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*The
Swedish Settlements
on the Delaware*

1638-1664

Volume 11

*By
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*Of The University of Pennsylvania, Secretary of The
Swedish Colonial Society, Member of The Historical
Society of Pennsylvania*

*Philadelphia
Swedish Colonial Society*

1911

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

UNDERDÅNIGST AF
FÖRFATTAREN

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PART I.

RENEWED EFFORTS IN BEHALF OF THE COLONY AND THE TENTH AND ELEVENTH EXPEDITIONS, 1653-1654.

CHAPTER XXXIX.

THE TENTH EXPEDITION, 1653-1654.

I.

We have seen that no ship was dispatched to New Sweden after 1649, although Printz had written several times, imploring for aid. The letters to Brahe and Oxenstierna of April 26, 1653, stating that new supplies were absolutely necessary in the colony, arrived at Stockholm in the late summer. These seem to have impressed the authorities with the fact that the settlement could no longer be neglected and there were at last signs of awakened interest in the same and renewed activities in its behalf at the capital. The company was discussed in the Council of State and the Queen once more instructed the Commercial College to take over its management. Eric Oxenstierna, who in August, 1652, had been made General Director of the college, returned to Sweden in the summer of 1653 and new life was put into that body.¹ He was also greatly interested in the colonial work and to him was largely due the efforts that were soon made to send out a new expedition.

Further consultations were had in the council about the matter in August, at which reports and suggestions were presented, and it was at last decided that the various requests of Printz for ammunition, supplies for his new ship and other things should be granted. The Admiralty, as has been seen, was in arrears to the company for several thousand R.D. As a consequence it had been proposed on several occasions that the gov-

¹ Cf. Fries, *E. Oxenstierna*, p. 124 ff.

ernment should prepare the ships for the next expedition. The question was brought up again at this time and the Queen agreed to the plan, instructing the Admiralty on August 13, to fit out the *Wismar* for a voyage to New Sweden. The Queen had determined, says the instruction, to send 300 colonists and a large cargo to the South River, in order that the undertaking there 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 and the preparations for the expedition were soon in full progress.² For some reason "the Crown's ship *Örn*,³ lying at anchor in the harbor of Stockholm, was selected to make the voyage instead of the *Wismar* and Captain Bockhorn⁴ was appointed to sail the vessel. As the expedition was to consist of two ships, the company arranged to prepare the *Gyllene Haj*,⁵ and on the day before the above instructions were issued the Commercial College had ordered Hans Kramer to deliver 600 D. to Peter Friedell to be used for the supplies of the ship.

About two weeks later (August 25) Kramer, through orders from the college, supplied 2,550 D.s.m. to Admiral Anckarhjelms, who was also to buy provisions and pay the wages of the colonists and sailors at Gothenburg before they set sail. On September 28 an instruction was sent to the admiral concerning the journey of the ship to Virginia and, as some changes had been

² R.R., August 13, 1653, fol. 1572-3.

³ *The Eagle*. Probably the head of an eagle was carved as the figure head.

⁴ Capt. Jan Jansson Bockhorn. Probably a Hollander (his enmity to the English would indicate that, besides other circumstances). Entered Swedish service before 1643. Was mate on the *Katt* in 1649 and served in various capacities for many years. Made several journeys to Portugal in 1651. Served on the "Göteborgiske confardie" ship for some time until in April, 1652. March 30 he was ordered to report to Stockholm for service. In the fall of 1653 he was ordered to sail to New Sweden on the *Örn*. In 1656 he left Swedish service to try his luck in other places, receiving good recommendations from the government. But he again returned to Sweden and during the winters of 1660 and 1662 he made journeys to Germany and Holland for private purposes and passes were given him by the Admiralty. *Am. Reg.* 1651 Junio 11; 1652, March 30 (index gives year wrongly as 1653), fol. 128-9; 1653, September 28, fol. 512-13; October 4, fol. 531-3; 1656, September 30, fol. 946-7; 1660, October 31 f. 524; 1662, August 16. In R.R. and in Com. Col. Reg. are to be found materials on him.

⁵ *The Golden Shark*.

suggested in the original lists of food stuffs ordered to be purchased for the voyage, he was requested to buy various kinds of fish and salt meat instead of pork, besides French and Spanish wine, vinegar, oil and mustard seed. On the same day the cashier of the Admiralty was ordered to deliver 68 D. s.m. for one "*Åm*"⁶ French brandy to be put on the *Örn*. Kramer also purchased quantities of supplies in Stockholm about this time and several hundred barrels of bread and flour and a large supply of nails and other goods were soon brought on board the ship.⁷

A great number of colonists were to be collected for the expedition. Many had, from time to time, applied for permission to go to New Sweden, but the number of settlers, who had expressed their willingness to immigrate, was not sufficient. Accordingly Sven Skute was appointed to hire soldiers and laborers and to prevail upon others to go as settlers. On August 23 Kramer gave him 300 D.s.m. for which he should engage the people, a letter being sent to Governor Per Ribbing on the following day, requesting him to assist in the matter, and on the twenty-fifth an instruction in six paragraphs was issued for him. He should hire 50 soldiers, including those already engaged, especially such as had a trade, and he was to collect 250 colonists "of which the greatest part [must be] good men, fewer women and fewest children." He was to offer the soldiers at the most 4 R.D. a month (less if possible) and he should especially endeavor to find farmhands⁸ 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.k.m. a year until they could be settled on land in New Sweden. First of all he was to gather as many as he was able at Västerås, sending them at once to the capital, that they might go to Gothenburg by the *Örn*. From there he

⁶ Cf. above, Chap. VI.; Falkman, *Om mått*, etc., II. 3, 26, 55-6, 119, 165.

⁷ *Journal*, nos. 1101 (1653, August 12), 1102, 1104 (August 23), 1106, 1115, 1119, 1120, 1116, 1118-25, 1131-34, 1147-8, 1153. *Am. Reg.*, September 23, 1653, fol. 512-13 (Fl. Ar.).

⁸ "Bondedrängiar."

was to proceed to Värmland and Dalsland, as it had been reported that "a good many of those, who dwelt in the large forests" of these provinces, were willing to go to New Sweden and the governors there were requested to assist him in enlisting the people. When the recruits at these places were all hired, they should be kept in readiness to proceed to Gothenburg as soon as Skute heard from President Broman⁹ that the *Örn* had passed through the Sound.¹⁰

It is probable that Skute proceeded at once to carry out these instructions for it seems he had completed his work at Västerås in the beginning of September, as Johan Rising wrote to him on September 10 that he should continue his work in Värmland and Dalsland, keep the people in readiness until he heard from his "Excellency [E. Oxenstierna] and report all matters of importance to Rising or the Commercial College."¹¹

The people hired in Västerås gradually made their appearance at Stockholm, where a number of men had been hired by Kramer,¹² among whom was a millwright,¹³ engaged at a salary of 40 D. a month. Twelve children (boys) from the Bilding College of the city of Stockholm were also sent to New Sweden on these ships.¹⁴ The *Örn* was now almost ready to sail, and in the beginning of October a memorial was given to Captain Bockhorn by the Admiralty, instructing him to set out at once for Gothenburg and requesting him to follow the orders he was to receive from the Commercial College in all matters pertaining to the journey.¹⁵

The ship left Stockholm on October 8, touching at Helsingör, Copenhagen and other ports, and arrived at Gothenburg on November 8.¹⁶ The soldiers and colonists were now rushed to

⁹ President in Gothenburg.

¹⁰ Instruction for S. Skute, August 25, 1653; letter to Per Ribbing, August 24, 1653, *Com. Col. Reg.; Journal*, no. 1104 ff.

¹¹ Letter to S. Skute, September 10, 1653, *Com. Col. Reg.* (R.A.).

¹² Kramer paid a month's wages to sixteen of these.

¹³ "Sagmühlenmeister."

¹⁴ Expenses of 60 D. in connection with them are noted.

¹⁵ *Journal*, nos. 1130, 1153 ff.; "Memorial," etc., *Am. Reg.*, October 4, 1653, fol. 531-3 (Fl. Ar.).

¹⁶ Lindeström to Pres. in the Com. Col., July 9, 1654, N.S., I. (R.A.).

the city, to be in readiness for embarking, and preparations were made to bring the cargo on board. Twelve barrels of butter, twenty barrels of bread, one hundred and thirty-six barrels of beer and several hogsheads of wine and other food stuffs, obtained for the journey, as well as shoes, clothes, implements, sails and supplies for the new ship and a great variety of other goods,¹⁷ which had been bought by Anckarhjelm through orders from the Commercial College, were gradually loaded upon the vessel. Anckarhjelm showed great diligence in these preparations. He bought most of the goods with his own money and supplied large sums to the sailors. Upon the arrival of the ship he caused new barrels to be made for the packing of the provisions and cabins to be built for the people. Disputes arose between the officers, threatening to retard the work, but the admiral was instructed to preserve discipline and his interference seems to have restored order.¹⁸

In the meantime the *Gyllene Haj* was detained at Stockholm as she was not in a sea-faring condition. In September she was repaired at the cost of 66:19½ D. and in October, when the *Örn* was on her way to Gothenburg, she was still lying in the harbor undergoing repairs. The ship was partly rebuilt under

¹⁷ The following were some of the articles loaded upon the ship:

1 large iron chain 6 fathoms (<i>famnar</i>) long.....	D. 18
3 large saw-blades	D. 24
1 large iron hammer or sledge.....	D. 3:16
100 <i>Phluggyxor</i> (plow shares?).....	D. 75
5,000 small nails	D. 45
2 broad-axes	D. 6
1 cross-cut saw (<i>stocksåg</i>).....	D. 7
2 drawing knives	D. 2
1 small saw	D. 1:8
1 line of 20 fathom's length (weighing 3½ <i>lispounds</i>)....	D. 15:24
1 saw-crank (?) (<i>sågväf</i>), weighing 12¾ <i>lispounds</i>	D. 24:18
1 adze (?) (<i>skarfyxa</i>)	D. 3
1 <i>glugg-yxa</i> (?), axe	D. 2
1 hammer	D. 2
1 still (<i>bännvinspanna</i>)	D. 46
1 salmon-net	D. 45

Journal, nos. 1131, 1172, etc.

¹⁸ The Com. Col. to Anckarhjelm, December 13, 1653, *Com. Col. Reg.* (R.A.); "Förslag," etc., February 1, 1654, N.S., I. (R.A.); *Journal*, no. 1115 ff.

the supervision of Lieut. Anders Jansson from Torp and new tackle and rigging were supplied. She was put into fairly good condition by the middle of November and on the nineteenth sixteen barrels of beer, two barrels of salt meat, the same amount of "strömning,"¹⁹ twenty barrels of hard bread, "six barrels of fine hard bread for the officers" and other provisions, which had been purchased by Hans Kramer, were taken on board.²⁰

The long delay was due to the repairs that had been made and to various causes, but it is likely that Amundsson was greatly to blame. He had been appointed captain of the ship in August,²¹ but he was now old and unfit for such service. On October 6 the Admiralty issued a memorial to him. He should sail to New Sweden by way of Porto Rico, where he was to demand damages for the *Katt* according to the revised bill of the losses and the orders which were to be given him by the Commercial College. On December 13 an instruction in eleven paragraphs was drawn up for him, relating to his duties on the journey, his commission in Porto Rico and his office in New Sweden, and a letter of appointment with special reference to his labors in the colony was signed the same day. Both documents were issued by the Commercial College and they were probably sent with Rising to Gothenburg on December 19.²²

About the beginning of December, as the instructions and letters were ready, Gustaf Printz arrived in the capital after a long voyage. The ship *Marie*, on which he had left America, touched at Portsmouth in September and reported that it came from New Sweden under the command of Printz. It was put under arrest by order of the Commissioners of Customs in London and, although demands were made for its release, it was not freed for some time.²³ But Printz succeeded in reaching Stockholm, where he appeared before the Commercial Col-

¹⁹ "Small herring."

²⁰ *Journal*, nos. 1110, 1115, 1137-39, 1141-3, 1146-52, 1156-63.

²¹ Pass for Capt. H. Amundsson, November, 1653, copy in N.S., I. (R.A.).

²² *Com. Col. Reg.* (R.A.); *Rising's Journal*.

²³ "Au mois de Sept. le vaisseau La Marie venant de la Nouvelle Suède, commandé par le Sr. Gustaf Prins fut arrêté a Portsmouth," etc., *State Pap., For., Trade and Adm. Pap.*, 1650-5 (Pub. Rec. Office).

lege 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 immediately be sent and he would be rewarded for his service.²⁴

While the preparations for provisioning the ships and gathering colonists were going on, steps were also taken for the reorganization of the company and for the further development of New Sweden. Printz had at various times earnestly requested to be released from his services as he found his duties too arduous and the means at his disposal too small. He had on each occasion been commanded to remain. Now his request was partly to be granted, but not in the form of a recall—a commissary was to be sent out, who should aid him in his work. Johan Rising, the secretary in the Commercial College, was appointed to this position. Rising, being greatly interested in economic and judicial questions, had studied abroad for some time and paid much 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, as he had given much time to the study of commerce, trade and agriculture, he was engaged to write a treatise 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. He was recommended to the position by Eric Oxenstierna and the chancellor and advised by them to accept the office.²⁵ The offer seems to have been agreeable to him and he willingly accepted it. He has given us his own reasons for doing so. In the first place he considered the colony a splendid sphere for the exercise of his

²⁴ *Com. Col. Reg.*, December 15, 1653 (R.A.).

²⁵ See "Relation," etc., N.S., I. (R.A.). The source for Dr. Fries's statement that Rising requested to be allowed to go ("begärde att själf få medfölja fartyget Orn") is not very trustworthy. *Hist. Tid.*, 1896, p. 38.

powers and secondly he hoped to be able to serve his country to the best advantage. Rising left his services in the Commercial College towards the end of October,²⁶ and December 9 the government issued a commission formally appointing him to his position as well as defining his duties.²⁷

On December 12 a number of documents concerning Rising's commission were issued by the government (a Certificate of Appointment, a Memorial,²⁸ etc.) and an order was sent to the "Kammar Kollegium," assigning 1,500 D. for his traveling expenses.²⁹ A few days later the treasurer was ordered to pay this money to Rising, including 536 D. which remained on his salary in the Commercial College for 1653. He was also knighted and a large donation of land was given to him. About the middle of December^{29a} a long instruction was prepared by the Commercial College and on the same date a "memorial" concerning his journey to Gothenburg and the voyage across the ocean 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 that had been issued concerning New Sweden and he was to prevail upon private parties to send goods on the ship at their own risk for trade in the colony. He was to have free passage to New Sweden and he could bring over from ten to twelve colonists without expense except that he must pay for their provisions. He was to have supervision over the ships during the voyage and he was to see that Divine services were

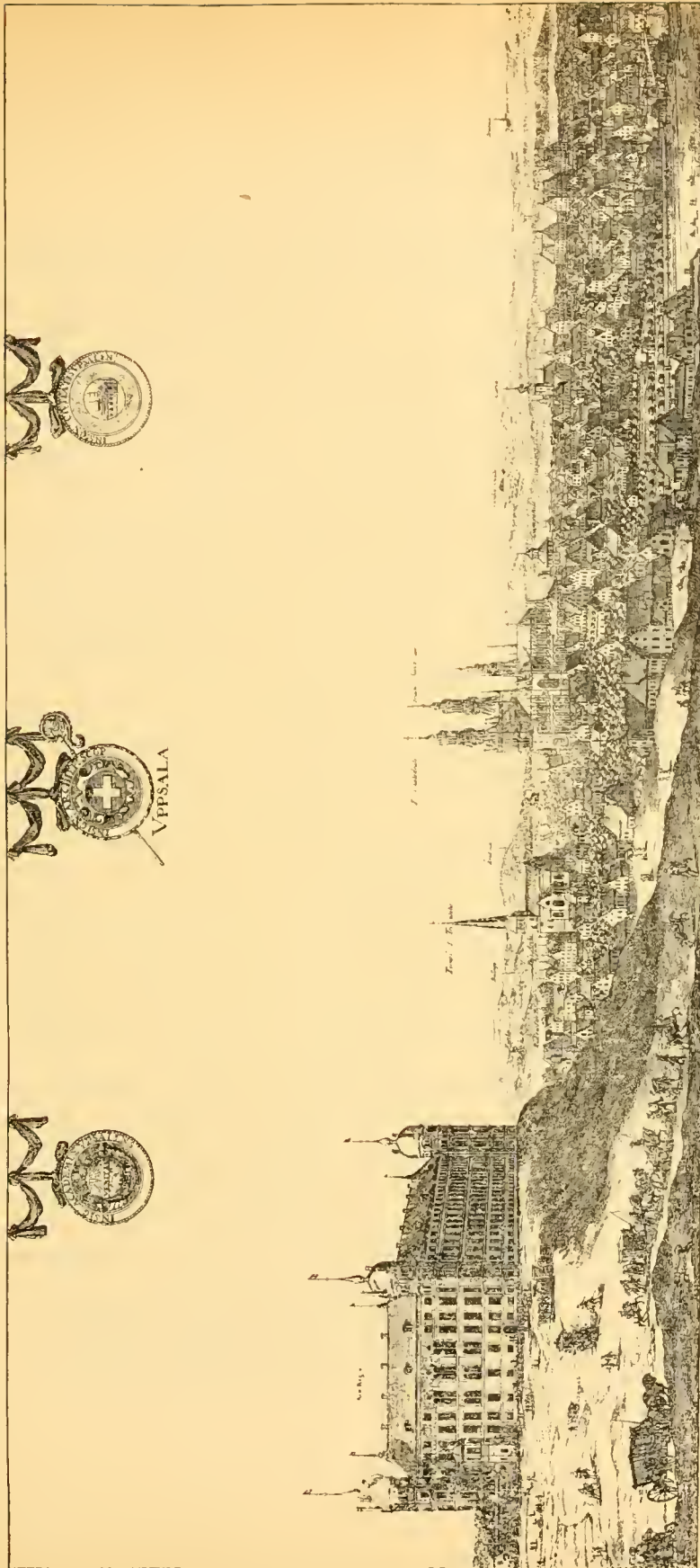
²⁶ The last signature by Rising as secretary of the college is found on page 111, of the *Reg.*, for October 29, 1653. *Com. Col. Reg.*, 1651-1655.

²⁷ Queen's letter, December 9, 1653, N.S., I. (R.A.), *Biogr.* He was sent to help the Governor strengthen the company, increase the trade and to work for the general welfare of the colony.

²⁸ The Memorial is also addressed to Johan Printz. "*Memorial oppå de Ärender, som Kongl. Majjt. hafwer funnit nödigt deels Gouverneuren i Nya Swerige, Johan Printz, deels Com. widh General Com. Col. och Asist. Rådhet uthj färbe: de Landskap, J. Rising, till rättelse att opsätta och förteckna låtha.*" Copy in N.S., I. (R.A.).

²⁹ Kong. Majjt:s till Kam. Kol., December 12, 1653 (K.A., orig.), R.R., Dec. 12 ff., 1653; *Kam. Kol. Reg.*, December 17, 1653 (K.A.).

^{29a} Two dates are given, December 15 and 18, see "Instr.," *Com. Col. Reg.* and *Biogr.*, R. (R.A.).



Uppsala in the seventeenth century. (*Sveicia Antiqua*.) Uppsala was the seat of government at various times during this period and many of the instructions for officers in New Sweden were drafted and signed there.

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 it were absolutely necessary.³⁰

Several other officers were engaged to go to New Sweden at this time. Among these were Peter Mårtensson Lindeström³¹ and Elias Gyllengren, who returned to the colony in the capacity of a lieutenant. Lindeström was appointed 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 recommends him to the favor of the governor. In his youth Lindeström attended the University of Upsala for a time and was then employed as secretary in the College of Mines for two years. Returning to the university he specialized in mathematics and the art of fortification until he "was ordered to go to New Sweden."³²

Sven Skute returned to the colony on the *Örn*. He was appointed "Captain of the landspeople" and on December 13 a letter was issued for him to that effect. On the same day an instruction was drawn up, according to which he was to supervise the embarking of the people and the loading of the goods. He was to look after the cargo and have charge of the provisions for the colonists and soldiers; he was to keep a diary of the journey and leave a signed copy of it with the governor in the colony and send another to Sweden; he was also to make an inventory of the goods, provisions and the mail matter, leaving one of the two copies with Admiral Anckarhjelm, signed by himself and Captain Bockhorn. Since there was only one kitchen on the ship, making it difficult to keep the food for the passengers and the sailors separate,³³ Skute and Bockhorn

³⁰ "Memorial," etc., *Com. Col. Reg.*, December 18, 1653.

³¹ Lindeström left Stockholm on the *Örn*.

³² Letter of Lindeström, *Biogr.* (R.A.); Lindeström, *Geogr.*

³³ The company fed the soldiers and colonists and the admiralty fed the sailors.

were to keep accurate accounts of all the food-stuffs used on the journey, so that the supplies could be controlled and the steward was to have charge of the supplies for each group.³⁴ Skute's duty should also be to see that prayers were said morning and evening, he should keep peace among the people, punish disturbers and be on good terms with the other captains.³⁵

Rising, having made all necessary arrangements for his long voyage, left Upsala December 19 on his way to Gothenburg, where he arrived on the twenty-seventh.³⁶ He immediately set about to carry out his instructions, visited the presidents of the city³⁷ and tried to persuade some of the citizens to send goods to the South River. They desired to see the permit from the government, however, before they would risk it and besides there was no room in the ship on account of the great number of passengers.³⁸ A certain merchant, Jon Amundsson, expressed a desire to go to New Sweden, but he left Gothenburg before the ship sailed and did not return. Laurence de Geer, who was also interested in the new liberties granted to private merchants, visited Rising in company with Admiral Anckarhjelm, acquainted himself with the conditions of the privileges "and showed an inclination to carry on trade" on the Delaware, requesting Rising to correspond with him.³⁹

On account of the long delay of the expedition and on account of other circumstances, gathered from the governor's letters and the oral reports of Gustaf Printz, it appears that Eric Oxenstierna and the other managers of the preparations were not so sure that everything would be as expected, when Rising

³⁴ Revs. Peter Hjort and Matthias Nertunius were also among the passengers on the *Örn*. Nertunius was given 15 D. by Anckarhjelm before the ship sailed.

³⁵ Inst. för Skute, December 12, 1653; Instr. för S. Skute åt Göteborg, August 25, *Com. Col. Reg.* (R.A.).

³⁶ Rising to E. Oxenstierna, December 30, 1653; *Journal* (Up. B.).

³⁷ Gothenburg was ruled by two presidents, see *Göteborgs Hist.* President Broman was ill at the time.

³⁸ Rising wrote to Eric Oxenstierna, requesting him to send a copy of the new privileges to Gothenburg so that he could exhibit it to interested parties. Rising to E. Oxenstierna, December 30, 1653. *Ox. Saml.* (R.A.).

³⁹ Rising to E. Oxenstierna, December 30, 1653, January 21, 1654. *Ox. Saml.* (R.A.).

arrived on the South River. Hence 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 some one, then he [Rising] shall demand their return in the name of Her Royal Majesty and seek to get them into his possession in all possible manners, otherwise settle and fortify some other place in the river. If this could not be effected he should consult with the captains about what was best to do . . . 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 Europe⁴⁰ and, fearing that the settlement was captured, he looked about for other places suitable for the founding of a colony. "With Anckarhjelm," he says, "I have discussed the possibilities of securing a foot-hold in Florida. He stated that he well knows that there are large districts there, which are not occupied, but because the Spaniards are appropriating everything to themselves [in this region] and on account of the ferocity of the savages, he [thought] that no one could plant [successful] colonies there, unless frequent reinforcements should be sent. [He] therefore considered it wisest . . . to settle somewhere on the South River [in case it should be necessary to select new territory]." If Anckarhjelm had advised Rising to settle his people in Florida, it is possible that history would have told of a second New Sweden on this continent.⁴¹

Shortly after Rising's arrival at Gothenburg the *Örn* was ready to depart. On January 2 the colonists and soldiers were reviewed at Stegeberg(?) outside of Gothenburg and money was given them by Admiral Anckarhjelm. Their passes were examined and "persons of evil repute were mustered out and

⁴⁰Rising was informed of the fact on January 3 and he reported it to E. Oxenstierna two days later. Rising to Oxenstierna, January 5, 1654. *Ox. Saml.*

⁴¹Memorial, etc., for Rising, *Com. Col. Reg.*, December 18, 1653, § 9; Rising to E. Oxenstierna, January 5, 1654, also Rising to E. Oxenstierna, no place, no date, but written from Gothenburg after January 20 and before January 27, 1654, *Ox. Saml.*

regulated." It is also stated that about a hundred families had to be left behind on account of lack of room in the vessel.⁴²

Everything was in readiness on the fifth of January, but the *Gyllene Haj* had not made her appearance and, as so much of the provisions had now been used up that the remainder was not sufficient for the journey, it was found necessary to wait for the arrival of the new supplies on the ship.⁴³ The *Haj*, having finally been made ready, left Stockholm on November 23 with forty-one persons (including the sailors) and a good supply of provisions.⁴⁴ Contrary winds seem to have delayed the sailing,

⁴² Rising to E. Oxenstierna, December 30, 1653, January 5, 1654; Anckarhjelms to Kramer, February 1, 1654, N.S., I. (R.A.).

⁴³ As the *Haj* was delayed Rising informed Oxenstierna about it and inquired if they should wait. Orders were then received not to wait for the ship, and to set sail as soon as the wind was favorable, but Rising consulted with Anckarhjelms and it was decided to wait for the vessel.

⁴⁴ In N.S. I. (R.A.) is the following list:

"A.D. 1653. A list of the people [who sailed] on the *Gyllene Haj* the twenty-third of November from Stockholm to Gothenburg, as follows:—

Captain Hanss Amundsson with persons.....	11
Lieutenant Swen Hööck	1
Hanss Steghson in Dallarön, the son-in-law of the book keeper Hans Kramer, December 17.....	1
The mate, Jönss Oloffsson.....	1

Common Sailors.

Bengt Ericksson	1
Johan Oloffsson	1
Dawid Michellsson	1
Erich Jöransson	1
Hindrick Matzson	1
The cook, Jönss Olofsson.....	1
The cook's boy, Jacob Johansson	1
Total	22

The Land People.

The constaples (gunners) with their wives, maidservants and children are both families together, persons.....	7
---	---

The Soldiers

Johan Pedhersson Wulff	1
Nilss Nilsson Phogegus (?)	1
Gustaf Johansson Kräckfööt	1
Secretary Carl Juliuss	1
The 30th of December, 1653, these have deserted in the Sound:	
Tommes Mein	1
Jonass Ericksson	1

for on December 17 the ship had only come as far as Dalarön.⁴⁵ On the thirtieth she was in the sound, where six sailors with a servant and a prisoner deserted.⁴⁶ Four new sailors having been hired, the vessel again set sail about January 3, but she failed to arrive at Gothenburg in a reasonable time, the wind being so contrary, and on January 11 Rising sent a messenger along the shore to look for her. She arrived at last on January 17, but "leaky and in bad condition." Through the negligence of the sailors she had run on banks in the sound and her mast and anchor were broken.⁴⁷

According to the original plans the two ships were to leave Gothenburg simultaneously, keeping the same course for about half the journey, whereupon the *Haj* should go by a direct route to Porto Rico, but on account of the long delay of the expedition new orders were given, whereby Rising was instructed to proceed at once to New Sweden, while the *Haj* was

Larss Erichsson	1
Jonass Erichsson	1
Michell Olofsson von Saar	1
Torsten Torwigh with his servant.....	2
Hans Miödh, a prisoner.....	1
The above mentioned seven people disappeared as stated above in Öhresundh, the 30th December.	

Total number of people from Stockholm to Gothenburg..... 40

[The prisoner Hans Miödh was not counted.]

The following have arrived in the Sound:

The mate Andreas Matthaeus	1
Second mate Effwert Johansson	1
Sailor Jönss Nilsson	1
The cook Persson	1

With Elswick's letter to E. Oxenstierna of March 22, 1654, is another "Förteckning på skepsfolket på sk. *G. Haij*, som skola wara följactige till West Indien." According to this list Bengt Olsson from Söderköping was second mate across the ocean, Andreas Swensson from Sundbeck, Jacob Johansson from Helsingfors and Olof Torkilsson were common sailors besides those given above, Berndt Jastsson from Bergen accompanied the ship as sailmaker, Sigfrid Olsson was cook and Sven Larsson was "cajut pojke." "Förteck., March 22, 1654, N.S., I. (R.A.).

⁴⁵ A place near Stockholm.

⁴⁶ They had been paid part of their wages.

⁴⁷ "Förteckning," etc., 1653, N.S., I. (R.A.), Rising to E. Oxenstierna, January 11, January 20, January 26, *Ox. Saml.*; Anckarhjelms to Kramer, January 20, 1654, N.S., I. (R.A.). Rising's *Journal* (Up. B.). "I onssdagz middagh kom Galioten Gillenhay hijt. . . ." Rising to E. Oxenstierna, January 20, 1654.

to follow as soon as the additional provisions and arrangements necessary for the Porto Rico voyage had been supplied and completed.

Immediately upon the arrival of the *Haj*, the provisions and supplies, which it carried, were transferred to the *Örn* and in a few days the colonists went on board, everything being in readiness for sailing. Anckarhjelm supplied more money with which to pay part of the salaries and wages of some officers and sailors so that they could go on the expedition, and nothing was now wanting but a good wind.⁴⁸

The wind, however, was contrary for some days, causing further delay and expense. The colonists had now been at Gothenburg 11 weeks, waiting for the departure of the ship, during which time they had consumed provisions to the value of 1,461:4 D. They seem to have been fed at some central place from the supply procured by Anckarhjelm, but lodged with various people in the city. Nils "Tjärubrännare"⁴⁹ was paid 1:16 D. for lodging eight persons, thirty-eight men were kept by H. Anerberg for 12:24 D. and twenty persons stayed at Stegeberg with Hans Jung, who was paid 27:24 D. including the charges connected with the review of the people.⁵⁰

A great many colonists went over with the expedition, but we are unable to state the exact number nor their names for the roll-list has been lost.⁵¹ On the thirtieth of December Rising wrote that "the people were about 260 without the sailors"; additional arrivals swelled the number to 350 or more⁵²

⁴⁸ Rising to E. Oxenstierna, December 30, 1653, January 5, 1654, January 11, 1654, January 20, 1654; Anckarhjelm to H. Kramer, January 20, 1654; Lindeström, *Geogr.*; Holm (transl.), p. 74.

⁴⁹ "The tar-burner."

⁵⁰ "Förslagh," etc., Feb. 1, 1654, N.S., I. (R.A.); *Journal*, no. 1153 (November 17, 1653).

⁵¹ It was sent to Hans Kramer by Admiral Anckarhjelm.

⁵² While waiting for a favorable wind Rising found "a young man, Hans Walter [probably a German or a Hollander], . . . for bookkeeper . . . and promised him 20 R.D. a month." He also hired a person "who could keep a cash book, and who well understood brewing, baking and fishing," offering him 100 R.D. a year besides board. Rising to the Com. Col., January 26; to E. Oxenstierna, January 27, Feb. 1, 1654.

II.

As the wind was turning on January 26, Rising made up his mind to sail the following day and in the morning of the twenty-seventh the colonists and soldiers swore their oath of loyalty to the Swedish Crown and the New Sweden Company "under a banner made for this purpose," but the wind soon changed again, delaying the vessel another week.⁵³ On February 2 the ship at last set sail, but the harbor was partly frozen, making it difficult to gain the open sea.⁵⁴ When the vessel reached Skagen⁵⁵ after two days' sailing a strong 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, where the *Backenäs*⁵⁶ mountains are," the wind turned against them, compelling them to sail back towards the English Channel, along the coast of Scotland and England, amidst a terrible storm. On the morning of February 16 they were in the Straits of Dover. The captain was now confused, since they had not been able to make observations for some days, but he soon found that they were near Calais in whose harbor they cast anchor, while Lindeström with some other passengers went ashore.⁵⁷ They left the harbor the same day, taking a westerly course through the

⁵³ Rising's *Journal*; Lindeström's *Geogr.* "Hältz altså mönstringh uppå Skeppet örnen den 27 January, hwarest och bwar af dhem ladhe af deras troheetz Edh, till then ända the nu reesa skulle, under een fana som ther till giordh war." *Journal*.

⁵⁴ Rising's *Journal*, *Geogr.* Rising says in his letter of February 17, 1654, that they set sail February 3 from Gothenburg. Perhaps it took all day February 2 to clear the harbor.

⁵⁵ A small peninsula, the most northerly point of Denmark, directly west of Gothenburg.

⁵⁶ Brechin heights or acclivity? Cf. Lewes, *A Topogr. Dic.*, I. 151 ff.

⁵⁷ Lindeström's *Geogr.* Rising makes no mention in his *Journal* of entering the harbor of Calais, but there seems to be no reason for doubting Lindeström's statement. Cf. his story of the barber and piebaker. Cf. below, Chap. XLIV. The pies "were sold," Lindeström says, "in Calais when the ship was there."

channel. Near Dover they met an English frigate, called the *Pearl*, commanded by Captain Cheverell,⁵⁸ who demanded that the captain of the *Örn* should come on board his ship to show his passport and explain his mission. As it was against the instructions of a captain on a Swedish government ship to leave his post, Cheverell was requested to send his captain on board the *Örn*. On receiving this reply the English fired a ball near the rudder of the Swedish vessel, raised the red flag and presented the broadside of the *Pearl*,⁵⁹ supposing that a Dutch vessel was carrying the Swedish flag.⁶⁰ Rising then sent his ship-lieutenant, Anders Jonsson, with passes to the English boat, whereupon Captain Cheverell sent his mate on board the *Örn* and the vessels went into the harbor, casting anchor over night. The Swedes were well received, when their identity had been established, a pass was given to them and an offer was made to bring them water as well as other refreshments,⁶¹ but Captain Bockhorn being ill disposed towards the English, declined the friendly offer, and set sail with a Swedish salute. From Dover Rising wrote to E. Oxenstierna, relating their experiences since their departure from Gothenburg.⁶²

As Captain Bockhorn had declined the friendly offer of fresh water from the English, in spite of the fact that his supply was exhausted, he was compelled to seek for it elsewhere before leaving Europe. While they were exploring for water the wind turned, driving the *Örn* back past Dover to Deal. Here

⁵⁸ He was a brother of the governor of Dover Castle, Rising's *Journal*.

⁵⁹ Lindeström (*Geogr.*) says that the "English fired and knocked off the tackling and ships-head," but this is not probable, for Rising makes no mention of damages done to the ship and it is highly improbable that he would have omitted such an occurrence. See *Journal*, February 16 (1654), letter to E. Oxenstierna, on board the *Örn*, February 17.

⁶⁰ Lindeström says that an English frigate was stationed at about every mile along the coast, there being 90 war-ships in the channel. *Geogr.* Twenty English ships were, at the time, ready to sail to the West Indies (America). Rising to E. Oxenstierna, February 17, 1654.

