of the former general," came to Christina. Presents were given to him and he promised to keep good peace with the Swedes, for they treated the Indians well, unlike the English of Virginia, "who used to shoot them to death, wherever they found them."

When conditions had somewhat changed for the better Rising could turn his attention to expansion and necessary betterments. He had been instructed to observe "that the land should be properly portioned out to the colonists, so that each one would receive as much ground as could be given to him." After an inspection of the country Rising decided that certain old farms should be improved and a number of new tracts be reclaimed from the forest. He also caused a map to be made of the river, "as good as was possible in a hurry, from the bay up to the falls."

On June 10, Rising writes in his journal: "This and the following [days] we settled the people who were well [enough] to cultivate the land." These colonists were supported by the company, until they could make a start, and were given cows on rental for half of the offspring and eighteen pounds of butter yearly. Several donations of land had been made to officers in New Sweden, but as some of these tracts had been cultivated for years, the freemen who owned them were greatly displeased. Several of the old settlers desired to

sell their homesteads in order to occupy "new lands, encouraged thereto by the privileges given by Her Royal Majesty [to private settlers]; but none of the new-comers had means to redeem them." A few cultivated farms were purchased for the company, and in the summer and autumn tenure of land was given to freemen at Upland, Printztorp and on the Schuylkill. Servants were also assigned to the estate of Printz at Tinicum Island "to guard the hall against the savages . . . , and to do all that was necessary for the fields and meadows, besides whatever else might be required."

The majority of the new settlers were assigned places between Christina and Fort Trinity along the shores of the Delaware. A few were located upwards along the banks of Christina River "in order to protect the colony against Virginia," and to lay the foundations for a "commercial road" from the Swedish settlement to the Elk River and the Chesapeake.

Several new appointments were made in the summer. The gunner Johan Stålkofta was commissioned to "prepare material and planks for the buildings, that were to be erected from time to time"; the corporal Anders Olofsson to superintend the agriculture of the colony, and the ensign Peter Hansson Wendel to manage the plantation and the clearing of the land. No special wages

accompanied these offices. "There was some dislike against the arrangement among the people," says Rising, "but for what reason could not be ascertained."

Mindful of the other paragraphs of his instructions Director Rising selected "suitable places where villages . . . as well as towns and trading places could be established." Lindeström was ordered "to divide the fields [north of and next unto Christina] into lots." The town proper was laid out into a rectangular plot (broken by the encroachment of the low lands) with square blocks and with streets running parallel and at right angles to each other—antidating William Penn's Philadelphia plan about thirty years. A map of the fort and the town plan were finished by Engineer Lindeström on July 8, and sent to Sweden with the *Örn*.

Towards the middle of July the preparations for the return voyage of the *Örn* were completed. Some tobacco had been bought from Virginia merchants, but a sufficient cargo could not be secured. "On July 15 the dispatches were finished, and, as Papegoja had in mind to go home with the ship," a recommendation to the government was prepared for him by the director. The settlers assembled on the shore at Fort Christina during the day to wish a happy voyage and bid farewell to the ship and its passengers, and in the afternoon

the *Örn* (Eagle) spread her wings, and glided down Christina river amid the cheers of the people on the bank. Rising went over land to Fort Trinity, where he boarded the ship, and remained over night. On the sixteenth he went ashore together with Madam Papegoja, (who had accompanied the vessel as far as Fort Trinity to see her husband off), and the *Örn* made her final start for the return journey.

In his report sent on the ship Rising gave a brief review of the conditions in the colony as he found them, and proposed several reforms, complaining that he was in want of potters, brickmakers, lime-burners, cabinet-makers, tanners, shoemakers, and turners, but above all of provisions and supplies and colonists. He thought it a pity that a country with so many advantages, where expenses would be rewarded a thousand fold, should be neglected, when "one often spent both property and *blood* on land, which could not by far be compared with this. Why should one not risk the expense of money and property, *without* the shedding of blood" on a settlement that "in the future in case of need, would be able to do good service to the fatherland, and become a jewel in the Royal Crown, if aid should now be sent at an early date." As yet he had made no progress in the establishment of manufactories and the founding of towns, on account of the bad health of the people and the

small resources; but he promised to do his best as soon as opportunity occurred, since there were many localities where towns could be built and several waterfalls, where mills could be erected. He was particularly planning to construct a dam at the great fall of Christina river, "when everything had been harvested and sown" in the autumn.

As a result of the troubles of the previous autumn, dissatisfaction was rife among the colonists. A court was convened at Tinicum in the summer to examine the charges against the Rev. Lars Lock and Olof Stille; but no definite evidence could be established in Locke's case, and Stille produced bondsmen, who were accepted by the court. "The great majority complained about the severity of Governor Printz," and the director, who handled the case as delicately as possible, being unwilling to offend them, requested the dissatisfied ones "to draw up their complaints themselves, which they later did."

Rising also attempted to bring back the deserted colonists from Virginia and Maryland; and, when two Swedish officials were sent to Severn in May, 1654, on a commercial mission, he instructed them to demand "the return of the proselytes." An open and general passport was issued, assuring them an unmolested journey to New Sweden, "if they came and explained their affairs, howsoever they were." But none returned.

The English continued to lay claim to the Delaware. In June, 1654, commissioners from Maryland visited Christina to confer about the boundary between the colonies. Commander Lloyd on behalf of the commission presented the English rights to the entire river, basing them on original discovery and King James' grant to Lord Baltimore; but Lloyd was no match for the Swedish director "in the noble school of argument." Rising was in his own element, in his special field, and prepared with delight a learned refutation, to which "Mr. Lloyd answered not a word."

Rising endeavored to promote friendly correspondence with the New England settlements, and wrote "letters to the governor and magistrate in that district as well as to the former Governor-General Endicott." At the general court of New Haven in July it was ordered that Governor Eaton should write a letter "to the Swedes at Delaware Bay, informing them of the property, which some in this colony have to large tracts of land on both sides of Delaware Bay and river, and desiring a neighborly correspondence with them, both in trading and planting there and an answer hereof." Upon the arrival of the letter at Christina, July 22, Rising took immediate steps to refute the New Haven claims. The council was convened and "the oldest [settlers] in the country were called together" for the purpose of drafting an adequate reply to Governor Eaton's missive. Copies of the

Indian donation of land were made, and "an attestation, signed by the oldest [colonists was drawn up, stating] that the English held no tract of land in the river by proper purchase." These documents were sent to the English governor, who presented them at the meeting of the commissioners of the united colonies at Hartford in September. The commissioners promptly formulated a detailed answer to Rising's statements, "which appeared a little strange to them." They affirmed that the New Haven people had a just claim to certain lands on the Delaware, and they hoped that "the friendship and good accord in Europe betwix England and Sweden would have a powerful influence on Rising's spirits and carriages in these parts of America."

Meanwhile the New Haven proprietors continued their activity, holding several meetings about their claims, and sent agents and commissioners to inspect the country and to treat with the Swedes directly, but their efforts were in vain, and ten years were to pass before the English could obtain a foothold on the South River.

The defence of the country was naturally one of the first concerns of Rising. Since Fort Trinity was the key to the river, its old ramparts were greatly strengthened, and new walls were erected. Four fourteen pound metal cannon, which had been taken from the *Örn*, were placed behind an



"Swedish log cabin" situated "on the west bank of Darby creek about a quarter of a mile above Clifton." The above (built in the 18th century) shows many characteristics to be found in the log cabins erected by the Swedes and Finns in their native country; the extension of the second story, "the porch-roof," etc.

entrenchment constructed before the palisade on the river side, and balls, lead, powder and other ammunition to the value of 92 D. were stored in the magazine of the fort. Captain Sven Skute assisted by former Commander Bicker, worked all summer on the fortifications with twenty men. "Fort Christina, being in a state of entire delapidation," was also repaired by the freemen and soldiers.

As Rising was to occupy Papegoja's dwelling, which had been bought for the company, Madam Papegoja "went up to Tinicum with her children and household in a little sloop," and settled on her father's estate. The ale house at Tinicum, "daily robbed of doors and clapboards by the savages, was brought to Christina on the keel boat, where it was erected outside of the fort . . . for an inn." A cellar was dug in Christina, and masoned with stone, and a warehouse purchased from Papegoja was placed above it.

On September 5, Rising entered in his journal:

"Five freemen from Kingsessing and some others . . . repaired the [principal] dwelling in Fort Christina (the sill and five logs being decayed in the corner . . .), and covered the whole building below with planks, in order that the house would not rot from water. Later they built the provision-house five rounds [of logs] higher, covered it with boards and protected it below with planks; and dug around the storehouse, which was likewise cased with planks on account of the water. Lastly they removed the roof of the bathhouse . . . raised the

walls four rounds [of logs] higher, [so as to make it useful] for a smokehouse of meat and fish, and made a porch before it of planks."

The other dwellings in the fort were likewise repaired, and four clapboard rooms were made to provide more space for the people.

In the autumn the lots near Fort Christina were more accurately measured off, and plans were projected for the building of a village, "since there was little room in the fortress." This was to be the staple town of the colony, and skilled workmen, such as shoemakers, blacksmiths, carpenters and the like were to reside there.* Factories of various kinds were to be founded and the harbor was to be improved and enlarged, so that it could meet the new conditions, and maintain itself for all times, as the principal commercial port of the country. Several men were appointed to "cut timber on the eastern bank" of the Delaware (almost opposite Tinicum Island) under the direction of Johan Stålkofsta, "and later they brought a little timber raft to Fort Christina." Soon "some of the settlers commenced to build manors and houses on their lots." A plot was also prepared for an orchard, a sort of a park, "planted with fruit trees and surrounded with palisades."

(*) See above, p. 33ff.

The city thus begun was called Christinchamn, the forerunner of present Wilmington.

A great many Indian chiefs visited the Swedish fortress during the summer, and several conferences were held with them. Some of the old land purchases were renewed, and a number of Indians from the eastern bank promised to supply the Swedes with great quantities of hops. A certain sachem "by the name of Mister, who pledged himself to gather all the hops that grew along the river," and deliver them to Rising, was given some gifts and a bag in which to carry the hops; but he never returned the sack nor did he bring any hops to the fort.

The usual commercial relations were established with the savages in the fall. The sloops were sent up and down the river to fetch hops and to purchase provisions, and over a thousand bushels of Indian corn and several bushels of beans were bought. Twenty bushels of maize and a few deer skins were presented to Rising as a gift from the sachems. Jacob Svensson, although he had been ill several times during the summer, was very successful in his transactions with the Indians and in December we find him buying deer meat from the savages "for frieze, powder and lead."

The needs of the country and the failure of new supplies to arrive made the purchasing of provisions from the neighbors imperative. On Sep-

tember 24 Richard Lord from Hartford arrived at Christina "with a cargo of provisions and other goods." He also delivered letters from Elswick, which told the sad story that the *Haj*, the one hope of the colony in its want and distress, had been captured. "It was a special injury to us," says Rising in his journal, "and a blow not easily repaired." As Lord undertook to transmit letters to Sweden via England, the director made his second report "to the commercial college, in which he related their weak condition and the pressing necessity of relief."

We have seen that the settlers were well supplied with cattle, when Printz departed from the colony, but with the arrival of the new expedition the domestic animals became too few in proportion to the number of freemen. When the English from Virginia visited Christina in the summer a contract for the delivery of a number of cows was made with them. Theodore Ringold from Maryland desired to buy five or six mares, but so large a number could not be spared. The Swedish council agreed, however, to exchange two mares with him for four cows that were with calf. In like manner Marsh, "the richest man in his colony," promised to send over ten cows, when Ringold delivered his. Through these purchases the value of a cow in New Sweden fell about 50 per cent.

On the last day of September a messenger from

Elswick appeared with the commissions, which appointed Rising director of the colony and Sven Skute commander of the forts. Three days later these papers were read to the people, who were assembled at a court in Fort Christina. It seems that Rising and his council now took a bright view of the situation, as they soon provided for the re-organization of the internal government of the settlement and the adoption of a constitution or rule of conduct. "On October 27 the best men of the colony were called together at Fort Christina, and an *ordinance* was drafted." The ordinance was proclaimed among the Swedes and Dutch, "but it could not be enforced and followed, before aid would arrive from the fatherland."

About the end of November a boat with provisions and people was sent up to [Trenton] falls to meet Hendrick von Elswick, who was expected overland from New Amsterdam. On November 30 he arrived at Christina in company with Sven Höök, a servant, a secretary and a soldier. The account books, bills and the like were now turned over to Elswick, who was given charge of the store-house in the fort.

In the autumn the council issued an order "that every freeman [at the Sandhook] should enclose his plantation, and watch his cattle that they did no damage to others, on penalty of punishment." Orders for the clearing of certain lands were like-

wise given to the freemen. "The field at Fort Christina was ploughed, and manure was brought upon it . . . The land across Christina River [opposite the fort, called the low-land], was cleared and sown with wheat" by some freemen, who were to have one-third of the crop for their labor. Horses and oxen were taken to the Sandhook for the ploughing and cultivation of certain farms, which had been forfeited to the company by Dutch colonists. In October, November and December "the new freemen were ordered to clear their lands at various places, for the purpose of planting maize in the coming spring; and several fields at Sandhook, at Fort Christina and up at the [Christina] River were cleared and sown for the benefit of the company with the grain which Mr. Lord had brought in . . . A pair of young oxen belonging to the company was assigned to Måns Månsson, the Finn, who had rented a farm at Upland . . . Some old freemen were also ordered to help with their oxen, so that sufficient land was cleared for the sowing of about sixty to seventy bushels (about seventy to eighty acres), part of it being sown with wheat, the other part to be planted with maize in the spring. Various kinds of fruit trees were also planted in the autumn both by Rising and the freemen.

Director Rising had received a grant of land in the colony large enough for the settlement of

twenty to thirty peasants; but it was located at Fort Trinity, "somewhat remote from Christina, so that he could not superintend it daily," and he therefore requested a grant on Timber Island instead of it. He did not wait for an answer from Sweden, but proceeded to clear it off at his own expense with the assistance of the officers and servants. Then he "caused a house with two stories to be built thereon and a dwelling as well as a cellar below it."

The mill-dam and mill were repaired, and towards the end of October Rising went up to Naaman's Kill "in company with several good men," where he found "a serviceable little waterfall for a sawmill." Such a mill, able to supply the needs of the country and produce lumber for export, had been planned by Printz. Now it could be erected, as saw-blades had been imported on the *Örn*; but the director decided to wait until the following spring.

A great calamity threatened the colony in the fall. A fire broke out in Christina one night, endangering the entire fort; but it was fortunately extinguished without loss of property or life. A little later a storm of tremendous velocity accompanied by "an exceptionally high flood" damaged Fort Trinity, "washing away the wall up to the palisades."

As winter approached the dwellings were

thoroughly repaired, and the old barns were improved, while new ones were built, for indications pointed to a cold season. Large stores of Indian corn and game were purchased from the aborigines, and other provisions made for the winter. The new-comers were now somewhat acclimatized. They had erected their log cabins, which gave them sufficient shelter, and they had learnt many new customs and usages from the old settlers.

Regular religious services were continued in the church at Tinicum. Holidays and daily prayers were observed as before, and special days of fasting and prayer were proclaimed. Rising suggested plans for building schools and churches and for meeting the expenses "of the congregations." He recommended that tithes of grain and cattle be paid, "willingly by the people . . ., the half part of it to be used for the salaries of the preachers and the other half part for the erection and support of a school building and a church." Rev. Lars Lock was alone in the colony from 1649 until 1654. But two new preachers, Matthias Nertunius and Peter Hjort arrived with the *Örn*. Rev. Nertunius, who was assigned to Upland, where he lived on a tract of cleared land belonging to the company, conducted services at Tinicum. He "was indeed the best" preacher in the colony at this period, and Rising proposed to the government that the land "at Upland on which he lived

[large enough for the sowing] of twenty or thirty bushels of seed, should be given [to him] for a parsonage with the few houses there . . . , in which case he would need no other salary from the company." Peter L. Hjort was stationed at Fort Trinity, where he preached, until the capture of the stronghold by the Dutch; but, as he was "a preacher worldly and spiritually poor," his labors were probably of small result. It seems that Rev. Lock was transferred to Christina in the summer of 1654. Since he had been accused of mutiny, Rising decided to send him to Sweden on the *Örn* "to defend and free himself"; but he became severely ill, when the ship was about to sail, and the charges against him seem to have been dropped.

"The poor are always with us," and they were not absent from New Sweden. During the governorship of Printz "Karin the Finnish woman" was compelled to beg for the support of herself and her children and perhaps others were reduced to similar circumstances. Rising established a charity fund and appointed "the preacher" (probably Nertunius) to distribute food and clothing according to the needs of the poor. The colonists were invited to contribute to the fund, and one of the blacksmiths gave 19:15 florins to the "poor account." "The children of Paul Malich, the little Pole, the blind Kirstin with her two child-

ren," Anders . . ., Per Paulsson's mother and the daughter of Klas Johansson are especially numerated among those receiving aid, and food, clothes, shoes and other articles were given to them. The accounts were kept by Elswick in a special book, not known to exist, but they were also entered in the general *Schuldt und Cargason Buch*.

Slavery was not employed to any extent by the settlers. The slave brought to Christina in 1639 lived for many years, but beyond this single case, there is no definite record of slaves in New Sweden. Lars Svartz (Lars the Black) might have been a negro slave, but it is more likely that *Svartz* simply referred to his complexion as *Snöhvít* (*Snow-white*) in the case of Jöran Kyn.

The winter of 1654-55 became so severe that the river froze over, and when the ice broke in January Christina Kill rose far above its usual level. The heavy flood carried the ice down towards the fort, "a large part of which would have been swept away had not the new palisades prevented it," and the sloop lying on the bank was carried far up on the land. In February warm and pleasant weather returned, causing the ice to disappear. During the winter the colony was disturbed by the savages. A certain tribe became restless, "killed a woman not far from Fort Christina . . ., and stole what they could get hold of. Later they

promised to make it good, but gave no more than ten yards of *sewant* as an indemnity.”

Director Rising exhibited an unusual activity, and almost the entire male population of New Sweden was engaged in clearing the forests in January, February and March. The settlers occasionally made use of a peculiar means of removing the forest, the so-called *svedjebruket* (agriculture by burning). The method was very old both in Sweden and Finland, being referred to in the *Kalevala* as well as by old Scandinavian writers. It has been employed by the American Indians and other primitive peoples. The old Romans made use of it, and the Swedes, Finns, Swiss, Germans and other Europeans have preserved the method down to our present day.

The *svedging* or burning served two purposes, it cleared away the forest and produced a splendid fertilizer. When a tract of wooded land was to be made into field by this means, the trees were felled in a certain order and allowed to dry for about a year, when the branches were removed from the trunks, and all useful timber was cut into logs. The following summer the branches and trees were burnt; “among the Finns,” after certain incantations had been read. Men and women dressed in their poorest clothes superintended the burning, and saw to it that every part of the surface was singed. In the autumn or some weeks after the

burning, rye was sown in the ashes among the stumps and the large tree trunks, that had not been removed or that would not burn. When the crop had been harvested all the trunks and logs were rolled or carried into piles to be burnt. The ground was then prepared more carefully, and grain (oats, rye or wheat) was again sown. Soil that had thus been enriched with ashes through burning, could bear good crops for five or six years without manuring or new burning. Hence logs, branches and the like were sometimes carried from the woods, and spread over the old fields. When these had been burnt, grain was sown as before.

In Sweden and Finland this method became so common during the seventeenth century, that ordinances were passed against it by the government, and many Finns were sent to New Sweden for violating the laws forbidding the practice. The Finns, and in some cases the Swedes, continued the *svedging* (burning) on the South River, and several tracts were thus cleared in 1654-55.

When spring came the improved land of New Sweden was large enough to support the people, but the winter frost ruined the grain, which had been sown in the autumn. There was no corn in the colony for a new seeding, but Richard Lord promised to supply the want. As he arrived rather late, however, the old fields were planted



Storehouses in Finland. Near the corner to the right of the central storehouse is a harrow, made of "long wooden teeth," and to the left is the sled loaded with hay. R.

with tobacco in March and April, and many new plots were prepared.

About the beginning of May Isaac Allerton was in New Sweden with his skipper Michel Tentor. He sold a hogshead of French wine, twenty-six cups and saucers, one hundred pounds of butter, forty pairs of shoes, twenty-three undershirts, several gallons of vinegar, a quantity of hops and a variety of other goods. On May 7 Skipper William King sold three hundred and twenty yards of frieze for 1,144 florins. The two bills were paid for by drafts, one due in three months from date, the other in August. A few days later Richard Lord finally came to Christina with his ketch and a cargo, "consisting of grain, fish, cloth, clothes, salt, hops, bread, meat and other goods." His prices were exorbitant, but, as the Swedes were in extreme need, they contracted a purchase. He would not sell the merchandise on the same terms as formerly, and also presented some old bills for payment. Finally he accepted a draft for the amount of the new purchase, drawn on the commercial college to be cashed one month after sight. Eight per cent. were to be paid him on the new as well as on the old debt, and all damages, which he would suffer as a result of the bills not being settled before August, were assumed by Rising. About the same time Thomas Sanford from Boston arrived at Christina with a quantity of

bread, dried meat, brandy, salt and other things which he sold to the Swedes.

During his stay Lord also "promised to import English sheep and other cattle, as well as bees and all sorts of fruit trees." Again, as he had done in the previous autumn, he agreed to transport mail through his correspondents to Sweden and to the Swedish agents in Holland. Accordingly Rising wrote letters to his principals in Stockholm as well as to Peter Trotzig in Amsterdam, and made his *third relation*, dated June 16, 1655. He reported that the colony was in a fairly good condition. Much land had been cleared, corn and tobacco had been planted, and the territory of New Sweden had been greatly increased. But provisions, clothes and the like were sorely needed; and, if new supplies would not soon arrive to cheer the people, many would desert as some had already done, so that "affairs would have a speedy end." More colonists were desired, and requests for skilled workmen were repeated (but "house carpenters, who understood how to cut all kinds of timber," Rising expected to find in New England). He proposed that a large sum of money should be employed for the development of the colony according to plans submitted by Elswick, and he suggested a new route for the expeditions. The journey by way of the Canaries was long and troublesome on account of the severe heat; the

route further north used by the English was many hundred miles shorter, and could be accomplished in from five to ten weeks. Plans for the establishment of factories were still unaccomplished, but as soon as supplies arrived beginnings would be made. Threats of the Dutch and dangers from the English and the savages disturbed the colony somewhat, but not to any alarming degree.

Except for the outbreak mentioned above the colony had been at peace with "the denizens of the forest" for a long time. Rising treated them with kindness and forbearance, permitting them "to pass freely in and out." Thomas Ringold warned the Swedes not to allow the Indians so much liberty in coming and going, "because they were murderous men," but Rising's policy proved a correct one. The Minquas always remained friendly, and called themselves "the protectors of the Swedes." Rising wished to buy a large tract of land from them bordering on Chesapeake Bay, and it was proposed that the Swedes "should build a fortress at Chakakitque, for the purpose of trading with those from Severn, Kent and the whole of Virginia." The English had also set their heart on this district. But Jacob Svensson, who had been sent to the Susquehannas in the beginning of June succeeded in bringing about an understanding with the Indians, and on June 6, "four sachems or chiefs from the Minquesser," who inti-

mated that they had important matters to present from their entire council, accompanied him to Christina. They remained in the fort over night, and on the following day a conference took place, of which Rising gives the following account:

“On the seventh of this month (June) they, with a long oration, on behalf of the joint council of the Minnquesser and of their united nations, presented to us Swedes all the land which is located on the east side of the Virginia River (called Elk River in English), all [the way] from the beginning of Chakakitque Falls unto the end of Amisacken Falls; a land* . . . of choice soil, endowed with beautiful fresh rivers, so that many thousand families, who might be settled there, can find their nourishment. And they gave us this with special ceremonies for an everlasting possession, the land with everything that might be upon it, woods, the ground, birds and animals, soil and everything that might be in it and could be found useful, the water and everything therein of fish, birds and animals (of which they enumerated a large number and designated with particular signs). [They] also promised that, whenever we would send our people there to settle said land, they would supply all the Swedish people with venison and maize for a year without any remuneration, on the condition that they could buy there from us cloth, guns and other merchandise, which they now purchase from the Hollanders and English, and that we would settle blacksmiths and tanners there, who could make their guns and other things for good pay. As a sign that this donation would be legal, they presented some beavers, and then they caused their guns to be discharged, upon which they were answered by a Swedish salute from two cannon. Thereupon a deed was made, which they signed with their marks, namely *Chakorictchiaque*, who was sent by the Tehaque

(*) “About 22 Dutch miles in length and 12 (Dutch) miles in breadth.”

and Skonedidehaga nation; *Svanahändäz*, sent by the true Minqueser; *Waskanäquäz* [sent] by the lower quarter of the Minques; *Sahagoliwatquaz*, sent by the Serosquaeke [tribe] . . . And Mr. Richard Lord, who was there with us, was greatly astonished on account of the liberality and the speeches of these Minqueser, for they presented to us the lands, which the English desired to have long ago . . . [But] we, [who are] mentioned below, also signed this letter of donation, Johannes Rising, Hend[rick] Elswick, Jacob Svensson, Sven Höök, the ship-lieutenant, Sven Haansson, the ensign. When all this was completed, these Minquese sachems took us all by the hand; and *Svanahändäz*, who had been spokesman, took me by the hand, and led me forward on the floor, and said, 'as I now lead you by the hand, thus we will bring your people into the country, and [we] will sustain you there and defend you against Indians and against Christian enemies. Thereupon we confirmed this donation with our gifts.' "

By this purchase the territory of New Sweden was increased westward. It now included the present state of Delaware, parts of Pennsylvania, New Jersey and Maryland, and bordered on two great bays with splendid possibilities for developing trade and shipping. If sufficient resources had been at hand, Rising would have laid the foundation for a strong and prosperous colony, which could have opposed the attacks of the neighbors. As it was the donation proved useless. Two former land grants were also confirmed about this time, and the relations with the savages continued to be friendly during the summer and autumn.

As rumors were circulated in the summer that Stuyvesant had decided to attack New Sweden a plan of defence was outlined. "Hereafter," says Rising in his journal, "we let the soldiers and other people of the company work on the fortifications as much as we could; and [about June 19, they] cut and harvested the hay at Fort Christina and Fort Trinity, as well as the grain, which had grown this year."

Shortly after harvest Rising, in company with "Lindeström as engineer" and three other men, "sailed down to the entrance of the bay in order to observe the situation of the river" for the purpose of making a correct map of it; and a few days later he went up to the Falls at Trenton "with some men who were acquainted there . . . , so as to make a sketch of the whole river." He believed that there were minerals in this region, as a sachem told him "that a large mountain was situated a day's journey from the falls, where the savages find lead-ore, with which they color themselves on the body and on the face."