⁶¹ Before the vessel sailed two men brought large baskets of oranges and lemons on board for refreshments. *Geogr.*

⁶² Rising to E. Oxenstierna, February 17, 1654, *Ox. Saml.* (R.A.). Rising presented a rifle to the English on February 18, "*Räck. med Söd. Com.*" Rising's *Process* (R.A.).

water was obtained, but at the cost of money and "the people were compelled to run through the water before they came ashore." On February 23 they again set sail, but at Folkestone the wind was contrary. On the twenty-fifth, however, they had a good wind and on the twenty-seventh they entered Weymouth Harbor to replenish their supplies of water and other refreshments.⁶³ The wind was again contrary 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, Mr. Depery," who, visiting Lindeström and Rising in their lodgings with a large staff, invited the Swedish officers to his palace, where they were entertained until midnight. During the banquet the governor inquired about Ambassador White-locke's arrival in Sweden and showed great interest in his mission.⁶⁴ One "evening the city musicians" also came to salute them and "honored us," says Lindeström, "with a serenade of most delightful and pleasing music, so that we had to open our purses."⁶⁵

On March 3⁶⁶ they left Weymouth with a favorable wind, spread all the sails of the *Örn* and pointed her prow towards America. On the ninth they were opposite the coast of Portugal, where they came within speaking distance of three Swedish ships from Stockholm on their way to Setubal to fetch salt. Ten days later they sighted one of the Canaries, in whose harbor they cast anchor at nine the following morning to replenish their supplies and attend to the people, as they had had a stormy voyage and the passengers as well as the crew were sick, many having died on the voyage and been thrown over-

⁶³ In his *Journal* Rising says that they entered Weymouth to get supplies but in his letter of March 3 he says on account of contrary wind.

⁶⁴ There is some discrepancy in the statements of Rising and Lindeström at this point. Lindeström, who wrote for publication, is more full, but perhaps also less careful about facts.

⁶⁵ *Geogr.*

⁶⁶ Rising says, "on the 3d of March we sailed out of Weymouth, while there was quite a good wind, out towards the great Atlantic Ocean." Lindeström says that they left Weymouth on March 2 but Rising wrote from Weymouth, March 3, and in his *Journal* he states that they set sail on March 3.

board.⁶⁷ Captain Bockhorn,⁶⁸ who went ashore with the pass, was brought into the city by an officer and detained towards noon the next day, causing much anxiety among the Swedes, especially since the best sailors were with him. He was delayed by the governor, who desired to visit the ship himself. At noon Governor Don Philipo Disalago came with three large yachts "and a large suite," says Lindeström, and offered the Swedes every kindness. Before his return he invited Rising with his staff to dinner at his palace. A negro slave was ordered to attend the Swedish officers with a shade on their way to the palace and at the banquet they were treated in the most splendid manner. "I am not able to do justice in describing the magnificent treatment we received at the palace from the Governor," says Lindeström. "Although there was no meat, fish, bread or such like on the table, yet the dinner was so sumptuous that we had never seen the like before . . . It consisted entirely of confections . . . and different kinds of wine."⁶⁹ Toasts were also given and the festivities lasted till towards midnight.⁷⁰

The people were likewise permitted to land.⁷¹ The refresh-

⁶⁷ On April 10, one hundred and thirty persons were sick. Rising's *Journal* (R.A.).

⁶⁸ Lindeström writes that they had had a terrible storm and fog for two and a half weeks and Captain Bockhorn was confused and would at first not believe that they had gone so far out of their course. When they were convinced that they actually were at the Canary Islands, they found it, after deliberation, advisable to translate the passport into Latin and cut the seal from the Swedish original and put it on the Latin copy. Lindeström, *Geogr.*

⁶⁹ During the repast the governor informed Rising that Queen Christina had become a Catholic and renounced her crown.

⁷⁰ *Geogr.*, Rising's *Journal*. Lindeström gives a number of experiences in his *Geogr.*, omitted by Rising. "It was a custom," says Lindeström, "for the nuns and monks of the island to visit strangers and question them about their religion. They therefore paid a visit to the Swedes." Lindeström with ten others were also invited by the monks to visit the monastery.

⁷¹ Lindeström relates that when they left the ship to go on shore "the people of the town 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 Lieut. Gyllengren and Lindeström to the governor to make complaint, 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 us [the Swedes] in any manner whatever, he should forfeit his life."

ments, supplied to them here, revived their spirits and the majority recuperated from their sickness,⁷² "but many died in the harbor."

Giving a farewell salute to the Canaries on March 25⁷³ they "sailed from that place with a north-east wind and south-west by west towards the Eastern Passage."⁷⁴ Fresh supplies added somewhat to the comfort of the passengers, while quantities of fish and sea crabs were caught during the journey, but, as the heat increased, when they came further south and west, violent disease broke out among the people, causing great misery and suffering, some being so affected with dysentery and intermittent fever that they jumped into the sea.⁷⁵ It was therefore found necessary to land, when they approached the Caribbean Islands, "for their misery was increasing daily,"⁷⁶ and on April 16 they cast anchor in the harbor at St. Christopher. After the religious services Captain Skute with some soldiers went ashore to present their passport to Governor Everet, who offered them every kindness and sent them several boats of refreshments. Fresh water was likewise obtained and fish was caught by net, supplying food for the people.⁷⁷ On April 17 the officers were invited to dinner by the widow of the former governor, now the

⁷²The bills for supplies and lodging amounted to 400 R.D. Rising's *Process* (R.A.). One lot was valued at 137:4½ R.D. "Räch. på hwadb. som äbr inkiöpt . . . uthy Canaria," etc., March 24, 1654, N.S., I. (R.A.).

⁷³Lindeström has the twenty-sixth and Rising the twenty-fifth.

⁷⁴Four canary birds were bought and taken to New Sweden. "Räckningh," etc., March 24, 1654, N.S., I. (R.A.).

⁷⁵Lindeström adorns his description by ascribing it to the song and music of the sirens. "Some of our people were so much elated [because the sirens sang so beautifully] that they jumped into the sea on account of the delightful playing. . . . Those who did so in the daytime were got out again, but those who jumped through the portholes in the night were not rescued." *Geogr.* According to Lindeström 230 persons were sick.

⁷⁶"Nulla calamitas sola," exclaims Lindeström, and he goes on to relate that the Turks approached with three ships for the purpose of attacking them and pursued them for some distance. Every man able to hold a gun was ordered on deck and brandy was given them to strengthen them. Shots were fired at the Turks and they withdrew, leaving the Swedes to go on their course. After the Turks had disappeared there was thanksgiving on board. *Geogr.* The story is improbable, although it has been accepted by some. The event is not mentioned by Rising.

⁷⁷Cf. "Reck. med. Söd. Com.," Rising's *Process* (R.A.).

wife of George March, and on the eighteenth Rising hired two horses from March by which he rode, in company with Lindeström, to the residence of the French governor-general, a distance of twenty-five miles, to inquire about the ship-wrecked Swedes at St. Cruz.⁷⁸ The governor received them "very civilly," said that the Swedes had left long before, but if any still remained they would be free to depart at any time. He also "promised that the Swedes would be welcome in all French territory, would be allowed to trade freely and would be treated as brothers in all their places."

When Rising returned he found the people very ill, longing for fresh food. To mitigate their sufferings he bought a large ox (valued at 1,440 lbs. of tobacco or 60 R.D.),⁷⁹ which was butchered and distributed among the people.

April 19 they again set sail in company with an English frigate. In the night of May 1 they were close to the American coast and in the morning they sailed into the Bay of Virginia, where a severe thunderstorm overtook them, compelling them to remove all the sails.⁸⁰ Then for some days calm prevailed, but on May 5 a good wind favored them. After some sailing the mariners, being unable to take their bearings on account of cloudy weather, were of the opinion that they had passed the Bay of New Sweden, and on the ninth they sailed south again, arriving at Cape Henry and Virginia Bay on the twelfth, which they supposed to be the mouth of the South River. In the bay they experienced another sudden gust of wind, which snapped the foresail and mizzen sail from the rigging, as though they had been cut with a knife, and carried them far out to sea, while the ship was thrown violently on her leeward side.

After an unsuccessful attempt to establish connections with

⁷⁸ For the Island of St. Cruz at this time, see Ogilby, *America*, 364-5.

⁷⁹ It was bought from George March and paid for by "three pieces of Holland cloth."

⁸⁰ According to Lindeström's story, "several of the men on the upper deck . . . were thrown into the sea and lost." The ship turned on her side with her masts in the water, so that they were compelled to cut the main mast before the ship righted herself. They were delayed several days in the bay to put the ship in order.

two English vessels, which fled from them in the belief that they were sea-robbers, information as to their whereabouts was gained from an Englishman, who came on board the *Örn*.⁸¹ The people were very ill, some dying daily, but the fresh water, which was brought aboard, somewhat revived them, and on May 16 they continued their journey, accompanied by two English vessels, reaching 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. The next morning, which was Trinity Sunday, the ship moved on towards Fort Casimir, while services were conducted on board. The fort was taken and on May 22 the ship was anchored in the harbor of Christina.⁸²

The vessel being ready on July 15 set sail for Sweden with a fair wind, carrying a cargo of tobacco. The return voyage was a long and dangerous one. The ship went to St. Martin for repairs,⁸³ thence to Firth, where Captain Bockhorn bought supplies for 1,200 D. k.m. from his own means. After some delay they set out for Gothenburg with a favorable wind, at which place they arrived about September 24.⁸⁴

⁸¹ A catch also visited the *Örn*.

⁸² Rising's *Journal* (Up. Bib. and R.A.); *Geogr.*; Rising's *Process* (R.A.).

⁸³ The ship was in a very poor condition and it was repaired shortly after its return to Sweden.

⁸⁴ Com. Col. till K. Maj., October 16, 1663, *Skv. till K. Maj.*, 1650-66 (R.A.); Papegoja to Rising, March 10, 1655, N.S., I. (R.A.); Com. Col. Prot., October 4, 1654; *Am. Reg.*, October 4, October 7, 1654 (FLA.).

CHAPTER XL.

THE ELEVENTH EXPEDITION, 1654.

As soon as the *Örn* had gone to sea preparations for the journey of the *Gyllene Haj* were continued. A report of the condition of the ship was sent to the Commercial College and Amundsson requested Eric Oxenstierna to give orders to Admiral Anckarhjelm to have her put in a sea-faring condition. The ship was slowly repaired; Anckarhjelm advanced more money with which additional goods were purchased for the cargo as well as provisions for the people.¹ But matters progressed slowly and as late as February 10 Anckarhjelm reported that "the *Gyllene Haj* was still leaking." He was getting tired of the affair. The discipline among the sailors was poor. "I know not how the journey with the *Gyllene Haj* will turn out," he wrote, "the captain pays hardly any 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*."² As he had paid large sums out of his own means, he requested a draft for 1,000 R.D., when the *Örn* was about to sail, this being only part of the money he had disbursed. On February 1 the Commercial College requested Kramer to send them the bills and inform them whether or not money could be supplied in Stockholm by the company or through draft on Joachim Korts in Riga,³ but there was no money in the treasury before the "tobacco participants" paid part or all of the 12,800 D. k.m.

¹ Amundsson to E. Oxenstierna, January 29, 1654, *Ox. Saml.* (R.A.); Anckarhjelm to Hans Kramer, January 20, 1654, N.S., I. (R.A.).

² Kramer to Asses. in the Com. Col., February 14, 1654; Anckarhjelm to Kramer, February 10 and February 15, 1654, N.S., I. (R.A.).

³ The College made arrangements to pay a little later however.

they owed and so the 1,000 R.D. could not be paid.⁴ Anckarhjelm continued his preparations, however. He hired a mate, supplied more money to the sailors and did everything in his power to rush the sailing of the ship. In the beginning of March the preparations were completed, except for some flour and a large quantity of rye for seed. Since no seed corn was on the *Örn* Rising proposed that "20 or 30 barrels" of good rye and barley be sent in the *Haj*. Later, however, it was decided not to load the rye into the ship, as it would take too much room and could be bought cheaply in New England. Printz had asked that the expedition be delayed until he arrived in Sweden, as he had some suggestions to make, but the Commercial College ordered the vessel to sail as soon as there was a favorable wind.⁵

We have seen that the discipline among the sailors on the *Haj* was not of the best. Amundsson, who had been appointed captain on the journey and supervisor of the ship-building in New Sweden, had proved himself incompetent. Repeated complaints were made against him, so that the college found it advisable to have him removed. Two new men, Sven Höök and Hendrick von Elswick, were already in sight for the position. Lieut. Höök, who sought a post in New Sweden, was appointed to perform Amundsson's duties in the colony as well as to command the vessel on the voyage and a commission was signed for him on March 4.⁶

Hendrick von Elswick was a merchant in Stockholm, who had applied to Rising for permission to go to New Sweden as "Commiss or head-merchant" and, as Rising knew him personally, he recommended him to Eric Oxenstierna.⁷ His appointment was talked about in the Commercial College and

⁴ Com. Col. to H. Kramer, February 11, 1654, *Com. Col. Reg.*; Anckarhjelm's bills had been presented to E. Oxenstierna, February 17 when he was in Stockholm. Kramer to Asses. in Com. Col., February 14, 1654, N.S., I. (R.A.).

⁵ Com. Col. to Anckarhjelm, March 4, 1654, *Com. Col. Reg.* (R.A.); Rising to E. Oxenstierna, January 20, 1654, *Ox. Saml.*

⁶ *Com. Col. Reg.*, March 4, 1654; "S. Hööks Supplik," etc. (about January), 1654, N.S., I. (R.A.).

⁷ Rising thought that if he should be approached, "he would go with the Galliot . . . if he could bring his wife with him."

Hans Kramer was requested to interview him and report his proposals in the case. On February 10 Kramer wrote to the college, highly recommending Elswick as a man of good qualities and suggesting that "his salary could hardly be less than 300 R.D. a year." Two days later Kramer was informed that Elswick would be employed in the company's service and he was requested to come to Upsala to arrange matters with the members of the college. Within the next ten days he appeared before the college, received his commission as factor in New Sweden, being also appointed to have charge of the expedition to Porto Rico in the place of Amundsson. After having received 150 R.D. for his travelling expenses from Kramer, he left for Gothenburg in the beginning of March and arrived in the city on the twelfth of the same month.⁸

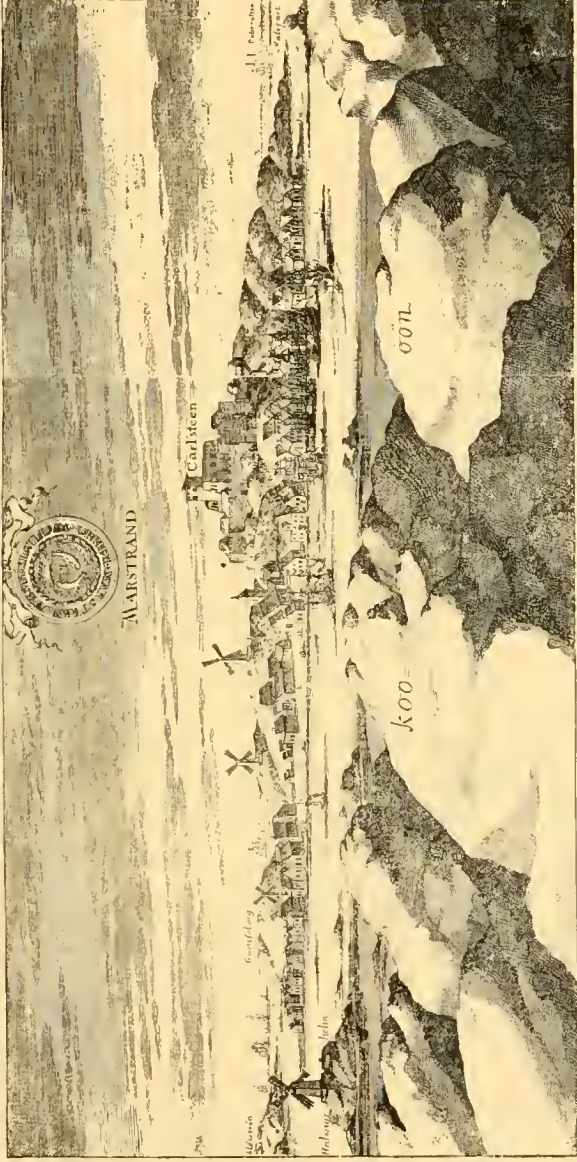
As information had been received by the college that Printz was in Holland, a commission appointing Johan Rising Director of New Sweden and Skute commander of the military forces was drafted in the beginning of March and sent with the other papers to Admiral Anckarhjelm.

At the same time the Admiral, being informed of the change in the appointments by the Commercial College, was ordered by the Admiralty to take the instruction as well as all other documents from Amundsson and give them to Elswick and Höök. As soon as Elswick arrived in Gothenburg he was taken on board the *Haj*, given command of the ship and authorized to have charge of the journey to Porto Rico⁹ and to New Sweden.¹⁰ The ship was poorly armed, having only two little

⁸ Com. Col. to H. Kramer, February 12, 1654 (*Reg. R.A.*). "Elswick skall strax och oförsummigen begifwa sigh nijd till Götheborgh," "Instruction," etc., *Com. Col. Reg.*, March 4, 1654, fol. 35, copy in N.S., II. (R.A.); H. von Elswick to Oxenstierna, March 15 (n.s.), 1654, N.S., I. (R.A.); Kramer to the Com. Col., February 10 and 14, 1654, N.S., I. (R.A.).

⁹ For the voyage to Porto Rico, see above, Chap. XXIX., and the Com. Col. to H. Elswick, March 4, 1654, fol. 57; Till Lieut. Sven Höök, etc., fol. 52.

¹⁰ *Am. Reg.*, March, 1654, fol. 868. This entry in *Am. Reg.* is not dated, but the index has March 15. The Com. Col. to Anckarhjelm, March 4, 1654; "Instruction," etc., March 4, fol. 34 ff.; "Fullmact," etc., March 4, fol. 58 ff.; H. von Elswick to E. Oxenstierna, March 15, 1654, N.S., I. (R.A.). The documents were badly injured on the way to Gothenburg through water.



Marstrand in the seventeenth century. (*Svecia Antiqua.*)

cannon and neither balls nor powder, but ammunition was finally supplied, some new merchandise was also purchased in the last moment and soon the *Haj* was ready to lift anchor and set sail.¹¹

As all preparations were completed the expedition was delayed for want of a couple of sailors and a ship carpenter. Some of the sailors had proven themselves incapable of doing their work, these were discharged and others hired by Anckarhjelm in their places. A sail-maker from Bergen was also engaged at the rate of thirteen florins a month and two months wages were given him in advance.¹²

But a carpenter could not be hired, although Elswick did his best to find one. He went to Kongelf¹³ and Marstrand¹⁴ and "inquired with diligence for a ship-carpenter," but all to no avail. There were two carpenters on the *Hercules*, one of whom desired to go to America, but Anckarhjelm had no authority to give him leave, consequently Elswick requested the college to apply to the Admiralty for his permission to sail on the vessel, suggesting that "he could be used to great advantage at ship-building in New Sweden." Admiral Anckarhjelm also wrote to Stockholm about it, but since only Fleming was present in the Admiralty, no definite order could be given, and Anckarhjelm was advised to find a carpenter elsewhere. The Admiral proposed that they should sail as far as England without a carpenter, where one could easily be hired, and Elswick had in mind to try his luck at Helsingör, but on March 31, just as he was writing to the Commercial College about it, "a good and

¹¹ There was a great scare of the Turks at the time and Elswick implored the Com. Col. that "wan in unsser unglück so gross das wir vom Türken genommen, es würde allssdan das General Collegio, mir da nicht sitzen, sondern die gnade thuen, und wieder lossmachen lassen." Letter to the Com. Col., March 22, 1654, N.S., I. (R.A.); Cf. Lindeström, *Geogr.*

¹² Elswick to the Com. Col., March 15, 22, 31, 1654; Elswick to J. Majer, March 29, 1654, N.S., I. (R.A.); The Com. Col. to Anckarhjelm, March 22, 1654, *Com. Col. Reg.*, fol. 69-70.

¹³ The manuscript has Kungel. Kongelf is a town in "Göteborgs and Bohuslän," at the Nordreelf opposite Hisingen, not far from Gothenburg. The town was moved to its present position in 1680.

¹⁴ Once a great Norwegian commercial city (founded by Haakan Haakansson). Later it came under Swedish rule and is to-day a fashionable watering place.

well trained carpenter, by the name of Jan Janssen from Alckmar,"¹⁵ was engaged at 12 R.D. a month.¹⁶

Elswick's luggage was now brought on board, the people took the 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 the omens for a happy journey were not good.¹⁷ The expenses connected with the expedition were quite large. Rising had paid ten florins for a messenger sent to look for the *Haj* and Anckarhjelm paid 4,513 D. (k.m.) for provisioning the ship besides large sums for the salaries of the crew.¹⁸ As Captain Hans Amundsson had private claims in Porto Rico to look after he applied for permission to go on the *Haj* with his family and two servants,¹⁹ promising to assist Elswick in whatever way he could. Some of the families who could not find room on the *Örn* went on this ship and a few soldiers and servants also came to America on this expedition, but the exact number is not known.²⁰

Unfavorable weather delayed the *Haj* for two weeks, but on April 15 she at last set sail "with a good wind from Korgardsholm (?), a mile [six and a half English miles] from Gothen-

¹⁵ A city in Holland, see *Nordisk familjebok*, I. under name.

¹⁶ Elswick to the Com. Col., Mar. 15, 22, 29, 31, 1654, N.S., I. (R.A.)
Anckarhjelm to the Com. Col., April 5, 1654, N.S., I. (R.A.).

¹⁷ Elswick to the Com. Col., March 31, 1654, N.S., I. (R.A.); Anckarhjelm to E. Oxenstierna, April 5, 1654, *Ox. Saml.* (R.A.). Elswick writes later: "Es ist ein theill böss Volck. . . . Der Steürman (ob er zwar seine sachen wohl verstedet) is der Gothlosseste und leichtfertigste Mensch den ich mein lebetage gesehen, habe ihme alhier itzo ins gefengnüß in die Eijsen sitzen." Elswick to E. Oxenstierna, August 7, 1654, N.S., I. (R.A.); cf. above, Chap. XXIX.

¹⁸ *Journal*, no. 1176 ff.; "Reck. medh Thet Lof. Söd. eller Ame. Comp.," Rising's *Process* (R.A.); Kramer to the Com. Col., May 25, 1654, N.S., I. (R.A.); Anckarhjelm to E. Oxenstierna, April 19, 1654, *Ox. Saml.* Anckarhjelm was ordered by the Admiralty, April 4, to go by night and day to Stockholm with the ships *Mercurius* and *Hercules*, *Am. Reg.*, April 4, 1654, fol. 1874-5. When he arrived at Stockholm he applied to Kramer for payment. There was no money in the company's treasury. 9,000 D. were still to be collected from the "tob. part.," but this was not available and Kramer was compelled to request the Com. Col. to order J. Pötter to pay 4,000 D. left in his care. Kramer to the Pres. in the Com. Col., May 25, 1654, N.S., I. (R.A.).

¹⁹ He had four children.

²⁰ Elswick to the Com. Col., March 15, 1654.

burg."²¹ On account of contrary winds they were compelled to run into the Norwegian port of Hästenäs on the eighteenth. The next day, however, they continued their journey and, taking a northerly course, they arrived at the island of St. Michael on the thirteenth of May, casting anchor in the harbor of Villa Franca.²² Here Elswick had considerable trouble and expense. When the governor found that they were going to Porto Rico, he broke open the seal of the letter from the King of Spain and read it, giving a certificate, however, that he had done so against Elswick's will. In the night of May 20 they again set sail after they had taken in a supply of water and other necessary refreshments for the people, holding their course on the Caribbean Islands. On the way many of the people became sick, the water supply became low and it was found necessary to touch at the island of St. Christopher, which they did on the 17th of June, being informed that the *Örn* had been there two months before. New supplies were again brought on board and on June 26 they continued their journey, arriving at Porto Rico on June 30.²³ Governor Jacobus de Aquilera was aware of their coming, for "he waited on the shore with his *Carette* and many prominent persons, immediately sending a large boat, which brought . . . [Elswick] ashore," who delivered the Swedish passports and returned to the *Haj*.²⁴

The people went ashore the following day and new supplies were provided for them. Hans Amundsson died on the island July 2 and was buried the same day outside the city, but the other passengers soon recovered from their sickness. The mate tried to "run away," wherefore Elswick was compelled "to put him into irons in the prison" until they sailed.²⁵ On

²¹ Anckarhjelm to Oxenstierna, April 19, 1654, *Ox. Saml.* (R.A.); Elswick to E. Oxenstierna, August 7, 1654, N.S., I. (R.A.).

²² A town on the south coast of the island of St. Michael, Azores, 14 miles east of Ponta Delgada.

²³ For Porto Rico at this time, see Ogilby's *America*, p. 327 ff.

²⁴ Elswick's activity in presenting the claims of the company and of the Crown have been elsewhere related. Cf. Chap. XXIX. above.

²⁵ For this account see Elswick to E. Oxenstierna, August 7, 1654, N.S., I. (R.A.).

August 15 the *Haj* left Porto Rico for New Sweden. The people were well, the supplies plentiful and all were in a happy mood, but the expedition was destined to fail in its purpose. By mistake they passed Delaware Bay and "through carelessness or rather wickedness of . . . [the] mate" the ship was led into "an unknown passage behind Staten Island towards the Raritans Kill" at New Amsterdam, on September 12 where it was put under arrest by Director Stuyvesant three days later.²⁶ The efforts of Elswick to obtain the release of the ship and the protests and counter-protests which passed between the respective parties belong to another chapter.²⁷ Most of the people on 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.²⁸

²⁶ Elswick to E. Oxenstierna, June 16, 1655, N.S., I. (R.A.).

²⁷ *Doc.*, XII. 76-83; Copy of Protests in Elswick's handwriting, N.S., I. (R.A.) and (K.A.).

²⁸ Elswick to E. Oxenstierna; Cf. above, Chap. XLV.

Detailed MAP of NEW SWEDEN 1638-1655

Made by Amandus Johnson

Scale of Miles



FORTS AND BLOCKHOUSES, 1623-1655.

I. Swedish Fortifications.

A. FORTS (represented by sharp cornered squares)
 1) Christina, 1638-1655. 2) Nya Göteborg (New Gothenburg), 1643-1655. 3) Nya (New) Korsholm, 1647-1653. 4) Nya (New) Elfsborg, 1643-1651. 5) Trefaldighet (Trinity) (New Castle), 1654-1655.

B. BLOCKHOUSES (squares inclosed in circles)

(1) Upland, 1643 +. (2) Province (Manaiing) Island "in the Schuylkill," 1643-1647. (3) Nya (New) Vasa, 1645-1647. (4) Möldal, 1645-1651. (5) Torne (Tärne), 1647 (?) -1655. (6) Blockhouse in front of Ft. Beversreede, 1648 +.

II. Dutch Fortifications.

(A) Nassau (Eriwomeck?) 1623-1651. (B) Beversreede, 1648-1651. (C) Casimir, 1651-1654. Blockhouse at the Schuylkill, 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 Chamassung, 1641, 1643. (c) Upland (Chester), 1641, 1643. (d) Printztorp, 1643. (e) Tequirassy, 1643. (f) Tinicum, 1643. (g) Province Island, 1643. (h) Minqua's Island, 1644. (i) Kingsessing (Vasa), 1644. (j) Möldal, 1645. (k) Torne (Aronameck), 1647(?). (m) The Sjöland (near Ft. Christina), 1654. (n) Settlement above Ft. Christina, 1654. (o) Timber Island, 1654. (p) Strandviken, 1654. (q) Ammans land, 1654.

II. By the Dutch.

(l) Sandhook (New Castle), 1651.

NAMES OF RIVERS AND PLACES.

River Delaware (De la Waer, Dellewarr, Delowar, etc.), called Delaware and Charles River by the English; Zuydt (various forms) River (South River), Nassau (?), "off old called Nassau River" (Doc., II, 86), Prince Hendrick, and Wilhelmus River by the Dutch; Södre Revier (the South River), the Swenskes Revier (the River of the Swedes), and Nya Sweriges Rivier (the River of New Sweden) by the Swedes.

River Schuylkill (schuyl, hiding, + Kil, river or creek), called Schuylkil by the Dutch; Schuylen Kÿl (various forms) by the Swedes and Menejackse (various forms) and other names by the Indians.

Province Island (Fisher or State Island), called Manaiing, or Druweeyland by the Swedes.

Marikes, Marikens (Marcus), Hook. Mantas or Mantes Kill (Creek).

PART II.

THE COLONY UNDER PAPEGOJA AND RISING.

CHAPTER XLI.

GOVERNMENT AND COURTS OF NEW SWEDEN, 1653-1655.

I.

Conditions in the colony did not improve after the departure of Printz. Several settlers having been politely denied permission by Stuyvesant, at least for a time, to settle in New Netherland, "inasmuch as he did not know whether it would be well or ill received" by the Dutch West India Company,¹ made secret application to the authorities in Virginia and Maryland to be allowed to go there. Here they received a hearty welcome and fifteen settlers deserted and fled to the English colony on the south. When Papegoja was aware of their flight, he hired some Indians "to bring them back," but they resisted "and put themselves on the defense against the savages, who had been sent after them [so that two] . . . were struck down whose heads were brought into Fort Christina."² The assistant commissary, Gotfried Harmer, being one of the deserters, seems to have been the chief instigator and he wrote letters to some of the Swedes after his arrival in Virginia, advising them to leave the colony and go over to the English. It was also said that Hendrick Huygen played false to the Swedes.³ We know nothing further about the events in New Sweden from October, 1653, until May, 1654, except that the Indians

¹ *Doc.*, I. 590, 600-1; XII. 73. The directors, however, had no objection to the influx of settlers from neighboring colonies and so informed Stuyvesant on November 4, 1653, probably in answer to his letter of October 6 of the same year.

² Rising's *Journal*, May 22, 24, 1654 (Up. B.).

³ Rising's *Journal* (Up. B.).

set fire to Fort Korsholm and likely showed other signs of unrest.⁴

On Sunday morning of May 21, as the colonists were going to church, they were startled by the report of cannon some distance down the river. It was the Swedish salute; ships had arrived at last! A few hours later, "Vice-Commissary Jacob Svensson with some Swedish freemen" was sent down the river to ascertain the facts. They went on board the *Örn* and "all proved that they were happy on account of the arrival" of the ship. A little later Vice-Governor Papegoja also went down to the Swedish vessel, welcomed Rising and reported the condition of the country. The immigrants "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. The people were partly distributed among the freemen up in the river, partly taken to Fort Christina, where they were nursed with all care." The same day Rising and his officers also entered the fort "and were well received by the vice-governor and the other Swedes."⁵

The instructions and memorials given to Rising before his departure from Upsala in December, 1653, authorized him, in case the governor had left the country or would not remain, to take charge of the government. He as well as Lindeström and other officers were indisposed the first few days after their landing, due to the hardships and inconveniences of the journey and the change of climate, but already on May 23 arrangements were made for the new form of government, which the departure of Printz made necessary. "The Orders of Her Royal Majesty as well as the Instructions and Memorials of the Commercial College were read in the presence of [Director Johan Rising], Capt. [Sven] Skute, Lieut. [Johan] Papegoja" and undoubtedly the larger part of the soldiers and

⁴ Rising's *Journal* (Up. B.).

⁵ Rising's *Journal*; Lindeström's *Geogr.*

freemen. These instructions and memorials (minute and detailed, in several of their provisions resembling those given to Printz eleven years before) intrusted to Rising the "direction of the political, judicial and commercial affairs of the colony," leaving the military management to other officers. "His duty should especially be to bring the country on a prosperous footing;" he should occupy and clear new land and assign plantations to the freemen; he should plant tobacco, sow grain, hemp and linseed, cultivate grapes and fruit trees and experiment with silk-worms and the growing of ginger and sugar-cane; he should found cities, select harbors and begin commerce, seeking to draw all the trade in the river into the hands of the Swedes; he should prospect for minerals; he should select land for the company and work it for the benefit of the same; he should establish ropewalks, saw-mills, tanneries, tarburneries and manufactories of wooden utensils of all kinds, as well as fisheries in the rivers, streams and lakes; he should keep peace with the Indians, Dutch and English as far as possible, but he should also fortify the country with all vigor and ward off attack with the best means at hand; he should seek to increase the population of the colony and extend its settlement by inviting all valuable and industrious colonists to settle under the Swedish jurisdiction, but he should send away and remove (with caution) all who might be a disturbance or a hindrance to the prosperity of the settlement; he should draw up good ordinances, *make rules for hunting and the preservation of the forest, preventing all indiscriminate cutting of trees*, as well as ordinances concerning the trade, the agriculture and other pursuits; he should institute commercial relations with Africa; he should send game, beer, bread and brandy to Spain and lumber and wood-materials to the Canary Islands; he was to handle the money sent from the Mother Country, supervise the handling of the merchandise and see that proper and correct books were kept; he was to raise money for the purpose of the colonial government, and finally he was to appoint "persons who could judge according to the law of Sweden and its right-

ful custom in order that justice and righteousness may have their course in the land."⁶

Rising now took over the leadership of the colony with the title of *Director of New Sweden*, appointing Sven Skute and Johan Papegoja as his assistants, who together with the director "would rule the country . . . under the authority of Her Royal Majesty and the Crown of Sweden until other orders were received," in special cases in connection with a council of "other good men," appointed for the purpose.

With the first opportunity the director summoned the freemen and proclaimed to them the new Royal privileges concerning the settlement. The private colonists were granted the right to trade freely with the neighbors and the Indians; they could buy their lands direct from the savages or from the company and, by paying an export duty of 2 per cent. they could ship every form of produce from the colony, including gold and silver (other minerals being excluded), to Sweden and its dependencies duty free.⁷ The land in New Sweden had been purchased from the savages for the company (by goods belonging to it) under the protection and jurisdiction of the Swedish government and the Crown regarded its colony on the Delaware in the same light as its European possessions, with right to grant lands and allodial freedoms to its servants. Several such grants were made in 1653. They were to be in force only after the governor or the director had given an admission and certificate to the effect in order to prevent confusion.⁸ The land, that might be bought by individual freemen either from the company or from the savages, would be-

⁶ "Instruction," December 15, 1654; "Memorial for Rising," December 18, 1653; Authorization for Rising, December 18, 1653, *Com. Col. Reg.* (R.A.); "Memorial oppå de ärende . . . [för] Johan Printz deels . . . Johan Rising," December 12, 1653, N.S., I. (R.A.), also in R.R. Copies in *Am. Phil. Society* from R.R. (a poor translation in Hazard); The Com. Col. to Johan Printz, December 15, 1653, "Credibref," etc. for Printz, December 13, 1653, *Com. Col. Reg.* (R.A.); cf. above, Chap. XXXIX.

⁷ *Rising's Journal*; "Memorial," etc.; *Doc.*, XII. 73-4.