The settlers gradually laid out roads between the homesteads, and began to use wagons at this time for the transportation of goods, increasing the comfort of the pioneers and solidifying the colony. The merchandise bought from the English and Dutch did not suffice. Provisions apparently were plentiful, but clothes gave out.



Peter Stuyvesant.

“Linen,” writes Elswick in the late summer (1655), “is so scarce here, that some soldiers already go without shirts. As long as *buldan* or sailcloth remained, shirts were made for them from it, but now this is also gone.” The old freemen as usual fared better. The majority had enough for their daily needs, and some were prosperous.

II.

It was August. Dutch preparations for the overthrow of New Sweden had been in progress for a long time. The friendly relations which existed between Sweden and Holland in the early days of the colony had to a large extent disappeared. Peace had been made with England, removing imminent danger from that quarter. When therefore the directors of the Dutch West India Company heard of the capture of Fort Casimir, they at once resolved to retaliate. They decided to send re-inforcements to Stuyvesant, who had proposed to retake the fortress, as soon as he received orders from his superiors. “The drum was daily beaten” in Amsterdam to call men to enlist for service in New Netherland, the directors being “in hopes of sending over a detachment of soldiers in the ship *Groote Christoffel* together with an arquebusier and two carpenters.” Letters and lengthy instructions were dispatched to

Governor Stuyvesant, who, in case the winter should interfere with their plans, and prevent the sending of the re-enforcements, was advised to proceed to the South River with such forces, as he could command, since it was thought that these were "about strong enough for the occupation of New Sweden, especially if the said expedition should be undertaken speedily and before the Swedes were relieved." He was advised to hire two or three private ships, in addition to the *Swarte Arent* (Black Eagle), placed at his disposal by the company, and to engage "all such freemen as offered themselves [freely at a stated wage] or might be induced by some other means." Haste was imperative, for it was "feared, not without reason, that . . . the Swedes . . . might get assistance and re-inforcements" in the near future. Stuyvesant was ordered to transmit "not only authenticated copies of the conveyance and titles of the purchased lands on the . . . South River, executed in the year 1651, but also such other authentic documents and papers, as may be found necessary for the confirmation of the indecency of these proceedings [of the Swedes] and the violation of the so lawful possession of the company."

The directors expected the conquest of New Sweden to be accomplished in the early part of 1655, and their disappointment was great, when they learned that Stuyvesant had sailed for the

Barbadoes in January, without their knowledge and consent. In April they began anew to prepare for the long planned attack on the Swedish settlements, at this time "concluding not only to take up again the expedition in question but also to undertake and carry it out with more assurance of success." For this purpose a ship was chartered called *De Waug* (the *Scales*). About two hundred men under the command of Captain Frederick de Coeninek having embarked, the vessel set sail about the beginning of June, and reached New Amsterdam on August 3 (13). Immediately upon the arrival of the ship final arrangements for the expedition were begun; and on the sixth (sixteenth) Stuyvesant, who was indisposed, ordered the council and Captain de Coeninek to take charge of the preparations. At the same time a "proclamation appointing the fifteenth (twenty-fifth) of August a day of prayer and fasting to invoke God's blessing on the expedition [was issued]." A few days later a call for volunteers was published, offering "a reasonable salary and board money" to the applicants, and promising them a "proper reward" in case of injury. The Jews were exempted from military service, but on the condition "that each male person over 16 and under 60 years [should] contribute, for the aforesaid freedom towards the relief of the general municipal

taxes, sixty-five stivers every month." A special commissary was appointed August 9 (19), who should "see to it and supervise that all ammunition and victuals needed for the intended expedition . . . be ordered, shipped and properly taken care of." On the same date a resolution was passed by the council "friendly to ask some merchant-ships . . . [then at New Amsterdam] into the service of the country with the promise of a proper compensation for it," but "in case the skippers refused [they should be pressed] into the service . . . with their ships, ammunition, the people with them, provisions and implements."

In accordance with this resolution Captain Douwes was ordered on the fourteenth (twenty-fourth) to "keep himself ready" to embark, upon receiving orders; and certain captains of vessels in the harbor were commanded to furnish each "two men and their surplus of provisions and ammunition of war." Cornelis van Tienhoven and Frederick de Coeninck were commissioned to proceed on board the ships, the *Bontekoe* (*The Spotted Cow*), the *Beaver* and the *New Amsterdam* to enforce the orders. Three sloops and a French privateer were hired, and a loan of "fifteen hundred guilders in black and white wampum" was floated by the council for the expenses of the campaign and presents to the natives.

Towards the end of August preparations were

completed, and on Sunday, the twenty-sixth (September 5), the fleet weighed anchor "after the sermon." "The fleet was composed of two yachts called the *Hollanse Tuijn* (Holland Garden), the *Prinses Royael*, a galiot called the *Hoop* (Hope), mounting four guns, the flyboat *Liefde* (Love), mounting four guns, the vice-admiral's yacht the *Dolphijn* with four guns, the yacht *Abrams Offerhande* (Abraham's Offering), as rear admiral, mounting four guns" and the *Waag* (Balance), and it carried a force of "three hundred and seventeen soldiers besides a company of sailors."*

Every precaution was taken to prevent the Swedes from obtaining knowledge of the preparations. Shortly before the expedition left New Amsterdam Edmund Scarborough desired to return to Virginia with his vessel, but he was granted permission to do so only by furnishing bail to the amount of £5,000 sterling as a guarantee that he would not enter the South Bay or South River either directly or indirectly and that his people would promise under oath not to give information to anyone on sea or on land. These and other precautions were so successful that Ris-

(*) According to Rising the force consisted of about 600 to 700 men (in another place he says from 400 to 500, *Journal*), and this number (600 to 700) has been accepted as the correct one by the writers. Linderström goes further. He says: "Anno 1655 den 30 Aug. kom General Stuyvessandh medh en armé á 1,500 *man* stack." *Geogr.*, p. 223. Stuyvessant said in 1664 that there were forty soldiers and 150 to 160 militia, in all about 200 men. *Doc.*, II, 223; 442.

ing was not aware of the impending danger before it was almost on him.

About the beginning of August, however, news of Stuyvesant's intentions reached the Indians, who straightway carried the intelligence to New Sweden. Rising immediately called the council together, who decided to despatch two spies, Jacob Sprint and Hans Månsson, to Manliattan. "About the same time Sven Höök with four men was sent down the river to reconnoitre, but he returned on the tenth of August, having observed nothing." Månsson and Sprint, however, returned five days later from "Staten Island . . . bringing a complete and sure intelligence that the director general of New Netherland intended to come . . . [to New Sweden] with four large and several small ships and seven or eight hundred men."

Sven Höök was again sent down the Bay with some soldiers on the sixteenth, but he soon returned without news. Having been ordered down the river a third time to watch the enemy, he appeared on August 30, reporting that he had seen two or three ships in the Bay the previous evening.

A council of war was instantly called. It was decided to defend Fort Trinity, in case the Dutch should attack it, and a written instruction was given to Skute, setting forth his duties. When the Hollanders approached, he "should send [a

messenger] to their ships . . . to find out, if they came as friends; and in any case warn them not to pass the above mentioned fort, for if they did he would fire at them, which they should not look upon as [an act of] hostility.” “150 lbs. of powder, a number of muskets, swords, pikes, bullets and other necessary things” were taken into the fort on the same day, and the soldiers and freemen were supplied with powder and other ammunition. Provisions were also collected, and forty-seven bushels of rye, fourteen gallons of brandy, quantities of beer and other necessaries were carried into the storehouse of Trinity Fort within the next few days.

Stuyvesant arrived in the bay about three o'clock in the afternoon of August 27 (September 6), but on account of the tide and a calm he was unable to proceed up the river before the following day. In the evening of August 29 he cast anchor before Fort Elfsborg, landed his men and bivouacked for the night, while his little force was reviewed and divided into five companies, “each under its own colors.” * During the night, which

(*) “The general's [Stuyvesant's] company, of which Lieut. Nuijtingh was captain, and Jan Hagel ensign-bearer, was ninety strong. The general's second company, of which Direk Smit was captain, and Don Pouwel ensign-bearer, was sixty strong. Nicolaes de Silla, the marshal's company, of which Lieut. Pieter Ebel was captain and William van Reijnevelt ensign-bearer, was fifty-five strong. Frederick de Koningh, the major's company, of which Pieter de Coningckx was ensign-bearer, was sixty-two strong. The major's second company, which was composed of scamen and pilots, with

was very dark, hiding the manoeuvres of the Dutch, a sloop was sent up to Sandhook. Here a number of Swedish freemen were captured, who gave information about the condition of the colony. On August 31 the fleet moved on, "passed Fort Casimir [Trinity] about 8 or 9 P. M. without any act of hostility on either side, [and] cast . . . anchor above the fortress." Skute with his officers and men were at the guns, but though every Dutch vessel was within range of the Swedish cannon, the commander withheld orders to fire, for he saw the hopelessness of the situation. The Dutch troops were soon landed, and "the passage to Christina [was] occupied by fifty men" to prevent the exchange of communication between the Swedes. Shortly after the fleet had come to anchor, Lieutenant Smith with a drummer and a white flag was sent ashore to demand the surrender of the fort. Smith, being met on the bank by Lieut. Gyllengren with two musketeers, delivered the orders of his commander, stating that the Dutch were informed through the Swedish authorities that Fort Casimir had been taken "neither by the orders nor the consent of the Swedish government or of the Swedish Crown," and that it was therefore the duty of the commander to re-

Dirck Jansz Verstraten of Ossanen as their captain, boatswain's mate Dirck Claesz [en], of Mannikendam as ensign-bearer, and the sail-maker, Jan Illisz of Honsum as lieutenant, consisted of fifty men, making altogether 317 men."

turn the fort to its rightful owners. But Gyllengren informed him that since they had received no instructions to that effect, they would fight to the last man. Smith, desiring to speak with the Swedish commander, was thereupon blindfolded and led through the fortress into Skute's dwelling. Skute wished to write to Director Rising, and requested some delay; but it was denied, and Smith returned to the ships.

Meanwhile Stuyvesant landed his artillery, and prepared to besiege the fortress. Smith was sent with a second message, requesting Skute "not to wait the attack of their troops," but to give up the fort. "The Dutch envoy" was again met by Gyllengren, who made the same reply as before to his demands, warning him not to come a third time, "for the land belonged to the crown of Sweden." Later the armorer Kämpe was sent to confer with the Dutch governor, who requested a personal interview with Skute. Skute, having agreed to a conference, met his opponent with four musketeers in the valley about half way between the fortress and the Dutch battery. A second request for permission to send an open letter to Director Rising was refused, but an hour's delay for a final answer to the summons of Stuyvesant was granted. After an hour Kämpe once more appeared at the Dutch camp, requesting a delay until the next morning. This concession was likewise

granted, but on the condition that Skute would again meet the Dutch governor at eight o'clock; "because we could not finish our battery [before that time]," says Stuyvesant.

Skute now encouraged his people, tried to arouse them to a sense of duty and exhorted them to make all possible resistance, but the soldiers were mutinous and would not obey orders.* Several escaped over the walls, carrying news to Stuyvesant of the conditions in the fort. One of these fugitives, Gabriel Forsman, was shot through the leg by Lieutenant Gyllengren, as he climbed over the embankment and died from the wounds (the only casualty through "the war"). About fifteen soldiers were then placed under arrest, whereupon order and obedience was restored. During the night Anders Dalbo and Karl Julius were sent in a canoe to Fort Christina with reports and requests for aid. Rising directed Skute to hold out, as assistance would soon arrive, but if he was compelled to capitulate he should do so on as good terms as possible.

The Swedish commander "did not go to the camp of the Hollanders" on Saturday morning

(*) "Soldaterna . . . som dock på sistone alle gjorde sigh Rebelyske och goffwe sigh alle dhe 1,000 dieflar, som i Helwete bor, at dhee icke skulle ståå, fast dhee wille partera dhem i 1,000 styken." Signed statement of Gyllengren, Rev. Hiort, Peter Lindeström and others, August 31, 1655, enclosed with letter to E. Oxenstierna. The document was discovered by Dr. Malnsten in *Kammararkivet* during the author's visit to Stockholm in 1909. It is now preserved in *Ox. Saml.* (R.A.)

(September 1), as Governor Stuyvesant had requested. In his stead, however, he despatched Anders Kämpe at the appointed hour, but the Dutch governor insisted on Skute's coming. Accordingly a second conference was arranged by the two commanders half way between the fort and the Dutch batteries. Governor Stuyvesant once more demanded the surrender of the stronghold, but Skute still talked of resistance, promising to make it uncomfortable for the Dutch soldiers, if they should dare to approach within reach of a Swedish bullet. Stuyvesant replied with characteristic vigor. If he lost a man, he said, he would not spare a soul in the fort. At last Skute came to terms, "but he desired to see Stuyvesant's orders before he would agree to anything." Having been brought on board the ship *De Waag*, where the orders of the Dutch West India Company, were laid before him, he resolved to surrender, whereupon the conditions and terms of capitulation were discussed.

In the meantime Rising "sent nine or ten of the best freemen to aid in defending Fort Trinity"; but as they had crossed Christina River they were surrounded by about forty Dutch soldiers and ordered to surrender. The Swedes made opposition and a fight ensued, but they were overpowered and captured except two, who escaped across the river in a boat amid a shower of bullets. These

reached Fort Christina in safety, while the soldiers who pursued them were caused to withdraw into the woods, by a ball from one of the guns on the battlements.

Finally the conditions of surrender between Skute and Stuyvesant were agreed upon and the capitulation was signed on board the *Waag* the same day (September 1, 1655). "When the clock struck two in the afternoon," says Lindeström, "a Dutch salute was given in their camp, and answered . . . from the ships, and it was easy to understand that an accord had been made with our commander." The capitulation consisted of four articles, which contain two general conditions. In the first place, all property including cannon and ammunition, belonging to the New Sweden Company, the Swedish Crown or private persons, was to be preserved intact, and could be removed by the owners at any time; but "all pieces of ammunition, materials and other effects, belonging to the General Incorporated West India Company," must be delivered into the hands of the Dutch commander; secondly, the garrison was accorded the honors of war. But two important points were omitted: Skute neglected to insert an article, specifying the time of the capitulation and the treatment of the soldiers after the surrender.

When Skute returned to the fort about 75 Dutch

soldiers followed him.* Some time between two and four the gates were opened; and the commander marched out of Fort Trinity with the Swedish flag and twelve men in full accoutrements as his bodyguard, the others having only their side arms. Thereupon the Dutch troops filed into the fortress, the Swedish flag was replaced by the Dutch, the Dutch salute was given and Fort Trinity was again called Fort Casimir.† The Swedish soldiers were retained on board the ships, and September 7 they were taken to New Amsterdam on the flyboat *Liefde*; but the officers were guarded in the fort, each in charge of two musketeers, being well treated by Stuyvesant, who dined them at his own table.

After the surrender the Dutch forces were given a rest. On September 2 (12) Divine services were celebrated in Fort Casimir. Thereupon Stuyvesant reported his success to the council of New Amsterdam, ordering the same to appoint "a special day" of thanksgiving for the victory.

(*) Lindeström accuses Skute of capitulating without consulting the other officers and relates how he and Gyllengren gave the soldiers a barrel of beer and put them to work on the fortifications, while Skute was conferring with Stuyvesant. At four in the afternoon the work on the fort was ready to withstand an attack of the enemy, but then Skute had already surrendered and all was lost. *Geogr.*, pp. 225-30.

(†) Lindeström says: "Gafs Hollenskt lösen på Fort Treefaldigheet, sedan swarades uthi lägret, och på Skieppen, thereafter strax lässades heela umgången på Fort Treeefaldigheet samt uthanwärket, swarades så åter medh alle styckene I lägret och omgång (erne) på Skippen." *Geogr.*, p. 231.

Meanwhile Rising had been busy preparing to receive the enemy at Fort Christina. In the early morning of August 31 Elswick visited the settlements northward along the river.* At Kingsessing he called together the colonists and told them "that the time had now come in which they could show their fidelity to Her Royal Majesty of Sweden by helping to defend Her Majesty's fortresses." The people were ready and willing to aid in the defence, and five men, Mats Hansson, Peter Rambo, Sven Gunnarsson, Hans Månsson and Mats Bengtsson, followed him at once. At "Tenakong Island" they were joined by a few soldiers and settlers, and from there they went by boat and canoes to Christina, arriving at the fortress an hour before daybreak the next morning.

When Rising saw that the Dutch were getting the upper hand at Fort Trinity, he delegated Hendrick Elswick to enquire what their real intentions were. "Factor Elswick came from Fort Christina," says Stuyvesant, "and asked in a friendly way and in the name of his director the cause of our coming, and . . . [desired to see] the orders of our superiors . . . He requested us to be satisfied with what we had accomplished, without advancing further upon the other Swedish

(*) Upland, Finland and Tunicum.

(†) Elswick was compelled to wait for two hours before the interview was granted as Skute was on board discussing the terms of capitulation.

fort, using at first persuasive and friendly words, afterwards mingled with menaces." Stuyvesant was on the point of detaining Elswick as a spy, but finally dismissed him with the reply that he had come to occupy the whole of New Sweden, and would not desist before he had accomplished his object. On receiving this message Rising collected his people in the fort, and set them to work on the walls and battlements day and night. On Sunday, September 2, divine services were conducted as usual, but afterwards they "worked busily on the fort." During the day an Indian, who sold a pig in the fort, related that he had seen the Swedish soldiers of Fort Trinity carried prisoners to the Dutch vessels. This disheartened the garrison and only with difficulty could Rising keep up its courage.

On the same day a division of the Dutch force was marched up within sight of Christina, but Stuyvesant remained at Fort Casimir. On Monday morning the Dutch raised their flag on the Swedish sloop in the river above the Swedish fort, and since they prepared to take a stand by a house in the neighborhood Lieutenant Höök with a drummer was sent there to inquire what their intentions were, and why they stationed themselves there. From his boat he was assured by the Dutch that he would be treated according to the rules governing the reception of messengers by bellige-

rents, but upon landing he was made a prisoner and sent to Fort Casimir in chains.* The Dutch rushed the work on the trenches to such an extent during the night that their battery was ready the following day. The Swedes now supposed that Stuyvesant intended to build a fort there, so as to be able to control the whole district below Christina River, for it was not yet believed that he had come to subjugate the entire colony.

On September 5 Fort Christina was surrounded on all sides. Three companies were entrenched to the southwest across the river around the little batteries with four cannon which were erected there,† at some hundred feet apart to the northwest were four companies and two batteries, each with three cannon,* directly north of the fortress, on the ground laid out for the city of Christinehamn there were six companies with two batteries

(*) It is probable that he offended the Dutch in some way. Lindeström says: "And what words he spoke against the Dutch (för nähr talat och fäldt hafwer), one cannot really know, [but] he was seized and brought on board the ship *Amsterdams Waag* and there locked into heavy chains." Bogaert says: "The 13th was taken prisoner the Lieutenant of Fort Crist[ina], with a drummer, it being supposed that he had come as a spy upon the army, in consequence of the drummer's having no drum."

(†) The batteries, according to Lindeström, were made from sod and protected by gabions and breastworks. They were called "Slangenborg."

(‡) These batteries were built out of logs, protected by breast works and gabions. This battery which was nearest the fort (see the map in the author's *Swedish Settlements*, II, 602..603) was called "Myggenborgh," because there was "such a fearful amount of mosquitoes there,"

and six cannon* ; two companies were stationed on Timber Island, a little to the east of the town with two batteries (one "in a new house") and four cannon. The river was closed a short distance below the fort by the ships *De Waag* and the *Spiegel* (*Dolphijn?*) The other vessels were anchored below these. The strength of Christina had been somewhat increased when the Dutch began to invest it, but provisions were scarce, and the director as well as Elswick were obliged to supply various wants by their own means. Beer was especially used in large quantities and five barrels of it came from Rising's private store during the siege.

When Stuyvesant had enclosed Christina on every side, and cut off all means of escape, he sent an Indian to the Swedish director with a letter, stating that the fort and the entire river must be surrendered, and all the Swedes must leave the country or come under the jurisdiction of the Dutch government. Rising replied with the Indian that a deputation would call on Governor Stuyvesant to answer his demands in full. A council of war was then convened to decide on a course of action. The walls of the fort were in poor condition, and only one round of ammunition

(*) The batteries were built of logs, filled in with earth and covered with sod. On account of the large number of rats there, it was called "Rottenborough."

(†) The kitchen (see map) was enclosed in a fortified square.

remained. The soldiers were out of spirits, some were mutinous, a few had escaped over the embankments, and the besieged were in miserable plights. Yet there was no thought of surrender at present. On the contrary it was decided to hold out against the enemy as long as possible. No hostilities should be begun by the Swedes, and no occasion for action should be given; but all attacks should be repulsed, until resistance was useless.

The Dutch soldiers were now overrunning the territory above Christina River, killing the cattle, swine and goats of the settlers, breaking open the houses and plundering everything they could get at. Several of the colonists had stored their possessions in Printz Hall for better protection; but the Dutch went there also, carried off the property of Madam Papegoja and the others, and broke into the church, taking away "the cordage and sails for a new ship." The Indians did their share of the depredation, and on September 2 they ransacked the house of Clement Mickelsson and stole all his belongings.*

Every hour the Dutch lines were drawn closer around the doomed fort. On September 7 a Dutch flag was raised on the new ship in Fish River, and "Dutch banners were waving everywhere." In

(*) "Hausset nu die Hollender sehr übell mit Todtschlagung des Vihes, und plünderung der Heüßser aussen fürn dieser Fortresse." Elswich's *Relation*.

the morning a commission from Rising waited on Stuyvesant at Fort Casimir. The deputation consisted of Hendrick von Elswick, Gregorious van Dyck, and Peter Rambo. A memorial in seven paragraphs had been given to them, defining their powers and method of their procedure. Elswick, who was to give an oral answer to Stuyvesant's demand of surrender, should see to it that the honor of the crown of Sweden and of the Commercial College was respected, and that Rising and the other officers were given their proper titles for the dignity of their superiors. The commissioners were to refute Stuyvesant's demands by presenting the Swedish claims to the country, saying that they would defend it to the last; they were to endeavor to persuade him to desist from further hostilities, on the ground that a continuation of the siege would cause a rupture in the relations of the two nations in Europe, and as they were closely akin in religion they ought to be friends, the country being large enough for both. Elswick was further to insist that the dispute about the boundaries could best be settled in Europe, and lastly he should protest against the imprisonment of Höök. The deputation presented these remonstrances as well as several other protests and demanded that Stuyvesant should withdraw his troops from the fort at once. But Stuyvesant simply replied that he was following the orders of

his superiors, who must shoulder the consequences. On September 9 Elswick was ordered in the name of his superiors to protest in writing against the robberies and atrocities of the Dutch soldiers. Stuyvesant answered the letter the same day. He allowed the Swedes *no rights* in the river, refuted Rising's arguments, and again demanded the surrender of the fort. Another council of war was thereupon called. It was decided that Rising should request an interview with the Dutch governor, "especially since he had on two successive days . . . demanded a conference," and a messenger was sent informing Stuyvesant of this decision. As the proposal was agreeable to Stuyvesant, the two governors met for a conference between the fort and the Dutch camp* "A complete reply was made to . . . [Stuyvesant's] lengthy letter of the previous day," and more vigorous protests were uttered against his procedure. But they could come to no terms, and Rising returned to Christina to await further developments. On the following day the Dutch batteries were brought to completion. Stuyvesant "daily demanded Rising's surrender with great threats"; sent a drummer on the twelfth (twenty-second) and thirteenth (twenty-third), requiring another

(*) Rising was accompanied by Von Elswick and Stuyvesant by the Vice-Governor of New Netherland, De Sille. Elswick's *Relation*. There is no mention of this meeting in Rising's *Journal*.

colloquy with Rising, and demanded that the fort should be surrendered before sunset on the last mentioned day.

The condition of the besieged was daily growing worse. Some were mutinous and many were ill. The fort had been reduced to its last extremity, the guns of the Dutch were pointed at the walls, and everything was ready for an attack. The officers saw the futility of further resistance. It was decided to capitulate on the best terms that could be had. At sunset Stuyvesant was informed that Rising was willing to meet him on the fourteenth. Time and place of meeting having been agreed upon, the "director of New Sweden" and the general director of New Netherland met "on the place of parole between Fort Christina and the headquarters of General Peter Stuyvesant in a large and beautiful tent erected for that purpose." Rising was accompanied by Von Elswick and Jacob Svensson and Stuyvesant was followed by Vice-Governor de Sille and Major Friedrich de Coeninck. The conference lasted for about an hour. Rising warned his opponent not to press his demands too far, as the consequences might have far-reaching results in Europe, but Stuyvesant would listen to no other terms than "complete and unconditional" surrender. Finally Rising agreed to give up the fort. The articles of surrender, which had been drafted by Elswick at

Rising's request, undoubtedly according to the propositions and suggestions of the different members of the council of war, were presented to Stuyvesant for his approval. Very few changes were made, it seems, so that the treaty became a most favorable one to the Swedes. The capitulation (in eleven articles), which was to be signed by the two governors the next day (September 15), contained the following main points: The garrison should march out of the fort to Timber Island with all the honors of war; all chattels, "belonging to the High Crown of Sweden and the South Company ... in and about Fort Christina." should remain the property of said parties and should be turned over to the owners, whenever demanded; likewise "all writings, letters, documents and deeds of the High Crown of Sweden and the South Company or of private persons, found in Fort Christina," were to "remain untouched without hindrance and visitation in the hands of the governor and his people, to take them away, whenever they please"; "the officials, officers, soldiers and freemen ... [were to be allowed to]keep their own movable goods unhindered and undamaged," and they were permitted to dispose of them in any manner they saw fit; the Swedes were to have liberty to leave the country without restriction, and all who returned home should be transported to Gothenburg free of expense; Ris-

ing should have the right to admonish his own people to return to their native land in case some were inclined to remain, the length of 1½ years to be granted to such as could not go at once, in which "to dispose of their movable and immovable property"; all who wished to remain in the country under Dutch jurisdiction could do so, and they were to "enjoy the privilege of the Augsburg Confession and [have] a person to instruct them therein"; none of the officers, who might have contracted debts in behalf of the crown or of the company, should "be arrested on account of them, within the jurisdiction of the general [director]"; and finally Rising was to have full liberty to "inquire into the behavior of Skute and other officers during the surrender of the Fort on the Sandhook," and the capitulation should take effect on September 15 (25). "A secret article" was also included, which, however, Rising maintained was not secret, but made with the knowledge of his people and signed by Stuyvesant "in their presence on the place of parole." According to this "secret and separate article," Rising and Elswick were to be landed either in England or in France, and Stuyvesant promised "to advance to Director Rising either in cash or in bills of exchange the sum of £300 Flanders." Property of equivalent value, belonging to the Swedish crown and the New Sweden Company, were to be mortgaged and

left in the hands of the general director against receipt, and Rising promised to repay the sum at Amsterdam within six months.