⁸ Several freemen protested against the donations given to Skute and Hans Amundsson. The grants were never certified by the director and hence not legal. *Rising's Journal*, August 27, etc., 1654; *Report*, July 13, 1654.

come the unqualified perpetual property of the purchaser and his heirs and he "would enjoy allodial privileges for himself and his descendants forever."⁹

"After the sermon," on June 4, "the freemen were [again] collected and it was presented to them how Her Royal Majesty intended hereafter to continue the colony through the South Company by sending of good and early succor." A general day of fasting and prayer was thereupon proclaimed for the ninth "over the whole land." On that day they all "went to church at Tinnakonk" and "after the services the freemen were called together, old and young." They were once more told that succor from Sweden was expected and that the prospect for a successful period was good. But, since there had been mutinies and much trouble during Printz's time, it was found necessary to examine into the charges and counter-charges that were 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 then read to them and signed by forty-eight persons, eight of whom were widows of freemen.¹⁰

In the summer and autumn of 1654 provisions were made for carrying out certain paragraphs of the instructions and memorials regarding the internal affairs of the colony. Towards the end of July several new appointments were made, the gunner, Johan Stålkofsta, being 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 and the ensign, Peter Hansson Wendel, to manage the plantations and the clearing of the land. No special wages appear to have accompanied these offices, however. "There was some dislike [against the arrangement] among the people," says Rising, "but for what

⁹ Memorial for Rising and Printz, par. 7; Rising's *Journal*, 1654; *Report*, 1654; Donations for Amundsson and Skute. Cf. above, Chap. XXXIX.; below, Chap. XLII.

¹⁰ Oath (copy), June 9, 1654, N.S., I. (R.A.); Rising's *Journal*, June 9, 1654 (Up. B.).

reason could not be ascertained." Certain plantations at the Sandhook had been forfeited to the company¹¹ and Sven Skute was ordered to superintend and manage these.¹²

On the last day of September a messenger sent by Elswick brought the commissions formally appointing Rising "Director of the colony" and Sven Skute commander of the forts and the military affairs. Three days later these letters (from the government and the Commercial College) were read to the people, who were assembled at a court in Fort Christina. There were promises of aid and it seems that Rising and his council took a bright view of the situation, for plans were now made for partly reorganizing the internal government of the settlement and for providing a sort of constitution or rule of conduct.¹³

"On October 27 the best men [in the colony] were called together at Fort Christina and an ordinance was drafted." Rising says that it "was made by us jointly," but it is more than probable that he presented a draft of the ordinance to the commission and that the different points were taken up and discussed. Several changes and suggestions may have been offered by the members, but the draft as presented by Rising undoubtedly underwent few changes.¹⁴ The ordinance was proclaimed both among the Swedes and Dutch colonists, "but it could not be put into execution before succor should arrive from the fatherland."

In 1653, when preparations were on foot for the sending of a new expedition to New Sweden, a tentative budget was made. The salaries and wages of the officers (including the preacher, Nertunius, and the barber-surgeon, Stidden) and fifty soldiers were estimated at 3,722 R.D. "A budget was also drawn up for one hundred and fifty landspeople, skilled workmen and peasants, with wages amounting to 1,200 R.D. This list was

¹¹ Cf. Chap. XL.

¹² Rising's *Journal*, July 27; October 16, 1654 (Up. B.).

¹³ Rising's appointment from the Queen, February 28, 1654, *R.R.*, and from the Commercial College, Mar. 4, 1654, *Com. Col. Reg.* (R.A.). Original in N.S., I. (R.A.). See facsimile. Rising's *Journal* September 30, October 3, 1654 (Up. B.).

¹⁴ *Report*, June 14, 1655, N.S., I. (K.A.).

completed before the sailing of the *Haj* and when Höök and Elswick arrived in the colony, the staff of military officers with their salaries was as follows:

Director,	Johan Rising	1,200 D.
Commandant,	Sven Skute	900 D.
Lieutenant,	Elias Gyllengren	432 D.
Lieutenant,	Sven Höök	288 D.
Ensign,	Per Hansson Wendel	216 D.
Watchmaster,	Gregorius van Dyck	180 D.
The Head Gunner,	Johan Danielsson	(?)
Constable,	Johan Andersson Stålkofa	144 D.
Sergeant,	Anders Larsson	(?)
Armorer,	Anders Kämpe	144 D.
Engineer,	Peter Lindeström	144 D.
Provost-Marshal,	Måns Stake	108 D.
Drummer,	Johan Schalbrick	90 D.
Trumpeter,	Peter Andersson	90 D. (?)
Muste-Clerk,	Lars Andersson	(?)

On December 1 (the day after his arrival) the memorials, commissions and instructions of Hendrick von Elswick were read before the council and others present. He was to act as commissioner in Huygen's place; he should keep all books, make lists and bills of goods sent to Europe or received in the colony from there; he should handle the money and keep correct accounts of cargoes and other property, and he should keep account of the crops bought and sold here.

When Huygen left Christina, Jacob Swensson was placed in charge of the storehouse (since Gotfried Harmer deserted), but in the summer of 1654 he was needed for other purposes and Peter Mört was appointed by the council to keep the accounts and handle the goods.¹⁵

On February 9, 1655, an inventory of the goods in Fort Christina was made by Jacob Junge, under the direction of Sven Höök and Per Hansson Wendel (the goods at Tinicum

¹⁵ None of his books have been preserved as far as is known. Rising says that "han kom sedan fast till korta med sin räkning." In fact it seems that none of his books was brought to Sweden, for the officers of the American Company complained that Rising presented no accounts of expenditures before the arrival of Elswick.

having been inventoried about two months before) and on this date the accounts commence in Elswick's "Schuldt und Carga-son Buch."¹⁶ Besides his salary Elswick was promised free board, but he found that only 52 bushels of maize, which could be bought from the savages for 10 yards of frieze, were allowed for this purpose.¹⁷

Sven Höök, as we have already seen, was appointed to discharge some of the duties that had been assigned to Hans Amundsson.¹⁸ Höök, who was now to be employed in the capacity of a lieutenant, was "to superintend the shipbuilding"¹⁹ and command the sailors as well as to take care of the ships and equipments belonging to the company.²⁰ The qualities and offices of Skute and Gyllengren, who were stationed at Ft. Trefaldighet, have been indicated above and the duties of the minor officers remained the same as during the previous period.²¹

In the beginning of 1655 a commission of representative men was called to meet at Fort Christina on January 11 for the purpose of drawing up a "proper ordinance for the colony." The conference lasted for two days and an "ordinance was established by the consent of most of the men." The document was likely based on the earlier one of the previous autumn and was again largely the work of Rising. It has been preserved to us by Lindeström in his *Geographia Americae*. Never before published and being of some interest it will be given in full.

¹⁶ This is preserved in N.S., I. (R.A.).

¹⁷ Instruction for Elswick, Mar. 4, 1654, *Com. Col. Reg.*; "Fullmakt," etc., March 4, 1654; letter fr. Com. Col. to Elswick, March 4, 1654, *Com. Col. Reg.*; letters to Anckarhjelm, *Com. Col. Reg.*, March, 1654; Elswick's letter to E. Oxenstierna, June 16, 1654, N.S., I. (R.A.); Rising's *Journal*, November 30, December, 1654; "Schuldt und Carg. Buch," N.S., I. (K.A.).

¹⁸ Cf. above, Chaps. XXIX., XL.

¹⁹ Hans Amundsson was especially instructed to prosecute the building of ships in the colony with all vigor, and his instructions were partly transferred to Höök. See "Instruct." for Amundsson, December 13, 1653.

²⁰ Instruction for S. Höök, March 4, 1654, *Com. Col. Reg.*; letter to Rising, March 4, 1654, *Postscript*.

²¹ Cf. above, Chap. XXXVIII.

AN ORDINANCE CONCERNING PEOPLE, LAND AND AGRICULTURE,
FORESTRY AND CATTLE, GIVEN IN NEW SWEDEN IN THE YEAR
1654 [1655], ETC.

I.

Concerning the people, their passage hither and their stay in the country, etc.

1. Soldiers are to serve at least three years or more and, if they then have anything coming to them, they may be rewarded not only in merchandise and money but also with pieces of land for an everlasting possession. When a soldier has served for three years he shall not be required to pay for [his] passage or transportation, but, if he leaves the service sooner, then [he shall] pay his passage according to the time, which is left on his term of three years of service, namely—one half, one third, one fourth, etc.

2. If anyone should desire to hire one or more soldiers for his own work, he shall apply to the one who is in command of the soldiers at that place, and if the service of the company will allow it, he may hire one or more of the soldiers by the week and deduct from it the pay of the soldiers, etc.

3. All the officers of the company shall be free from [the payment of their] passage and transportation as well as any servant of the Crown, above [the rank of] a corporal, etc.

4. The passage, board and transportation of the freemen, their wives and children, widows, male servants and maid servants shall be estimated at the rate of sixteen riks daler per head over three years of age, besides their monthly rations here in the country, which they are afterwards to pay here in time, etc.

5. Every freeman brought over shall pay this passage and transportation of sixteen riks daler in the third year after he has settled here, whether he is a workman or a farmer, etc.

6. Whoever desires to take into his service a laborer or a freeman, his children, his male servant or maid servant, he must pay the above mentioned transportation money after the lapse of a year and these engaged servants shall serve him in three years for board and necessary clothes, but if they, before the expiration of three years, take service with another or enter marriage, then the one, who takes them out of the service of the first, shall give so much of the transportation money as remains of their time of service, namely one half, one third, one fourth, etc., unless the master will remit it out of good will or in whatever

manner they may best agree according to the quality of the persons, etc.

7. Whoever takes children to himself who have been brought over [from Sweden] to bring up shall pay for them the said transportation money of sixteen riks daler when they have become fourteen years of age whereupon they shall serve for wages. If such children are brought up with several, the one shall pay the said money who has them in his service (when they are full fourteen years old). If such a child dies before the age of fourteen the transportation shall also die, etc.

8. Whoever hires from the company an indented servant over fourteen years of age shall give, besides the said transportation money, additional twenty-four riks daler and then the servant shall serve him in six consecutive years. The servant shall annually be given board, shoes and shirts. After six years of service an indentured servant shall be entirely free, etc.

9. If an indentured servant has served the company here in the country a year more or less, then so much of the servant's time and service shall be deducted from his second engagement in order that an indentured servant may become free after six years, etc.

10. Whatever a servant may gain through work, handicraft or manual labor, hunting or fishing, commerce or trade or with anything else, that shall all belong to his employer unless the latter grants it to him.

11. Every master shall give his indentured servants or employees sufficiently good board and proper clothes so that there can be no just cause for complaint. If anyone is found to do otherwise, he shall be brought to court and fined according to the case, etc.

12. No one shall entice or prevail upon another's [servant] people [to leave him] on penalty of 8 riks daler's fine for the first offence, twice as much for the second and three times as much for the third. . . .²² And in all these cases he shall be obliged to bring back the servant to his master, etc.

13. If anyone's servant or hired man runs away from his master out of spite, then no one shall knowingly conceal the same in his house over 24 hours on penalty of 24 riks daler's fine, but shall make it known at once to the master if he is near enough or otherwise to the neighbors and try to return the servant to his master, which everyone shall do to the other. The one who intentionally conceals another's servant shall pay a fine as already said, etc.

14. The hire of servants reckoned either according to days, weeks,

²² The text or my copy is corrupt here.

months or years shall be reasonable and approach the monthly wage of the soldiers and no one shall raise the salary or outbid another, on penalty according to the case.

15. The said hire of the servants shall have preference above all other debts except that of the Crown and of the company, etc.

II.

Concerning land and agriculture.

1. Whoever buys land of the company or of anyone else shall pay in whole or according to the area in whatever manner they agree for cleared land as clear and for uncleared land as uncleared and shall pay for it more or less according to the situation for forest, streams, places for mills, fishing and the like, etc.

2. If anyone buys or receives as a gift a certain piece of land from the savages and the same has in general or particular been bought or given to the company by the same or other savages, it will remain the property of the company, but if the land has not been given or bought in general or in particular then he shall be free to possess it, etc.

3. A *tunnland*²³ holds according to Swedish land measure eighteen rods in length and nine rods in breadth, at nine ells to a rod (*stang*)²⁴ making 13,122 sq. ells.²⁵ But since the land here in New Sweden is much richer and needs less seed, we have found it expedient to let it be tried and estimated through Engineer Mr. Per Lindeström, how large a piece of land is needed here in New Sweden for a barrel of seed and he has found that it ought to hold nineteen rods in length and ten in breadth, each rod being nine ells, making 15,390 sq. ells, etc.

4. A *tunnland* is worth, when one buys it for everlasting property of the company or other possessor, namely:

1. Cleared land as stated before . . .
2. Cleared land but unprepared and uncultivated.
3. Cleared prepared and cultivated land.

5. But if one buys cultivated land of a freeman, living upon it, he is to pay according to the situation or the agreement for each *tunnland* namely:

²³ Cf. above, Chap. VI.

²⁴ *Stång*, about nine English feet.

²⁵ The legal *tunnland* at this time was to be 14,000 sq. *alnar* (ells) and not 13,122 sq. *alnar*. Cf. above, Chap. VI. A modern *tunnland* is 53,138.4 sq. ft. or about 1 acre and 1 sq. rod.

1. If it is cleared . . . sixteen to twenty fl.
2. Prepared so that one can sow there, thirty to fifty florins, but if the freeman, living upon it, has used it for three years [the buyer is to pay] one fourth less, if for five to six years one half less, if for eight years two thirds less and if it has been used for ten years he shall pay nothing for the clearing, but give tax according to the estimate besides the transportation, the ration and other bills if they have not been paid before,²⁶ etc.

6. Whoever takes possession and uses the land of another shall have right to it above others, children after children, and [he] cannot be driven off unless he is in arrears for tax for three years.

7. If a renter wishes to use and cultivate the land of the company or of anyone else with the oxen and beasts of burden of the latter, then they^{26a} shall give half of the seed each and the owner of the land shall furnish oxen and beasts of burden. But the renter must use the land and keep the oxen and beasts of burden over the winter at his own cost as well as harvest the hay and the grain and thrash it and then each part shall take half of the grain and of the straw, estimating according to the proof and *rööketahlet*(?).²⁷ But if anyone furnishes all the seed, then the other party shall pay the other his half part of it, whenever it is demanded.

8. If several renters live together on the same land, build, clear, plant or sow, and if one or several wish to withdraw from the others, then their entire plantations shall be valued, clearing or seeding altogether, according to the estimate of good men, and those who remain shall then pay him or them, who withdraw according to their share, or otherwise to help him or them to clear, build, plant or sow on a new place, as much as his or their share demands. etc.

III.

Concerning forestry.

1. No one shall cut down, destroy or ruin on his own clearing, plantation or anywhere else any useful large tree or pine or oak tree from which wainscot,²⁸ planks or anything else useful can be made, unless he makes it known either to the governor or other person appointed for

²⁶ The Swedish is not clear, cf. text.

^{26a} I. e. the renter and the owner.

²⁷ *Räknetalet*(?), estimate?.

²⁸ Rising uses the Dutch word *wagenskott* (wagenschot).

that purpose; in order that such trees, which are at this time the tax of the country, may not be wasted but used for the best purpose. If he makes his intentions known in time and he is not supplied [with information] and ordered [what to do] by those whose business it is to see to it, he shall be without blame, etc.

2. Whoever manufactures, cuts or saws, planks, clapboards, timber, wainscot or any other wood material, that can be brought out, manufactured, cut or sawed, he shall offer it first to the company or to the one owning the land for a reasonable price and then he is free to try his best [to sell it elsewhere], etc.

IV.

Concerning cattle.

1. If anyone buys cattle of another he shall pay their value according to the market and execute it as in the case of other purchase, etc.

2. If anyone rents cattle to another for half of the offspring and the produce, then he shall receive every other calf a year old, well fed and the renter shall receive every other calf, to which the cow gives birth and he shall bring the calves up well at his own expense and give to the owner annually a *lispund*²⁹ of butter in rent, but if the cow dies before the owner receives his calf the renter shall pay for her according to her price, this to be continued as long as they agree to it, etc.

3. For the offspring of goats, sheep and swine there shall be the same law yet in these cases for milk, butter, cheese and wool of the goats and sheep according to the manner in which the owner and renter may best agree, etc.

This to whom it concerns for a submissive regulation.

Actum ut supra,

On behalf of the Honorable Royal South Company,³⁰

[Signed] JOHAN RISING.

II.

The colony now manifestly had a director, who was well suited for his post, and had he not by his rash act at Ft. Casimir and his too eager attempts at mastering the situation drawn upon himself the storm that was finally to sweep away the Swedish authority from the Delaware forever, the colony would

²⁹ For *lispund* see above, Chap. VI.

³⁰ New Sweden Company.

in all likelihood have prospered for many a year. Nor was he slow in exercising his judicial functions "that justice and righteousness might have their course in the land" as well as prosperity and the pursuit of wealth. At the meeting of the freemen on Sunday, June 4, Rising intimated that courts would soon be called to settle disputes and bring certain persons to justice, and five days later the date for the first court was set.

This court was convened at Tinicum³¹ on June 26 to examine into the charges against the Rev. Lars Lock and Olof Stille.³² No definite evidence could be established against Lock, however, and Stille secured bondsmen, who were accepted by the court.³³ "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 points of complaints themselves, which they later did." The cases could not be settled in the colony for obvious reasons, hence the documents were sent to Sweden, "as Governor Printz was there himself, who could answer the [accusations] and explain himself at the proper place."³⁴

On July 17 a court was held at Christina to examine nine adventurers from New England. They had heard that the Swedes were all dead,³⁵ wherefore they came to take possession of the river in the name of the Protector of England.³⁶ "They had no other passport than a writing which they had signed themselves and one called Baxter in Gravesend in New England, but nothing was done to them . . . and they were sent back again the same way they had come," to preserve the peace with the English colony.³⁷

³¹ The courts of this period sat partly at Tinicum, partly at Christina and in Fort Trefaldighet. Rising's *Journal*.

³² Rising was judge.

³³ For the charges against Rev. Lock and Stille see above, Chap. XXXVIII.

³⁴ *Report, 1654; Complaint, etc., 1654.*

³⁵ "Or so sick that they could not lift the anchor of the ship."

³⁶ They arrived at Tinicum Island in the night or evening of July 14 and were taken to Christina at once by Corporal Anders Olofsson.

³⁷ Rising's *Journal*.

Another court was held at Christina on October 3 at which the majority of the freemen were present and several cases were examined. "Peter Lindeström and Peter Mört were brought before the court, because on a night in the fort they had pounded an Englishman, Simon Lane, blue. The other Englishmen still being there took it hard, yet, because Simon Lane remitted the case, they were made free."

The Dutch colonists caused Rising a great deal of trouble, several courts being held in reference to them and on Friday, June 23, a court was convened in Fort Trefaldighet at which several cases, "which had before been postponed among them," were settled.³⁸

Efforts were likewise made by the director to bring back the colonists, who had deserted since the departure of Printz, so that some old law-cases could be settled. As the two Swedish commissaries were sent to (Maryland)³⁹ in May, 1654, they were instructed to demand from the officials the return of the deserters, who were given assurance of a free passage. But the efforts had no results. The deserters were brought before the council in Severn, which "found that they were not under obligation nor contract to go back to New Sweden, since they had committed no crime and were refused a passport by Printz;" consequently no one returned. The result of the commission was reported on June 6, when Olofsson and Grönberg returned in company with Th. Ringold, who brought letters concerning the matter from the governor and magistrates in Severn. When Ringold returned, new letters were written to the governor and two men⁴⁰ were sent with him, who should

³⁸ Rising's *Journal* (Up. B.).

³⁹ The Swedes spoke of the English settlements to the South of New Sweden as "Virginia," without always distinguishing between Maryland and Virginia proper. Rising's *Journal* (Up. B.); *Reports*, July 13, 1654, June 13, 1655; Lindeström, *Geogr.* The English colonies to the north of New Sweden were called New England or *North England*, by the Swedes on the Delaware. Cf. Rising's *Journal*. Lindeström, *Geogr., Report*, June 13, 1655. Cf. note 3, Chap. XLII. below.

⁴⁰ One of these was Hans Månsson, Rising's *Journal*, June 15 (Up. B.).

try to bring the people back. An open letter, dated June 8,⁴¹ was also sent to the deserters, giving them promise of an unmolested journey to New Sweden. "If they came and explained their affairs, however they were, they could then go wheresoever they pleased." This commission and passport had as little effect as the first. No colonists returned and, although several English officials from Maryland appeared at Christina in June to treat with Rising, no further efforts seem to have been made along these lines.⁴²

Several new attempts to desert were made from time to time which naturally gave rise to lawsuits. On October 24 Andries Hudde⁴³ was examined, because he had been accused of having intentions of desertion. He confessed his fault⁴⁴ and Bicker interceded for him, hence he was released; but "in his trunk were found letters from Virginia," very prejudicial to the Swedes, including one from Gotfried Harmer, in which, expressing the wish that the Swedes should be driven from the river, he attempted to entice them to go to the English. Two weeks later (November 8) another court was held in Fort Christina to examine into charges made against Sander Karsson, to the effect that he had solicited the people to desert. One of the witnesses, Peter Sämskemakare,⁴⁵ confessed and testified that Sander Karsson had requested him to accompany him to New Amsterdam. Since Karsson could not deny these charges, he was called upon to make known his accomplices. At last he confessed that one Pål Qvist and a certain Lars Olofsson were in the plot, who were thereupon placed under arrest. Several soldiers were also called upon to testify, some being examined, and it was brought out that Pål Larsson, who had gone to

⁴¹The letter was issued in the name of "the Director of New Sweden, the humble servant of Her Royal Majesty of Sweden, etc.," June 8, 1654 (copy), N.S., I. (R.A.).

⁴²Rising's *Journal*, May 27, June 6 ff., 1654 (Up. B.).

⁴³He was later accused and brought before the court on November 16, 1654.

⁴⁴He also promised the court that he would point out the place, where a pole with the arms of the Dutch West India Company upon it stood across the river at the Sandhook. Rising's *Journal*, October 24, 1654 (Up. B.).

⁴⁵The skin-dresser.

Virginia (or Maryland?), had said that a certain old man promised to lead all the Swedes there. "This old man" could not be discovered, but suspicion fell on Mats Bengtsson, who had deserted in the time of Printz. He was examined by the court on the following day, but nothing could be proven against him. On November 11 the examination of Sander Karsson, Pål Qvist and Lars Olofsson was continued. They were all discharged on bail and promises of good behavior.⁴⁶ Rising was judge in all of these cases, it seems. But like Governor Printz he was at a disadvantage, perhaps even more than the governor, for his authority was less. In his report of July, 1654, he requested his superiors to confer upon him "complete authority in higher and lower law cases" and to send over a hang-man in order to prevent secret plots as well as other disturbances. "It is greatly to be desired," he said, "that a law-reader should be sent here" and he suggested "that the fines, which were collected, be divided into three parts, one-third for the accuser (with which a fiscal under the name of substitute could be paid), the second one-third for the court and the third one-third for the government, to the reward of the law-reader, the support of the poor or the like."⁴⁷

⁴⁶ Rising's *Journal*, May 23, June 9, 23, 26, July 5, 14, 17, September 9, October 3, 18, 24, 26, 31, November 8, 11, 13, 16, 1654 (Up. B.).

⁴⁷ *Report*, 1654.

CHAPTER XLII.

SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC LIFE, 1654-1655.

I.

The first concern of Rising and Papegoja, after the arrival of the *Örn*, was to care for the sick people. Their illness increased and the sailors were so weak, when the ship came before Christina, that "they could not lift up the anchor nor row the boat without aid from the old colonists." To relieve the situation and aid the people "the council found it expedient to butcher one of the company's young bulls, of which the lands-people and ships-people received one half part each and were refreshed by it." The old colonists undoubtedly did all in their power to make it comfortable for the newcomers and the barber-surgeons were busy, caring for those in greatest need, while superintending the treatment of others.¹

By the arrival of the *Örn* the population of New Sweden was increased more than five-fold. About twenty-five colonists and soldiers had left the colony with Printz and others had deserted so that the total number of inhabitants was only 70, when Rising came here. About 350 were on the *Örn*, as the ship set sail from Gothenburg, but nearly a hundred died on the journey and a few succumbed in the colony in the early summer, making the total population about the middle of July only "368 souls with the Hollanders and all."² But so large an increase in the number of colonists without additional provisions and merchandise for the trade made the situation critical. The illness continued for some weeks, Skute and other officers also being afflicted. To aggravate matters, disease spread to the Indians, so that "they avoided all communication with the

¹ Rising to E. Oxenstierna, July 11, 13, 1654; *Journal; Geogr.*

² Rising's *Journal; Geogr.; Report*, 1654. Rising states in his Report, however, that there were 370 people in the colony.

NOVA SWEDIA: Eller the Swenskas REVIER, IN INDIA OCCIDENTALI.



A: Opperpranchan. B: Tamakonek, de Sandhoeck, nu kallat Decesaldijgs-Is Fort. C: Wierg Elarlands. D: Wyantwijk. E: Drangwden. F: Lillfaldwden. G: Christinnakyl. H: Sijckhylen. I: Hatoitlaningh. J: Hatoitlaningh. K: Kijfslast. L: Ammenenay. M: Sijckhylen. N: Sijckhylen. O: Christina Fort. P: Sijckhylen. Q: Sijckhylen. R: Sijckhylen. S: Sijckhylen. T: Sijckhylen. U: Sijckhylen. V: Sijckhylen. W: Sijckhylen. X: Sijckhylen. Y: Sijckhylen. Z: Sijckhylen. 1: Sijckhylen. 2: Sijckhylen. 3: Sijckhylen. 4: Sijckhylen. 5: Sijckhylen. 6: Sijckhylen. 7: Sijckhylen. 8: Sijckhylen. 9: Sijckhylen. 10: Sijckhylen. 11: Sijckhylen. 12: Sijckhylen. 13: Sijckhylen. 14: Sijckhylen. 15: Sijckhylen. 16: Sijckhylen. 17: Sijckhylen. 18: Sijckhylen. 19: Sijckhylen. 20: Sijckhylen. 21: Sijckhylen. 22: Sijckhylen. 23: Sijckhylen. 24: Sijckhylen. 25: Sijckhylen. 26: Sijckhylen. 27: Sijckhylen.

Lindström's Map of "Nova Suecia, Eller the Swenskas Revier in India Occidentali" (New Sweden or the Swedes' River in the West Indies). From Lindström's *Geographia*

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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-Commissioner Jacob Swensson should be sent for this purpose with the sloop to North England,³ since he had good and well-known friends there." About two weeks later trade was begun with the Indians in the Horn Kill and some supplies were obtained from them. "On July 21 Jacob Swensson returned with the sloop from Hartford, New England, bringing grain and provisions [purchased] from Mr. Richard Lord."⁴ Conditions had now greatly changed for the better and Rising could pay more attention to other matters.⁵

In accordance with the instructions of the Commercial College arrangements were made as soon as possible for the securing of a new cargo and on May 24 (two days after the ship's arrival at Christina and several days before its unloading) the matter was under consideration by the council. No skins could be got from the savages, consequently it was decided to send messengers to Maryland, Virginia and New Amsterdam to see if any freight could be found for the ship at these places. News was received on June 25 that "numerous merchants at New Amsterdam were desirous of sending goods" to New Sweden for further transportation to Europe, but nothing except news about the matter ever appeared.⁶

When Isaac Allerton became aware of the arrival of a Swedish vessel at Christina, he went there in his sloop and presented a number of old bills. These could not be paid, however, as there were no means on hand and many of the debtors had returned to the mother country, but Allerton was promised his money as soon as new supplies should arrive. It

³ New England, cf. Chap. XLI. above.

⁴ "The bills were delivered to Peter Mört."

⁵ Rising to E. Oxenstierna, July 11, 1654; Lindeström to the Com. Col., July 9, 1654; Rising's *Journal*; *Geogr.*

⁶ Rising's *Journal*.

seems that he left the colony at once, returning in a week with 60 hogsheads of tobacco, for he observed that there was a chance to do some good business before the *Örn* set sail for Europe. His prices were somewhat high, 10 stivers a lb.,⁷ which he finally reduced to 9 stivers (declaring that he could not sell for less), but he was willing to risk the danger of loss on the sea and the fluctuation of the market, so that if the tobacco could not be sold at a gross profit of 7 stivers a lb. he would reduce his price to such an extent that this profit would be realized,⁸ the only condition being, that half of the value of the tobacco at 9 stivers per lb., should be paid him at once, the other half when the next ship arrived with a cargo. Rising, however, "took it into consideration a few days," probably expecting that other merchants would make their appearance. But none appeared and on July 3 the transaction was effected, Allerton selling "13,519⁹ lbs. of Virginian tobacco for 6,083:11½ florins, Holland." "A written accord was made, signed by Rising and Allerton, and the tobacco was brought on board the *Örn* the same day." On Tuesday, the next day, goods to the value of 2,364:11½ florins were delivered to Allerton from the storehouse at Christina, and a "promise to pay the other 3,719½ florins," when the next boat should arrive, was signed by the director.¹⁰

In his instruction Rising was directed 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."¹¹ The country was inspected by the director shortly after his arrival, whereupon it was decided that old farms be improved and new tracts reclaimed from the forest. Rising also caused a map to be made of the river "from the Bay up to

⁷ Six and seven stivers being the usual price.

⁸ "Så at hwad man skulle få mindre för Llbdet i Sweerige än 16 styfer thet wille han ärfijlla och af sin räst afdraga låtha," Rising's *Journal*.

⁹ The total was "15,926 llb. netto 13,519 llb.," Rising's *Journal*.

¹⁰ Rising's *Journal*, June 28, July 3, 1654; *Report*, 1654; Lindeström to the Com. Col. July 9, 1654.

¹¹ "Memorials," etc. (par. 10), December 18, 1653, *Com. Col. Reg.* (R.A.); Rising's *Journal* (Up. U.).

the Falls," "as good as was possible in a hurry," by "Andries Hudde, a Hollander."¹² As soon as the newly arrived freemen had recovered sufficiently they were assigned land and on June 10 Rising writes in his Journal that "this and the following [days] we settled the people, who were well to cultivate the land." These colonists were supported by the company until they "could make a start" and cattle were given to them for a certain part of the produce.

Several donations of land in New Sweden had been made by the Crown to officers who came here. In most cases this was done without proper knowledge of the location or condition of the tracts, hence difficulties were sure to arise. Some of these lands not only were occupied by other freemen, but they had not even been properly purchased from the Indians. On June 5, as Rising with some officers were on an inspection-tour, "Captain Skute presented a letter patent from [Her] Royal Majesty, Queen Christina, through which she had given him Passayunk . . . [and part?] of Kingsessing . . . But the freemen were not pleased at this, saying that it was too early for them to become tenants,¹³ for they had enjoyed no freedoms as yet. They were pacified, however, by the information that Her Royal Majesty intended to give to Captain Skute only the title to the land, not their work and improvement, which they had done upon it." As a consequence, several of the old colonists desired to sell their homesteads in order to occupy "new lands, encouraged thereto by the privileges (freedoms) given by Her Royal Majesty . . . [to private settlers], but no one of the new-comers had means to redeem them." Some cultivated farms were therefore purchased for the company, the improvement only being paid for, and in the summer and autumn Nils Mattson,¹⁴ Måns Månsson and other

¹²Rising paid "till en hollendare medh namn Andreas Hÿdden, som haffver gjort några karter öfver Rewiret och andra affritninggar, 20 [florins]." Räck. med Söd. Comp., October 25, 1660, Rising's *Process* (R.A.). Cf. above, Chap. XXXVII.

¹³"Frelsebönder," tenants or serfs.

¹⁴"At this time [July 10] I bought in behalf and for the benefit of the company, Måns Anderson's land, called Siller, Johan Schaffeb's and Iver the Finns

freemen were given tenure of lands at Upland, Printz-Torp and tracts on the Schuylkill.¹⁵ 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."

It seems that the majority of the new colonists were assigned places between Christina and Ft. Trefaldighet, as near the Delaware as possible. A few were also located upwards along the bank of Christina River, "in order to protect the colony against Virginia" and in time to make a commercial road from the English River¹⁶ to the Swedish settlement. Some of the company's cows were portioned out to settlers on rental in June for one *lispund* (18 lbs.) of butter yearly and half of the offspring. About the beginning of July "the rye [of the company] was cut and brought into Fort Christina"¹⁷ and the crops of the other plantations were harvested at the same time, but comparatively little grain had been sown and hence, although the yield was good, the crop was not large.¹⁸

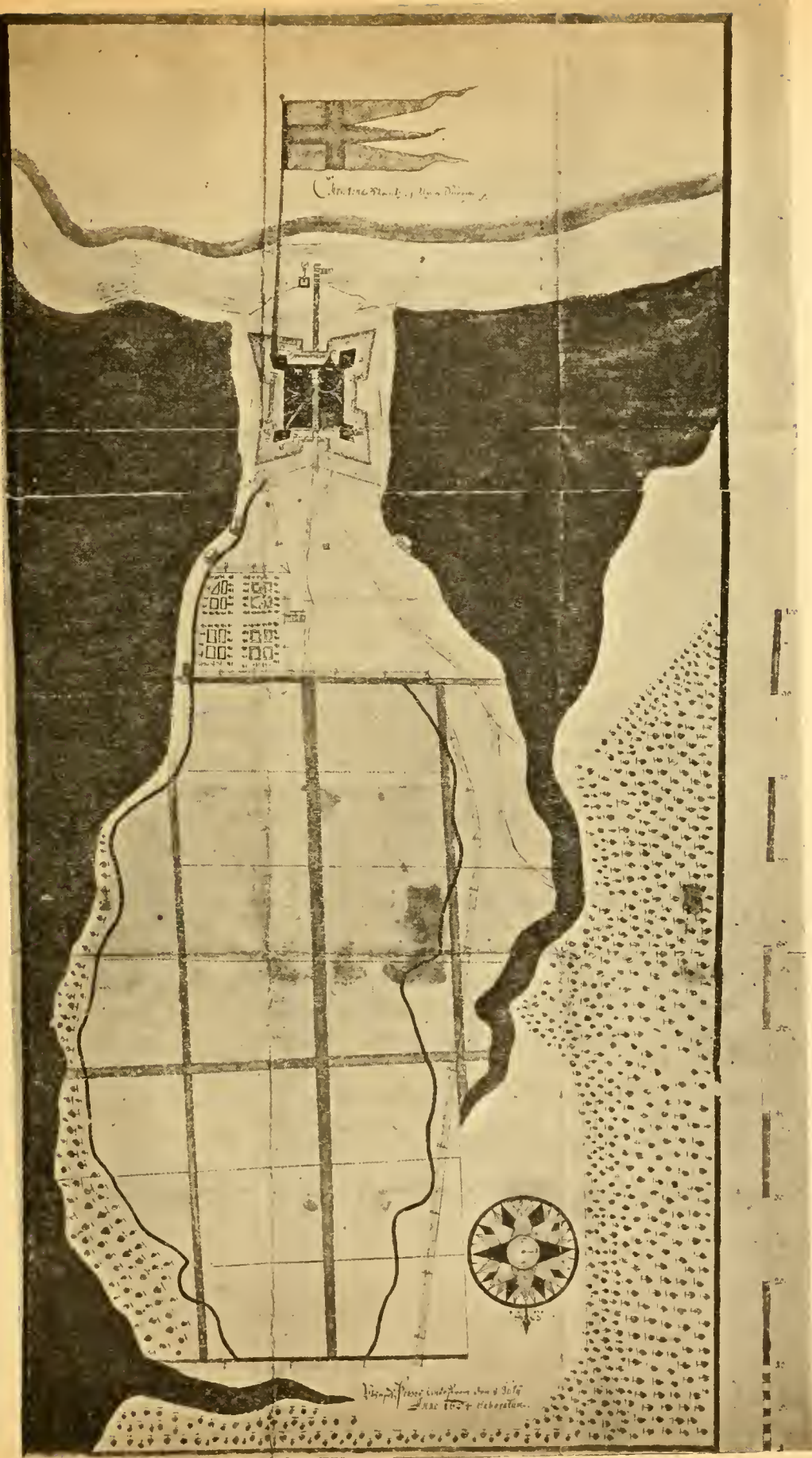
Rising also endeavored to carry out the other paragraphs of his instruction and he selected "suitable places, where villages . . . as well as towns and trading-places could be founded and established." Lindeström was commissioned "to divide the fields [north of and next unto Christina] into lots." The town proper was laid out into a rectangular plot (broken by the encroachment of the low-lands) with square blocks and streets running at right angles to each other—antedating William Penn's Philadelphia plan about thirty years. A map of cultivated land. A new freeman called Nils Matzon rented these three lands." Rising's *Journal*, July 10, 1654 (Up. U.).