In the forenoon of September 15 (25) the two governors again repaired to the place of parole. The articles "were re-examined and found to be correct," whereupon two copies were signed, and New Sweden was a Swedish colony no more. At three o'clock in the afternoon the little garrison ("about thirty men") marched out of the fort "with beating drums, playing of fifes, flying banners, burning matches, musketballs in their mouths and hand and sidearms."* The Dutch soldiers took possession of Christina as soon as the Swedes had departed, and raised their flag above it. The Swedish soldiers were quartered in the houses on Timber Island, but the officers were lodged in their own dwellings in the fort.

Stuyvesant was lenient in his demands, but he had special reasons for being so. A few days after his leaving New Amsterdam the Indians attacked several settlements in the Dutch colony, "murdering 100 men in nine hours." On September 2 (12), the day after the surrender of Fort Trinity and the date on which Stuyvesant reported his success, the council informed the governor by letter

(*) Elswick says: "Dreij Uhr nachmittag zogen die Hollender ein und unsere Völker mit fligender Fahne, slagende Trummell, rürende Pfeiffe, brandende Leüte sampt Ober- und Untergewehr, etc., auss dieser Fortresse Christina." *Relation*.

that the Indians had begun hostilities and committed many murders.* They questioned the sagacity of subduing distant places at the risk of losing "the old property." They promised to do their utmost in defending the colony against the savages, leaving it with Stuyvesant to act according to his judgment in the matter; but they requested him to send a speedy reply, and from the tenure of the missive it is clear that they would rather have him return to defend New Netherland than to gain some slight advantage on the Delaware. The letter was handed to him in the afternoon of September 13 (23), the day before Rising agreed to surrender. It is clear that these misfortunes influenced Stuyvesant's dealings with the Swedes, and had the letter arrived shortly after Fort Trinity was captured and before Christina was besieged, it is more than likely that he would have returned to New Amsterdam, without further molesting the Swedish colony.

The council sent a second letter to the governor some time after September 3 (13), advising him to destroy Fort Christina in case it was given into his hands, causing the Swedes to remove from

(*) The council reported to Stuyvesant that one Mr. Willet believed that the Swedes had bribed these savages and that through Swedish influence these troubles had fallen upon them, *Doc.*, XII. 99. The report was, of course, without foundation. Lindeström states that the Indians had a conference, when they found the Dutch were attacking New Sweden, and decided to attack New Netherland in revenge. *Geogr.*

there, otherwise "for the preservation of the most important object and the consolation of the inhabitants . . . [to] make speedily a provisional treaty with the governor of the Swedes in regard to the fort and the land of Christina . . . and then . . . [return home] on the first opportunity with the ships and troops, to preserve what is left." It is not known whether or not this letter reached him before the treaty was signed, but it may have come into his hands on the fifteenth (twenty-fifth). At any rate half an hour after the Swedish soldiers had marched out of the fort, he appeared "with his officers and entire council" before Rising in Christina, offering to hand over the fort to the Swedes and to make with them an offensive and defensive league on the condition that the Dutch be allowed to dwell undisturbed in possession of the land below Christina River and that the present troubles "be forgotten and forgiven." The Swedes were to remain in possession of all the land north of the fortress along the Delaware, "the country was large enough for them both." Rising was naturally surprised at this unexpected turn of affairs, and answered the Dutch governor that the proposition seemed somewhat strange to him. He thought it was too late to come to any such agreement, but he requested Stuyvesant to present the offers in writing, and promised that a reply would be de-

livered as soon as the Swedish council had considered the matter.*

As it was late and since all the members of the Swedish council were not in the fort, it was decided to postpone the decision until the next day. The council, which assembled in the forenoon of September 16 (26), consisted of Director Rising, Lieutenant Sven Höök (who had been released), Hendrick von Elswick, Gregorius van Dyck, Johan Danielsson, Peter Wendell and Peter Rambo, besides some other freemen. The unanimous opinion of the council was, however, that Stuyvesant's offer could not be accepted. The arguments of the different members against repealing the capitulation may be summed up as follows. They had no authority to enter into an alliance with Stuyvesant, guaranteeing that no consequences would follow as a result of the Dutch attack, nor to waive the rights and pretences of the Swedish crown to damages for the losses caused by the Dutch; they could not subsist in the country, since their provisions were gone, a great part of their cattle and swine were killed and many of the plantations laid waste; and finally it would be disgraceful to their superiors to reoccupy the fort. A vote was taken and an answer was drafted to

(*) Lindeström says: "Den 18 September om mårgonen kom eneral Styfvessandh inn till oss på Fort Christina medh sitt Träåben stylvandandes richte oss handen, till bödh oss wårt landh igen och all giord skada wedhergiälla willia."

Stuyvesant's proposal. The reply stating that the Swedish council had decided to abide by the capitulation was carried to the Dutch governor by two soldiers.

The Dutch therefore arranged to carry out the articles of surrender. An inventory of the property belonging to the Swedish company and the Swedish government was made (from September eighteenth to the twenty-second. After it had been signed and sealed, the keys of the storehouse were delivered to Stuyvesant's servants by the gunner Johan Danielsson.

The Dutch soldiers plundered many of the plantations at Finland and Upland during the siege, and committed other acts of violence, but order was restored soon after the signing of the treaty, and most of the settlers returned to their homes.

By an article of the treaty Rising retained the right to inquire into the conduct of the Swedish officers at the surrender of Fort Trinity. Accordingly a court-martial was held on Timber Island September 24. Lieutenant Sven Skute was made the scapegoat. He was blamed for not giving orders to fire on the Dutch ships as they passed, although Lindeström and Stålkofa stood by the guns ready to apply the match; he was accused of not taking council with his officers and Rising told him openly that he had disobeyed his orders, while several other charges were made against him by

Utter and Räf. But he denied them all, and it was brought out during the examination that the soldiers were mutinous, and that he had tried to encourage them to "fight like men." It seems that Skute expected that he would be held to account for giving up the fort, as he prepared a statement, which, being signed by Lieutenant Elias Gyllengren, Rev. Peter Hjort, Constable Johan Andersson and others, exonerated him from all blame. It was sent with a report of the surrender to Eric Oxenstierna on September 29, 1655, and is preserved in the Royal Archives at Stockholm.

"Preparations were now made with all diligence for the departure of the Swedes." Some of the property belonging to the New Sweden company was sold to the servants and freemen on credit, while the remainder was placed under the care of the Vice-Commissioner Jacob Svensson to be sold in the best way possible. Only a small number of the colonists desired to return to Sweden. Those who remained, however, were required to swear allegiance to the Dutch. A "call upon the Swedes to take the oath" was drawn up, but only nineteen freemen signed the documents preserved to us. It is likely that many other inhabitants of New Sweden took the oath later.

From September 25 to 29 the baggage of the officers, soldiers and colonists, who returned to the fatherland, was loaded upon the Dutch ships

and, when Rising had gone on board the *Waag* with his men on October 1 (11), the vessels set sail for New Amsterdam, where they arrived nine days later. Rising remained on the *Waag* until Sunday afternoon, October 14 (24). He was then advised by Elswick to make complaints in person to Governor Stuyvesant about various damages done to the property of the New Sweden Company. He also accused Stuyvesant of breaking "the stipulated capitulation", because he did not provide proper lodgings, "and disputes with [unfriendly] words were said to have occurred between them." Two days later Stuyvesant drew up "an answer and counter-protest", which was presented to Rising on October 18 (28). Rising replied the following day, denied the accusations of Stuyvesant, repeated some of his former complaints, "requested in all justice that, according to the capitulation, the troops . . . should not be influenced to remain, while those, conformable to . . . [the] agreement [who desired to go], ought to come with [him] in the same ship", and finally he again protested against all that had been done "to His Majesty's subjects by the invasion, beleaguering and taking of the whole South River." The protest was delivered to Stuyvesant by Elswick, who was accompanied by Lieutenant Sven Höök and Peter Hansson Wendell; but it seems to have remained unanswered.

Preparations were now speedily made for the transportation of Rising and his men to Europe. Orders concerning their passage and landing were given to the skippers in whose vessels they were to go, but the Dutch prevailed on most of the Swedes to locate in the colony. The officers and people (37 in all),* who desired to leave were finally placed on board three vessels† with their baggage, and on October 23 (November 2) they went to sea.

The weather was fair and the wind seems to have been favorable, for the vessels managed to keep close together and crossed the Atlantic in about four weeks. Peter Lindeström gives the following account of his voyage :

“By a misunderstanding my belongings and bed-clothes got onto the ship called the *Spotted Cow* and I, with Commissary Rising, onto the ship *Bern*. As we neared the western passage tame doves, which were on the *Spotted Cow*, always came flying onto our ship. Once I enticed the doves onto the deck with a few peas and captured one of them, whereupon I wrote a letter to the Ensign Peter Wendel (who was on the ship *The Spotted Cow*) binding it around the neck of the dove, and let

(*) Elswick says: “35 personen von uns Volk.” He evidently excludes himself and Director Rising. Pufendorf says: “Eodem anno id quoque insensi a Belgis Sveciae illatum, quod hujus Colonos Nova Svecia plane ejecerint, cujus Gubernator Risinguis cum *triginta sex hominibus* mense Decembri Pleimuthensi in portu Angliae Adpellebat.” *De Rebus a Carolo Gustavo*, etc., Liber II, §85 (p. 120).

(†) The *N[ew] Bern*, the *Spotted Cow* (*Bonte Koe*), and the *White Horse*.

(‡) *Ofwerloppet*. Lindeström uses the Dutch word *Overloop* with Swedish spelling.

her free. The dove immediately flew back to her ship. When the passengers there saw that the dove had a letter round her neck they enticed her onto the deck and took the letter. Thus while we were in the western passage, I and the ensign continuously corresponded with one another, and the doves were the letter carriers.

Finally I wrote to Wendel, requesting him to send my things, if possible, from his ship to mine. Hence the first of November, 1655, sailors from the ship the *Spotted Cow* let down their boat, and the said Wendel came with my things to our ship. As the sailors were to hoist the chest, which was large and heavy, from the boat onto the ship, they pulled with such vigor that the chest swung and struck against the side of the ship four times. The fifth times it struck, the cover flew open, so that all my things fell into the sea; and I thus lost all my instruments of fortification, which were very beautiful, and cost me 150 R. D.; my library of books on fortification, together with many other valuable things, which cost me big money. And I saw with anguish how they were sucked under the ship by a wave and went down to the bottom. I did not reclaim more than the drafts of my maps and sketches and other documents, which floated on the waves. These were picked up and I dried them in the sun."

The ships arrived at Plymouth on December 7 (17), whence Elswick wrote to Commissioner Joachim Pötter, briefly relating the circumstances of the capture of New Sweden. Rising went "overland to London," drew his money and made a report to Christer Bonde, the Swedish Ambassador to England. From there he went to Amsterdam.

The other passengers were taken direct to Holland, where they arrived in January. Here they were cared for by Commissioner Croon at the ex-

pense of the Dutch West India Company. Shortly after their arrival Lieutenant Höök made a report before Peter Trotzig in Amsterdam, and several officers, soldiers and servants, who had money due them from services in the colony, applied for aid. Elswick almost immediately set out for Stockholm, where he arrived February 6. The following day he appeared before the Commercial College, presented a letter from Rising and made a report.*)

(*) For an account of Director Rising and the other officers see the author's *Swedish Settlements*, II, 616, notes; 673ff.

PART V.

**The American Company and the Twelfth
Expedition; the Swedish Settlements
Under Dutch Rule, 1654-1664.**

CHAPTER IX.

THE AMERICAN COMPANY, THE LAST EXPEDITION AND THE EFFORTS OF SWEDEN TO REGAIN THE COLONY.

I.

Shortly after the sailing of the *Haj* (April 15, 1654) Printz and Huygen arrived in Stockholm and delivered written and oral reports to the commercial college. The soldiers and servants, who had accompanied the governor, gradually made their appearance in the capital also. The condition of the colony was therefore well known to the authorities and officers of the company, and Eric Oxenstierna, who continued to be the leading spirit in the effort to promote the interest of New Sweden, brought the matter before the commercial college; but although the company had decided as early as the previous March to despatch a new ship to the Delaware, no immediate journey became possible, due to the impoverishment of the treasury, which in April was heavily drawn upon by the returning people. The government still owed the company several thou-

sand R. D., but the political situation was not favorable for presenting these bills. The pleasure loving Queen no longer attended to the duties of a sovereign. The state treasury was empty, owing to her extravagances, and everything was in confusion. But a change came. Christina surrendered her sceptre to the great Carl X. Order was restored in the various departments of the government, and the King found time to direct his attention even to New Sweden.