¹⁵ The beasts of burden and half of the seed being supplied by the company, the other half of the seed by the renters, who gave half of the produce to the company.

¹⁶ Elk River and the Chesapeake.

¹⁷ "30 staffer vjdh pass."

¹⁸ Rising's *Journal*, June 5, 10, 19, July 6, 10, 24, 1654 (Up. U.); Instruction for Rising, December 15, 1653 (par. 6, 7, 12, 13, 14); *Report*, July 13, 1654; Sprinchorn, p. 93 ff.



Christina Skantz i Nya Sverige. Utaf Petter Lindestöm den 8 July Anno 1654 elaboratum.²⁷ Lindestöm's plan of Christinehamn and Fort Christina, July 8, 1654. Original map (about on meter long and half as wide) in colors preserved in N. S. U. (R. A.), Stockholm.

the fort and the town plan were completed by the engineer on July 8 and sent to Sweden with the *Örn*.¹⁹

Towards the middle of July all necessary arrangements for the return voyage of the *Örn*, which had been in progress for some time, were completed. Lindeström had been appointed to direct the preparations, but although he as well as Rising did their utmost to procure a sufficient cargo "both from Virginia and Manatan" as well as from the savages, "it could not be done." "Besides the goods that were furnished for the cargo Capt. Bockhorn should load timber upon the ship for ballast, which was to be sold at Lisbon in exchange for salt"; but on account of the sickness of the people and the time of the year the instructions could not be followed. "On July 15 the despatches 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. He was to make an oral report and all the documents sent to Sweden were placed in his care, such as Rising's Journal²⁰ and Report, Maps of Christina and of New Sweden, the Oath of the Hollanders, the two Land-Deeds and other papers. The settlers assembled on the shore at Fort Christina during the day (July 15, 1654), to bid farewell and to wish a happy voyage to the ship and its passengers and in the afternoon the *Eagle* spread its wings and glided down Christina River amid the cheers and farewells of the people on the bank. Rising went over land to Fort Trefaldighet, where he boarded the ship and remained over night. On the sixteenth he went ashore together with Madame Papegoja, who had also accompanied the vessel as far as Trefaldighet to see her husband off, and the *Örn* made its final start for the return voyage.²¹

In his report sent with the ship Rising gave a review of the

¹⁹ Instruction for Rising, December 15, 1653 (par 8), *Com. Col. Reg.* (R.A.); *Report*, July 13, 1654; Sprinchorn, p. 96; *Geogr.*, Lindeström's *Map of Fort Christina*, July 8, 1654, N.S., II. (R.A.); cf. facsimile.

²⁰ The one of which a fragment is now preserved in N.S., I. (R.A.).

²¹ Rising's *Journal*, June 30, July 15, 16 ff., 1654; Rising's *Report*, Lindeström to the Com. Col., July 9, 1654, N.S., I. (R.A.); *Geogr.*

conditions he found in the colony and proposed several reforms, complaining that he was in want of potters, brick-makers, lime-burners, cabinet-makers, tanners, shoemakers and turners, but above all of provisions and supplies as well as additional colonists.²² He thought it was 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 which "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 now succor should be sent at an early date." He also requested more cannon and ammunition for the defence of the river. 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 splendid locations for towns and serviceable waterfalls, where mills of various kinds could be built, his intention being to construct a dam at the "great fall" of Christina River,²³ "as soon as everything had been harvested and sown" in the autumn.²⁴

Soon after the departure of the vessel Madame Papegoja made arrangements to remove from Christina, as the family property there had been bought for the company and Rising was to occupy the principal dwelling in the fort. "On August 30 . . . she went up to Tinicum with her children and household in a little sloop," her personal property having been sent up a few days before, where she settled on her father's estate.²⁵

The efforts for the improvement of the colony, begun by

²² He proposed that some Dutch colonists be sent over also.

²³ It seems clear that the fall in the Christina River is meant, for Rising says "in this said river [Christinekijl] and near here in the neighborhood are some falls, but the principal one is called the great falls." There are also falls in the Brandywine creek, however.

²⁴ *Report*, July 13, 1654.

²⁵ Rising's *Journal*, August 8, 26, 30, 1654 (Up. B.).

Rising on his arrival here, were continued throughout the summer. In company with other officers the director visited the different settlements and the plantations belonging to the company, endeavoring to learn the needs and conditions, so as to be able from personal knowledge to arrange for necessary improvements. In the beginning of September the ale house at Tinicum, "being 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, masoned with stone, and the store-house, which had been bought from Papegoja for 100 R.D. (?) was placed above it. "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 should not rot from the water. Later they built the provision-house five rounds [of logs] higher, covered it with boards and protected it below with planks and dug [a ditch] 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, etc., and made a porch before it out of planks." The other dwellings in the fort were likewise repaired, "four clapboard rooms" being made, which provided more space for the people.

It was the intention to establish a staple town near the fort and to cause the skilled workmen, such as shoemakers, blacksmiths, carpenters and the like to reside there. Here also manufactories of various kinds were to be founded and the harbor was to be improved so that it would become the centre for the trade of the country. In the autumn the lots were more accurately measured off and plans were projected for the building of a town "since there was very little room in the fortress." Several men were appointed to "cut pine timber on the eastern bank" of the Delaware almost opposite Tinicum Island, under

the direction of Johan Stålkofta "and later they brought a little timber raft to Fort Christina."²⁶

In October "some [of the settlers] commenced to build . . . manors and houses on their lots" and the walls of several new dwellings were soon to be seen above the ground. A plot was also prepared for an orchard, a sort of a park, "planted with fruit trees and surrounded with palisades." The city thus begun was called Christinehamn²⁷ and if the conditions had been more favorable it might have grown into considerable importance.²⁸

One of the first concerns of Rising was naturally the repairing of the forts and the defense of the country. The Dutch fort received his immediate attention, as it was "the key to the river." Captain Sven Skute was appointed to superintend the strengthening of the old and the erection of new ramparts. Four 14-pound metal cannon,²⁹ which had been taken from the *Örn*³⁰ were placed behind an entrenchment, constructed in front of the fortress to further command the river. Balls, lead, powder and other articles to the value of 92 D., also taken from the ship, were brought into the fort. Captain Skute, assisted by the former Commander Bicker, worked all summer on the fortifications with twenty men. Towards the middle of October the works were nearly ready, although somewhat delayed by the illness of Skute and others; but on the night of October 22 a fearful northeast storm, accompanied by an exceptionally high flood did great damage at Fort Trefaldighet, washing away the wall up to the palisades. "Fort Christina,³¹ being in

²⁶ Rising's *Journal*; *Geogr.*

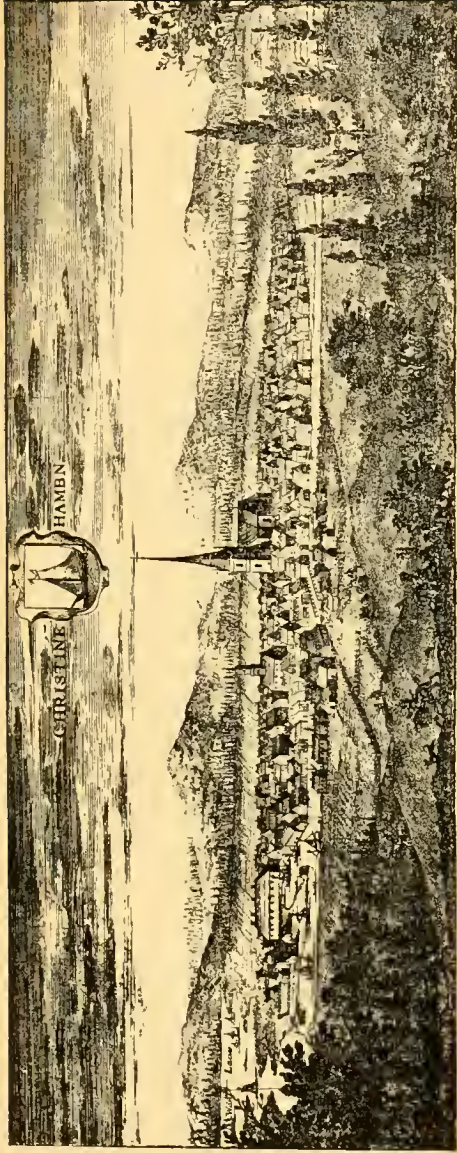
²⁷ Presumably in honor of Queen Christina. The name means the harbor of Christina. A city with the same name was founded in Sweden in 1642 (the place having several dwellings long before, however).

²⁸ Rising's *Journal* (Up. B.).

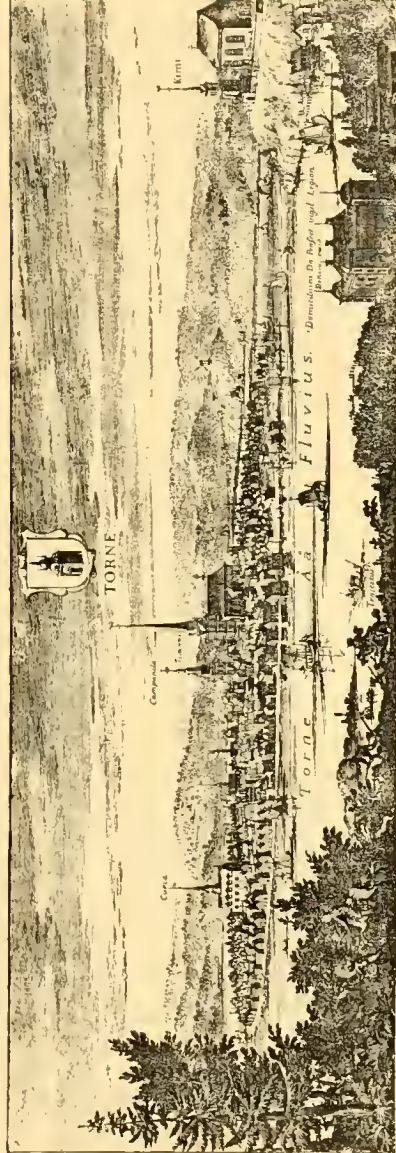
²⁹ These were to be paid to the Admiralty by the company. They were valued at 576 D., "Wäst. Com. med. H. Kramer," etc., *Söderk.*, 1637-59 (R.A.).

³⁰ "On the twenty-seventh of June it was decided that Captain Skute should go to Fort Trefaldighet and fortify it with all power . . . and that Captain Bockhorn should supply four fourteen pound iron guns for the defence of the fort and the river, which was done." Rising's *Journal*, June 27, 1654 (Up. B.).

³¹ In the night of August 29, a fire broke out in Christina. The fort was in great danger, but the fire was extinguished before it had done any damage.



Christinehamn in the seventeenth century. (*Svecia Antiqua*.)



Torne in the seventeenth century. (*Svecia Antiqua*.) See p. 715.

a state of entire dilapidation," was also repaired during the autumn³² by the freemen and soldiers.³³

Agriculture and cattle raising were now becoming of first importance to the colony. The settlers were well supplied with cattle when Printz returned to Sweden, but with the arrival of the new expedition the cattle and horses became too few for the great number of freemen. When "the English from Virginia" visited Christina in the summer, a contract was made with them for the delivery of a number of cows. Th. Ringold from Maryland desired to buy five or six mares. So large a number could not be spared, but it was agreed to sell two mares to him, each to be paid for by two cows that were with calf. In like manner March, "who was the richest man in his colony," promised to send over ten cows, when Ringold delivered his.³⁴ Through these purchases the value of a cow in New Sweden fell about fifty per cent.

In August an order was issued by the council, "that every freeman [at the Sandhook] should inclose his plantation and watch his cattle that they did no damage to others, on penalty of punishment."³⁵ In the autumn orders were also given to the freemen to clear certain lands. "The field at Fort Christina was plowed and manure was brought upon it . . . The land³⁶ across Christina River [opposite the fort called the *sidoland*]³⁷ was [also] 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 plowing and cultivation of certain farms, which had been forfeited to the com-

³² The work lasted for almost a month and new palisades were placed all around the fort, Rising's *Journal*, November 1, 1654 (Up. B.).

³³ Rising's *Journal*, June 3, 27, August 30, October 22, November 1, 1654; Rising to E. Oxenstierna, July 11, 1654; "Reck. med. Söd. Comp.," Rising's *Process; Geogr.; Report*, July 13, 1654; Sprinchorn, p. 99. "Wäst. Comp. med. Bookh. H. Kramer," 1654, *Söderk.*, 1637-59 (R.A.).

³⁴ Whether or not these cows were all delivered is not known.

³⁵ Rising's *Journal*, June 5, 19, August 8, October 8, 18, 1654 (Up. B.); *Report*, July 13, 1654.

³⁶ About 50 acres of this land was sown with winter wheat in November. Rising's *Journal*, November 6, 1654 (Up. B.).

³⁷ "The side land."

pany by some Dutch freemen. In October, November and December "the new freemen were ordered to clear their land at various places, for the purpose of planting maize in the coming spring, and several fields at the Sandhook and 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 were assigned to a freeman, called Måns Måns-son 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 60 to 70 *skeppor*,^{37a} part of it being sown with wheat, the other part to be sown with maize in the spring."³⁸

Rising had been granted a piece of land in the colony, large enough for the settlement of 20 to 30 peasants. This land was "located down at Fort Trefaldighet, extending from the [river] back along a little stream, a quarter of a Swedish mile [$1\frac{1}{2}$ English miles] up into the country and then along the river a quarter of a mile to Traneudden [Crane Hook] inclusive," but, "since the above was somewhat remote from Christina so that Rising could not superintend it daily," he requested a grant of Timber Island with half of the land down to the Sköldpaddekill (Mudturtle Kill), the other half to be bought by him. The donation was recommended by Johan Papegoja, Sven Skute, Johan Bockhorn, Gerit Bicker, Andries Hudde, Gregorius van Dyck and four others.³⁹ The director did not wait for an answer from Sweden, but proceeded in December to clear off Timber Island at his own expense with the assistance of the officers and freemen for the purpose of making a plantation there. Various kinds of fruit trees were also planted in the autumn both by Rising and the freemen.⁴⁰

The grain was thrashed in the fall and most of it was probably ground at the mill as the mill-dam was repaired in August,

^{37a} About 70 to 80 acres, cf. above, Chap. VI.

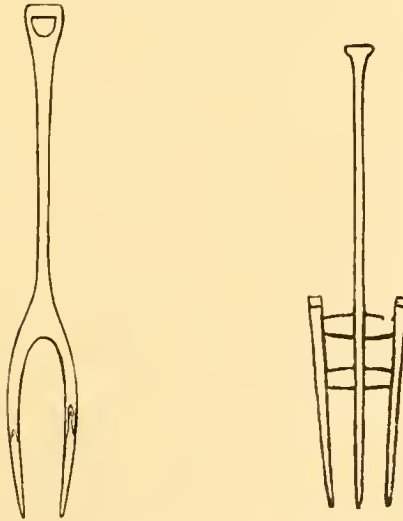
³⁸ Rising's *Journal*, August 25 ff.

³⁹ Rising to Oxenstierna, July 11, *P.S.*, July 17, 1654.

⁴⁰ Rising's *Journal* (Up. B.).



Plowing and preparing the ground in the north according to Olaus Magnus (1555).



Types of manure forks (of wood) from Finland. (G.)

making it probable that the mill was in good condition. Towards the end of October, when some of the most necessary duties had been attended to, Rising went up to Naaman's Kill, "in company with several good men," where he found "a serviceable little waterfall for a sawmill." It was thought very necessary to build a saw-mill for the needs of the country and for supplying the neighbors with lumber and, as saw-blades had been taken over for this purpose, it would not be difficult to erect such a mill.⁴¹

We have already seen that English merchants went to New Sweden to sell goods shortly after Rising's arrival. The condition of the country and the failure of the arrival of new supplies made it imperative for the director to continue to buy provisions from the neighbors and the Indians. On September 24 Richard Lord from Hartford arrived at Christina "with a cargo of provisions and other goods," besides letters from Elswick relating the sorrowful news of the capture of the *Haj*. "It was a special injury to us," says Rising in his journal, "and a blow not easily repaired." The cargo was bought from Lord on October 2 and, since there was neither goods nor money on hand, he was given an obligation signed by director Rising and Jacob Svensson with a promise to pay in April.

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 need of relief, especially as the ship, the *Gyllene Haj*, had been seized by Stuyvesant at Manhattans . . . hoping that succor would be sent at the earliest [opportunity]."⁴²

About the end of November a boat "with provisions and people" was sent "up to the falls" to meet Hendrick von Elswick, who was expected to come overland from Manhattan. On the last of November he arrived at Christina in company with Sven Höök, a servant, a secretary and a soldier, bringing the letters and documents which had not been sent from New

⁴¹ Rising's *Journal*, August 15, October 28, 1654; *Report*, 1654.

⁴² Letters were also written to the chancellor, Rising's *Journal*.

Amsterdam and those concerning the *Katt* affair in Porto Rico. The account-books, bills and the like were now turned over to Elswick, who was given charge of the storehouse and the goods at Christina. At the inventory which was made it was found that the supply was very small and some of the articles were ruined.⁴³

During the autumn provisions were stored in the forts and, as there were indications that the winter would be cold, the dwellings were repaired, while the old barns were improved and new ones were built. In the beginning of December "the soldiers [and servants] commenced to clear land for the plantations of the company, as well at Christina as on the upper side [of the fort] and continued with it all winter so that beautiful pieces of land were cleared, which were to be planted with maize and tobacco for the company in the spring. The freemen also as well as other servants of the company [cleared] parts of their new lands at several places, namely about (?)⁴⁴ 9 tracts on *Strandviken*⁴⁵ down at Ft. Christina, at Trefaldighet 7 tracts, at the Sandhook 2 tracts, on Amman's land up at the *Kvarn Kill*⁴⁶ 3 tracts, two islands at Kingsessing and Timber Island at Ft. Christina."⁴⁷

In the autumn of 1653 Governor Printz and Hendrick Huygen made a list of the land (wild and improved) and other property, belonging to the New Sweden Company on the Delaware and an estimate of the value of the same⁴⁸ as follows:

	R.D.
1. From Sankikan to the Schuylkill about 45 miles, on the west bank of the Delaware, as far landwards as the Swedes desired to use it, uncultivated, Indians dwelling upon it.....	20,000
2. Fort Korsholm, with eight morgens, ⁴⁹ cultivated land and some meadow, the rest uncultivated.....	2,000

⁴³ There were only 166 $\frac{7}{8}$ yards of frieze; 90 kettles; 1 bear skin; 63 otter skins; 255 lbs. of tobacco, etc. in the storehouse, "Anno 1655, Schuldt und Cargason Buch," N.S., I. (R.A.); cf. above, Chap. XLI.

⁴⁴ "Wijdras 9 stycken" = "Vid pass 9 stycken"?

⁴⁵ "Strandviken" = The Strand-Bay.

⁴⁶ Mill Creek.

⁴⁷ Rising's *Journal* (Up. B.).

⁴⁸ This formed the basis for later estimates in the efforts of Sweder to secure damages for the colony.

⁴⁹ For the size of a *morgen* see Chap. LIV., note 2.

3. Ft. Vasa, also called Kingsessing about three (Eng.) miles up the river, where 20 freemen live, 20 morgens field with cattle and horses	6,000
4. Aronameck, about one and a half miles from Vasa, 4 morgens cultivated land	500
5. Mölndal with a water mill ⁵⁰ and 4 morgens cultivated land.....	1,500
6. Tenakung or New Gothenborg, 12 morgens of field, 50 beasts and the buildings, which belong to Governor Printz.....	4,000
7. Tequirassy, about one and a half miles below, with three plantations of 12 morgens cultivated land, buildings and beasts.....	1,500
8. Upland otherwise called Meckopenacka, 12 morgens, cultivated land with dwellings	1,500
9. Printztorp, 10 morgens cultivated land with dwellings and beasts, belongs to Gov. Printz	2,000
10. Four plantations adjoining Printztorp with 16 morgens cultivated land, houses and beasts.....	2,000
11. Ft. Christina with the dwellings and other property.....	10,000
12. Cultivated land, 12 morgens in the neighborhood of the fort.....	2,000
13. From the fort up along Christina River, one plantation of 8 morgens.	1,000
14. The Sandhook with Ft. Trefaldighet.....	8,000 ⁵¹
15. 20 morgens cultivated land and 20 houses near the fort.....	1,500
16. From the Sandhook to Cape Henlopen, of which the land of the Horn Kill is mostly cleared	32,000
17. On the east bank of the Delaware from Cape Henlopen to Ft. Elfsborg uninhabited land	28,000
18. Ft. Elfsborg with the surrounding 30 morgens of cleared land, "cultivated by the English a short time ago".....	5,000
19. From Ft. Elfsborg to the Verkerte Kill at Ermewamex, 8 German miles, uninhabited land	16,000
20. The rest of the land up the Delaware is not yet bought by the Swedes except two islands in the river, for a long time inhabited by the Indians	4,000
Total value	148,500
or 222,750 D. ⁵²	

Such was the extent of the cultivated lands in New Sweden when Director Rising began to clear new lands in the autumn of 1654. Before spring and summer came, this had more than doubled.⁵³

The Swedes and especially the Finns were accustomed to a primitive way of clearing the forest and making use of the land, the so-called *Svedjebruket*⁵⁴ (agriculture by burning).⁵⁵

⁵⁰ Mölndal with the mill was estimated at 1,000 R.D.

⁵¹ The fort was added later after its capture in 1654.

⁵² *Journal*, no. 1586; Beschr. van de S. R. gele. in Nova Svecia, N.S., II. (R.A.).

⁵³ *Report*, 1655, Rising's *Journal*.

⁵⁴ The German, *Überlandbrennen, Sengen, Schoden*.

⁵⁵ The method is referred to in *Kalevala*, I. 16, 22, 23, 26; II. 691.

This method of clearing away the forest and preparing the ground for sowing has been employed by the American Indians and other primitive peoples of all times. It was used by the old Romans and has been employed in Sweden, Finland, Germany, Switzerland, Greece and other European countries down to our present day.

The *svedging* or burning served two objects, it cleared away the forest and prepared a splendid manure.⁵⁶ When a tract of wooded land was to be made into fields in this way, the trees were felled (in a certain order), generally in summer or the fall, when there were leaves on the branches, or in the case of pines, in winter. The trees were then allowed to dry for about a year, when the branches were removed from the trunks and all useful trees cut into logs. The following summer the branches and trees were burnt, after certain incantations (among the Finns) had been read.

Men and women, dressed in their poorest clothes, would then superintend the burning and see that as far as possible, every part of the ground was singed. In the autumn, or a few 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, where they were burnt. The ground was then prepared more carefully and grain (oats, rye or wheat) was again sown. Soil that had been enriched by burning could bear good crops for five or six years without manuring or new burning. Hence cultivated land was sometimes "burnt," logs, branches and the like being brought from other places and spread out over the field. When they had been burnt, grain was sown as before.⁵⁷

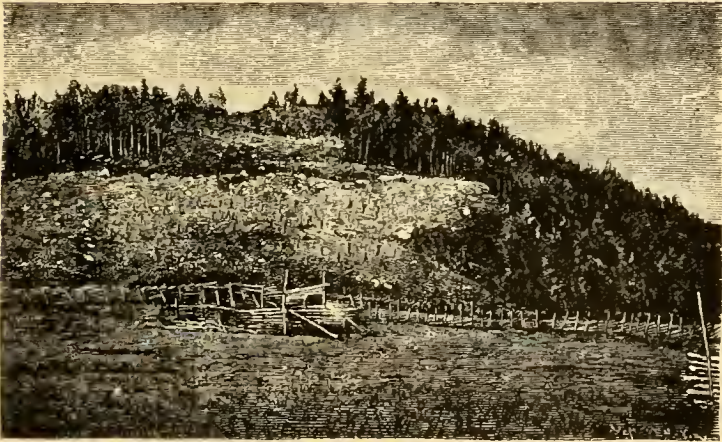
In Sweden and Finland this method became so common during the seventeenth century that ordinances were passed against it by the government, many Finns being sent to New Sweden for violating these edicts. The Finns, and in some cases the

⁵⁶ The ashes which remains after the burning is one of the best manures.

⁵⁷ Grotenfelt, *Det primitiva jordb.*, etc., p. 27 ff., 36 ff., 147 ff.; Stolt, *Minnen*, p. 40.



A typical harvest scene in Finland and Sweden. R.



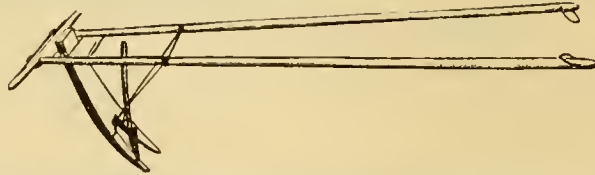
A field prepared by burning (*Svedjebruk*). R.



"Branch-harrow," used by the Finns and Swedes for preparing the ground for sowing after the "burning." It was dragged over the "singed tract."



"Hand harrow" (made of wood) for preparing the ground, used by the Finns and Swedes. S.



Plow made of wood. R.



A sickle.



Stones for a hand-mill. R. See p. 536.

Swedes, continued the practise on the South River and several tracts were undoubtedly cleared in this manner in the winter of 1654-55, but there are very few references to it.⁵⁸

The winter became so severe that the rivers 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 by the water. In February warm and pleasant weather returned, causing the ice to disappear.

There seems to have been very little trade with the neighbors or the Indians during the winter. In the early part of the year "an English bark"⁵⁹ was anchored at Fort Trefaldighet, but whether or not any goods were sold does not appear. When it departed for New Amsterdam in the early spring, a quantity of skins was sent there under the care of Elswick,⁶⁰ who exchanged the skins for merchandise⁶¹ to be used in the transactions with the Indians. Elswick, having gone to New Amsterdam "as though he intended to return to Sweden," embarked for Christina some time in May on a Boston sloop, which brought a quantity of provisions and merchandise to the colony of which the skipper sold 616 florins worth to the Swedes.⁶²

When spring came the improved land was large enough to support the people, if the crops should be good; but it was found that the frost had ruined the grain which had been sown in the

⁵⁸ *Doc.*, XII.; Hazard.

⁵⁹ Elswick says that the bark belonged to *Cornelis Jansen* who was probably a Hollander.

⁶⁰ Elswick dates the entry of the transaction on March 14, 1655, *Schuldt. u. Carg. B.* and in his letter of June 16, 1655, he says he went there on March 15. N.S., I. (R.A.).

⁶¹ Fifty otter-skins were sold for 200 fl.; 10 deer-skins for 150:15 fl., 25 beaver-skins for 175 fl., 26 mink-skins for 15:12 fl., the total amount being 541:7 fl., *Schuldt. u. Carg. B.*

⁶² Rising's *Journal*, January, February, 1655; Fragment of Elswick's *Journal*, N.S., I. (K.A.); Elswick to E. Oxenstierna, June 16, 1655, N.S., I. (R.A.); "Schuldt u. Carg. B.," N.S., II. (R.A.); *Report*, 1655; cf. below, Chap. XLVI, XLVII.

autumn. There was no grain on hand for a new seeding, but Richard Lord was requested to bring seed and provisions to the colony. As he arrived rather late, the old fields were planted with tobacco in March and April and many new plots were prepared.⁶³

About the beginning of May Isaac Allerton with his skipper, Michell Tentor, was in New Sweden and Rising bought from him a hogshead of French wine, a hundred pounds of butter, several gallons of vinegar, a quantity of hops and other goods.⁶⁴ On May 7 a skipper, William King, sold 320 yards of frieze for 1,144 florins. The two bills were paid for by drafts, one due in three months from date, the other on August 31. 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 the Swedes were in sore need and on June 14 they contracted a purchase.⁶⁵ He presented his old bills and would not leave the goods on the same terms as formerly. Finally he accepted a draft for the amount (2,196½ R.D.),⁶⁶ drawn on the Commercial College (to be paid one month after sight), and signed by director Rising and Elswick,⁶⁷ but on the condi-

⁶³ Rising's *Journal*, 1655 (Up. B.).

	fl.
⁶⁴ Franz wine, 1 Oxhovet.....	104
Kopffen, 26 st. mit fasz.....	30:2
Butter, 100 lb.....	60
Eszig, 3 anker.....	60
Schue, 40 par.....	160
Frijss, 40 ell.....	160
Hembden, 23 st.....	103:10

⁶⁵ He sold 1,424 lbs. of bacon (?), 1,107 lbs. of bread, three barrels of butter, "three barrels of salted ox-meat," "two barrels of pork," two barrels of mackerel, one barrel of cider, some brandy, 97 bushels of wheat, several pairs of stockings, hats, gloves, etc., 1,675 lbs. of lead and 85 lbs. of powder.

⁶⁶ A copy of the draft (in German) in N.S., I. (K.A.). The draft was to be paid to Isaack Allen of London or to his factor "Ein mouadt auf sicht," etc., from August 31.

⁶⁷ The bill was £488.3s.10½d., but of this sum £200.12s.1d. was an old debt since February. Each £ was to be reckoned at 4½ R.D. The bill included interest and a fine of £23, because Rising could not deliver 315⅝ beavers on the appointed day, as there were no beavers to be had from the savages. "Schuldt u. Carg. B."



“ Burning a field ” in Finland. G.

tion that he should receive 8 per cent. on the new as well as the old debt until paid and that all damages, which he would suffer unless the bills were settled before August, were guaranteed to be paid him. Lord also sold pease and other articles to be paid for by beavers in 1656 and made smaller sales to individual colonists. About the same time, probably in company with Lord, Thomas Sandford from Boston arrived here, bringing with him a quantity of bread, dried meat, brandy and other goods, which were mostly sold in the colony.⁶⁸

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 promised 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*.⁶⁹ He reported that the colony was in fairly good condition, much land had been cleared, corn had been planted and the territory of New Sweden had been greatly increased, but succor in the way of provisions, cloth and the like was sorely needed and, if the hope of assistance and of the arrival of new supplies did not cheer the people, many would desert, as some had already done, so that "affairs would have a speedy end." More colonists ought to be sent over and the requests for skilled workmen were repeated—"house-carpenters, who understood how to cut all kinds of timber," he expected to find in New England. He proposed that a large capital should be employed for the good of the colony, according to plans sub-

⁶⁸ The bill entered by Elswick is as follows:

Erbszen, 57 buszel @ 3 fl.....	171
Dröge Fish, 500 lbs. . . . 100 lbs. pr. 14 fl.....	70
Brandewein, 2 ancker und 13 galen.....	138
Brott, 200 lbs., 100 lbs. @ 16 fl.....	32
Saltz, 10 Büszel @ 6 fl.....	60
Schue, 40 par @ 3½ fl.....	140
Wullen Schnüre, 1st. von 80 ell.....	5
"Schuldt u. Carg. B."	

⁶⁹ Rising's *Journal; Report*, June 14, 1655, N.S., I. (K.A.).

mitted by Elswick,⁷⁰ and a new route for the expeditions was suggested. The journey by way of the Canaries was long and troublesome on account of the severe heat; the route farther north (used by the English) was many hundred miles shorter, could be accomplished at the most in from 5 to 10 weeks and no people would die on the journey from heat. Nothing had been done in the way of establishing factories, but as soon as supplies were received, beginnings would be made. The threats of the Hollanders and the dangers from the English and the savages disturbed the colonists somewhat, but not to any alarming degree.⁷¹

The colonists were busy with their various labors during the summer. The hay was cut on the lands of the company at Christina and at Trefaldighet as well as on the farms of the freemen during the latter part of June and the grain was harvested about the same time.

Shortly after the 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 suspected that there were minerals in this region and 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 in the face." In the neighborhood of the falls the mountain of Mekekanckon, "being [about] 30 or 40 yards high," offered a good location for a fort, which could protect the falls and the surrounding country, "so that the river and country could be

⁷⁰ Elswick proposed that the New Sweden Company should invest 50,000 R.D. in merchandise and keep two vessels here continually, one of 25 to 30 lasts, the other of 40 to 50 lasts. Elswick to E. Oxenstierna, June 16, 1655, N.S., I. (R.A.).

⁷¹ *Report*, June 14, 1655. (This document, discovered by the author in 1906, has been translated by him for publication in Dr. Albert Cook Myers's *Orig. Nar. of Penn.*, ed. by Jameson. It is well preserved and is now found in N.S., I. (K.A.); Elswick to E. Oxenstierna, June 16, 1655, N.S., I. (R.A.).

well defended against attack up there through such a fort by a small force."⁷²

Passable roads between the settlements were gradually made by the soldiers and freemen and it is probable that wagons were now beginning to be used for the transportation of goods.^{72a}

During the summer rumors were circulated that Stuyvesant intended to attack New Sweden. As a consequence the labors on the forts were pushed with vigor, Christina being repaired and the works on Trefaldighet being greatly strengthened, but, as we shall see, to little avail. The colony was expecting a cargo from Sweden, but none arrived. The goods bought from the English and Dutch did not suffice. Provisions were apparently not very scarce, but clothes gave out. "Linen," writes Elswick in August, "is so scarce here that already some of the soldiers go without shirts. As long as *balidan* or sailcloth was at hand, shirts were made for them from it, but now this is also gone."⁷³ The freemen as usual fared better; the majority had enough for their daily needs and some were prosperous.⁷⁴

⁷² The deed for Mekekanckon Island (Menahannonck, a little below the falls), which had been bought by Printz, was confirmed at this time. Rising's *Journal*.

^{72a} Cf. "Risings *promem.*," etc., Rising's *Process*.

⁷³ Elswick to E. Oxenstierna, August 7, 1655.

⁷⁴ Lindeström, *Geogr.*

CHAPTER XLIII.