In the autumn (1654) the *Örn* returned from the South River, bringing Rising's report and letters. On October 4, letters from Bockhorn and Papegoja, written in Gothenburg, were read at a meeting of the commercial college (which was still the legal director of the New Sweden Company), and the colony was discussed at several other sessions. The oral and written reports of Papegoja and Bockhorn, presented in the autumn, helped to increase the awakened interest in the colony, and serious efforts to prosecute the enterprize with real vigor were now manifested. Since most of the old members of the corporation had not furnished the full amount of their shares, the officers endeavored to collect the outstanding money and also to increase the capital—that is to re-organize the company. The case was presented to the King, who instructed the commercial college to remind stockholders that their



Queen Christina.

shares must be paid in full and that they should take more interest in the company. The officers also applied for a monopoly on tobacco, and December 23 the King granted the "American Company" exclusive right to import tobacco, "as an expedient and means whereby it was hoped that *Nova Svecia* at that time not only would be preserved, increased and improved, but also that the nation by this would find a better opportunity and occasion to become acquainted with the American navigation and trade, and to use it for its great profit and prosperity". To make the monopoly effective certain fines, increased in geometrical progression for each offence, were imposed on anyone, importing or selling tobacco.

In the beginning of 1655 the re-organization of the company was taken up in earnest. Daniel Junge was appointed factor to fill the place, which had been vacated by Bonnell, and the bookkeeper, Hans Kramer, was made treasurer to receive the funds. Letters were written to the heirs of Klas Fleming and the Oxenstiernas with request that they not only pay the remainder of their shares, but also "resolve to increase the capital stock as much as each house was able and the colony of New Sweden should need." New subscribers were also invited to join.

The Swedish African Company, which was paying a dividend of about 28%, tended to divert

stockholders and capital from the New Sweden Company, where profits had proved uncertain; but the activity of the commercial college in behalf of the smaller organization was not in vain. Eric Oxenstierna and his co-heirs as well as the heirs of Gabriel Gustafsson Oxenstierna increased their subscription by one-half and paid or promised definitely to pay their shares. A subscription list was drafted for new members, and Henrick Huygen and the city of Viborg in Finland joined by subscribing 3,000 D. each, while Olof Anderson Strömsköld subscribed 1,200 D. Strömsköld was appointed director with a salary of 600 D. per year (partly because Eric Oxenstierna, who had been the soul and spirit of the company, was about to go to Prussia), and Hans Kramer, who retained his position as bookkeeper and treasurer, was to act as co-director. A new budget for the company at Stockholm was estimated as follows:

One director,	600 D.
One bookkeeper,	450 D.
One office boy,	100 D.
Office rent per year,	60 D.
Eight cords of wood,	12 D.
Two lispund (36 lbs.) of candles, .	6 D.
Three reams of paper,	18 D.
Ink and sealing wax,	6 D.
	<hr/>
	1,252 D.

A new budget was also made for the colony, estimated at 6,606 D. The reports and letters of

Johan Rising seem to have pleased the government, for he was appointed *Commandant of New Sweden*.

About this time or a little later a new charter was drafted, in several respects resembling the one given to the Old South Company.* The charter (or copy of the same, dated May, 1655) as we have it is not signed by the King, nor entered in the *Royal Copy Book*, but this is no certain proof that it was not issued by His Majesty, for royal documents and letters were not always copied into the copy book.

II.

Strömsköld and Kramer were directed to draw up proposals and make estimates and inventories of the available means of the company, which could be presented to the members of the college for their consideration. It was also decided to appoint a special factor at Gothenburg to look after the interests of the company there. Ulrick Stenkamp was selected for this position. No salary was attached to his office, but he was to have "a reasonable commission."

As early as January 13, Peter Trotzig was instructed by letter to buy a cargo in Holland for about 6,000 florins and in the beginning of February preparations for another expedition were be-

(*) See above, p. 43ff.

gun with earnest in Sweden. The letters of Elswick and Rising, which arrived on February 16 (relating the capture of the *Haj*), gave fresh life to the activities. Trotzig was directed to buy a new ship or one not more than three years old "of 90 or 100 lasts, with good room, six or eight gun-holes and with double sails". He was also to hire sailors and a mate. Trotzig was unable, however, to find a new ship for sale, answering the requirements of the directors, but he bought an old one instead, the *Mercurius*, which "he caused to be built anew entirely". The vessel was despatched to Gothenburg with a cargo at the earliest possible date. When the ship came to port in July she was leaky, however, making it necessary to unload and careen her. Further inconvenience was caused by the skipper who deserted, taking charge of a Dutch vessel. The crew was also short, and it was very difficult to engage sailors; but some Danes and Swedes were finally hired by Admiral Anckerhjelm. About the middle of August the ship was again sea-worthy. Stones were taken on board for ballast, "as sand was not serviceable on such long voyages", and the cargo was hurriedly loaded into the holds. Thus while Stuyvesant was advancing on the forts of New Sweden, the company of Old Sweden was making strenuous efforts to send out a large expedition.

But the expedition suffered the usual fate. The *Mercurius* was delayed for weeks. Neither cannon nor ammunition could be obtained at Gothenburg, "even if we would pay their weight in money", writes Ankerhjelm, and various other supplies were wanted. It was therefore necessary to buy guns, powder and balls at Stockholm, and provisions and materials for the journey at Västervik. A new skipper was hired at the capital, and Henrick Huygen, a barber surgeon and several colonists were there, waiting for passage to Gothenburg. Finally, towards the end of August, they embarked on a sloop, which carried cannon and supplies. The sloop encountered unfavorable weather and did not reach Gothenburg harbor before October 4.

The colonists, who had been gathered from various parts of northern Sweden, were also slow in arriving. On October 5, Ankerhjelm writes that "six families, as the enclosed list shows, have come from Lytstegen (Letstigen?), who relate that eighty persons, small and big, will arrive from other places." On October 10, some 64 emigrants had made their appearance, and a few days later their number had swelled to about 200. Kramer warned the admiral, however, not to allow too many passengers on board for fear of sickness, and advised him in one letter after another to get the ship ready and send her off. One

hundred and five persons were selected from the whole number, as the most desirable. "A hundred persons or more were left behind", and "it was a pity and shame that they could not all go along", writes Papegoja. "Here was seen such a lamentation and weeping, for the unfortunate ones had sold all they possessed; yea they had done away with home and ground for half of the value, journeyed such a long way at their own expense, and are now compelled to take up the beggar's staff, the one going here, the other there."

The *Mercurius* had been riding at anchor with her cargo for two months, from about the middle of September to the first week of November. The outlook was gloomy. Alternating westerly and south-westerly gales, which had interfered with the sailing for a month, continued to blow. But at last there was a flicker of hope. The wind began to turn, and the colonists were reviewed and ordered to embark. Some changes were made, and the list was finally increased to 110 (12 of whom were old settlers), making 130 souls on the ship including the sailors. Henrick Huygen who was in command, returned to the colony as commissary, and a clergyman, the Rev. Matthias, and the barber surgeon, Hans Janeke, were among the passengers. Johan Papegoja (to whose care were entrusted the commission of Rising and

other documents) went in the capacity of commander of the people. Johan Classon Rising, a brother of Director Rising, was also on the ship; and he had charge of some merchandise, which was consigned to his brother in New Sweden.

On Saturday, November 10, the ship drifted down to Elfsborg, but on Sunday the wind reversed and continued contrary for nearly two weeks. On the 23rd the vessel "again set sail before noon with a lot of other ships", but she was retarded by winds and fog for two days. On November 25 the *Mercurius* finally left port for its long voyage across the Atlantic. The journey was of nearly four months' duration, but seems to have been rather free from casualties and sufferings so common to former voyages, for there is no mention of sick people, when the vessel sailed up the Delaware on March 14 (24), 1656.

III.

The relations and letters sent from New Sweden in the summer of 1655 by Elswick and Rising were received by the commercial college in the late autumn, shortly after the sailing of the *Mercurius*. On November 30 the officers of the college, ignorant of the calamity that had befallen the colony, and not knowing that Rising was approaching the shores of Europe, wrote a letter in answer to that of the director. On the following

day Christer Bonde, the Swedish ambassador in London (to whom copies of Rising's letters with replies to the same were sent), was instructed to try to effect some agreement with the English government "in the disputes about the limits and titles of land in America, so that no confusion may arise from it in the future."

Soon reports of the capture of the colony reached Stockholm, however, and in the beginning of February, as we have already seen, Hendrick von Elswick appeared before the commercial college, reported orally and presented written relations by Rising and himself. The matter received the immediate attention of the commercial college and of the council of state, and Harald Appelbom, the Swedish resident at the Hague, was instructed to protest against the Dutch occupation, and to demand indemnity as well as the restitution of the colony. On March 12 (22), 1656 Appelbom presented a memorial to the States General, which immediately resolved that the case should be investigated and referred to the Dutch West India Company.

The efforts, however, led to no settlement. Appelbom reported the state of affairs to his government, but the question was dropped for a time. Sweden was now engaged in larger activities. Carl X was extending the boundaries of his kingdom and shaping its final geographical form. As

soon as the smoke from his victorious cannon had blown away, however, his far reaching plans even included the recapture of the colony on the Delaware. That the King had serious intentions of regaining New Sweden, either through diplomatic means or by the sword, is clear from his remarks in the council, April 15, 1658, and especially by the privileges given to the American Company about a month later, for the retaking of the colony is then looked upon as a foregone conclusion. Johan Rising presented plans for its recapture and reasons for doing so, but wars with the neighbors, absorbed the energies of the nation.

In 1663 an opportunity for renewing the claims presented itself to the Stockholm government, and accordingly the Swedish representatives were instructed, "in their conferences with Heinsius, the resident of the States General", to demand the restitution of New Sweden as well as an indemnity. But the Dutch had no such intentions. They strained every effort to keep intact what they had won, and were greatly concerned about certain preparations in Sweden. Vice-Admiral Sjöhhjelm fitted out two vessels in 1663 for an expedition, which was thought to be destined for the Delaware. One of the ships, however, foundered on her way from Stockholm to Gothenburg and the other vessel did not go to the South River but to Africa.

In the beginning of 1664 a number of Finnish families from Sweden and probably a few from Finland landed in Holland en route for New Sweden. They had made their way across Norway to Christiania, whence they were taken to Holland on a Dutch vessel, hired by themselves they said, but as Trotzig supposed (and which seems most probable) at the expense of the Dutch, interested in the colony on the South River. They were fed and housed by the city officials of Amsterdam and rumors reached the Swedish representative that the emigrants had been enticed to migrate by special agents. These rumors were reported to the Swedish government, which immediately sent letters to the governors of the northern provinces, instructing them to keep a close watch on Dutch agents, decoying people out of the country. Peter Trotzig was to present the matter to the States General and to demand that the fugitives should be returned to Sweden at the expense of those who had prevailed upon them to leave the country. These events caused the Swedish government to consider the question of regaining the colony with more earnestness. Troubles with England were brewing and the States General treated the Swedish demands with much respect, but there was no settlement in sight. In the Autumn of 1664 further conferences were held. It was decided that the claims of the

African Company would be settled, but that the New Sweden troubles should once more be referred to the Dutch West India Company.

In the meantime New Netherland passed into the hands of England. The relations of Sweden and England were cordial, several treaties of friendship having been concluded between them, and one of the articles in the treaty of March, 1665, stated "that perpetual peace should subsist between the two crowns, both at home and in Africa and America". It could not be expected, however, that England should turn over to Sweden the territory she had captured from the Dutch, and hence the Swedish government still pressed its claims at the Hague. In the autumn the States General sought the friendship of Sweden in the war with England and sent a special envoy to Stockholm. The Swedish claims in America were now presented to him, but he gave evasive answers, declaring that Rising through his acts of hostility was to blame for the capture of New Sweden. At the conference between the Swedish and Dutch envoys in the spring of 1667, claims and counter-claims were again presented. The treaty of April, 1667, contained a paragraph relating to the American Company, and in the treaty of friendship three months later, the sixth paragraph stated that the American claims should be settled according to justice and

as soon as possible. During the following years claims were presented to England as well as to Holland, and in June, 1672, Ambassador Lejonberg was instructed "to try in a polite way to prevail upon England to restore New Sweden. If they would not want to give back the land, then they ought to be requested to allow Sweden to bring her colonists away from there". The next year the question was taken up with Holland and the third paragraph of the commercial treaty between Sweden and Holland (April 22, 1673), is devoted to the encroachment which Sweden suffered in America. But it was all wasted energy. No indemnity was ever obtained and the colony was forever lost to Sweden.

IV.

The company discontinued its preparations to send supplies to Rising, when information was received that the colony had been captured. But the tobacco trade, which had been of great importance and proved most profitable, could still become a source of large income to the stockholders, if it were conducted on a practical and businesslike basis. In February, 1655, Daniel Junge, the factor, now also the treasurer of the company, offered to pay 16,000 R. D. for the exclusive right of selling tobacco in the kingdom; but no agreement was reached, and the company

retained its control of the trade. Importation of tobacco from Hamburg and Amsterdam continued, and from the time the company received its new privileges (December, 1654) until the end of February, 1656, 15,390 lbs. of raw tobacco were sold. Spinning played an important part and nearly 16,000 lbs. were spun by February of the above mentioned year. But much smuggling was done in spite of repeated efforts to regulate the trade. Consequently the business was not always what it might have been, and, when the officers and soldiers returned from New Sweden to demand their pay, the finances of the company were in a deplorable state.