CUSTOMS, HABITS, DRESS, DWELLINGS, SUPERSTITIONS, RELIGION, ETC.

I.

The customs, habits and dress of the settlers did not change materially from the first period until the overthrow of the Swedish power. The time was too short for radical changes, but certain customs of dress as well as some implements and forms of "domestic and industrial arts" were borrowed from the savages and the neighbors.

Canoes and the Indian paddle,¹ as a means of propelling them, were adopted. These canoes were made from the trunk of a large tree,² hollowed out by axes and adzes.³ Coats made out of buck-skin, called "savage-coats" and others made from otter skins, called "otter-coats," were used by the settlers,⁴ while elk-skin trousers were common.⁵ Cloth, as far as this could be obtained, was also used for making garments, shirts, trousers, etc. Peter Kalm says, on the authority of an old settler, that the Swedes made their own shoes. "Those who were not shoemakers marked out [on the leather] around the foot, how large a shoe they needed, and sewed together the leather accordingly, namely a bottom, a little back-leather and the upper-leather. These shoes were called *Kippaka*."⁶ Much

¹ The Finns and Swedes had a sort of a paddle for steering. Cf. *Retzius, Finland*.

² Since suitable birch-bark was hard to find.

³ Lindström, *Geogr.*

⁴ In the inventory made in February, 1655, there were "12 large savage coats" and "40 small savage-coats" in the storehouse, "Schuldt u. Carg. B."

⁵ Elk-skin trousers of a yellowish color are common in Dalarna, Sweden. The author saw them worn by the men attending services in the church at Rättvik, in August, 1906.

⁶ Kalm, *Resa*, III. p. 71. *Kippaka* was apparently an abbreviation of the Lenâpé word *Machtschipak*, shoe, from which moccasin has been derived. Cf. Brinton, *Dictionary*, p. 71; *The Century Dictionary*.

of the leather used in the colony in 1654-55 was prepared and tanned by the tanner, Peter Schall,⁷ who used the methods employed in Europe, but deer-skins were sometimes tanned according to "the Indian manner." Some sole leather was purchased from foreign merchants, but it was also made in the colony by Hendrick the Finn and Clement Michelsson the Finn, who are credited with several deliveries of this article to the company.⁸ The shoe-maker was Anders Botsman, who made 27 pairs of shoes here from February until the middle of April, 1655,⁹ and it is probable that other colonists made "regular shoes with heels."¹⁰ Two or more tailors were employed in the colony and the records state that 26 yards of cloth were made into eight jackets and 12 yards of cloth into four jackets or coats.¹¹

"While my grandfather lived among the savages," remarks Holm, the Swedish women made small caps out of all kinds of old clothes, at the top of which they fixed a tassel of various colors. The tassels were made from differently colored rags, which they unravelled and mixed together. These caps pleased the Indians extremely and they gave good prices for them in their money.¹²

The food and drink of the colonists remained the same as in the previous periods, beer being the staple beverage, and meat, pork, venison, fish (fresh and dried), bread (made from rye, wheat or maize) being the principal articles of food (prices for these provisions being somewhat higher than during the governorship of Printz). The use of the maize-bread and the manner of preparing it was learned from the savages and the

⁷ The 154 deer-skins and other hides given in the account book kept by Elswick from February to the autumn of 1655 were tanned by Schall.

⁸ One hundred pounds were delivered by Hendrick and some ten pounds by Clement in 1655.

⁹ He used 65 pounds of leather for the purpose. Eighty pair of shoes were sold by Allerton and Sandford in May.

¹⁰ Cf. Kalm, *Resa*, III. 71.

¹¹ For the above account see "1655, Schuldt u. Carg. B.," N.S., II. (K.A.).

¹² Cf. Holm (transl.), 131.

neighbors. Lindeström describes the making of maize-bread as follows:

"But when the Christians bake bread of this maize or Indian wheat, they [heat the] oven and when there are sufficiently hot coals and ashes they make and work the whole dough into a loaf as wide as an oven-bottom,¹³ raised like a loaf (*limpa*), then [they] sweep the oven clean and place some layers of large green leaves upon the stones,¹⁴ upon which the bread is placed, around and above which a few layers [of leaves] are placed, thereupon turning the embers (*askemörjan*) over the whole, which is allowed to stand thus for a few hours' space to bake through. When one believes it to be well baked through, the ashes are carefully swept away, the bread is removed and the leaves torn off, when the bread looks brown on the outside like a pancake, but inside white like milk, and is such a natural bread that no more beautiful and natural can be put between the teeth."¹⁵

The grist-mill was kept in repair for the grinding of the grain, but the immediate needs were likely supplied by the hand-mills, which seem to have been quite numerous.

The colonists had chickens, sheep, goats, pigs, cattle and horses¹⁶ and the products of the farming community of New Sweden were, besides grain, vegetables, hides and the like, milk (cows' and goats' milk), butter, cheese and eggs, butter and cheese being made in the Dutch and Swedish manner. The swine and cattle (selected for that purpose) were butchered in the autumn and meat and pork were salted or smoked.¹⁷ We may assume that the wool from the sheep and the hemp grown

¹³ "Kakubottn" (*loaf-bottom*), probably meaning the size of one of the large loaves, covering almost the whole bottom of the oven.

¹⁴ "Närmast stenarne [i spijsen]," that is the bottom of the oven.

¹⁵ *Geogr.*, 221-2.

¹⁶ It is likely that they had no bees, for no mention is made of them in the records and they were to be imported into the colony in 1654 and 1655, Rising's *Journal*.

¹⁷ The bath house at Christina was so arranged by Rising, that it could also be used for a smoke-house. Cp. above.

here were spun into thread, which in its turn was woven into cloth or knitted into stockings or mittens.¹⁸

Hunting and fishing were as important as before, and there are no signs that the game or fish diminished to any extent.^{18a} "Long French guns" and other fowling pieces were used. The old guns were made over by the blacksmiths¹⁹ and fitted with flint-locks. The blacksmiths also repaired the farming implements and made new articles when necessary. Hooks and nets were employed in the catching of the fish, as we have seen. It is more than likely that nets were made here by the colonists to supply the need, only a few being brought from Sweden.²⁰ It is also probable that other devices were used for catching the fish, as spears, junkets, eel-traps, and the like, for the Swedes and Finns came from regions where these methods of fishing were common.

II.

The dwellings of the settlers, built in 1654-1655, were apparently larger and more comfortable than those erected during the earlier years, while of the same style as those built during the latter part of Printz's governorship. We shall not be far wrong, if we suppose that these dwellings were very similar to the peasant's houses found in northern Sweden at this period or a little later. Two general types present themselves.

The one, a log cabin with a single room, which was used for a kitchen, dining-room and bedroom, containing the beds, the fireplace and the oven, cupboards, tables and other necessary conveniences. The entrance was on the gable end through a low door that opened outwards.

¹⁸ The records are silent on these points, but what could the colonists do with their wool? They did not sell it to the neighbors, at least the records make mention of no such sales. The Swedish women have always been skilled in weaving and knitting. Cf. *Introduction*.

^{18a} Fish was very plentiful when Penn arrived. Cf. *Penn. Mag.*, IX. 75.

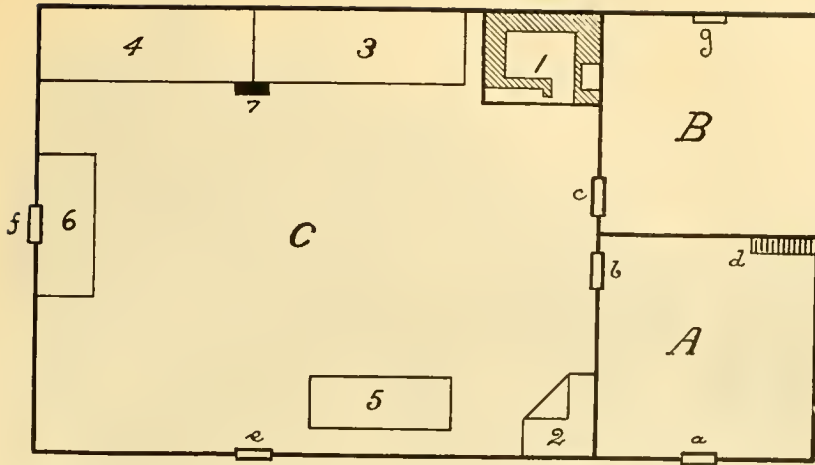
¹⁹ One of the blacksmiths was Clas Petersson. He pretended to have worked for twelve days at Ft. Trefaldighet, but he did nothing, nevertheless he is credited with 36 fl. for these twelve days, "Schuldt u. Carg. B."

²⁰ "Net-needles" are often mentioned in the account-books.

The other type, also a log-cabin (in some cases built out of flat-hewn timbers, "cross-cut at the corners") divided (by a wall also constructed from logs) into a large room, an entrance hall and a storeroom which had a small loft that could be entered from the hall used for preserving various articles.

On Skansen, at Stockholm, is an old dwelling of this kind, which according to Dr. Nilsson contains the general characteristics found in all later dwellings of the Swedish peasants, and hence must have been a common form in earlier times. It is erected of flat-hewn pine timbers. The roof is gabled, the upper, joining edges resting on a large ridge, from which the rafters extend in pairs down to the wall-plates or to the last timbers of the side-walls. The rafters are covered with boards on which is placed a layer of birch-bark, held in position by small logs split in two, which are prevented from gliding down by transversal planks, fastened to the wall plates. The entrance is on the side (near the corner), above which a small porch-like roof (often carved) gives shelter from rain and snow. On entering such a house, we come into a dark hall (*A*) whence a ladder, often made out of a single log with steps cut into it,²¹ leads to a small loft above the storehouse (*B*). Turning to the left we enter the main room, almost square, open to the ridge pole, with uncovered rafters and no other ceiling than the roof. One or two (in Sweden generally elaborately carved) "cloth-rails" of large dimensions, suspended from the roof in iron bars or simply resting with their ends on logs in the walls, is probably the first object to arrest our attention, especially since we must bend down to pass under it. It is used as a clothes-hanger, but also serves the purpose of dividing the room into two or three sections, designating the "territory where the children can play," where the beggars may remain, when coming into the house, etc., the space between the door and the first "hanger" being the less private, the space between the two "hangers" (if there were two) being more private and

²¹ Cf. the ladder of the storehouses, above, Chap. XXXIII.



Plan of a typical house in Dalarne. *A*, Entrance Hall. *C*, Main (living) Room. *B*, Store-house. *a*, *b*, *c*, doors. *d*, ladder to loft of the storehouse *B*; *e*, *f*, windows or openings closed by shoveboards; 1, fireplace; 2, cupboard; 3, 4, beds; 5, table; 6, table or carpenter's bench; 7, clock.

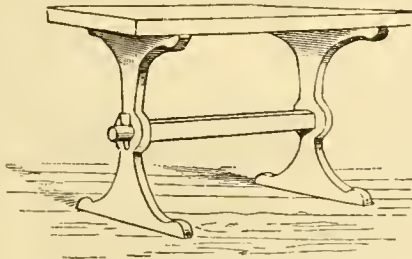


Table from Finland. R.



Bench from Finland. R.



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



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

the inner space next to the gable wall being the most private. Crimes committed within these limits were punished in accordance with the above principle, leniently if committed near the door and more rigorously if near the inner gable wall.²² The fireplace in the corner to the right is the most conspicuous object and this will in the next place demand our notice. It is made (on a rock foundation) from bricks (in the more prosperous houses) or rough granite blocks or boulders. Divided into two parts (having a chimney in common), it serves the purpose of oven (for baking, etc.) and fireplace (for heating, etc.) in which an iron bar is placed, carrying a reversible hook for suspending the pot, where cooking and the like is done. On the same side, extending from the fireplace to the end wall, are the two "bunks" or enclosed bedsteads built into the wall. When necessary a second and third "sleeping-place" are constructed above the lower ones. Curtains, often with elaborate designs, cover the openings. "The bottom [of the bedsteads] consisted only of some loose pieces of boards or split poles, which rested on a couple of cut-in cross-pieces. Thatching-straw²³ was filled in and a cover, similar to that now used for carpets, was laid upon it . . . In finer houses, sheets were used [even] on week days, especially by the mother and father. The bed-clothes were generally woolfells,²⁴ rugs [made out of fleeced wool-thread] and thick hair quilts . . . Below [the bedsteads] was a useful space for all kinds of rubbish . . . [and] the cat usually had his abode there." At the inner gable wall is a window or opening in the wall and below this may be seen a carpenter's or wood-worker's bench in some houses, where the house-father or sons can make the pails, wooden plates and the like or mend the utensils and instruments needed in the house and on the farm. The part of the room next to the door forms the kitchen of the house. Here is not only the fireplace,

²² Cf. Nilsson, p. 15.

²³ "Långhalm," that is long and good straw.

²⁴ Various kinds of skins (as sheep-skins, deer-skins) prepared with the fur remaining.

but to the left in the corner is the cupboard, with shelves for the "plates and saucers (which are mostly of wood, sometimes of tin or clay), turned wooden bowls and well-made troughs." On a nail or wooden peg by the side of the cupboard hangs the "spoon-basket," containing the knives and spoons of the household. Near the cupboard to the right is the table, where the occupants take their meals. At mealtime can be seen one or two pots and perhaps a pan or a large bowl in the centre, wooden or tin plates around the edges for the partakers, some wooden spoons and a number of knives, but no forks. Soup is always dished up in bowls by each one and if the meal happens to consist of porridge (*gröt*), as is often the case in the evening, each member of the family will have a small dish of milk by his side, but they will all eat out of the central pot, dipping each spoonful in the milk. The meat is likewise placed in the centre and each one helps himself from the piece. On the wall near the door is a perpendicularly placed board with several holes, where the axes are kept, when not in use, and on a nail on the wall we might observe the saw. In the neighborhood of the cupboard we shall find (in some houses) a bench, where "the pot and other cooking utensils together with the scouring broom"²⁵ are kept. Above the windows and probably also above the door we shall see little shelves on which are placed a few tin-plates, the candle stick and "other fineries." A few chairs, one or two made from the trunk of a hollow tree, with about one third of the outer shell extending a couple of feet above the seat, forming a back; the others constructed out of split planks, with legs (sometimes carved) and a flat back, one or two benches and the same number of chests²⁶ completed the furniture of the room.

If we should enter the store-house we would find that the supply of meat and some other provisions were preserved there, the

²⁵ Called *grantvagan* in some districts, as it was made out of spruce-branches.

²⁶ It is very probable that some of these chests were brought to New Sweden by the colonists. In the possession of the Sinexon family is an old iron chest which was probably brought from Europe by one of the early settlers.



"Swedish log cabin," situated "on the west bank of Darby creek about $\frac{1}{4}$ mile above Clifton." Photographed by C. S. Bradford and used by his kind permission. The above (built in the 18th century) shows many characteristics to be found in the log cabins built by the Swedes and Finns in their native country, the extension of the second story, "the porch-roof" etc.

churn, milk pails (of wood) and various other utensils, probably also clothes and other things, large quantities of meat, grain, etc., being preserved in the "outer storehouse," described in a former chapter.²⁷ Visiting guests that could not be accommodated in the main room would be lodged here, unless they were given a bed in the storehouse a short distance from the dwelling.²⁸ On the loft of the storehouse, we should likely find the spinning wheel, the reel and other appliances, used by the female members of the household for making yarn, etc.²⁹

We may feel tolerably certain that houses presenting the above described features were common on the shores of the Delaware from 1643 until the beginning of the eighteenth century or later. The furniture was in some cases brought from Sweden, especially chests in which the clothes and other valuables were kept, and probably a few tables and chairs as well as some bed-clothes. It is probable, however, that skins and wool-fells were used more extensively here than in Sweden or Finland and that they, in the latter years, took the place of the woolen ones almost entirely.

Another type of dwelling having two stories was also found here. Acrelius says that there were "houses of two stories" at Kingsessing "built out of hickory."³⁰ Buildings of two stories were known in Sweden from the earliest times³¹ and some of these ancient houses are still to be seen there. In Dalarne and other northern provinces the second story of these houses often extended some distance outside of the first (resembling the store-houses of this type),³² making the house a sort of a fortress, where the inhabitants could defend themselves in case of attack.³³ The two-story houses, built at

²⁷ Cf. above, Chap. XXXIII.

²⁸ Cf. above, Chap. XXXIII.

²⁹ Cf. Nilsson, *Skansen*, p. 13 ff.; Jonas Stolt, *Minnen*, p. 13 ff.

³⁰ Acrelius, *Beskrif.*, p. 39.

³¹ In southern Sweden the two-story part of the house was not used for a living room, see Nilsson, *Skansen*, p. 20 ff.

³² See above, Chap. XXXIII.

³³ Cf. Sundbärg, *Sweden*; Nilsson, *Skansen*.

Kingsessing and other places away from the forts, were undoubtedly of this type. They were constructed of round hickory timbers and their furniture and inside appearance resembled those of the other houses. They were probably divided by a middle wall and occupied by two families, but where the fireplace was located or how much of the house was used by the families in common does not appear from the records. Many of the freemen, being in prosperous circumstances, possessed considerable property in 1655,³⁴ but we are not informed by the "Relations" who these freemen were, where their individual fields were located nor the extent of their lands.

We have seen that Rising selected a tract of land on Timber Island, northwest of Christina for his dwelling place. Having been cleared and prepared for tilling in the beginning of the winter (1654-55), he "caused a house to be built thereon with two stories and a dwelling as well as a cellar below it." It was probably ready in the spring and it is likely that it was occupied by the director soon afterwards, remaining his residence until the arrival of the Dutch forces. We do not know how it was furnished nor do we know anything about its size and appearance beyond that it had two stories, but it seems likely that Rising would build a house on the general plan of those found in his home district in Sweden. Like Governor Printz, Rising was obliged to receive commissioners and others from the neighboring colonies and to feed them as well as many of the Swedish officers³⁵ at his table. "He has so many visits from strangers and inhabitants," writes Elswick, in the summer of 1655, "that he can not keep up the maintenance of his house for less than 1,500 R.D. a year."³⁶

III.

Most of the customs of mealtime, etc., of the mother country were transplanted to the colony, but climatic and other condi-

³⁴ *Geogr.*; Rising's *Beskrif.* 1656, N.S., II. (R.A.).

³⁵ Elswick writes: "Ich biin zwar bisshero und auch noch beim Herrn Directeur zur Tafell," June 16, 1655, N.S., I. (R.A.).

³⁶ About \$1,875 (or about \$9,375 according to the present value of money). He must have kept a good table.



Section of a dwelling in Sweden (now at Skanken, Stockholm), showing the chair made from a hollow tree-trunk and the carpenter's bench and lathe. (See pp. 347, 539, 540.)

tions modified them somewhat. Brahe says in his *Oeconomia* that the proper time for rising was at four in the morning, breakfast should be served at seven, dinner at twelve and supper at eight.³⁷ Times for meals were different in different provinces in Sweden and no uniform custom seems to have been followed, but it is probable that three meals a day, taken about the time recommended by Brahe³⁸ was the rule in New Sweden.³⁹

The festivities of the church year have already been referred to above.⁴⁰ Many peculiar customs were and are observed in Finland and Sweden on these festive days, especially at Christmas, and some of these must have been practised in the colony. If a New England settler had visited the homesteads of the Swedes and Finns at Christmas, 1654, he would have seen much that was new to him. The floor of the dwellings were covered with straw,⁴¹ in some cases with finely cut spruce-branches; outside of some doors was a large cross made out of straw; a cross might also be seen on barrels and other vessels, painted there before the Christmas holidays, all for the purpose of driving away the evil spirits. The teeth of the cattle were often rubbed with salt and they were given extra feed on Christmas Eve; nor were the birds neglected, sheaves of rye or wheat being placed on poles for them to eat; steel was also placed in the barn and on the barn-door, that evil spirits should not enter. There was happiness everywhere. Long preparations had been made, special bread had been baked, special beer had been brewed and the best that the house could afford was brought forth. Candles were lit, especially two large ones made for Christmas Eve and the clothes and silver of the house (if there was any), were brought in for the candles to shine on—it produced good luck. Everybody was greeted with

³⁷ Brahe, *Oeconomia*, p. 77.

³⁸ *De la Gard. Arch.*

³⁹ The food was the same throughout the period, see above, Chap. XXXIII.

⁴⁰ Chap. XXXIV.

⁴¹ This straw was later thrown into the fields to produce good crops, or tied around fruit trees, or given to the cattle, all for the purpose of bringing good results.

"Happy Christmas," and the old northern custom of giving presents was not forgotten. "Jul-gröt," "a kind of Christmas pudding" or "Christmas-porridge," with butter and milk, was the principal course of the evening meal; the Jule-skoal⁴² or Christ-skoal was drunk and a festive, somewhat solemn atmosphere pervaded the whole.⁴³ Early on Christmas morning, about five o'clock, the settlers assembled in the church on Tinicum Island, listened to two services, which lasted four hours or longer and then returned to their homes. The day was spent in quietness. The next day called the Second-Day-Christmas was passed in going to church and visiting neighbors. These visits were probably enlivened by the telling of old stories and personal experiences. The stories of ghosts, of giants, of dwarfs and of evil spirits, circulated in the home districts of the colonists, were of course transplanted to the Delaware region and related here to the rising generation, while the Dutch folk-tales added to the general store.

The belief in witchcraft was prevalent and superstitions played a large role in the life of the settlers. It was believed, for example, that at midnight, the hour of the birth of Christ, the flame of a candle would split in two. The cattle in the barns would all rise up and for a short time they had the power of speech, but no man durst be present at that moment—a Danish farmer who attempted to see and hear the phenomenon was very roughly handled. It was a common belief from the earliest times⁴⁴ that the Finns possessed particular powers of performing supernatural things.⁴⁵ In Sweden they were looked upon as masters in the art of witchcraft and sorcery⁴⁶ and the

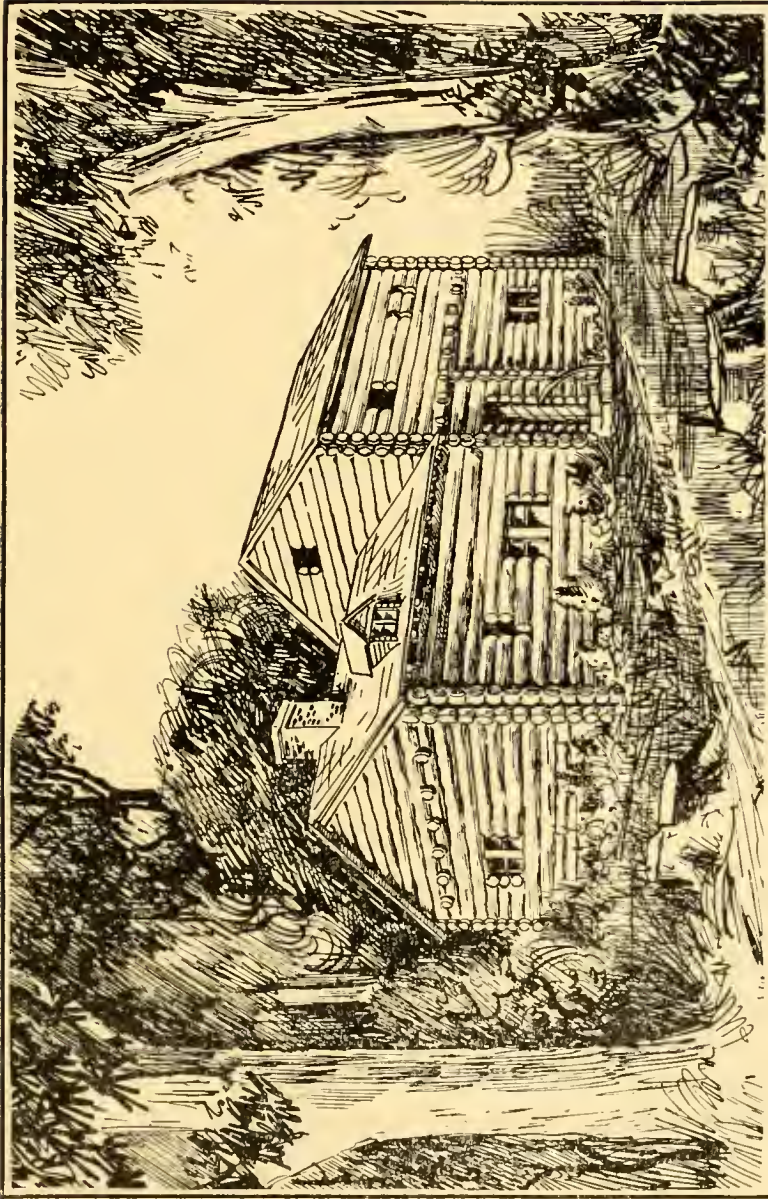
⁴² Cf. Longfellow's *Skel. in Armor*, for the use of this word.

⁴³ There was no Christmas tree in Sweden at this time and hence none in the colony. It was brought into Sweden from Germany in the beginning of the nineteenth century.

⁴⁴ Cf. the story of Queen Gunhild (first half of tenth century) who was sent by her parents to Finmark to learn sorcery and witchcraft, and the Finn present at the court of King Halfdan at Yule-tide.

⁴⁵ Cf. Nordmann, p. 110 ff.

⁴⁶ The author was told by an old man in a southern province in Sweden in the summer of 1906 that a Finn called "Finn-Jan" lived a wandering life in the



The probable appearance of Rising Hall. (P. 542.)

reputation followed them to America, "Lasse the Finn" and "Karin the Finnish woman" being accused of witchcraft and separated from the main settlement during the governorship of Printz.⁴⁷ That others were also supposed to possess this gift is probable and the belief in these things lived on, as we shall see, into a later period.

The following samples of formulas and superstitions will suffice to give an idea of their general nature. *Bleeding is stopped by grasping around the sore with the hand and repeating the formula "Thou shalt stand as firm as Jordan stood, when John baptized in the name of the Father, of the Son and of the Holy Ghost." A psalm-book should be placed below the head of the newly-born child to prevent its being exchanged for a changeling (or elf-child) by the evil spirits. When a cow is sold a bunch of hair should be taken from her and preserved to prevent the good luck from leaving the house with the cow. If milk is accidentally spilled into the fire, salt should always be thrown in to avoid misfortunes. To prevent rain from falling during harvest time, read the "Lord's Prayer" backwards. A cross should be cut into the broom to prevent witches from riding on it. If the spinning wheel is kept going after 6 o'clock on Saturday evening, the sheep will not prosper. A little of each course from the Christmas table should be taken on Christmas morning and given to the cattle to preserve them against witchcraft.*⁴⁸

One of the main difficulties in the colony was the lack of women. The company and the government endeavored to prevail upon men to migrate with their families, but the majority of the soldiers were unmarried or left their wives behind in Sweden and there was always a request "for some unmarried women." Even Rising wrote to Eric Oxenstierna that he should send him a good wife. "Women's labors are . . . to district some twenty-five or thirty years ago, "who was able to do many wonderful things. He could find water with a stick, make cattle sick, cure disease by incantations," etc.

⁴⁷ Cf. above, Chap. XXXVIII.

⁴⁸ Cf. Nordmann, p. 113 ff.; Kalm, *Wästerg. resa*, p. 198.

look after the garden and the cattle, to spin and to weave both the linen and the wool with which to clothe the people, to keep the nets and the seines in order, to make malt, to brew the ale, to bake, to cook the food, to milk the cows, to make the cheese and the butter."⁴⁹ On account of the scarcity of the women the men were often compelled to do this work and Papegoja wrote in one of his letters: "Here we must cook and bake ourselves and do other things which belong to the women." Several young girls grew up and married⁵⁰ and in 1654 a large number of families arrived, to some extent changing the former state of affairs.⁵¹

IV.

Regular 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.⁵² Rising also suggested plans for meeting the expenses of the church and for the building of schools and houses of worship, recommending 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."⁵³ Rev. Lars Lock was alone in the colony from 1648 until 1654, but two new preachers arrived here on the *Örn*, Matthias Nertunius and Peter Hjort.⁵⁴ Nertunius who was assigned to Upland, where he lived on a tract of cleared land belonging to the company, conducted the 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 20 to 30 bushels of seed, should be given for

⁴⁹ Brahe, *Oeconomia*, pp. 84-5.

⁵⁰ Redel had children, who were married here before 1653, N.S., I. (R.A.).

⁵¹ Papegoja to Brahe, July 15, 1644, *Skokl. Saml.*, Redel's *Supplik*, N.S., I. (R.A.). Rising to E. Oxenstierna, July 11, 1654, *Ox. Saml.*

⁵² Days of prayer and fasting were held on June 9, August 4, September 1, 1654, when the majority of the settlers assembled at Tinicum. Rising's *Journal*; cf. above, Chap. XXXIV.

⁵³ *Report*, July 13, 1654.

⁵⁴ See above, Chap. XXXIX.

a parsonage to [him] with the few houses there . . . in which case he would need no other salary from the company." It seems, however, that he acted somewhat too independently at times. A day of prayer and fasting with services had been proclaimed in the colony for the first of September but Nertunius called off the services without consulting either the director or the council about it. He was later called before the council and held to account for his actions.⁵⁵

Peter L. Hjort was stationed at Fort Trefaldighet, where he preached until the capture of the stronghold by the Dutch, but, as he was "a worldly and spiritually poor preacher," his labors were probably of small result. It seems that Lars Lock was transferred to Christina in the summer of 1654. He was, as has been seen, accused of mutiny, and Rising intended to send him to Sweden on the *Örn* "to defend and free himself," but he became severely ill as the ship was about to sail and the charges against him seem to have been dropped.⁵⁶

"The poor are always with us" and they were found in 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 goods, through orders from the director according to the needs of the poor. The colonists were invited to contribute to the fund and the blacksmith gave 19:15 florins to the "poor account" in the summer of 1655. "The children of Paul Malich, the little Pole, the blind Kirstin with her two children," Anders . . ., Per Paulsson's mother and the daughter of Clas Johansson are especially enumerated among those receiving aid in the summer and autumn of 1655, and clothes, food, shoes and other articles were given to them. The accounts were kept by Elswick in a separate book,⁵⁷ but they were also entered in the General *Schuldt und Cargason Buch*.⁵⁸

⁵⁵ Rising's *Journal*.

⁵⁶ Rising's *Journal; Report*, July 13, 1654.

⁵⁷ Not known to exist.

⁵⁸ "Armen Rechnung," etc. "Schuldt u. Carg. B.," N.S., III. (K.A.).

Slavery was not employed to any extent by the settlers. The slave brought to Christina in 1639⁵⁹ was employed for many years, but beyond this single case there is no record of slaves in New Sweden.⁶⁰

The money values of the colony were generally reduced to Dutch guilders or florins; thus the salaries of the men, the expenses of voyages, the bills of goods were reckoned in Dutch money. The common currency was *beaver skins* and *sewant* and these were employed in the payments of debts and salaries as well as on journeys and expeditions. Letters were generally sent to Europe through the aid of the Dutch, in a few cases through English merchants, and letters were sent to New Amsterdam and the English colonies or received from there either by Indian guides or other messengers who went across the country or by boat.⁶¹ In going to Manhattan the settlers went by boat up the river to Crosswick's Creek, whence Indian paths lead across the country.

The instructions of the officers were written in Swedish, German and Dutch. The Dutch and German officers, soldiers and settlers were able to converse in Swedish, and they gradually became fairly well versed in the language, but all the account books and most of the bills preserved to us are written in Dutch or German. A peculiar characteristic of this age was the preponderance of certain Christian names. Among the officers of the company and the colony we find principally four such names: *Hendrick, Johan, Peter* and *Sven*, as *Hendrick Elswick, Hendrick Huygen; Johan Beier, Johan Papegoja, Johan Printz, Johan Rudberus, Johan Rising; Peter Lindeström, Peter Minuit, Peter Spiring, Peter Trotzig, Peter Liljehök; Sven Höök, Sven Skute*, etc.

⁵⁹ Cf. above, Chap. XXI,

⁶⁰ Lars Swartz (*Svart, Black*) might have been a negro slave, but it is more likely that *Svart* simply referred to his complexion as *Snöhvít* in the case of Jöran Kyn. Cf. above.

⁶¹ An Indian was paid *sewant* valued at 3 fl., for bringing letters from New Amsterdam to New Sweden in June, 1643. *Acc. B.*, 1643-48.

CHAPTER XLIV.

LITERATURE OF NEW SWEDEN, 1640-1655.

I.

The early voyages to America and the settlements here did not enter into the general imagination of the Swedish people nor did the records of the achievements of Champlain, Hudson, Smith or the Cabots become a permanent part of Swedish literature as they did in English, Dutch and even German¹ letters, giving rise to plays,² references and scenes in Shakespeare, Jonson and other famous authors of that period.³ There was no Hakluyt to publish *Wonderful Voyages*, no Smith nor even a Munck⁴ to describe them and no Purchas to edit *A History of the World in Sea-Voyages*. Some of these early voyages were known in the North and the colonial activities of Sweden gave rise to one or two poems (of inferior value) and references in contemporary Swedish literature, but they never made a strong impression on the people.

The same is true of the literature about New Sweden, written by men who came here. Literary men went to New England and poets to New Amsterdam. Governor William Berk-

¹In German several works on voyages and discoveries appeared in the first half of the 17th century, as *West- und Ost-Indische Lustgart*, etc. (1618); *Neuwe und warhafftige Relation*, etc. (1619); *Zwölffte Schiffart*, etc. (1627), (being the twelfth voyage of the *Sammlung von 26 Schiffahrten*, etc.), and others.

²It has been argued that the theme of the *Tempest* was suggested to Shakespeare by the description of Capt. Argall's Voyage to America, cf. Furness, *The Tempest*.

³Cf. Shakespeare's *Twelfth Night*; "You are now sailed," and his references to the great number of lines in the sea-maps, etc., *Twelfth Night*, III. Sc. 2.

⁴Munck was sent out by Christian IV. of Denmark in 1619 (May) on an expedition of discovery. He explored parts of the Hudson Bay, remained on the coast over winter and returned to Denmark in 1620. He made maps of the region he visited and called it *New Denmark*. Cf. Munck, *Navig. Septentrionalis*, etc. (1623); also map of America by Holm.

ley had written plays before he sailed for Jamestown,⁵ George Sandays, the English poet, translated *Ovid* on the banks of the James River; Nathaniel Ward took his fling at women in *The Simple Cobler*; "The Tenth Muse" composed her *Contemplations* and *Grasshopper Sons*, where the "the black-clad cricket bear a second part," and it is even said that John Milton had in mind to go to America.⁶ The author has found only one instance, where a man of some poetic power was about to go to the Swedish settlement, a young man by the name of Aron Danielsson, who wrote a ballad still preserved,⁷ but he never reached the Delaware and no Steendam came here to sing "The Praise of New Sweden"⁸ and no De Sille to write poetry for Printz.⁹ We need not seek far for a reason. Swedish literature was just emerging into light and assuming conscious form and the Swedish language was attaining stability and permanent shape.¹⁰ Hence, there were few men in Sweden like Sir Alexander Morton¹¹ and Sandays and Milton and others and even had there been such it is doubtful whether they would have come here, for the colony never reached any degree of prosperity nor importance in population and power. There was no printing press in New Sweden, where a "Booke of Psalmes" could be published and not a sufficient number of readers to make an edition of *Ballads on the Delaware* a "paying proposition." It might therefore seem that a chapter upon

⁵ Schelling, *The El. Drama*, II. 367-8; Fleay, *A Biog. Chro. of the Eng. Dr.* (1891) I. 28; *Dodsley-Hazlitt*, XIII. 500 ff.

⁶ Richardson, *Am. Lit., 1607-1885* (Student's Ed.), p. 63 ff.; Wendell, *A Literary Hist. of America*, p. 35 ff.; Taylor, *Am. Lit.*, I.; Mitchell, D., *Am. Lands and Letters*, I. 3 ff.; Morley, *English Writers*, VIII. 282 ff., IX. 99 ff., 193 ff., XI. 177 ff. and the bibliogr., p. 335 ff.; Richard Hakluyt, *The Principal Navigations, Voyages, etc.* (Glasgow, 1903); Purchas, *Purchas His Pilgrimes* (Glasgow, 1903).

⁷ It is preserved in *Älfs Visbok*, see Schück, *Sv. lit. hist.*, p. 392, note.

⁸ Jacob Steendam wrote: "T Lof van N. Nederland" to inspire colonists to go to the South River in 1662. For a memoir of Steendam see Murphy's *Antology*, p. 23 ff. (Poetry, p. 46 ff.).

⁹ Sille wrote poetry for Stuyvesant, see Murphy's *Antology*, p. 187 (for his poems see p. 190 ff.).

¹⁰ Cf. above, Chap. IV.

¹¹ Who wrote *An Encouragement to Colonies* (pr. 1624), as well as poems and dramas.

the Literature of New Sweden "would be in the same ludicrous predicament," to borrow a phrase from De Quincey, "as Van Troil's chapter on the snakes of Iceland." But this is not quite the case. Nothing has been preserved from the literary activities of the colonists of New Sweden, which can be called *belles lettres*, but works of an historical character were written here and at least one translation was made.

II.

Of these writers Director *Johan Rising* occupies a conspicuous place in Swedish literature of the period. Fryxell, the well-known popular historian of Sweden, says of him that he "saw far ahead of his time, and much of that which he already then demanded [in the way of reforms in the trade principles of his age] has been accomplished only in our days. He is the founder of the doctrines of Swedish free-trade"¹² and he wrote the first work on trade and economics in Sweden. He had been engaged to write a work about trade before he was appointed assistant to Governor Printz and a large mass of material had been collected and partly arranged in the autumn of 1653, but his strenuous life as ruler of New Sweden gave him little opportunity for literary pursuits, and it is hardly probable that the collections and drafts of his work, brought to Christina in 1654 had been much improved, when he returned to Europe in the spring of 1656. In Holland his trunks were opened and many of his manuscripts stolen or confiscated and ruined, delaying the completion of the book. As soon as he was able, however, he began anew his labors on his life-work, but his official duties, quarrels with the New Sweden Company (which demanded much of his energies for the composing of memorials, supplications, reports, explanations and accounts), preparing of "Descriptions of New Sweden" as well as his endeavors to free himself from the blame of the collapse of the Swedish power in America, consumed a large share of his restless life.

¹² Fryxell, *Berät. ur sv. hist.*, XVIII. p. 124.

Means also failed and *A Treatise on Commerce* was never completed. The book, planned largely along the lines suggested by the English economist, Malynes, in his *Lex Mercatoria* was to be divided into three parts and if completed would have been a monumental work. The first part (containing three books) and certain chapters of the second and third parts (the second part to contain two books, the third part to contain one or two(?) books) were completed, but only the first and second books of the first part have been preserved¹³ together with a table of contents of the completed work. According to this table the contents of the book would have had the following appearance:

PART ONE. FIRST BOOK of thirty-four chapters concerning: *merchandise, maxims for the increase of trade, business transactions, contracts, debts and bonds, markets and fairs, trade marks, lotteries, merchants, brokers, monopolies and companies, colonies.*

SECOND BOOK in four parts concerning: *the principal trading places in Europe, Asia, Africa and America.*

THIRD BOOK of twenty-three chapters concerning: *navigation, navigation laws, sailors and officers, shipbuilding, equipment, freight, duties and excises, etc., insurance, journeys to foreign lands, piracy ports, staple-cities, the ownership of rivers and coasts, fisheries and the right to fish.*

PART TWO. FIRST BOOK of eighteen chapters concerning: *money, the right of the government to coin money, gold and silver and their relative value, the shape and size of money, master-coiners, counterfeit money, how to increase money in the country, loaning and borrowing of money, usury.*

SECOND BOOK "Concerning the reduction of all kinds of measures, standard and weights to [the standard of weights and measures] of Stockholm."

¹³ In the R.A. is a beautiful copy of the first book with a dedication to Charles XI. Copies of the first book are found in the *Up. Bibl.* (three copies), also a copy of the third book and another of the first three chapters of the first book; a copy of the first book is preserved in *Kunigl. Bibl.* Cf. also *Hist. Tid.*, 1896, p. 72.

PART THREE. FIRST BOOK of eleven chapters concerning: *drafts, their use and history, kinds of drafts and their proper form, the acceptance, payment, refusal and protesting of drafts.*¹⁴

When Rising found that it would be difficult to finish his large work (probably also to interest the government and his patron) he made an abstract from the *Treatise*, which he was able to prepare for the press through the liberality of De la Gardie. It was published at Stockholm in 1669 with the title *Itt Utthogh om Kiöp-Handelen eller Commercierne*¹⁵ (*An Extract Concerning Trade or Commerce*). Two years later he published *Een Landbook*¹⁶ (*A Book Concerning Agriculture*). A number of other treatises on Swedish and Dutch commerce and trade and how to increase the former and place it on a prosperous basis were also written by Rising, partly before, partly after his sojourn in America, but they do not concern us here.

His *Descriptions of Nova Svecia* and his *Relations and Journals* pertain directly to our subject, however. Rising used his pen diligently and his journals and reports are full of accurate information. He states the events plainly and clearly without unnecessary details and his diary extending over the greater part of the years 1654-1655 and his three reports are the most valuable documents concerning the history of New Sweden for the period they cover, giving more detailed information about the colony than any other sources preserved to us. In his acquired historical knowledge Rising is less accurate and, although he had read much of the colonial and historical literature published in England¹⁷ and Holland, and knew the general facts of the early journeys to America, his historical essays

¹⁴ Up. B.

¹⁵ "Tryckt hoos Nicolaum Wankijff."

¹⁶ Printed at Västerås, 1671. Per Brahe wrote his *Oeconomia* in 1581; but it was not published until 1677 and hence Rising's book is the first of its kind printed in Sweden.

¹⁷ Rising quotes *An Eng. Descrip. of America*, printed in London in 1655 in eight volumes, see *Beskrif.*, N.S., II. (R.A.).

contain many errors concerning events which took place before his arrival.¹⁸ His four descriptions preserved to us differ somewhat in detail, various dates being given for the same events (in some cases, however, probably due to the copyist) and we can trace many statements and errors in dates to Rising, which are found in the early writers on New Sweden. He says that Minuit came here in 1631 (repeated by Campanius Holm, Geijer and a host of other historians)¹⁹ he states that King Charles I. surrendered his rights to the Delaware to the Swedes about 1631 (other dates are also given by Rising) through Count Johan Oxenstierna.²⁰ His descriptions are of much less importance for the history and conditions of *Nova Svecia* than his other writings concerning the colony and much space is given to prove *the right of the Swedes to the colony*, how to regain it and how to manage the colonial affair, "as well at home as out here for the benefit and prosperity of the Crown." The chapters on the location, climate, forests, "wild animals and birds" show considerable ability of observation, but are of less value than Lindeström's writings on the same subjects.

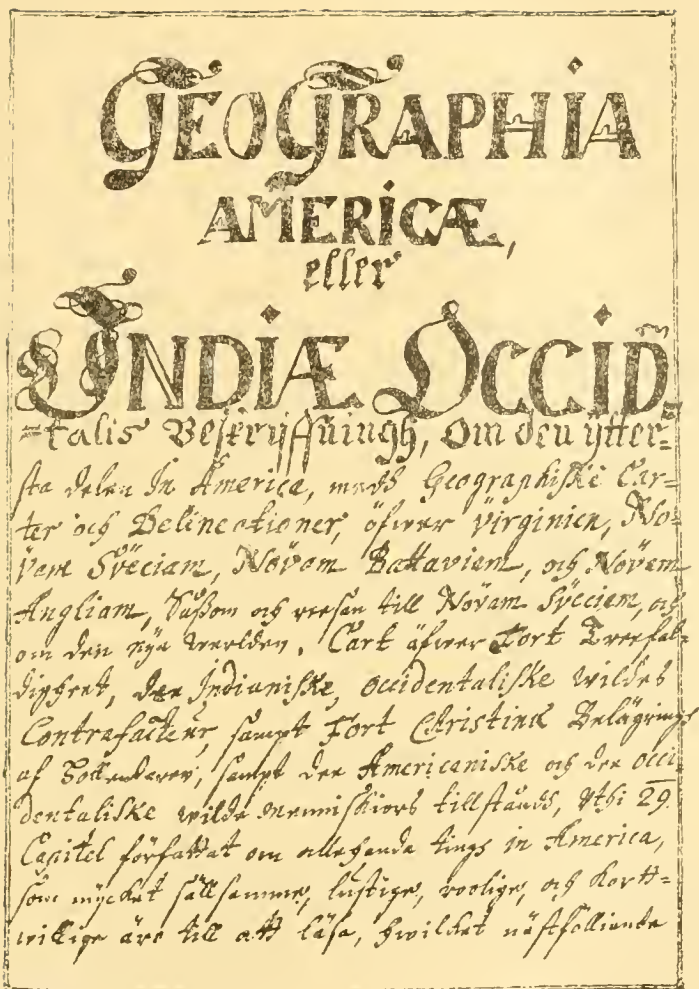
The culture of Holland had made a deep impression on Rising and he used many Dutch words in his writings, as *loyare* (*looier*, tanner), *wagenskott* (*wagenschot*, wainscot), etc. His style is as a rule clear and logical and his spelling and punctuation are more uniform and consistent than is usually the case in this period.

Peter Mårtensson Lindeström deserves a place next to Rising among the authors who came to New Sweden. Lindeström published no books nor did he spend so large a part of his life as Rising in writing treatises on subjects in his special field, but he wrote the first *Geography of the Delaware Region*. When Lindeström returned to Stockholm he made written and oral reports to the government, presenting maps and making verbal explanations in consequence of which he was "persuaded, ad-

¹⁸ He states in one *Description* that Lord Delaware discovered the Delaware River in 1600, N.S., II. (R.A.).

¹⁹ See Holm, *Beskrif.*, Geijer, III., etc.

²⁰ Repeated by Lindeström, Holm and Acrelius, cf. above, Chap. XX.



Title page of Lindström's *Geographia Americae*. Original preserved in the Riksarkiv, Stockholm.

vised and solicited" by the government and persons of rank, both secular and clerical, to write a Geography of America and particularly of New Sweden. It appears that he elaborated "his sketches and notes" and made a large map of *Nova Svecia*, which was hung on the wall of the Royal Council Chamber in the Palace. In May, 1696, a request was granted to allow this (or another?) map to be copied "with the condition that it should be returned."²¹ It was "engraved on copper" and published (for the first time) in the *Catechism in the American Language* in 1696.²² But Lindeström's plans of writing a Geography could not be executed for many years on account of his checkered career.²³ After many adventures he married and settled down to a more quiet life and it appears that he now endeavored to carry out his early ambition of writing an *American Geography*. The book was to be a description of that part of the North American coast occupied by the English, Dutch and Swedes, but debts, illness and other troubles interfered with these plans and the Geography as we have it is limited (as far as its strictly geographical parts are concerned) to New Sweden. The title of the work covers a great deal more, however: *A Geography of America or of West India, Description of the Outermost Part²⁴ of America, with Geographical Charts and Delineations of Virginia, New Sweden, New Batavia²⁵ and New England.*²⁶

The book was ready shortly before his death in 1692.²⁷ It

²¹ See a small sheet found with Enkefru Roos's letters, N.S., II. (R.A.).

²² In *Hist. Tid.*, 1887 (Vol. 7), p. 86, H[arald] W[ieselgren] says that "an original map by Lindeström is found in *Rålamb. Saml.*, I., fol. 201, to be preferred in many ways to the one in the *R.A.*" This statement, however, is a mistake. The map in this collection (*Rålamb. Saml.*, I. fol. 201) is *not an original*, but a *copy* (in colors) from one of Lindeström's maps (1654-5) and it is *not* to be preferred to the one in the R.A.

²³ Cf. below, *bibliography*.

²⁴ *Yttersta delen* probably means the *coast district* of America (the outer part), *yttersda delen* may also mean the *farthest*, the *most distant part*.

²⁵ New Holland.

²⁶ *Geographia Americae eller Indiae Occid[en]talis, Beskriiffningh Om den yttersta delen In America, med Geographiske Carter och Delineationer öfwer Virginien, Novam Sveciam, Novam Battaviam och Novam Angliam.*

²⁷ The book is beautifully copied in Lindeström's handwriting. It was probably bound in leather for the King.

was examined and (probably) read by Governor Gyllenstolpe, who likely made promises of recommending it to the government. Lindeström's intention of presenting it to the King was frustrated by his death, but his desire was carried out by his widow, Margreta Roos, who sent it to his Majesty with requests for aid.²⁸ The *Geographia* contains twenty-nine chapters, two maps (one of New Sweden and one of the east coast of North America from "Caput Henry" on the south to "Caput Cod" on the north)²⁹ and several other charts and plans,³⁰ with a table of contents and an index.³¹ It is more than a geography, however, being a personal journal or diary as well. The first chapter gives an account of the journey to America, as well as the events in New Sweden³² and the last chapter describes the attack of the Dutch. The other chapters are devoted to the life, manners and customs of the Indians, the navigation of the river and the description of the country, its climate, the extent of its cultivation, its agriculture, its animals, birds, fishes, trees, rivers and islands.

The dedication is addressed to Crown Prince Carl. Giving his reasons for inscribing the book to the Prince, Lindeström extols the *value of Geography*, a science, on which history itself is based, which illustrates and reveals the mysteries of the Scriptures, a study which embraces not only continents, mountains, valleys and waters, nations, cities and governments, commerce and trade, customs and manners of various races and their habits and dwellings, animals, woods and plants, "but everything else on the Earth and in the Sea," enabling conquerors to carry on wars—Alexander the Great knew Geography, hence his successful campaigns to foreign lands—aiding men to find metals, for it describes the earth and is the source

²⁸ *Geogr.* (Intro.); letters from Margreta Roos (copies) in *Biogr.* "L" (R.A.). See below, biography.

²⁹ See facsimile.

³⁰ See illustrations.

³¹ The book, in a beautiful state of preservation, leather bound, gilt-edged, is now preserved in a special case among other books in the R.A. The volume deserves to be printed as a tribute to its author.

³² There is also an account of Lindeström's return to Sweden.

of many blessings. "The Preface to the Benevolent Reader" is of much interest. Remarking that the men who had travelled much were formerly considered wise and learned, our author goes on to give his ideas on evolution and the development of society. Original man wore no clothes, he was naked and wild, gradually he covered himself with leaves of trees and later with skins. He wandered from place to place, slept under trees and "had no other dwelling," "he lived from the flesh of wild animals, fish and fruit and drank water"; he knew nothing of luxury, had no government, no commerce, no trade, no agriculture, no domestic animals.³³ The struggle for existence becomes fiercer, as food grows scarce, war develops, men begin to congregate, build cities, walls and ditches for their protection and choose rulers and establish governments. "They begin to support themselves with their cattle and their handicraft, tie trees together with which to float over rivers, train horses," cultivate the earth, plant vineyards and press grapes. Exchange of goods takes place, money is invented and finally trade and commerce attain importance, culture develops and the old conditions are transformed, men becoming more chaste, more noble, more enlightened.

In the chapters covering the journey to America and the events in the colony, including the attack of the Dutch, as well as the return to Europe, Lindeström repeats the main facts of Rising's journal, but he also gives some information not to be found elsewhere. He has been largely drawn upon by historians from the time of Campanius Holm (who wrote his *Description* only eight or nine years after the completion of the *Geographia*) and Acrelius down to our present day.

With a view of interesting his readers (and also as an aid to those who travel) he adorned the accounts of the journey with stories and observations. At Calais pies were sold to the Swedes, made from the flesh of human beings. A barber, finding it a profitable business, murdered his customers by placing

³³ Incidentally he remarks that the life of the old Swedes was like that of the Indians on the Delaware of his day.

them above a trap door, which gave way, when a spring was pressed, landing the poor victim in the cellar, where he was killed and sold to the pie-baker,—let those who travel beware! At Dover, Lindeström saw a castle, which Satan had caused to fly out of the city up on a high hill, where the Devil ruled over it, making it impossible for anyone to stay there and, oh *horribile dictu*, there were many castles in England to which Satan took a fancy (whether on account of the saintly lives of the inhabitants or the contrary the author does not say) and over which he held lordly sway. Lindeström observed many of the customs of the people and of the conditions of the places visited on the course to America. In England, “a land with no forests,” men and women saluted each other with a kiss when they met (whether Lindeström had an opportunity to take advantage of the custom he does not say) and at Pirriquet(?) the city musicians serenaded the Swedish officers “honoring them with the most delightful and pleasing music, so that they had to open their purses.” At the Canary Islands where the principal men spoke Latin, though with a Spanish accent, Lindeström saw many strange things. At the governor’s palace he attended a banquet, which consisted entirely of sweetmeats and wines. He was visited by “charming nuns” and monks, who “were good drinking brothers, knowing how to do justice to the cup” and he was once on the point of being murdered by the interpreter for the Swedes,³⁴ on account of a “trifling affair not worth mentioning.” He found the dress of the people quite different from the habits of other nations, “particularly that of the women, who wore such large petticoats with stays or bodices under them that . . . there was no door in any house in Sweden large enough to enable them to pass through without difficulty.” On the sea he saw fish that could fly a Swedish mile (six English miles).³⁵ At certain places the sirens sang so beautifully that many of the passen-

³⁴ The interpreter was a Frenchman.

³⁵ Concerning flying fishes and how they were looked upon by other writers, see W. Y. Bontekoe, *Aventuerlycke Reyse*, p. 14 ff. (A picture of a flying fish is given on page 15.)

gers "were so elated that they jumped into the sea on account of this delightful playing" and were lost³⁶ and later, for "*nulla calamitas sola*," three Turkish ships pursued the Swedish vessel, until these were finally driven off by a few shots and the sight of soldiers on board.

The descriptive parts are also broken by anecdotes and stories, such as the story of an Indian, who brought gold to Governor Printz and the Swedish soldier, who at the first sight of fireflies one evening, gave alarm that the enemy were upon them and caused the men to fly for their arms.

By such decorations the author of the *Geographia* sought to give interest, color and life to his pages—the book was written for publication to sell—and we must admit that he has succeeded. Had the book been printed, it is probable that it would have had a relatively large sale for that period.

From the above we see that Lindeström is not always serious and his statements are not always to be taken at their face value; but as a whole he is reliable and we are indebted to him for many interesting facts concerning the colony as well as the savages.

The chapters on the Indians³⁷ and on the country are based on first hand information and the work as a whole shows large powers of observation. The descriptions are often vivid,³⁸ the style is at times animated (sometimes burdened by Latin quotations, however), generally direct and natural and often leaves an impression of earnestness that carries conviction.³⁹

Lindeström's maps and charts were also largely the result of his own labors, assisted to some extent by Rising and Hudde.

³⁶ Cf. above, Chap. XXXIX.

³⁷ In speaking on the religion of the Indians he tells among other things a sort of a "Christ Story" about an Indian maiden, who drank from a creek, became heavy with child, etc. Repeated by Holm. The author hopes to publish the *Geographia* in the near future.

³⁸ For a sample of his style, see Sprinchorn, p. 51 ff.; Campanius Holm, p. 70; Acrelius, p. 58.

³⁹ It is conceivable that his contemporaries would have read and believed all of his stories, if the book had been published and circulated. Rising's books were dry and generally uninteresting; Lindeström's *Geographia* is anything but that.

Lindeström had many predecessors; Henry Briggs,⁴⁰ Van Laet, Van der Donck and others presented material that could be used by a geographer of the Delaware district and Lindeström was probably acquainted with these as well as with the sketches of Minuit and Huygen.⁴¹ He used material from Rising's journal and from other sources, but as already stated the bulk of his work is original.⁴²

Johan Campanius, the most noted of the early Swedish ministers of the Gospel on the Delaware, also belongs here. He had large interests; he preached the gospel; he worked for the conversion of the Indians and busied himself with agriculture as well; he made "astronomical observations," noted the length of the day, collected facts about the climate and other phenomena, and it seems probable that he had in mind to write a *Description of America and the Indians*.⁴³ He strove earnestly to learn the Indian language and by the aid of Van Dyck and Huygen he seems to have acquired a fairly accurate and complete knowledge of the same. He wrote treatises on their language⁴⁴ (partly preserved to us by his grandson), trying to prove its affinity with Hebrew and hence the Jewish origin of the American Indians,⁴⁵ and between the years of 1643-1648 he prepared the first known vocabulary (of any importance) of the Indian tribes on the Delaware with phrases, numerals and dialogues and a convenient compendium for learning their dialect.⁴⁶ During the same time he made the first translation of the Lutheran Catechism into the Indian tongue. The

⁴⁰ His map (1625) gives the Delaware River, see Nordenskiöld's facsimile.

⁴¹ Cf. above, Chap XXI.

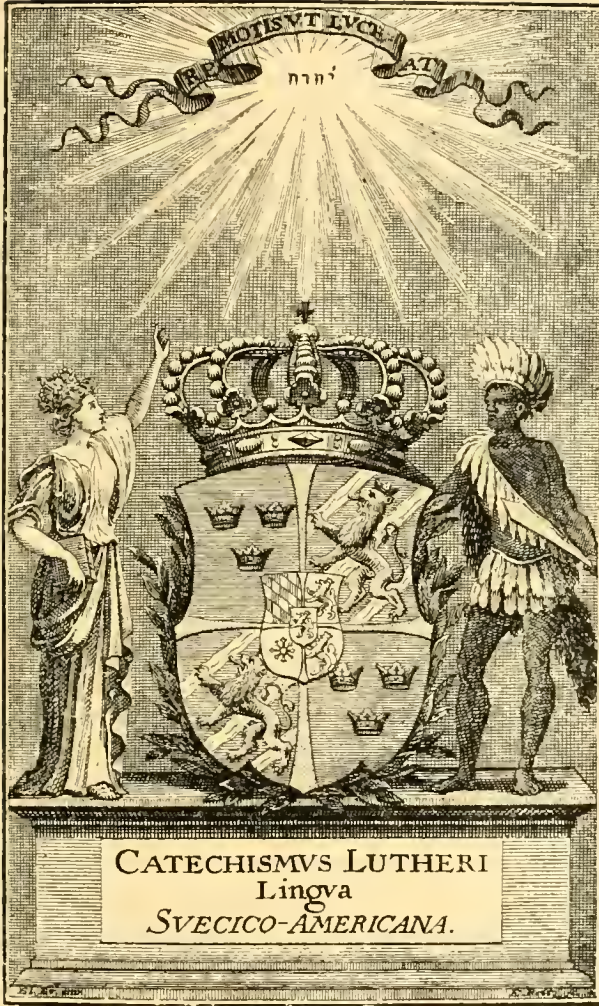
⁴² Besides the *Geogr.* there is a shorter *Description of New Sweden* by Lindeström, now preserved in N.S., II. (R.A.), and an old copy of the latter in *Rålamb. Saml.* (Kungl. Bib.).

⁴³ A copy of his journal (essentially the same as that pub. by Holm in his *Description*) is preserved in *Rålamb. Saml.* (Kungl. Bib.). See bibliography, below.

⁴⁴ The treatise referred to by his grandson was probably the introduction to the translation of the Catechism which was published in abstract in 1696.

⁴⁵ Cf. Holm (transl.), p. 114 ff., who quotes Penn and Hennepin to confirm the opinion. The idea that the Indians are the descendants of the lost tribes of Israel has been perpetuated in many dilettante books down to our present day.

⁴⁶ See Johan Campanius Holm, *Beskrif.*; Campanius, *Luth. Cat.*, 133 ff.



The Frontispiece in Campanius's translation of the Catechism. From original in the University of Pennsylvania Museum.

heathens, he says (whose good inclination he often observed, when he conducted services in the congregations) would hear and read the Word of God and be converted, if they could become acquainted with it, "but now this is hidden from their eyes, since they know no other language than their own mother-tongue." To make it possible for them to "be partakers of the holy truths," he translated the catechism, "that storehouse of true principles of faith." Jacob Swensson, Van Dyck and Huygen undoubtedly aided him in his work⁴⁷ and the translation was probably ready in 1648.⁴⁸ It was revised in Sweden and in 1656 Campanius sent it to the King for publication together with a memorial. It was not printed, however, till 1696.⁴⁹ It has been said that the translation is not accurate and that Campanius misunderstood and misconstrued the Indian language in several particulars,⁵⁰ but we must remember that he was a pioneer and did not have the expert assistance at the disposal of Eliot a few years later.⁵¹

Governor Johan Printz must also be mentioned here. His education was partly theological and he was allowed to preach in his father's church.⁵² It is said that he kept a diary or journal, which was seen by a collector about the middle of the eighteenth century. Two of his reports sent from New Sweden have been preserved,⁵³ which are of great value for the history of the colony. They are written in clear, strong Swedish, less mixed with foreign words than Rising's writings and their

⁴⁷ Van Dyck and Huygen were fairly well acquainted with the Indian language, having been in the country for a long time.

⁴⁸ In the first draft.

⁴⁹ Campanius, *Luth. Cat.*, foreword.

⁵⁰ It has been said that Campanius did not know the difference between the singular and plural. But we must remember that the work was published after his death and by people who in all likelihood knew nothing whatever about the language, hence many mistakes might have crept in which Campanius would have corrected, had he published the book.

⁵¹ Eliot was preparing to print a Catechism in the Indian language in the autumn of 1653 with the assistance of T. Stanton, a native Indian student, *Plym. Col. Rec., Acts*, II, 105.

⁵² See biography, below.

⁵³ See bibliogr., below.

sentences are less involved and shorter than is usually the case in the documents of the time.

Among these immigrants and colonists who wrote journals, *Johan Jonsson Rudberus*, being only a gunner, takes a peculiar place. His journal, giving an account of the *Katt* expedition, is an interesting relation of the ill-fated journey, full of vivid pictures of the hardships and the cruelties that were endured by the unfortunate people. The language is simple and clear, free from foreign words, and comes much closer to the daily speech of the colonists than the writings of Printz and Rising.⁵⁴

The journals kept by Van Dyck, Huygen, Minuit and others, are apparently lost, only a few references to them⁵⁵ being found and only fragments have been preserved of Elswick's journals as far as is known.⁵⁶

⁵⁴ The Journal was discovered by the author in Kammararkivet (Archives of the Exchequer) in 1906. It was published by the author with a short introduction in *Valkyrian* (New York), May, 1909, but *very inaccurately, since the proof sheets were not submitted for corrections.*

⁵⁵ See above, Chap. XXI. ff.

⁵⁶ See bibliogr., below.

CHAPTER XLV.

RELATIONS WITH THE INDIANS, 1654-1655.

The confidence and good will of the Indians, which had been disturbed through disease¹ and other circumstances, were gradually regained by the efforts of the director. Goods were sent down to the Horn Kill for trading purposes and presents were distributed for the confirmation of the land-purchase and the regaining of the friendship of the savages in this part of the river. Arrangements were also made about this time for a conference with the Indians living above Christina. "On [Saturday] June 17," says Rising, "twelve² sachems or princes of the Renapi [tribes], that is the natives who dwelled on the western bank of our river, came together [in Printz Hall] on Tennakonk³ 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 had evil in mind against them (as was whispered among them) they should not believe such [things]; 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," says the journal, "that they would 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

¹The disease which the Swedes had spread to the Indians, cf. above.

²Lindeström says there were ten. Cf. the extract from him printed in Sprinchorn's *N.S.*, p. 51 ff.

³Tinicum Island.

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.⁴ To the other followers, who were 16 or 20 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 Hachaman, spoke in their behalf, saying to them: 'See how good friends these are, who have brought 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 great sign of friendship."⁵ 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 around with his hands, as if he wished to tie a secure knot. Thereupon he made a ridiculous comparison, saying that as a *callibas*⁶ is a round growth without crack or break, thus we should hereafter be as one head without a crack."⁷ 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 on Passayunk, which is their principal place [of abode], where the greatest number of them live and they promised that they would keep all our land-purchases [intact]."

⁴ "Och gafz åth hwar Sackiman, fryss en fanm, *Kåtill* 1, yxe 1, hacka 1, knif 1, Kruut Llb., bly: 1 Staff och 3 Llb., Sylespet 6," *Rising's Journal*, June 17, 1654 (Up. B.).

⁵ *Rising's Journal* (Up. B.).

⁶ Calabash.

⁷ *Geogr.*; Sprinchorn, 51 ff.; Holm, 70; Acrelius, p. 58. Rising says concerning this speech: "And this he expressed with such words, parables, gestures and signs, that we were astonished."

1654. Den 8. Junij. ...
 min till Christina fast ...
 varda, och komo i taal om ...
 thinn sigge allt till ...
 het kung som H. Brunske ...
 tatsminnt varo fast og vittualligt. Da att ingen annan
 kunga fudo till offer and vitta att Prudentia. Dog
 att Lemina ut alldrig fado. Wedt Wendherten eller
 thest onliggiande land att Skinesfand (out: i Manara
 uttan fado angammatt nager skottor af tinnu og kopro
 koproatt komu att fittia the skol, Inu inga kopro
 broff kopro girt eller gifuitt. Worsine villo
 Lemina thet confirmere summe kopro som the tinn
 the and the litta fado, the om vitta agande komu kom
 land, snellst att tatsminnt komu for kopro, og for sin fad
 sin fado: Da att ingen furoffre, kall kopro
 kopro att om og Prudentia. Gotta the med tinn
 kopro kopro. Action Gort Christina den
 Dags og Datum ut supra.

Lemina - nacka som vitta agande

the ... mark som vitta ...

Singur ...

Pinna ...

John ...

John ...

Handwritten initials or decorative flourishes in the top left corner.

NO 1654. Den 8 July. Kommo Peminacka og Aboameck
Dackimmen till Forten Christina. Den 8 den om fyra timmar, goril-
la den tillgiffen till hvalb Kommo. Foragrade Peminacka Dackimas als
for Dackim, all den rade og foratation, som den sades rade agander, ga-
for den sades land. M. Pama Koush eller Dackimhan weds for om
agander lands, ja og hwas lands, som all ifran Christina fort ar rade
kocht ar, all upp als Elven, sjumygher Ahamand HSD, og till manibant
ogd melidive weds alla den pertinenber. Foragrade og Aboameck till
for Dackim, de som weds agander, all for land som ar onlagit, all ifran
Manibant ford, all in till hvalb Dackim. Pama Koush og manib som af
rader rader agander forjallde ar, omvalde, weds Paminas, Aruna
naden, Morkor hittiug, Kokarakungs, weds alle den lands og weds som
for weds forja, weds weds, som for og jollit. Dackim og ja onlagit
for for, som weds forab weds, og forab all weds og weds till
for weds, som weds for weds. For weds, som weds for weds
for weds, som weds for weds. For weds, som weds for weds

Handwritten text, possibly a translation or continuation of the deed, appearing below the main document text.

Peminacka [Signature] som rade agander.

Aboameck [Signature] som rade agander.

Johan Wising [Signature] Foragrade weds Dackim

“The land-deeds were thereupon brought forth (although there was only a part of them at hand, the rest [being] in 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 also made, the Indians promising that they would regard the enemies of the Swedes as their own enemies and that they would report any approaching danger, 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 vessel at night and the savages believed that an evil spirit had come in the ship. “A chief, sitting on a table, asked for a boat for two medicine-men, who should go down to take the spirit away,” but it seems that no boat was available. “We gave them, however, the best comfort we could,” says Rising, “that the Lord God . . . [would be able to 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.⁸

On the morrow, which was Sunday, a sachem by the name of Agaliquanes of the Minquas, “a brother of their former general,” came to Christina. He was given presents for which he promised to keep good peace with the Swedes and to cause his people to trade with them, for they treated the Indians well, unlike the English in Virginia, “who used to shoot them to death wherever they found them.”⁹

In the beginning of July Rising again entered into commu-

⁸ Rising's *Journal*, June 17, 1654 (Up. B.); *Geogr.*, June 17, 1654.

⁹ Rising's *Journal*, June 18, 1654 (Up. B.).

nication with the Indians and on the eighth two sachems appeared at Christina. The lands sold to the Swedes by Mitatsimint, who was dead, were claimed by Peminacka.¹⁰ But "Peminacka, the sachem, now presented to the Swedes all the right and pretention, which he had as the rightful owner, to these lands na[mely] Tanakonck or the Sandhook with the lands lying around there, as also the land, which had not yet been bought all the way from Ft. Christina up along the river, especially Naaman's Point to Mariken's Point inclusive, with all its dependencies," "and as a sign [that the transaction was legal] he gave two yards of sewant [to the Swedes] and fired two muskets." The Swedes reminded him that he had also sold these lands to the Dutch, but he answered that he had only promised them to build their houses and the fort there for the gifts they gave him, *no deeds having been made*, and "now he retracted it." "A confirmation of this sale to the Swedes" was drawn up, which was signed by "Peminacka as rightful owner," Johan Rising, Johan Bockhorn and Gregorius van Dyck, on the one side and Ahopameck, Sinques and Pinnan on the other as witnesses.¹¹ Thereupon Ahopameck also presented a tract of land to the Swedes, stretching "from Marikis Hook all the way up to half of the Schuylkill, Tennakonck and other [lands] not mentioned which had been sold by other rightful owners with Kingsässingh, Arunameck, Mockorhuttingh, Kokarakungh, with all the land and waters which were subject to it, Passayungh excepted [which he] retained for himself."¹² Two yards of sewant were presented to Rising for confirming the purchase and two shots were fired. A deed embodying both donations was written in Swedish, describing the limits of the two tracts. It was signed by Peminacka and Ahopameck as rightful owners, and by Director Johan Rising and Gregorius van Dyck, the interpreter, the whole ceremony

¹⁰ Cf. above, Chap. XXXII., and below, Chap. XLVII.

¹¹ Rising's *Journal*; "Confirmation," July 8, 1654, N.S., I. (R.A.).

¹² "The other half [of the Schuylkill] he said he still wished to keep," Rising's *Journal*.

being concluded by the discharge of two cannon at the request of the chiefs.¹³

On the first day of August other Indians assembled at Christina, made speeches, received gifts and gave promises of friendship and good behavior towards the Swedes, and on the third Jacob Swensson was sent to the White Minquas¹⁴ with presents. Some distance up the river he was met by the Sachem Ondokiasnaky, who, in company with other Indians, was on his way to Christina. Some of the savages returned to their camps with Swensson, carrying his goods, but Ondokiasnaky proceeded to the Swedish fort "where he was well received," renewing his former alliance with the colony. Jacob Swensson was very successful on his mission. He found the savages friendly and well disposed. "They purposed to go to the Swedish fortress in the autumn with gifts and to present to the Swedes a piece of land and to keep a secure peace with them and to protect them against all attack."