Several proposals and plans for the reorganization of the company were presented by Kramer and Junge, but they met with little support from the King and the government. By the end of 1658 the company had imported 107,914 lbs. of tobacco on which a liberal profit was realized. Smuggling, however, increased appallingly, making it more difficult than ever to sell tobacco, and one of two things became absolutely necessary,—the dissolution or the re-organization of the company. The officers accordingly decided to re-organize, and the King, at their suggestion, published an “ordinance concerning the importation and trade of tobacco.” One of the principal reasons given for granting the privileges was

“that the productive colony in New Sweden might be preserved and maintained, [which will become] of great benefit to us, our kingdom and subjects, as well on account of the navigation, as on account of trade and commerce and the accompanying profit and advantage.” The entire tobacco trade of the nation was now conducted by the company and the traffic was extended to almost every city, village, and hamlet in the kingdom and to the principal centers in Finland and the other provinces. In consequence the business attained tremendous proportions. The searchers and inspectors, who were appointed to guard the rights of the company and to “inspect the tobacco trade”, prevented smuggling or secret sales in any considerable degree, although the many fines, collected from “revenue-cutters”, prove that illegal importation was by no means stamped out.

Complaints, however, were soon made against the company and its methods. As a consequence its privileges were withdrawn in the autumn of 1660, and two years later it was dissolved. But the company (often confused with the African Company) and its directors figured in claims and lawsuits as late as 1736.

CHAPTER X.

THE FIRST PERIOD OF THE SWEDISH SETTLEMENTS UNDER DUTCH RULE AND THE COMING OF THE *Mercurius*, 1655-1656.

When the articles of surrender had been accepted, and Rising with his men was about to leave the country in October, 1655, Stuyvesant made provisions for a temporary form of government. The seat of power was transferred from Christina to Fort Casimir, and Captain Dirck Smith was appointed commander, until other arrangements could be made, an instruction doubtless being given him.

In the meantime the Swedes who remained in the country made the best of their situations, repaired the damage caused by the invasion as far as they could, and settled down to their former peaceful occupations.

Of Smith's rule we know very little. He ordered lands to be sown and cultivated, and he made other provisions for the welfare of the settlement; but he was summoned to appear before the council at New Amsterdam for "grave reasons", which indicates that complaints were made against him, and he seems to have done nothing for the improvement of the forts.

In November Jeal Paul Jacquet was made vice-director, with "supreme command and authority", and he should govern the colony with a council under the guidance of Peter Stuyvesant. In his instruction (issued at New Amsterdam) he was charged to enforce the observance of the Sabbath, the regulations concerning the sale of liquor to the Indians, and to keep peace and order among the people. He should require the soldiers and officers to remain in the fort over night, debarring all freemen from the same, especially the Swedes; he was to allow no vessels to pass above the stronghold, which he was to keep "in a becoming state of defense"; he should take care in distributing lands that "at least 16 or 20 persons or families" were placed together, so as to form villages, and, in order to prevent an immoderate desire for land, he "should impose a tax of 12 stivers annually for each *morgen* (acre)"; he was to lay out a town on the south side of Fort Casimir, where lots were to be assigned; and he was to provide for the expenses of the government by imposing excises on goods sold by the tavern-keepers as follows:

For a hogshead of French or Rhenish wine,	fl. 20
For an anker of the same wine,	fl. 4
For an anker of brandy, Spanish wine or distilled water,	fl. 7
For a barrel of imported beer,	fl. 6
For a barrel of New Netherland beer,	fl. 4

Finally he should "look well after the Swedes," and he was to try to remove such as were "not friendly disposed to the Honorable Company" by sending them to New Amsterdam, if possible.

On December 8 (18), Jacquet took the oath of office before Peter Stuyvesant, and ten days later he assumed the Vice-Directorship in Fort Casimir. Certain articles in Jacquet's instruction, if forced, would have interfered with the rights of the old settlers; but caution was exercised, and "the letter of the law" was never followed.

Allerton, and probably other traders, visited the river in the autumn, winter and spring; and several Jews, "who had put goods on board a ship for the South River", requested permission to trade there; a right which was *conditionally* granted them. The Swedish barks and yachts surrendered by Rising were used on trading expeditions, but the *Eindracht** stranded at Sandy Hook in January, 1656. The council at New Amsterdam authorized Jan Teunissen, the carpenter, to save the vessel, promising him 200 florins if successful.

A law court was established by Jacquet shortly after his arrival, at which several settlers presented their grievances, while others were summoned to appear in suits. In January, 1656, some Swedish freemen living near Fort Casimir

(*) Perhaps the same as the Swedish *Endräkt* (harmony).

appeared before Jacquet and his council, and requested permission to remain on their lands until the expiration of one year and a half, agreeable to the capitulation, as they had not then any inclination to change their place of abode nor to build in the new town. Their petition was granted, and they remained undisturbed on their homesteads.

About March 13 the ship *Mercurius* arrived, as we have seen. Henrick Huygen and Johan Papegoja went ashore, presented themselves to the commander at Fort Casimir, and reported their instructions and intentions, requesting permission to land the people somewhere in the river, until further orders were received from Sweden. This was denied them, and Huygen was arrested as an enemy of the state. Johan Papegoja appealed to Stuyvesant in a letter, dated March 14 (24), informing the latter of the arrival of the ship and requesting permission to revictual and return unmolested to Europe, also remonstrating against the treatment accorded Huygen. Vice-Director Jacquet likewise made a report to his superior at New Amsterdam.

The letters, which were "brought to Manhattan by Allerton's ketch," arrived there in the night of March 18-19 (28-29), it seems, and a meeting of the council was immediately called. The council concluded to deny the Swedes the privilege of

landing, but they should be free to return unmolested, and they were allowed to provide themselves with necessary provisions for their homeward journey. A pass was issued for the ship, granting her an unhampered passage to New Amsterdam, where necessary supplies could be obtained. It was decided to send several soldiers to the South River to prevent an uprising of the Swedes, and such who had not hitherto taken an oath of allegiance, should now be compelled to do so. Those "who refused or contravened against it" should be sent away "by every opportunity." Jacob Svensson and Sven Skute were especially designated as "undesirable citizens", and regarded with suspicion since it was said that they held "secret conferences" with the Indians, "who often came to the homes of the Swedes and were, as usual, well received."

When these instructions arrived in Fort Casimir, Huygen determined to present his case at New Amsterdam in person. He went overland, arriving at the Dutch fort about April 1 (11), and delivered a written remonstrance to the Dutch council. The council replied that his requests could not be granted, repeating their former promises of an unmolested return voyage, and stated that, if the Swedes persisted in their designs and would not leave the river, force would be used to expel them. To show that they were

in earnest the warship *Waag* was ordered to proceed to the Delaware with the first favorable wind. Finding that he could accomplish nothing, Huygen accepted the proposals, making it unnecessary for *De Waag* to sail. The outcome was reported to Papegoja, and the *Mercurius* was soon expected to arrive at New Amsterdam. But over two weeks passed and no ship was heard of. Rumors were circulated that difficulties had arisen on the South River, and on April 18 (28) it was decided at a hurried meeting of the council to send Ensign Smith overland with twelve to sixteen soldiers to ascertain the state of affairs there. When Smith arrived there, however, the immigrants had disembarked and the ship had been unloaded.

Papegoja gives the following description of these events in his letter of July 30 (August 9), 1656. In accordance with Stuyvesant's orders "we decided to set sail for Manhattan. But as soon as the savages or Indians observed this, they speedily collected in great numbers, came down to us and reminded us of the former friendship and love which they had had for us Swedes, above all other nations, and said that they would destroy and exterminate both Swedes and Hollanders, unless we remained with them and traded as in the past. Then all our Swedes, who feared the savages, came to us also and protested strongly against us in writing, saying that we would be the

cause of their destruction if we departed . . . ” Papegoja was therefore in a quandary, but, seeing the danger of refusing the request of the angry savages, he commanded the skipper to head up stream. (It has also been said that a large number of Indians and some old Swedish colonists went on board the vessel.) Papegoja then gave the Swedish salute (which was answered by one discharge from the fort), and sailed up to New Gothenborg,* where the people were put ashore.

Letters were thereupon written to Huygen, informing him of the occurrences. Jacquet wrote to the Dutch governor also, at the same time sending Hudde to make an oral report. Hudde arrived at Manhattan on April 21 (May 1). The same day the council read and re-read the letters and declarations, and resolved to dispatch the *Waag* with troops for the place of disturbance in order to bring the *Mercurius* from there and settle the difficulty with the natives. Huygen as well as Papegoja were exonerated, and the former was permitted to return on the *Waag* to his ship, after he had given bond of good behavior and promised to settle the differences between the savages and the Christians. The councillors De Sille and Van Tienhoven were commissioned to investigate the matter.

(*) Papegoja met his wife there and probably remained in Printz Hall during his stay in the country.

The *Waag* set sail as soon as the wind permitted, but in the South River she ran on a sand-bank. When the commander observed, says Papegoja, that the Swedes showed no hostile intentions, he requested them to aid in floating the *Waag* as well as in pacifying the savages. The *Mercurius* was therefore ordered down the river to the assistance of the *Waag*; but when she arrived in the bay the Dutch vessel was afloat. Some merchandise was then brought on board of the latter ship and presented to the savages in the name of the Dutch, and thus peace was restored.

In the late spring the *Mercurius* was brought to New Amsterdam, where the cargo was sold in July, after a certain import duty had been paid. Papegoja desired to return with the ship, but differences arose between him and Huygen, and the former departed from Europe on a Dutch vessel on June 13 (23), arriving in Amsterdam about the beginning of August. Having been loaded with a return cargo the *Mercurius* set sail for Europe some time during the summer; but Huygen remained in the colony, and we find him variously employed for a number of years in the service of the Dutch. It seems that the great majority of the newcomers also settled in the colony. They were given land, and gradually built homes and cleared new fields.

CHAPTER XI.

THE LAST PERIOD OF THE SWEDISH SETTLEMENTS UNDER THE DUTCH, 1656-1664.

As the Swedes and the Finns gave no trouble, Fort Christina was allowed to decay, and Papegoja says that it "was robbed of gates, windows and chimneys." Elias Gyllengren, Sven Skute and Gregorius van Dyck (who remained) naturally became the leaders of their countrymen. They were farmers like the rest, and seem to have prospered. Disturbances of a milder kind arose from time to time, and sometimes murders and graver misdemeanors were committed ("the sister of Elias Gyllengren's wife" being shot in the autumn of 1656). Madam Papegoja remained at New Gothenborg, and also retained Printztorp by consent of the Dutch; but she experienced some difficulty in finding people, willing to cultivate her land on the terms she offered. The grants of many of the other Swedes, some of whom had "deeds from Queen Christina,"* were confirmed by the New Amsterdam authorities. The Dutch

(*) As for instance Gyllengren (through Amundsson) and Sven Skute.

achieved various improvements, which bettered the condition of "their subjects"; they caused bricks to be made, roads to be improved, bridges to be built, fences to be constructed, overseers and tobacco inspectors to be appointed, etc.

In the summer of 1656 the Dutch West India Company, for financial reasons, was compelled to surrender part of the South River to the City of Amsterdam.* The seat of government of the city's colony was to be Fort Casimir, the name of which was changed to New Amstel,† while Christina (changed to Altena) was to be the center of power for the company's colony, and Stuyvesant was ordered to garrison the latter place as well as Fort New Gothenborg with eight or ten soldiers.

Jacob Alrichs was appointed director of New Amstel and the Amsterdam colony in December; but, being delayed by a shipwreck and other misfortunes, he did not reach his destination before the spring of 1657. A considerable number of colonists arrived with him.

In the meantime complaints had been made against Jacquet, who was removed from office, and put under arrest, leaving the place open for

(*) The States General ratified the transfer in August and arrangements for the organization of the city's colony were soon thereafter made. The company retained the land above Ft. Christina along the Delaware. It has been stated by some that the "city's colony" was above Ft. Christina. Ferris, p. 106, etc.

(†) Nieuer-Amstel after one of the suburbs of Amsterdam.

Alrichs. With the latter's arrival Fort Christina was restored to a state of defense, as the Swedes were still mistrusted, and the new director was commanded to watch them closely.

In the spring of 1658 Governor Stuyvesant went in person to arrange matters at the Delaware. The Swedes were required to swear a new oath of allegiance, but at their request they were exempt from taking sides, if trouble should arise between their respective nations in Europe. Under the supervision of certain officers, the country was divided into court jurisdictions. They were given a sort of self-government with headquarters at Tinicum Island, and Sven Skute was elected captain; Anders Dalbo, lieutenant; Jacob Svensson, ensign; Gregorius van Dyck, sheriff; and Olof Stille, Matts Hansson, Peter Rambo and Peter Cock magistrates. On May 8, (1658) these officers appeared before Stuyvesant with a petition for certain privileges. They requested instructions for their guidance, and they desired a court messenger; they asked for free access to Fort Altena, so that they could get assistance in case of necessity, and they petitioned that nobody should be allowed to leave the colony without the knowledge of the magistrates.

The Swedes and Finns gradually gained the confidence of the Dutch authorities and performed many valuable services for them as interpreters

and guides. They cut masts and other timber and furnished bricks for buildings; and by their thrift were able to supply much of the provisions for the soldiers.

The crops were poor in 1658, due to an overabundance of rain, butter, cheese and salt were scarce; and sickness was general. The total number of inhabitants was now about 600 souls, but it is not possible to say how many of these were Swedes and Finns. The cattle and horses belonging to the Dutch West India Company were given out for half of the increase to settlers, a custom employed by Rising as we have seen, but complaints were made that the horses were ill-treated.

On July 20 (30), 1658, Willem Beeckman was appointed commissary and vice-director for the West India Company at Fort Altena with highest authority over the company's officers, "except in the district . . . of New Amstel," and his instruction in eight articles was given to him on October 18 (28). He was to have special oversight and supervision of the Swedes; he was to be the custom officer and the auditor in the country, and obliged to be present at New Amstel, when ships arrived there or whenever his duties so required.

Beeckman proposed a tax on the Swedes and Finns to the amount of 400 guilders a year, thus providing for the current expenses, and the direc-

tors of the Dutch West India Company disapproved of giving them officers of their own. Stuyvesant, however, replied to their orders for discharging these officers and appointing Hollanders in their stead, that he thought the hearts of the Swedes could best be won by methods of lenient government. They were also called upon to do military duty, but objected strongly, and the Dutch had no power to force them, while Beekman reported that in an emergency "they would be more cumbersome than useful." Troubles arose with the English as well as the savages, keeping the Dutch in constant alarm, who, as a consequence were forced to treat "their foreign subjects" with more respect and consideration than would otherwise have been the case.

Attempts were made from time to time to settle them in villages, so as to simplify the jurisdiction over them; and in the spring of 1660 the fiscal, De Sille, was instructed to engage some of them as soldiers, or to persuade them to settle near New Amsterdam as freemen, asking, "with all imaginable and kindly persuasive reasons," the "help and intercessions" of the Swedish sheriff and commissaries. But the Swedes were opposed to removal, and De Sille was unsuccessful in his mission.

Jacob Alrichs died December 20 (30), 1659, and Alexander d'Hinoyossa was made provisory

director in his stead. The Swedes and Finns who could bear arms now numbered about 130, according to the report of Van Dyck. Disputes as to the distribution of land arose among them about this time, perhaps largely occasioned by the fact that many of the Finns understood neither Swedish nor Dutch, making business transactions difficult. In the spring of 1660 some twenty Swedish and Finnish families desired to remove to the neighborhood of New Amstel, but it appears that they were forbidden to do so. Later, however, D'Hinoyossa invited others to settle there.

The Swedes and Finns contrived throughout this period of trade with the savages, but they were somewhat restricted in their freedom by D'Hinoyossa, giving rise to complaints and dissatisfactions. They were particularly successful farmers, and many of them attained prosperity. Hence they were very desirable colonists, and when requests for additional agriculturists were sent to Amsterdam, the comment was appended, "not Hollanders, however, but other nations and especially Finns and Swedes, who are good farmers." A grist mill was built by Johan Stålkofsta (Stalcoop), L. Petersson and Hans Block in the summer of 1662 at the Falls of Turtle Kill, and the old mill erected by Printz was kept in repair.

In the autumn of 1663 the entire Delaware

population* had erected about 110 good boweries, stocked with some 200 cows and oxen, 20 horses, 80 sheep and several thousand swine. Some of the Swedes as we have seen, wrote to relatives and friends in the old country, praising the land and inviting them over, and the Dutch authorities encouraged such migrations, often with good results. About thirty Swedes arrived with the skipper, Peter Lukassen in the summer of 1663, and thirty-two or more Finns and probably some Swedes came with Alexander d'Hinoyossa in December.

The settlers were peaceful, as a rule, also during this period. A few minor disturbances arose, however, and Evert Hindricksson, the Finn, was accused of maltreating Jöran Kyn, and other grave complaints were made against him. He was brought into court, tried and banished from the colony as a dangerous character. Peter Meyer was also accused of disturbance and assaults, and several other cases of like nature were taken into court. The Swedes and Finns continued to have their own officers and a few were even employed in the forts. Timon Stidden, who remained in the country, continued to act as barber-surgeon, and he treated the ill and wounded as far as he was able. Witchcraft also played its part, and Margareta Matsson was said to be a witch, as Henry Drystreet was told about

(*) Swedes, Finns, Dutch and a few Germans and Danes.

this time. The fish in the river continued to be plentiful, and the settlers obtained some provisions from this source as well as from hunting. Many deserted the colony on account of debts or for other reasons and a number went to settle among the English in Maryland;* but a few returned from time to time.

Little is known about the religious history of the Swedes at this time. According to the articles of surrender they were allowed to retain a minister of the Gospel of their own confession and were to be undisturbed in their services, a concession which was later regretted by some of the Dutch. Rev. Lars Lock remained among them, and he seems to have conducted regular services in the church at Tinicum. He was given a salary by the Swedish commissaries, probably raised by voluntary collections. He had more than his share of troubles, and in 1661 his wife eloped with another man, causing inconvenience and law suits. Having obtained a divorce, he married again, but the marriage was declared null and void by the Dutch authorities, because he performed the ceremony himself. Later he was fined 50 florins for marrying a young couple without proclamation in the church and against the will of the parents. He as well as Olof Stille objected to the interference

(*) For a list of these see the author's *Swedish Settlements*, II, 667-68.

of the Dutch court, saying that the consistory of Sweden alone had jurisdiction over the case. At another time he was "fearfully beaten and marked in his face" by Peter Meyer, who was summoned to appear in court, but the affair was settled between the parties privately. Acrelius asserts that a priest by the name of Matthias came out here on the ship *Mercurius*, but he returned to Sweden with the vessel, according to the same authority. The many Lutherans residing at New Amstel engaged a young man by the name of Abelius Zetskorn or Setskorn to serve them. The Swedish commissaries at Tinicum desired him to preach in their church, but Rev. Lock objected "to it with all his influence." Setskorn preached there on the second day of Pentecost, however, and received a call as schoolmaster with the same salary as the preacher enjoyed; but the people "of New Amstel would not let him go,"* and Rev. Lock remained the only Lutheran preacher north of New Amstel. The population, however, was now too large for one pastor and the language question complicated matters. Many of the Finns could not understand the Swedish language during the first years, and these were without religious instruction. As time went on, however,

(*) There is no direct evidence that the Swedes tried to get rid of Lock as is stated by Norberg, p. 6; Smith, *Hist. of Del. Co.*, p. 90.

Swedish became predominant, the Finns and Dutch gradually acquiring it.

In the autumn of 1663 the entire Delaware district was transferred to the city of Amsterdam, and D'Hinoyossa was made commander. The Swedes and Finns were absolved from their former oaths and required to swear new allegiance. This they refused to do, unless they were granted "the same privileges in trading and other matters as they had had under the government of the Honorable Company," being inclined rather to remove than to submit to the conditions offered them.

The customs and manners remained the same as in the former period, the bath-house, the Finnish and Swedish log-cabins, the splinter-sticks, and all other utensils and implements we have learned to know in previous chapters, continued to be used. The domestic animals had greatly increased, the fields were comparatively numerous and in many cases large, and the settlement had acquired a certain stability and form. The colony had not been a financial success from the Dutch point of view, however. Thousands of florins were borrowed and expended, and thousands more were needed.

In 1664 rumors of a Swedish attempt at recapturing the river were afloat in Holland, as we have seen, causing some uneasiness, until it was

reported that the expedition had been wrecked. A large number of Finns had been "enticed" to migrate to the colony in the spring, and other measures were taken to build up the settlement. But Dutch rule, except for a short interval, was drawing to a close on the Delaware and in America. The English forces, sailing up the Hudson in the autumn, compelled Stuyvesant to surrender on September 3. On the same day Sir Robert Carre was commissioned to proceed to the Delaware for the purpose of bringing that colony under the power and authority of the English crown. Carre arrived in the river on September 30 and on October 1 (11), the articles of capitulation were signed. The inhabitants were to be protected in their estates under the authority of the English King; the old magistrates were to continue in their jurisdiction as formerly, and "the sheriff and other inferior" officers should remain in power for six months, until other steps could be taken; all the people were to enjoy religious liberty and be free "as any Englishman" upon the taking "of the oath," and any one was allowed to depart from the settlement within six months after the date of the articles. We are now at the beginning of a new era and the following years belong to another treatise.

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Names of ships are printed in italics. The letters å, ä, ö and ü are treated like a, o and u and follow the English order.

For a detailed index and full bibliography see the author's "*The Swedish Settlements*," II, 767ff, 815ff

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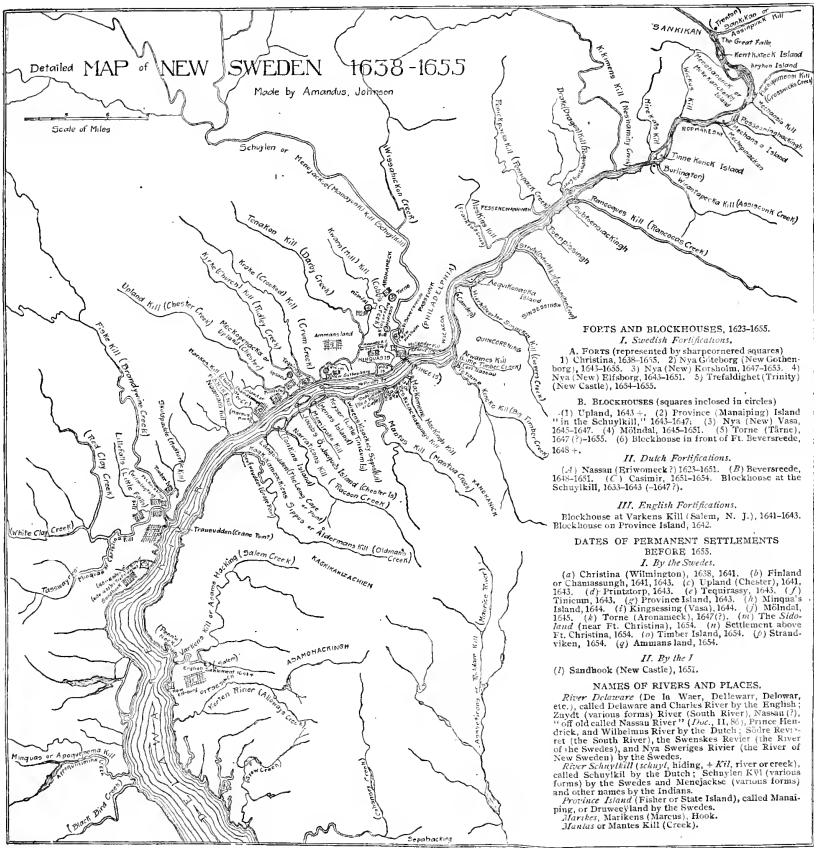
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Detailed MAP of NEW SWEDEN 1638-1655

Made by Amanus, Johnson

Scale of Miles



FORTS AND BLOCKHOUSES, 1623-1655.

I. Swedish Fortifications.

A. FORTS (represented by sharp-cornered squares)

- 1) Christina, 1638-1645.
- 2) Nya Gøteborg (New Gøthenborg), 1641-1653.
- 3) Nya (New) Korsholm, 1647-1653.
- 4) Nya (New) Eilfsborg, 1643-1651.
- 5) Trefaldighet (Trinity) (New Castle), 1648-1655.

B. BLOCKHOUSES (squares inclosed in circles)

- (1) Upland, 1643+.
- (2) Province (Manaijick) Island "in the Schuykill," 1643-1647.
- (3) Nya (New) Vasa, 1645-1647.
- (4) Møndal, 1645-1651.
- (5) Torne (Tårne), 1647(?) - 1655.
- (6) Blockhouse in front of Ft. Beverstede, 1648+.

II. Dutch Fortifications.

- (a) Nassau (Brimmeck?), 1638-1651.
- (b) Beverstede, 1648-1651.
- (c) Cassinij, 1651-1654.
- (d) Blockhouse at the Schuykill, 1633-1643 (-1647?).

III. English Fortifications.

- Blockhouse at Varkens Kill (Salem, N. J.), 1641-1643.
- Blockhouse on Province Island, 1642.

DATES OF PERMANENT SETTLEMENTS BEFORE 1655.

I. By the Swedes.

- (a) Christina (Wilmington), 1638, 1641.
- (b) Finland or Chamassunguh, 1641, 1643.
- (c) Upland (Chester), 1641, 1643.
- (d) Printztorp, 1643.
- (e) Tegusrasay, 1643.
- (f) Timucam, 1643.
- (g) Province Island, 1643.
- (h) Mungus Island, 1644.
- (i) Kingessing (Vasa), 1644.
- (j) Møndal, 1645.
- (k) Torne (Aronameck), 1647(?)
- (l) The Sidslönd (near Ft. Christina), 1648.
- (m) Settlement above Ft. Christina, 1654.
- (n) Timber Island, 1654.
- (o) Straad-viken, 1654.
- (p) Ammans land, 1654.

II. By the I

- (1) Sandhook (New Castle), 1651.

NAMES OF RIVERS AND PLACES.

River Delaware (De in Waer, Delaware, Delmar, etc.), called Delaware and Charles River by the English; Zuydt (various forms) River (South River), Nassau (?), "off old called Nassau River" (*Jour.* II, 80), Prince Hendrick, and Wilhelmus River by the Dutch; Södra Revi-er (the South River), the Swenkes Revi-er (the River of the Swedes), and Nya Sweriges River (the River of New Sweden) by the Swedes.

River Schuykill (*schuyt*, hiding, a *Kill*, river or creek), called Schuyk by the Dutch; Schuycken Kill (various forms) by the Swedes and Menajacks (various forms) and other names by the Indians.

Province Island (Fisher or State Island), called Manaijick, or Druweckland by the Swedes.

Marikes, Marikens (Marcus) Hook.

Manties or Manties Kill (Creek).