A few days afterwards a large number of sachems and common Indians, who lived on the east bank of the Delaware,¹⁵ arrived at Christina and offered to keep intact the old sales of land. The Swedes promised to make settlements upon them at the first opportunity and to present gifts to the Indians. "At this time they received nothing except one [sachem] by the name of Mister, who promised to bring in all the hops which grew on his river." He was given some gifts and a bag, but he never returned the sack nor did he bring any hops to the fort. It seems that other sachems also promised that they would pick hops for the Swedes. Somewhat later Ahopameck again presented himself at the fort, "made great promises of faithfulness towards the Swedes and of trade and demanded gifts, which were given to him.

As the fall was advancing, the usual commercial relations

¹³ See facsimiles; Rising's *Journal*, July 9; Rising's *Report*, 1654. The deeds are dated July 8, but Rising has "Sunday, July 9" in his *Journal*. The documents were sent to Sweden on the *Örn*.

¹⁴ The Susquehannas. Cf. above, Chap. XXI.

¹⁵ "The Mantaser."

with the Indians were renewed. The sloops were mended and put into repair for trading voyages and towards the end of August a boat was sent up the river to fetch the hops that had been promised, but it returned "with only a little," the gifts presented to the Indians being of much higher value than the hops. Two boats were also sent up the river about this time to purchase maize, but one soon returned from Passyunk, bringing only a small quantity, as the Indians had been very unfriendly. Jacob Svensson who was in command of the large sloop was more successful, and on September 27 he returned with a cargo of 400 bushels of corn. About the beginning of October Ahopameck for the third time came to Christina to establish trade-relations with the Swedes. He remained for two days, insisting that a large quantity of maize could be bought from his people. Accordingly two sloops were sent up to Passyunk and in about four days they returned with 960 bushels of maize, 20 bushels of beans, besides 20 bushels of maize presented to Rising as a gift from the sachem and a few deer-skins. Jacob Swensson was as usual the most successful, his sloop bringing in nine-tenths of the whole cargo, but he became ill on the journey so that he had to go ashore at Tinicum. Swensson was ill at various times during 1654, but, although in poor health, he was often sent on missions of trade. He recovered speedily from his last indisposition and in December we find him buying deer-meat from the savages at Appoquenema, "for frieze, powder and lead."¹⁶

But although Rising allowed the savages "to pass freely in and out"¹⁷ and treated them with kindness and forbearance, a certain tribe became restless in the winter of 1655 and "killed a woman not far from Fort Christina . . . and stole what they could get hold of. Later they promised that they would make it good, but gave no more than ten yards of sevant as indemnity."¹⁸

¹⁶ Rising's *Journal*, June 6, 16, 17, 18, July 9, August 1, 3, 4, 11, 17, 23, September 2, 4, 9, 16, 24, 27, October 2, 8, 12, 14, December 3, 1654.

¹⁷ When Ringold was in New Sweden in June, 1654, he warned the Swedes not to allow the Indians so much liberty in coming and going, "because they were murderous men." Rising's *Journal*, June 6, 1654 (Up. B.).

¹⁸ *Report*, June 14, 1655; Rising's *Journal*.

The Minquas remained friendly, however, and called themselves "the protectors of the Swedes." For a long time Rising was desirous of buying a large tract of land from them, bordering on the Chesapeake Bay. Thomas Ringold advised him to do it in the summer of 1654 and suggested that the Swedes "should build a fortress at Chakakitque for the purpose of trading with those from Severn, Kent and the whole of Virginia."¹⁹ The English also desired to buy this land, but Jacob Svensson finally succeeded in bringing about an understanding with the Indians, and June 6 "four sachems from the Minquesser"²⁰ came with him to Christina, who let it be understood that they had important things to present from their entire council. They remained in the fort over night and on the following day a conference was held of which Rising gives the following account:

"On the 7th of this month²¹ they²² with a long oration, on behalf of the joint council of the Minquesser 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 Amisackan Falls; a land^{22a} . . . of choice soil and 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."

¹⁹ Rising's *Journal*, June 6, 1654; *Report*, July 13, 1654. Cf. Chap. XLVI, note 1.

²⁰ Minquas; that is the White Minquas or the Susquehannas (Susquehannock).

²¹ June.

²² The four chiefs.

^{22a} "About 22 Dutch miles in length and 12 [Dutch] miles in breadth."

neration, 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 *Chakcorietchiaque*, who was sent by the Tchaque and Skonedidehaga nation; *Svanahändäz*,²³ sent by the true Minqueser; *Waskanäquäz* [sent] by the lower quarter of the Minques; *Sahagoliwatquaz*, sent by the Serosquacke [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 Hansson, the ensign.²⁴ When all this was completed, these Minquese Sachems took us all by the hand and *Svanahändäz*, who had been spokesman, took me²⁵ 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.'²⁶ By this purchase the territory of New Sweden was increased westward. It now included the present state of

²³ "Svanahändäz" (Swedish word "Svanhänder"?), swanbands?

²⁴ This purchase is not mentioned by former writers.

²⁵ That is Rising.

²⁶ Rising's *Journal*, 1655 (Up. B.); *Report*, June 14, 1655, N.S., I. (K.A.). The dates in Rising's *Journal* at this point are confused. The account follows three entries of July 1, 7 and 17, and the coming of the Indians is recorded as follows: "Den 6 hujus," etc., making it appear that the events took place on August 6 and 7; but from the *Report*, dated June 14, and from the fact that Lord was present at Christina it is clear that the sale took place in June. In the margin of the *mss.* is also "*d. 6 Junij*" opposite the entry for "Den 6 hujus," but this might easily have been a mistake for August 6, 1655.

Delaware, parts of Pennsylvania, New Jersey and Maryland, bordering on two great bays, with splendid possibilities for developing trade and shipping and, if sufficient resources had been at hand, Rising would have laid the foundation for a strong settlement and a prosperous colony with means to oppose the attacks of the neighbors. As it was the donation proved useless.

Some former landgrants were also confirmed in 1655, among others, the title to the Island Mekekanckon and the Oytseking land at Elfsborg. The relations with the savages continued to be friendly during the summer and autumn and it was said that they attacked the Dutch at Manhattan to avenge the expedition against New Sweden.²⁷

²⁷ Rising's *Journal*; *Geogr.* Cf. *Doc.* I.

CHAPTER XLVI.

RELATIONS WITH THE ENGLISH, 1654-1655.

When Johan Olofsson and Constantin Grönberg went to Virginia shortly after Rising's arrival to secure a cargo for the *Örn*, letters were sent with them "to Governor Bennet and the magistrates in upper Virginia or Severn¹ informing them of the arrival of the Swedish ship and offering friendship and neighborhood." The governor and magistrates in Severn received the friendly offers with much pleasure and sent a commissioner, Thomas Ringold, to Christina, who on behalf of his superiors likewise offered neighborly friendship. The efforts of Rising to bring back some deserters² gave rise to further correspondence and towards the middle of June Commander Lloyd,³ Commissioner March⁴ and "Utie, the stepson of Governor Bennet," were sent to New Sweden to confer with Rising about the boundary. On June 18 Lloyd, on behalf of the commission, presented the English rights to the river. The stock-arguments, original discovery and King James's grant to Lord Baltimore,^{4a}

¹ Severn, a small river in Maryland, running into the Chesapeake Bay, passing Annapolis on the north (Thompson, *The Geogr. Dic.*, IV. 419); also a settlement by that name on the river. Cf. *Doc.*, II. 90-91. By "Upper Virginia or Severn," Rising means Maryland.

² Cf. above, Chap. XLI.

³ Edward Lloyd of Providence, Maryland.

⁴ Probably John Marshall.

^{4a} The right of a nation to new lands has been much written about. The principles laid down by Queen Elizabeth in her famous answer to Mendoza that the Spaniards had no right "to any places other than those they were in actual possession of" (in other words that *discovery alone* did not give a valid title to any territory, except it be 'actually settled and continually inhabited') were not always adhered to by the English. Judged by the Law of Nations as interpreted by the ablest jurists of modern times the *Swedes had a perfect right* to occupy and settle the west bank of the Delaware (opinions to the contrary have been expressed by judges who had an insufficient knowledge of the *historical facts* involved in the case; see references to such opinions given in *Penn. Mag.*, XXXIII. 2-3). Bluntschli says that "a State does not . . . violate International Law in seizing a country of which another State only took formal possession at

were as usual brought forth.⁵ Rising replied that "King James's donation . . . was like the donation⁶ given by the Pope in Rome to the Kings of Castilien⁷ and of Portugal, the Pope giving what he did not own nor was able to give," and, as to the discovery of the country, the English had no claim, for "the Spaniards first discovered it." The principles recognized as deciding the right and title of territorial acquisition, said Rising, were, (1) "Possession by conquest or the occupation of deserted and desolate land; (2) by donation from the rightful owners or from those who could properly give it; (3) by purchase from the rightful owner; (4) by continuous possession and occupation." All these requirements were complied with by the Swedes; they had bought the land from the owners or received it as a donation from them and they had occupied it continually, hence they had the legal title.⁸ "To this," says Rising, "Mr. Lloyd answered not a word." Before the English commission took its departure, "all neighborly friendship was promised" to the Swedes and the relations with the English colonies on the south remained cordial.

Rising also endeavored to establish friendly correspondence with the New England settlements and, when Jacob Svensson sailed for Hartford in June, he carried "letters to the governor and magistrates in that district, as well as to the former governor-general, Endicott."⁹ The letters were answered soon after

an earlier period," and Vattel says that "the law of nations will, therefore, not acknowledge the property and sovereignty of a nation over any uninhabited countries, except those of which it has really taken *actual* possession, in which *it has formed settlements, or of which it makes actual use,*" while another noted jurist states that "the limits of the occupation are determined by the material possibility to cause to be respected the authority of the government throughout *the extent of the occupied territory.*" Cf. a good article by T. W. Balch in *The Am. Journal of Intern. Law*, April, 1910, on the *Arctic and Antarctic Regions and the Law of Nations*, where extracts from noted jurists are given.

⁵ Lloyd also related that Sir Edmund Plowden endeavored to secure a grant of the country and take possession of it, but he was hindered by the English. *Journal*, June 18, 1654.

⁶ Cf. *Papal Bull*, pub. by Hart, *Am. Hist. Told by Cont.*, I. 40-43.

⁷ Castile.

⁸ Rising's *Journal*, May 24, 27, June 6, 7, 18, 19, 1654 (Up. B.).

⁹ John Endicott, chosen governor in 1644. Cf. Winthrop, II. 169 ff. (Jameson, *Orig. Nar.*).

their delivery and at the meeting of the general court in July it was ordered (July 5) that a letter should be "sent 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 correspondency with them both in trading and planting there and an answer hereof."¹⁰ The letter, written on July 6, embodied the above sentiments and as news of Whitelocke's embassy had reached New England, Governor Eaton looked for a closer union between the two nations both here and in Europe. He complained against Printz "that he did . . . too much comply with the former Dutch governor," and he closed the letter with the hope that "we . . . may open and settle a free trade betwixt yourself and us."¹¹ "Henry Rutherford, master of the pinnace called the Swallow," brought the letter to New Sweden, where he arrived on July 22. Rising made immediate arrangements for refuting the English claims. The council and "the oldest [settlers] in the country were called together" the same day for the purpose of replying to Governor Eaton's letter. Copies of the Indian donations of land were made and "an attestation, signed by the oldest [colonists was drafted, stating] that the English held no tract of land in the river by proper purchase."¹²

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. After some consultation the commissioners drafted an answer to Director Rising's statements, "which appeared a little strange to them." They again 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 betwixt England and Sweden would have a powerful influence upon Rising's spirits and carriages in these parts of America.' Several per-

¹⁰ *N. H. Col. Rec.*, II, 112.

¹¹ Copy of Governor Eaton's letter, July 6, 1654, N.S., I. (R.A.).

¹² Rising's *Journal*, July 22, 1654; "Attestation," etc., 1654, N.S., I. (R.A.).

sons also spoke privately with Governor Eaton "about the settling of the South River," but nothing came out of it.¹³

At the general court for the town of New Haven, November 2, 1654, Governor Eaton read "the letters made in the case" and informed the court of the interest in the Delaware Bay, shown by some people at the Hartford Convention. The town was desirous to see how a settlement could be made, but it was said that "scarse any [settlers] . . . manifested their willingness to go at present to the Delaware." "After much debate about it . . . a committee was chosen, viz., Robert Seely, William Davis, Thomas Munson and Thomas Jeffery," who were to report at a subsequent meeting. These gentlemen were to "treat with those of New Haven, who have purchased those lands" and to find out "what consideration they expected for them." All persons willing to go to the Bay should also consult them. The committee at once set about to find out who were interested in the matter and "spoke with sundry persons in town," but the result did "not answer the expectations." Accordingly they called "a meeting of the brethern and neighbors" to discuss the project and it was now said that the people "for the most part . . . were willing to help forward the work, some in person, others in estate so that the work might be carried on and foundation laid according to God." The meeting also expressed a desire that the "governor and one of the magistrates with one or both of the elders might by their persons" encourage the project. Later a church meeting was called before which the above propositions were laid. The elders were willing to further the work and they were pleased to see that it was begun, but Jr. Davenport, who had been asked to go to the Delaware, could not engage in it in person on account of his ill health, nor W. Hooke "because his wife was gone for England." "The governor gave no positive answer, but said it was worthy of consideration." People from other plantations also expressed their willingness to engage in the enterprise, "the rather if it be begun by New Haven and

¹³ *Plym. Col. Rec., Acts*, II. 127 ff.

foundations laid as there and government so carried on, thinking it will be for the good of them and their posterity." A new company was organized and it seems that about fifty persons joined the same. The committee which had been appointed for the management of the company treated with the proprietors "about the purchase of the land," who declared that they were "out about six hundred pounds, but were willing to take half of this sum, to be paid in four years." A report of the above transactions and the progress that had been made was presented by the committee at the meeting of the Court in New Haven on November 27. The matter was further discussed and the two magistrates, Samuel Eaton and Francis Newman, were requested to take charge of the expedition that was to be sent and to "go with the company." Taking the business into consideration they signified their conditional assent at the court of December 11.

A second letter seems also to have been written to Governor Rising in the autumn, which was handed to Allerton for delivery at the South River. Allerton's intention was to give it to Elswick at New Amsterdam with a request that it be delivered to the Swedish director, but Elswick had left Manhattan when Allerton arrived and the letter did not reach New Sweden before the spring of 1655.¹⁴

It seems that John Cooper and Thomas Munson were appointed to bring the Delaware settlement before the general court for the jurisdiction of New Haven which was to be held in the beginning of 1655. Presenting a petition to the court on January 30, 1655 (English style January 30, 1654), in which were repeated the former reasons for the settlement on the river, they laid six propositions before the councillors; *first*, that Eaton and Newman be allowed to go in person to inspect the country and that their expenses be paid if they feel disinclined "to lay out so much of their estate"; *secondly*, that the proposed settlement be made under the protection of the New

¹⁴ Rising's *Journal*; Elswick's *Journal*, N.S., II. (R.A.); *N. H. Col. Rec.*, I. 128 ff.

Haven Jurisdiction "till . . . they may be able of themselves to set up a Com[m]onwealth according to the fundamentals for [the] gover[n]m[en]t laid at New Haven"; *thirdly*, that the court be asked to state how many it thought would be a "competent number" to carry the work to success; *fourthly*, "that two great guns and powder and what belongs to them might be granted"; *fifthly*, that those who go to make plantations "may be freed from rates and public charges" on the property left behind; *sixthly*, "that a sum of money may be raised, which may be employed, either to buy a small vessel that may attend the service or otherwise, as shall be thought meet."¹⁵

The subject was taken up by the court the same day. Liberty was granted to the two magistrates to accompany the colonists and it was decided that the question of raising money for the settlement should be presented to the different plantations, whose answer would be reported "with all convenient speed." The government of the district was to be controlled either by the New Haven colony or by the planters themselves, "provided," adds the court records, "that it be and remain a part or member of this jurisdiction." If the plantation should increase and become as large or larger than that at New Haven, the governor should reside "one year in one part and the next year in the other, the deputy-governor to be in that part, where the governor is not," and the "courts for making laws" should sit but once a year, in that district where the governor lived. "If," say the records, "God much increase [the] plantations in Delaware and diminish them in these parts, then possibly they may see cause that the governor may be constantly there and the deputy-governor here."

It seems that John Cooper was sent by the company to ascertain the views of the other plantations on the subject. He returned towards the middle of March and reported his success "at a General Court for New Haven, sixteenth day of March, 1655," called for the purpose of letting "them understand how

¹⁵ See *N. H. Col. Rec.*, I. 129-130.

things are . . . concerning the Delaware."¹⁶ He found little encouragement, "few being willing to engage in [the venture]," besides a report that "three ships being come to the Swedes" made the business more difficult, yet "after much debate about it, it was voted by the town . . . that they will be at twenty or thirty pounds charge, that Mr. Goodyear, Sergeant Jeffery and such others as they think fit to take with them, may go to [the] Delaware and carry the commonwealth's letter and treat with the Swedes about a peaceable settlement of the English upon their own right and then, after harvest if things be cleared, [the] company may resort thither for the planting of it."¹⁷

About the beginning of April, another "General Court for New Haven" was called for further considering the contemplated settlements at Delaware Bay. The secretary of the Delaware Company presented a note to the court, stating several objections to the proposed jurisdiction of the new plantation, but "the business proceeded and diverse declared themselves willing to further it." As many were willing to go, the town "agreed to lend the company . . . two small guns" besides shot and powder and the property of those emigrating was to be partly exempt from taxes for a period of two years and a half.¹⁸

Shortly afterwards Vice-Governor Goodyear was sent to treat with the Swedes. He landed at New Amsterdam on his way where he met Elswick, who was in the town to buy goods for the Swedish colony. Rumors were afloat that the New Haven people were about to send 3,400 men into the

¹⁶ Hazard's view that Cooper came from the Delaware Bay is probably incorrect. Rising makes no mention of Cooper and no English vessel arrived in the South River between February 10 and March 15 or 20, at least Rising makes no mention of one. "Now John Cooper is returned" proves nothing, as he might have returned from the other plantations, but the phrase "notwithstanding the discouragements from the bay" seems to point to the fact that Cooper had been there. It may, however, refer to the report about the three ships said to have arrived from Sweden. Cooper might possibly have been as far as New Amsterdam.

¹⁷ *N. H. Col. Rec.*, I. 130 ff.

¹⁸ *N. H. Col. Rec.*, I. 131-2; Hazard, p. 171 ff.

South River, and Elswick naturally felt some concern about the situation. On the day of Goodyear's arrival (April 28) Elswick had a private conversation with Allerton, who, having large bills to collect from the Swedes, was rather friendly towards them, and did not wish to see them disturbed in their possessions.¹⁹

At ten o'clock in the morning of April 29 Vice-Governor Goodyear visited Elswick with Allerton as interpreter. The usual claims of the English were made to which Elswick replied that these ought to be presented to Director Rising or to the government at Stockholm and in a friendly manner, especially since a treaty had been made between England and Sweden. Goodyear, being somewhat angered by the way Elswick addressed him, was even less satisfied at a second conference on the following day, which took place in Allerton's house (seven A.M.), when the same questions were discussed, "Elswick explaining certain things more at length." Goodyear was of the opinion that the Swedish settlement was the work of private parties and that it did not concern the Swedish Crown, but Allerton testified that he had seen the commission of Governor Printz with the seal and signature of Her Royal Majesty of Sweden and he assured him that the present governor likewise had royal commission.²⁰ We may assume that Vice-Governor Goodyear reported these circumstances to the New Haven people interested in the Delaware, for they made no further attempts at settlements there, while the Swedes were in power.

When Elswick made his report of the occurrences and delivered the letter from Governor Eaton, Rising found that the demands and protests had been so completely answered at New Amsterdam that he did not think it worth while to make further reply. Director Rising was somewhat at a disadvantage in these disputes. Printz had carried most of the original deeds, court records and other documents to Sweden, in some cases,

¹⁹ Elswick's *Journal*, N.S., I. (K.A.); cf. above, Chaps. XXXII., XLII.

²⁰ Fragment of a journal, kept by Elswick on his journey to New Amsterdam in April-May, 1655, N.S., I. (K.A.); Rising's *Report*, June, 1655, N.S., I. (R.A.).

however, leaving copies behind. Rising, properly thinking that these records ought to be in the colony, requested the government to return them. It is probable that this was done on the *Mercurius* and to this may be due the fact that so many original papers from the time of Governor Printz were lost.²¹ Director Rising also requested his government to try to effect some settlement between the two nations in Europe of the territorial disputes here, but other events frustrated these plans.

²¹ See Rising's letters and reports from the colony, N.S., I. (R.A., K.A.), *Ox. Saml.*, *Skokl. Saml.*



Gov. Peter Stuyvesant.

CHAPTER XLVII.

RELATIONS WITH THE DUTCH AND THE OVERTHROW OF NEW SWEDEN, 1654-1655.

I.

As we have already seen the outlook for friendly and neighborly relations with the adjoining colonies was very good in 1654. New Haven merchants indeed made new plans for settlements on the Delaware and the English on the south presented claims to the river, but there was no danger from that source, nor was there any immediate danger from the Dutch at this time.¹ The policy of the Swedish government was always a peaceful one in regard to its colony on the Delaware. In the memorial issued for Printz and Rising it is expressly stated that both sides of the river ought to be secured for Her Royal Majesty, yet *without hostility*. Concerning Fort Casimir the following instructions were given: "If the Dutch could not be removed by argument and grave remonstrances and everything else which can be done without danger and hostility, then . . . [it would be] better *in terminis protestandi* to tolerate the Dutch there, than that the same fort should fall into the hands of the English as the strongest and consequently the most dangerous" and to erect a Swedish stronghold below the Dutch fort which would control the river and make the latter useless, "since a hostile attack is not compatible with the weak power of the Swedes in that place."² These instructions seem clear enough. They would have been followed by a trained military man and friction avoided. Printz would have handled the situation and it is more than likely that the colony would have remained under Swedish jurisdiction

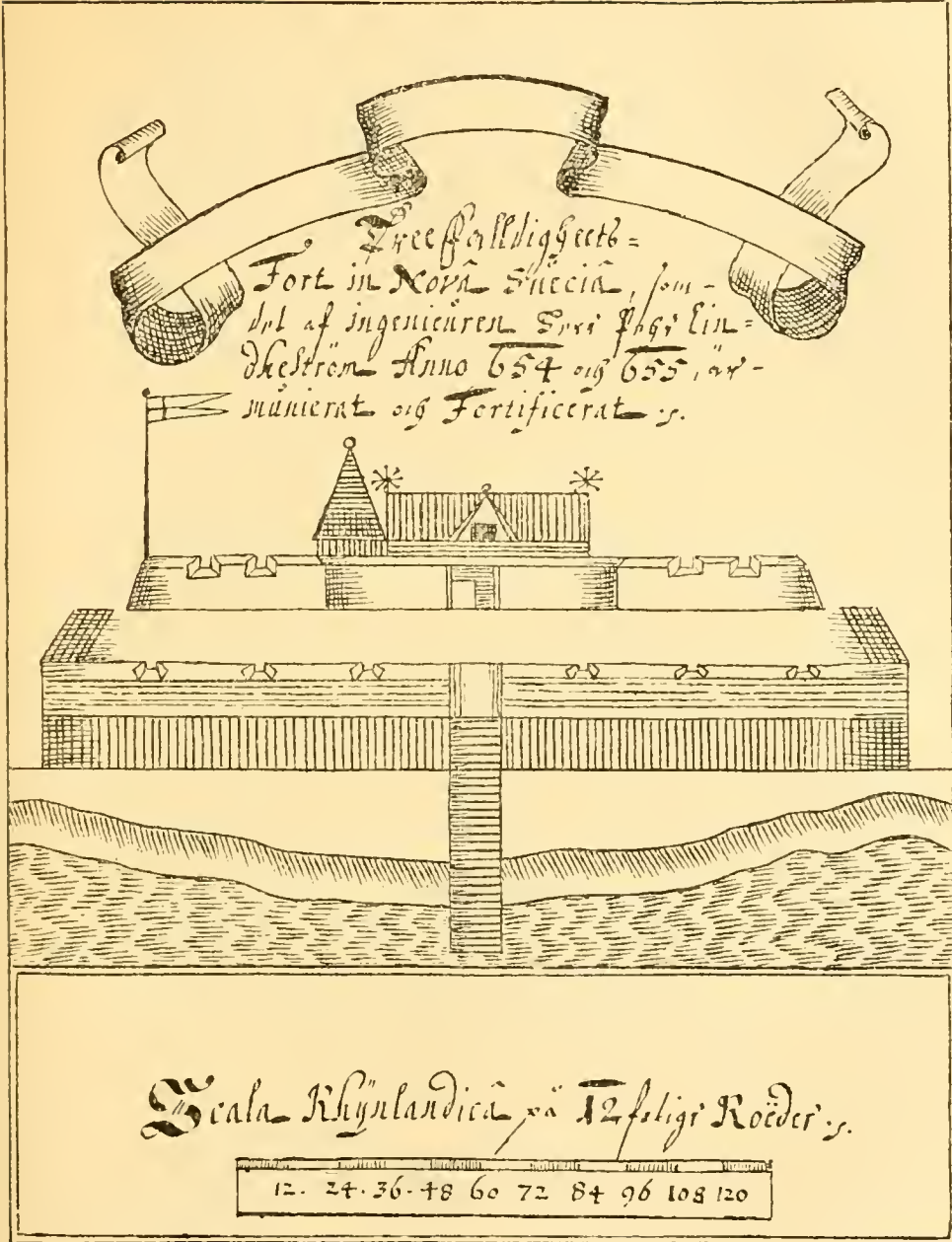
¹ Cf. above, Chaps. XXXVII., XLI.

² "Memorial," December 12, 1653, § 4, "efter een fiendtligh antastning icke är medh de Swänskes ringe macht på den orthen compatibel."

some years longer, had he been in command, when the *Örn* sailed up the South River. Rising knew little of the art of war, he had no knowledge of the strength of the Dutch nor of the restless energy of the old veteran, Peter Stuyvesant, and he was not acquainted with the condition of the colony he was sent to aid. As he anchored before Fort Elfsborg on May 20 the outlook was gloomy; the fort was deserted and in ruins. If the other Swedish forts were in similar condition he knew not and it would have been better for the colony, had he remained in ignorance until he came to Christina. But such was not to be the case. When the commander of Fort Casimir observed the *Örn*, riding at anchor before Elfsborg, he hoisted the Prince's flag and sent Andrian van Tienhoven with four freemen on board the ship "to ascertain whence she came." They remained on the ship over night, "being well treated," and from these Rising learned the condition of the Swedish colony and the weakness of the Dutch fort. He told them 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."³

As the wind was favorable the following morning, Rising made preparations to proceed. At 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." About eleven o'clock the ship arrived before the fort, giving the Swedish salute, which was not answered by the Dutch cannon, for they had no powder, whereupon Rising sent Captain Sven

³ "In the evening of the same day [May 20] four Hollandish freemen from Sandhook, where the Hollander's Fort Casimir was placed, came on board to us. We received them well and told them . . . that we wished indeed to demand the surrender of Fort Casimir. . . . With this [information] the said Hollanders remained on the ship over night and were well pleased with it." *Rising's Journal*, May 20, 1654.



"Trefaldigheet's Fort in Nova Svecia, som det af ingenieuren Herr Pehr Lindbeström Anno 1654 och 1655 är munitat och Fortificerat." (Fort Trefaldigheet (Trinity) in New Sweden, as it was mounted and fortified in the years 1654 and 1655 by the engineer Pehr Lindeström.) From the original sketch in Lindeström's *Geogr.* "A block-house was built [at Fort Trefaldighet] facing the river."—Rising. Perhaps the old fort was back of this, the tower and roof of which can be seen behind the second wall.

Skute and Lieutenant Gyllengren ashore "with three files of musketeers,"⁴ to demand the surrender of the fortress.⁵

Tienhoven, who returned to his fort about 8 A. M. on Sunday, reported Rising's intention, requesting the commander to put the stronghold in a state of defence. But Bicker, seeing the uselessness of resistance, "neither gave nor issued any order." Meanwhile the Swedish soldiers were landed and Bicker went down to the shore, "welcomed [them] as friends and brought Sven Skute into the fort," where they held a consultation, during which Skute presented the Swedish rights to the land and fort, "promising Bicker, his soldiers and colonists all liberty and good offers." As the conference lasted for about two hours Rising became impatient and fired another salute for an answer. Bicker, desiring "a little time for consultation," sent Andrian van Tienhoven with two others on board the *Örn* to request three days' delay, but Rising informed the Dutch envoys that he would rather have an immediate reply, promising, however, that he would await Skute's return before definite action was taken. In the meantime Gyllengren brought 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 "and thus the Swedes took possession of Ft. Casimir without hostility." A Swedish flag, which was brought from the vessel, was then raised on the fort instead of the Dutch⁶ and some powder was supplied for the cannon, whereupon another salute was fired by the *Örn*, which was answered from the fort. Later Skute returned to the ship with the Dutch commander, who again requested delay in the surrender; but Rising answered that it was now too late, assuring him fair treatment and freedom to remain or depart.

Ft. Casimir was now in the hands of the Swedes; no formal

⁴ Bicker says about 20 soldiers and Van Tienhoven about 30. *Doc.*, I. 601, 602. Cf. also p. 603 ff.

⁵ Lindeström says (probably without foundation) that a few shots from the large cannon were fired over the fort. *Geogr.*

⁶ A Dutch document declares that "Bicker caused his own boy to haul down the [Dutch] flag." *Doc.*, I. 605.

surrender had been made and it is difficult to see how Rising could maintain afterwards that such actions were "without force and hostility." Gyllengren with some soldiers was ordered to remain in the fort, whose name was changed to Fort Trefaldighet, "because it was taken on Trinity Sunday," says Lindeström. The Dutch settlement at Sandhook had been left more or less to itself since 1652.⁷ There were 21 houses around the fortress, some of which were occupied by freemen, while Bicker with the soldiers lived inside the walls. The fort at the time of its surrender was manned by nine soldiers and armed with twelve iron cannon and one (?) three pounder brass gun, but there were only 63 cannon balls and no powder. Some of the muskets of the soldiers were with the gunsmith and there were only 1,000 bullets on hand. Hence it is clear that the best policy on the part of Rising would have been to have left the fort alone; it could do no harm, while a new fort below or the rebuilding of Elfsborg would have solved the problem without hostility.

Before Rising continued his course up the river, the conditions upon which the Dutch could be taken under the protection of the Swedish Crown were read to them; "they were well satisfied with the remonstrance," promising to appear at the earliest opportunity before the Swedish council to swear the oath of allegiance. In the afternoon of May 23 Bicker with all the Dutch colonists and soldiers from Sandhook arrived at Fort Christina. The new and liberal privileges granted settlers in New Sweden were laid before them, which were contrasted with the privileges enjoyed in New Netherland; the injuries they had caused the Swedes were recounted, but these

⁷ In May (1654) there was fear of an attack by the English and Stuyvesant made certain "proposals to the Council of New Amsterdam in view of . . . [this] threatened attack of the English." The general opinion was that the garrison at Fort Casimir should be withdrawn and the defence of the place left to the freemen. But on the other hand Stuyvesant did not consider it altogether wise to abandon the fort, for it would mean the surrender of the river to others. The council coincided with this opinion and decided on May 20 (30), the day before Rising took possession of the fort, "not to abandon Fort Casimir nor to call any of the troops from there." *Doc.*, XII. 75-76.

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 good, faithful subjects of Her Royal Majesty. "Thereupon they all begged pardon [for what they had done in the past against the Swedish colony], blamed everything on General Stuyvesant" and all "with one mouth" expressed 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, prepared in honor of the occasion. The Dutch were much pleased, Bicker especially making great promises of faithfulness, aid and assistance to the Swedes, while Hudde, "who had been Stuyvesant's instrument in his undertakings against New Sweden, promised that he would now serve Rising as faithfully as he had served his former master."⁸ As all the Dutch were not acceptable a consultation took place to determine who should be allowed to remain. Papegoja and Van Dyck brought forth grave charges against Andrian van Tienhoven and Cornelius de Boer, who were informed that they were undesirable in the colony. Boer was accused of having spoken disrespectfully about Her Majesty and of having said "that this land had been put up for sale on the Amsterdam exchange"; as a punishment his land was confiscated and his property, including six or seven goats, was placed at the disposal of the company until further action should be taken. Another Hollander, "Sander Boyer, was declared to be an evil and illreputed 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 [as colonists] or not, [but] on their large promises that they would be faithful and honest" they were allowed to remain.⁹ Three of the Dutch

⁸ Rising's *Journal*, May 23, 1654; Lindeström's *Geogr.*, May 23, 1654.

⁹ Boyer and Lane went to New Amsterdam without making use of the privileges offered them.

soldiers applied for permission to become freemen on land that they had cleared near Fort Casimir or Trefaldighet, while the other six soldiers wished to go to Manathans first, then return to become settlers if they found that the colony would prosper, but later they departed for New Amsterdam without informing Rising about it. After their departure their muskets and swords, which had been left behind, were brought to Fort Christina where they were preserved in the armory.

Rising being anxious to find out how Stuyvesant would take the surrender of the fort wrote to the Dutch governor two days after his landing in New Sweden,¹⁰ 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." "As 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."¹¹

Stuyvesant, having been informed, probably by Indians, about the arrival of the *Örn*, sent a messenger at once across the country with letters to Bicker and one addressed to the Swedish commander, in which he congratulated the Swedes on their arrival and offered to maintain friendly relations with them as well as "good correspondence against the Indians." On May 31 Rising sent a reply with Stuyvesant's messenger, "offering in return neighborly correspondence and referring to the letter which had already been sent."¹²

On June 3 Rising in company with Lieut. Skute and Papegoja visited the Dutch at the Sandhook. The oath of allegiance was again confirmed by 22 Dutch colonists, who were finally received under the Swedish Crown.

¹⁰ *Doc.*, I. 606. The date in the *Doc.* is May 27, but in Rising's *Journal* the letter is said to be written May 26, while it was sent May 28. It is therefore probable that the first draft was written May 26, that the letter was copied by the clerk and signed by Rising May 27. *Journal*, 1654.

¹¹ The letter was carried to New Amsterdam by Peter Jochim.

¹² *Doc.*, I. 601, 606; Rising's *Journal*.

About a week after the surrender the Dutch commander informed Stuyvesant about his misfortune and three days later Andrian van Tienhoven, being "legally summoned" to appear before the fiscal of New Amsterdam, Cornelis van Tienhoven, to make a relation, presented a written report concerning the capture of the fort. Several witnesses were summoned to testify,¹³ who related the events of May 21, all blaming Bicker for not preparing means of resistance by which the Swedes could be properly opposed.¹⁴

On July 17 (27) Stuyvesant reported the matter to the directors of the Dutch West India Company, enclosing the signed statements of Tienhoven and the other witnesses. As these papers made strong accusations of disloyalty and even of treachery against Bicker, the directors required Stuyvesant to "use all possible means to get hold of" him "that he could be punished as an example to others."¹⁵ Governor Stuyvesant was furious about the capture of the fort, making up his mind to retaliate when an opportunity presented itself. Finding that the Swedes were about to send a sloop to New England on a trading expedition, he threatened that he would capture it. Rising, however, was hopeful of the outcome, writing to E. Oxenstierna that he was not afraid of Stuyvesant's threats; the English were preparing to attack New Amsterdam and Stuyvesant would find a warm reception, if he should dare come into the South River. But Stuyvesant's report was now on its way to Holland; its arrival there was a signal for giving the death blow to the Swedish colony and it remained only a question of time, when the entire river would come under Dutch control.¹⁶

Peter Jochim, who had been sent to New Amsterdam, became very ill there, making it impossible for him to return. In September he died and was buried, leaving a bill of 127 florins

¹³ But none of the reports were taken under oath and would "have no value in a court of justice."

¹⁴ *Doc.*, I. 601-6; *Albany Rec.*, IV. 168; Hazard, p. 170.

¹⁵ *Doc.*, XII. 86.

¹⁶ Rising to E. Oxenstierna, July 13, 1654; *Report*, 1654.

for the New Sweden Company to pay. The Indian guide who accompanied him returned to New Sweden with letters on July 25, but Stuyvesant said he had nothing to answer to Rising's communication. He intimated, however, that he would come to the South River himself and during the summer rumors were circulated that Stuyvesant intended to attack New Sweden.¹⁷

In September, 1654, when the Swedish ship the *Gyllene Haj* by mistake sailed up the North River, an opportunity of retaliating the capture of Fort Casimir presented itself to Governor Stuyvesant. Immediately upon his arrival in the river Elswick sent two of his men to New Amsterdam to engage a pilot, who for a money consideration would bring "the ship to the South River." When they arrived in the city they were arrested and placed in the guardhouse. Elswick was also taken from the ship and placed in the tavern of Sergeant Litschoe under the guard of eight musqueteers, but with "liberty and license to go and to come, to converse and to trade, where and with whom he pleased," except during the first week when he "was forbidden to leave the house." The ship was sailed up from Raritan's Kill to the harbor (September 15). The Swedish flag was hauled down, while the rudder was removed and two servants of the Dutch West India Company were placed on board to guard the cargo. Elswick protested orally against these proceedings and reported the matter to Rising. The letters were brought to New Sweden by Richard Lord, who delivered them to Rising on September 24. According to Stuyvesant's protest Elswick applied for a passport for Rising, permitting him "without any hindrance to go to New Amsterdam to settle the differences in person." Elswick then sent one of his soldiers (promising him 30 gulden and 3 yds. of cloth if he would perform his mission to satisfaction) together with two Swedish sailors to the South River with a package of letters, including Elswick's report, Rising's appointment as director of the colony and Skute's commission as commander over the military forces, besides other papers.¹⁸ Stuyvesant also sent an open letter

¹⁷ Rising's *Journal*.

¹⁸ The letters and documents were received by Rising on September 30.

inviting Rising "to take refuge with him, since the English of Gravesend intend to gain a foothold in the river." But Rising did not go to New Amsterdam; instead he wrote to Elswick, giving the details of the capture of Fort Casimir, instructing him to present written protests concerning the rights of the Swedes.

About the beginning of October "Elswick by word of mouth requested permission to sell some hides, seized and detained in . . . the *Haj*."¹⁹ The request was granted and he was permitted to sell the entire cargo, "provided that the proper proceeds be paid into the hands of the Hon. Attorney and Council of the Privileged West India Company, Mr. Fiscal Tienhoven, until such time, that proper restitution and lawful satisfaction be done and given to . . . the aforesaid Hon. Company for the surprise and capture of . . . Fort Casimir," but it does not appear whether or not Elswick sold the skins; he certainly did not sell the whole cargo. A little later, having been called before the council to give his answer to the proposals of Stuyvesant, he informed the Dutch that Rising was neither inclined to come to New Amsterdam nor to send deputies. Accordingly the council decided to have the cargo and vessel "appraised by impartial men," "to store the durable and perishable goods in the Hon. Company's warehouse [and] to let the perishable ones be sold either by the factor himself according to his desire or in case of refusal publicly by the auctioneer to the highest bidder." The vessel including all rigging was valued at 2,958:13 D. The inventory was presented to Lieutenant Sven Höök²⁰ for his signature, but he refused to sign it "for particular reasons." On October 16 or 17²¹ Elswick presented a written protest to Stuyvesant setting forth the details of the

¹⁹ On October 10 (20) the council passed a resolution to detain the *Haj*. *Doc.*, XII. 78.

²⁰ Hazard has wrongly Sven Huygens. *Annals*, p. 160.

²¹ The copies in *Doc.*, XII. 80-3, and Hazard, pp. 161-2, are dated October 17. It is probable, however, that the 16th is the correct date, since Stuyvesant's reply is dated October 27 (n.s.) and it is not likely that he would have answered on the same day that he received the protest.

siezure of the *Haj* and complaining about the damages and inconveniences done to the Crown of Sweden and the New Sweden Company.²² Stuyvesant replied to the protest on the seventeenth (twenty-seventh), pretended to believe that the Swedes did not come as "friends and neighbours, but as spies and enemies," since the ship did "not enter through the regular channel, . . . but [through] an unknown passage behind Staten Island." For this reason and in order to retaliate the capture of Fort Casimir, the vessel was placed under arrest. Stuyvesant tried to further vindicate his actions by showing the "justice of his demands," reminding Elswick of the kind of treatment he and his people had received; he did not protest "against Her Royal Majesty's order and authority, but against her officers and servants in this country." Copies of several other documents, verifying the protest from the Dutch point of view, were also enclosed with the letter.²³ On October 26 Elswick sent a counter protest. He endeavored to refute Stuyvesant's claims of the Dutch rights to the land on which Fort Casimir was placed, spurned the idea that they had come as spies, denied entirely that he had asked for a passport for Rising and maintained that it was done on Stuyvesant's initiative. The people, he said, who came over on the *Haj*, were indeed apparently allowed to go where they pleased, but they were persuaded by every means to settle in New Amsterdam so that most of them remained there.²⁴ The protest accomplished nothing, however, and Elswick was compelled to proceed to New Sweden without his ship. The *Haj* remained in possession of the Dutch West India Company; her name was changed to *Diemen* and she was used "for the West Indian trade." But the revenge was not complete; nothing but a recapture of Fort Casimir would satisfy the Dutch authorities.²⁵

²² Copia von mein. Protest., etc., October 16, 1654, N.S., I. (R.A., K.A.); *Doc.*, XII., 80-3.

²³ *Doc.*, XII. 80-3. The protest was signed by the council including Stuyvesant.

²⁴ "Copia," etc., contraprotesties, etc., November 5 (n.s.), 1654, N.S., I. (R.A., K.A.).

²⁵ Rising's *Journal*; *Doc.*, XII. 83, note; Hazard, p. 170.

II.

In April, 1654, it was said that the directors of the Dutch West India Company had in mind to send some two hundred soldiers to the South River to garrison Fort Casimir. There was peace between England and Holland, hence these soldiers would not be needed against the English. Dutch ships were not allowed to trade with the English, but as Swedish ships could buy goods in Holland and sell them in the colonies, it was now thought that the soldiers would be sent to the South River to prevent such trading.²⁶

The friendly relations, that existed between Sweden and Holland in the early days of the colony, had to a large extent disappeared²⁷ and, when the directors heard of the capture of Ft. Casimir, they at once resolved to revenge the act. Consequently they set about making preparations to send reinforcements to Stuyvesant, who had proposed to go to the South River to retake the fortress, as soon as he received orders from his superiors. The directors approved of the seizure of the *Haj* as it weakened the Swedish colony and removed one of the means of resistance. Not only Ft. Casimir, but the entire South River, was now to be captured and in November preparations for an expedition were under way in Amsterdam. "The drum was daily beaten" 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 *De Grootte Christoffel* together with an arquebusier and two carpenters" and the ship, the *Koninck Salomon*, which had been requested by Governor Stuyvesant, was fitted out with all speed so that she could leave for the North River before cold weather set in. Letters were written to the director on November 6 (16), in which he was commanded to "do his utmost to revenge this misfortune not only by restoring matters to their former condition, but also by driving the Swedes at the same time from the river." In case the winter should prevent the sending of ships and new supplies

²⁶ "Ext. ur ett bref," etc., April 29, 1654, N.S., I. (R.A.).

²⁷ Cf. above, Chaps. II., XVII.

and reinforcements, Stuyvesant was advised to proceed to the South River with such power as he could command as it was thought that his forces were "about strong enough for the occupation of New Sweden, especially if the said expedition should be undertaken speedily and before the Swedes were reinforced." No other enemies were now threatening New Netherland and the hope of success was therefore good. He was advised to hire two or three private ships in addition to the *Swarte Arent*²⁸ which was on her way there and to engage "all such freemen as offer themselves 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 reinforcements" in the near future.²⁹ On the thirteenth (twenty-third) of the same month it seems that *De Groote Christoffel*³⁰ was also ready to sail, by which a letter was sent to New Amsterdam with the request that "not only authenticated copies of the conveyance and titles for the purchased lands on the . . . South River, executed in the year 1651³¹ [be sent to Amsterdam] but also all such other authentical documents and papers as may be found necessary for the confirmation [of the company's rights and the establishment] of the indecency of these proceedings [of the Swedes] and the violation of the so lawful possession of the company."³² Some soldiers and a number of colonists were likewise sent over on the vessel.³³

The directors, expecting that the expedition against the Swedes would be undertaken in the early part of 1655 or early

²⁸ *Swarte Arent* (*Zwarte Arend*), the *Black Eagle*. The "*Swarte Arent*" carried the letter to New Amsterdam it seems. If that be so the ship left Amsterdam on or after November 6 (16), 1654. In a letter of April 16 (26), 1655, the directors say: "In our last letter[s] directed to Director Stuyvesant in private and sent by the ships *De Swarte Arent* and [*De*] *Groote Christoffel* . . ." *Doc.*, XII. 88. This would confirm the above view, but in the letter of November 6 (16) it is stated that the *Swarte Arent* is "now on the way," which would seem to indicate that the ship had left the harbor. *Doc.*, XII. 86.

²⁹ *Doc.*, XII. 85-86; Hazard, p. 168-9.

³⁰ The *Great Christopher*.

³¹ The copy in *Doc.*, XII. 87, has the year 1650.

³² *Doc.*, XII. 86-7; Hazard, 170.

³³ Only one freeman, "Jan Paulo Jacquet with his family" is distinctly mentioned in the records, *Doc.*, XII. 87; cf. Hazard, p. 170.

in the spring of that year, were much surprised, when they were informed in a letter of January 12 (22) that Stuyvesant was in Barbadoes and their disappointment was great.³⁴ In April they began anew to make preparations for the long planned attack on New Sweden, 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 called *De Waag*,³⁵ belonging to the burgomasters and council of the city of Amsterdam, was chartered. About 200 men were put on board under command of Captain Frederick de Coninck. The ship was still in the harbor May 21 (31), but it likely set sail soon after this date.³⁶

On several occasions the directors received information from Stockholm that preparations were being made to send a ship to the South River. Having again had news from Stockholm towards the end of May about a new voyage, they earnestly requested the council of New Amsterdam to "hasten so much the more with the expedition" to the Delaware, and not to await the return of Stuyvesant if he was still away from New Netherland, when the *Waag* arrived. In case of the director-general's death or absence from the city the council should open the letters addressed to Stuyvesant and carry out "the orders given therein."³⁷

Immediately upon the arrival of the *Waag* at New Amsterdam on August 3 (13) preparations for the expedition were begun and on the sixth (sixteenth) Stuyvesant, who was ill, issued an order empowering the council and Capt. de Coninck to make all necessary arrangements, while a "Proclamation,

³⁴ Stuyvesant made the expedition to Barbadoes without the knowledge and consent of his superiors. *Doc.*, XII. 89; cf. Brodhead; O'Callaghan.

³⁵ *De Waegh (Waeg, Waagh, Waag), The Scales.*

³⁶ May 26 (n.s.), 1655, it is expressly stated, "after the arrival of this man-o'-war [*De Waag*]," *Doc.*, XII. 90. On May 31 (n.s.) the directors again wrote to the council of New Netherland; it is not known whether or not the letter was sent on the *Waag*, but this is probable. *Doc.*, XII. 90-1.

³⁷ *Doc.*, XII. 88-91. To make sure that the contents of these private letters would become known to the council, copies of them were sent over on the *Waag*, for "the originals might be locked up."

appointing the fifteenth (twenty-fifth) of August a day of prayer and fasting to invoke God's blessing on the expedition," was issued at the same time. A few days later a call for volunteers was published,³⁸ 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 afore-said freedom towards the relief of the general municipal taxes, sixty-five stivers every month." A special commissary was appointed August 9 (19), who should "take care and supervise that all ammunition and victuals needed for the intended expedition . . . be ordered, shipped and properly taken care of."³⁹ On the same date a resolution was passed by the council "friendly to ask some of the merchant-ships . . . [then at New Amsterdam] into the service of the country with the promise of proper compensation for it," but "in case the skip-pers refused, [they should be pressed] into the service . . . with their ships, ammunition, the people with them, provisions and implements."⁴⁰ 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,"⁴¹ Cornelius van Tienhoven and Frederick de Coninck being commissioned to proceed on board the ships, the *Bontekoe*,⁴² the *Beaver* and the *New Amsterdam*, to enforce the orders. Three sloops and a French privateer were hired for the expedition and a loan of "fifteen hundred guilders in black and white wampum" was made by the council to be used on the

³⁸ Dated August 19, 1655.

³⁹ Foppe Jansen was appointed to the position. *Doc.*, XII. 93.

⁴⁰ *Doc.*, XII. 93 (August 19, 1655).

⁴¹ *Doc.*, XII. 95. Besides the two men each ship was ordered to furnish "200 lbs. of codfish, two or three small barrels of groats, one barrel of meat with one barrel of bacon and 300 lbs. of bread, also as much powder as they conveniently could spare."

⁴² The spotted cow.

journey in paying the soldiers or for presents to the natives. Towards the end of August all preparations were made and on Sunday, the twenty-sixth (September 5) the fleet⁴³ set sail "after the sermon."⁴⁴ The fleet consisted of "two battleships, two small [merchant] vessels, two *boyarts*⁴⁵ and a sloop," and it carried a force of "three hundred and seventeen soldiers besides a company of sailors."⁴⁶

Every means was taken to prevent the Swedes from obtaining knowledge about the preparations. Shortly before the expedition left New Amsterdam Edmund Scarborough desired to return to Virginia with his vessel, but permission was given only on condition that he would give bail to the amount of £5,000 sterling not to 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.⁴⁷ These and other precautions were so successful that Rising was not aware of the impending danger before it was almost on him.

Reports of Stuyvesant's preparations reached the Indians, however, who straightway carried the intelligence to New Sweden that "the Dutch were about to come." Rising immediately called the council together, who decided to send two

⁴³ Two pilots, Wessel Gerritsen and Pieter Lourissen, were appointed to lead the fleet to the Delaware, *Doc.*, XII. 95.

⁴⁴ *Doc.*, XII. 91-97; Hazard, p. 180 ff.

⁴⁵ A *bojert* was a small vessel much used in Holland in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. See *Nordisk Fameljebok*, III. 934-5. The *Waag* and the *Spiegel* (*Dolphijn?*) were the two large ships. Lindeström, *Geogr.*, p. 224.

⁴⁶ 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). *Hist. Mag.*, II. 258. Jameson, *Nar. of N. Neth.*, 383.

According to Rising the force consisted of about 600 to 700 men. *Report*, 1655 (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. Lindeström goes further. He says: "Anno 1655 den 30 Aug. kom General Stuyvesant med en armee å 1,500 man stark." *Geogr.*, p. 223. Stuyvesant said in 1664 that there were forty soldiers and 150 to 160 militia, or in all about 200 men. *Doc.*, II. 233, 442.

⁴⁷ *Doc.*, XII. 94.

men to Manhattan to gather news about Stuyvesant's movements. 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." Hans Månsson and Jacob Sprint, however, who had been selected to go to New Amsterdam 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," being ready to sail August 18. Thereupon Sven Höök was again sent down the Bay with some soldiers, 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 he had seen two or three ships in the Bay the previous evening.

In the meantime the forts were repaired and the best preparations possible were made for the defence of the country. On August 16 Sven Skute went to Fort Christina to confer with the director and to receive instructions.⁴⁸ A council of war was called at which it was decided to defend Fort Trefaldighet in case the Dutch should attack it, a written resolution being 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. Provisions were also supplied, 47 bushels of rye, fourteen gallons of brandy, quantities of beer and other necessaries being carried into the storehouse of Trefaldighet within a few days.⁴⁹ The soldiers and freemen were also supplied with powder and other ammunition.⁵⁰

⁴⁸ Elswick's *Relation*, 1655, N.S., I. (R.A.).

⁴⁹ Rising's *Journal*, August, 1655; "Relation öfwer thet ahnfall," etc., Arfwedson, p. 24; Elswick's *Relation*, N.S., I. (R.A.); Rising's "Reck. med Söd. Comp.," Rising's *Process* (R.A.).

⁵⁰ *Schuldt u. Carg. B.*, 1655.

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 made his camp for the night,⁵¹ while his little force was reviewed and divided into five companies, "each under its own colors."⁵² During the night, which was very dark, hiding the manouvers of the Dutch, a sloop was sent up to Sandhook, where a number of Swedish freemen were captured who gave information about the situation in the colony. On August 31 the fleet moved up the river, "passed Fort Casimir 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 as the vessels sailed by, and when Sander Lenertson's sloop, which was in the lead, passed the fort, Peter Lindeström asked the commander if he should fire, but, though all the ships passed within range of the Swedish cannon no orders were given, for Skute, seeing the hopelessness of the situation, wisely withheld orders to fire. The Dutch troops were landed and as soon as possible "the passage to Christina [was] occupied by fifty men" to prevent news from reaching that place. 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

⁵¹ Lindeström relates that "the Dutch made their camp at Fort Elfsborg for the night, where they blockaded [the river] shot and thundered all night." *Geogr.*, p. 224, "Hwarest dee blockade," etc. The meaning of *blockade* is not quite clear. In Swedish it means to blockade, to inclose, but it might be used here in the Dutch sense to "work," "to be busy," etc.

⁵² "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 Dirck 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 Coningcx was ensign-bearer, was sixty-two strong. The major's second company, which was composed of seamen and pilots, with 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."

fort. Smith was met at the river by Lieut. Gyllengren with two musketeers to whom he delivered the orders of his commander, stating that the Dutch had been informed by 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," it was therefore the duty of the Swedes to deliver up the fort to its rightful owners. But Gyllengren informed him that they had received no instructions to that effect and that 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, wishing to write to Director Rising, requested some delay, but it was denied, and Smith returned to the ships with the message that the Swedes would not surrender without resistance.⁵³

In the meantime Stuyvesant landed his artillery and prepared to lay siege to the fortress. Smith was sent a second time with a message, requesting Skute "under cover of the Dutch artillery not to wait the attack of their troops," but to give up the fort. He 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." Smith once more requested to speak with the Swedish commander, which was granted him. He was informed that an armorer would be sent to speak with Stuyvesant and he was told to go to Director Rising with his demands. The armorer, Kämpe, was then sent to confer with the Dutch governor, who requested Skute to meet him for a personal interview, to which the latter agreed.⁵⁴ Thereupon Skute with four musketeers met his opponent in the valley about half way between the fortress and the Dutch battery. The Swedish commander repeated his request of being allowed to send an open letter to Director Rising. This was

⁵³ "Förhör," etc.; *Doc.*, XII. 101 ff.; Hazard, 183 ff.

⁵⁴ Skute says that he was requested to meet Stuyvesant half way between the camp of the Dutch and the fort. But Stuyvesant says that the request came from Skute and the same statement is found in Bogaert's report. *Doc.*, XII. 101; *Hist. Mag.*, II. 258; Skute's Report of the capture to Eric Oxenstierna, August 31, 1655, "Förhör," etc., N.S., I. (R.A.).

denied him, but an hour's delay for a final answer to Stuyvesant's summons was granted. After an hour Kämpe was once more sent to the Dutch camp to ask for a delay until the next morning. This concession was likewise obtained 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.⁵⁵

Skute now encouraged his people and tried to spur them on to make all possible resistance, but the soldiers were mutinous and would not obey orders.⁵⁶ Several escaped over the walls, bringing news to Stuyvesant about the conditions in the fort, and of these fugitives, Gabriel Forsman, who was shot through the leg by Lieut. Gyllengren, as he climbed over the walls, died from the wounds (the only casualty through "the war"). About fifteen soldiers were then placed under arrest, whereupon the remainder were brought back to order and obedience. During the night Anders Dalbo and Karl Julius were sent in a canoe to Fort Christina with reports and a request for aid. Rising encouraged Skute to hold out as long as possible, since help would soon be sent there, but if he was compelled to capitulate to do so on as good terms as possible.⁵⁷

The Swedish commander "did not go to the camp of the Hollanders" on Saturday morning (Sept. 1), as Gov. Stuyvesant had requested, but he sent Anders Kämpe at the appointed hour⁵⁸ in his stead. The Dutch governor, however, insisted on Skute's coming and accordingly a second conference was arranged between the two commanders half way between the fort and the Dutch batteries. Governor Stuyvesant once more de-

⁵⁵ Rising's *Journal*; "Förhöör," etc.; *Doc.*, XII. 101; Hazard, pp. 83-4.

⁵⁶ "Soldaterne . . . , som dock på sistone alle gjorde sigh Rebellyske 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, inclosed with a letter to E. Oxenstierna. The document was discovered by Dr. Malmsten in *Kammararkivet* during the author's visit to Stockholm in 1909. It is now preserved in *Ox. Saml.* (R.A.).

⁵⁷ Skute's report, August 31, 1655; Rising's *Journal*; Lindeström's *Geogr.*

⁵⁸ That is 8 A. M.

manded 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 the Swedish bullets. To this threat Stuyvesant replied that if he lost a man 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 capitulation⁵⁹ were discussed.⁶⁰

In the meantime Rising sent some nine or ten freemen,⁶¹ who had been ordered down from the plantations to help defend the country, to Fort Trefaldighet; but as they were crossing Christina River about forty Dutch soldiers surrounded them, and ordered them to surrender. The Swedes, however, made opposition and a fight ensued, but they were soon made prisoners except two, who escaped across the river in a boat amid a shower of bullets. They 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.⁶²

Finally the capitulation and conditions of surrender between Skute and Stuyvesant were agreed upon and signed on board of the *Waag*. "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."⁶³ The capitulation consisted of four articles which contain two general conditions. In the first place all goods as well as cannon and ammunition, belonging to the New Sweden Company, the Swedish Crown or private persons were to be preserved intact

⁵⁹ Signed the same day, September 1, 1655. *Doc.*, XII. 102. Jameson, *Nar. of N. Neth.*, 384.

⁶⁰ *Geogr.*, Rising's *Journal*.

⁶¹ Lindeström gives the number as 60 or 80 men. *Geogr.*

⁶² Rising's *Relation*, etc. Arfwedson's *De Colonia*, etc.

⁶³ *Geogr.*, p. 230; J. Bogaert's *Relation*, *Hist. Mag.*, II. 258.

and could be removed by the owners at any time; but "all pieces of ammunition, material and other effects belonging to the General Incorporated West India Company" must be delivered into the hands of the Dutch commander; and secondly the garrison was accorded the honors of war. But two important points were omitted; Skute had neglected to insert an article, stating the time of the capitulation and the place to which the soldiers could go after the surrender.⁶⁴

As Skute returned to the fort about 75 Dutch soldiers followed him. Some time between two and four the gates were opened⁶⁵ and the commander marched out of the fort with the Swedish flag and twelve men in full accoutrements as his body-guard, 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 Trefaldighet was again called Fort Casimir.⁶⁶ The Swedish soldiers were then brought on board the ships and a few days later (September 7) they were sent to New Amsterdam on the flyboat *Liefde*, but the officers were placed under guard in the fort in charge of two musketeers each. They were well treated by Stuyvesant, who dined them at his own table.⁶⁷ After the surrender the Dutch forces were given a rest. On September 2

⁶⁴ "Förhörer öfwer Com. Swen Schu[te]," etc., September 24, 1655, N.S., I. (R.A.); *Doc.*, XII. 101; Bogaert's *Report, Hist. Mag.*, II. 258; Lindeström's *Geogr.*; Hazard, 185.

⁶⁵ Lindeström's account is colored and unreliable. He says: "Den 1 September upfordrades andre gången Fort Treefaldigheet igenom en Capitein Lieut. hwilcken Jagh Peer Lindeström blef beordrat till att möta. . ." 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.

⁶⁶ Lindeström says: "Gafs Hollenskt lösen på Fort Treefaldigheet, sedan swarades uthi lägret, och på Skieppen, therefter strax lässades heela umgangen på Fort Treefaldigheet samt uthanwärket, swarades så åter medh alle styckene i lägret och omgång[erne] på Skieppen." *Geogr.*, p. 231.

⁶⁷ Lindeström says: "We who were officers were placed under arrest. Then we went into the fort and a house was placed at our disposal, where we should be by ourselves until further order. In the evening we were very splendidly and well entertained at General Stuyvesant's own table . . . and while we were in their arrest we had nothing to complain of." *Geogr.*, p. 232.

(12) Divine services were conducted in Fort Casimir, after which Stuyvesant reported his success to the council of New Amsterdam, ordering them to appoint "a special day" for offering thanks for the victory.⁶⁸

Meanwhile Rising was making preparations to receive the enemy, if they should pass Fort Trefaldighet. In the early morning of August 31 Elswick visited the settlements northward along the river⁶⁹ and at Kingsessing he called together the colonists, telling 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." He found the people 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. On their way down the river they landed on "Tenakong Island," at which place some soldiers and settlers were collected and from there they proceeded in a boat and two canoes to Christina, where they arrived an hour before daybreak the next morning.⁷⁰

When Rising found that the Dutch were getting the upper hand at Fort Trefaldighet, he sent Hendrick Elswick to enquire what they further intended to do. "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 . . ."⁷¹ He requested us to be satisfied with what we had accomplished, without advancing further upon the other Swedish fort, using at first persuasive and friendly words, afterwards mingled with menaces."⁷² Stuyvesant was on the point of detaining Elswick as a spy, but finally sent him back with the reply that he had come to occupy the whole of New Sweden and that he would

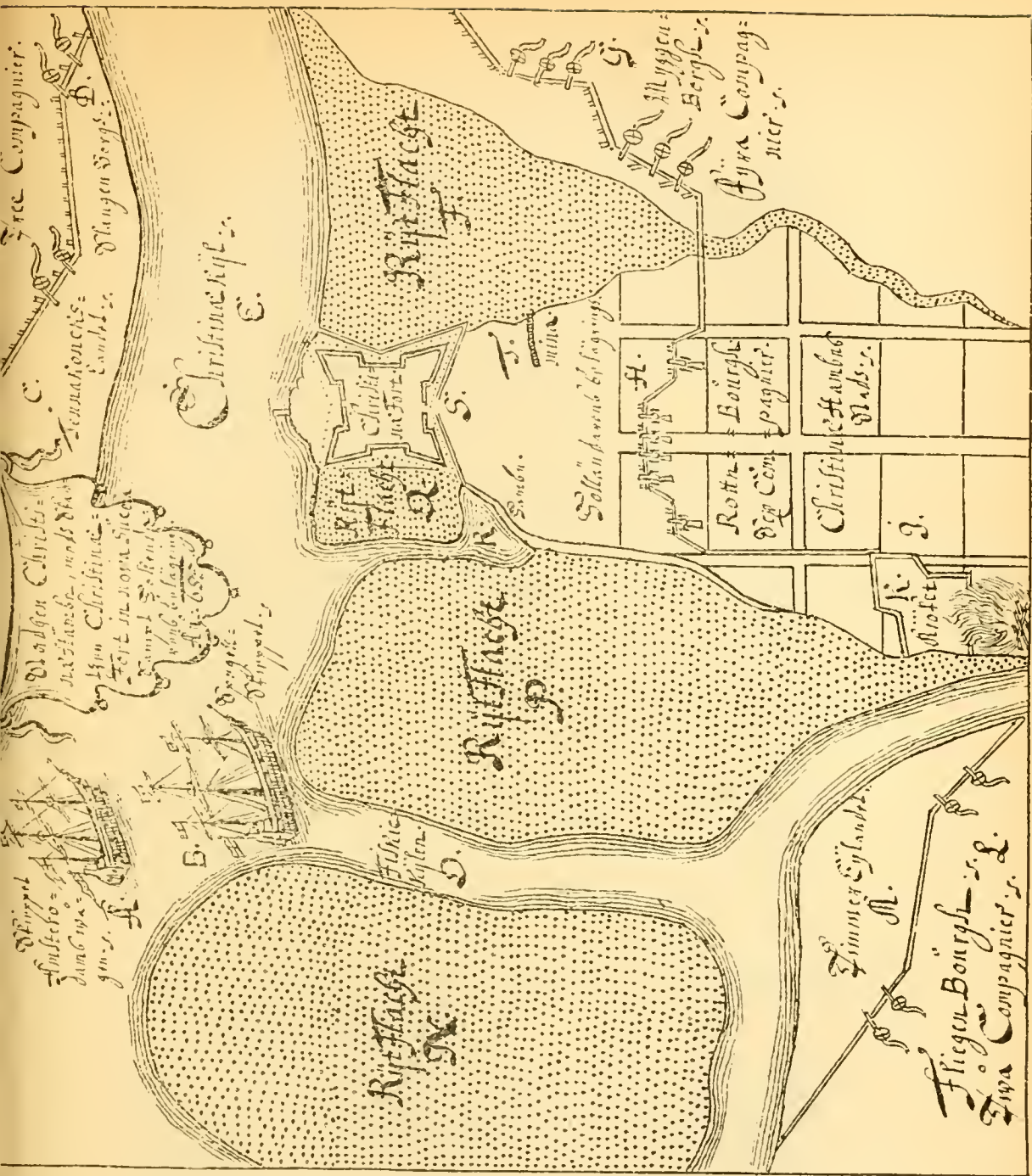
⁶⁸ *Doc.*, XII. 102.

⁶⁹ Upland, Finland and Tenakong (Tinicum).

⁷⁰ Elswick's *Relation*, N.S., I. (R.A.).

⁷¹ Elswick was compelled to wait for two hours before the interview was granted as Skute was on board discussing the terms of capitulation. Elswick, *Relation*.

⁷² *Doc.*, XII. 101.



"Stadhen Christina Hamn medh Skantzen Christina Fort in Nova Svecia Sampt Holländarens belägringh An^o 1655." (The [of] Christinahamn with Fort Christina in New Sweden and the seige of the Hollender, in the year 1655). A. Skieppet Amsterodens wägen" (The ship *Amsterdam's Waag* (scales)). B. Spegell Skieppet (The ship *Spegel* (*Mirror, Dolphyn?*)). C. Tennakoncks lät (the Tennakonck's land), D. Slagen Borgh, Tre Compagnier (three companies), E. Christina Kijl (River), F. Ryt Flacht, G. ggen Borgh, Fyra Campagnier (Mosquito-burg. Four companies), H. Holländarens belägring (the seige of the Hollender), Rottne Borgh, Sex Compagnier (Rat burg. Six companies), I. Christina Hamns Stadh (the city of Christinahamn), K. Kiöket (the kitchen), L. Fliegen Bourgh, Twå Compagnier (Fly-burg. Two companies), M. Timmer Eylandet (Timber Island), N. Ryt Flacht, O. kie Kijlen (Fish Kill), P. Ryt Flacht, Q. Ryt Flacht, R. Hamn (Harbor), S. Christina Fort, T. Mina (mine). From Lindström's *graphia*.

not return before he had accomplished his object. On receiving this message Rising collected all his people in the fort, putting them to work on the walls and battlements day and night. On Sunday, September 2, divine services were held as usual, after which they "worked busily on the fort." During the day an Indian, who brought a pig which he sold in the fort, related that he had seen the Swedish soldiers at Fort Trefaldighet carried prisoners to the Dutch vessels and this disheartened the garrison, but Rising tried to keep up their courage.

On the same day part 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 as 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 took a stand there.⁷³ Before his boat landed he obtained the assurance of the Dutch that he would be received according to the rules governing the treatment of messengers between contending parties,⁷⁴ but he was made a prisoner and sent to Fort Casimir in chains.⁷⁵ During the night the Dutch rushed the work on the trenches to such an extent that their battery was ready on 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 capture all the forts.

On September 5 Fort Christina was surrounded on all sides.

⁷³ Lindeström gives this occurrence on September 6. "On September 6 the enemy demanded the surrender of Fort Christina. Then Lieutenant Sven Höök was ordered by Director Rising to answer [them]." *Geogr.*, p. 233.

⁷⁴ According to the Swedish records.

⁷⁵ It is probable that he offended the Dutch in some way. Lindeström says: "And what words he spoke against the Dutch (för när talet 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." *Geogr.*, 233; 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." Jameson, *Nar. of N. Neth.*, 384-5; *Hist. Mag.*, II. 258.

To the southwest across the river were three companies entrenched around the little batteries with four cannon which were erected there;⁷⁶ at some hundred feet apart to the northwest were four companies and two batteries, each with three cannon;⁷⁷ directly north of the fortress, on the ground laid out for the city of Christinehamn there were six companies with two batteries and six cannon;⁷⁸ on Timber Island, a little to the east of the town, two companies were stationed with two batteries (one "in a new house") and four cannon.⁷⁹ A short distance below the fort the river was closed by the ships *De Waag* and the *Spiegel* (*Dolphijn?*), below which the other vessels were anchored.⁸⁰ As Rising with his people had labored diligently to put Christina in a state of defence, the strength of the fortress had been somewhat increased when the Dutch began to invest it, entrenchments being dug and the walls improved, but provisions were scarce and the director as well as Elswick were obliged to supply various things from their own means. Beer especially was used in large quantities and Rising supplied five barrels of the drink to the soldiers and freemen during the siege.⁸¹

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, demanding the surrender of the fort and the entire river, after which all the Swedes must leave or come under the jurisdiction of the Dutch government. Rising sent a short reply with the Indian, stating that a deputation would be

⁷⁶The batteries, according to Lindeström, were made from sod and protected by gabions and breastworks. It was called "Slangenborg."

⁷⁷These batteries were built out of logs, protected by breast works and gabions. This battery which was nearest the fort (see the map) was called "Myggenborgh" because there was "such a fearful amount of mosquitoes there." *Geogr.*, 234.

⁷⁸The 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 "Rottnborough." *Geogr.*, 234.

⁷⁹The kitchen (see map) was enclosed in a fortified square. *Geogr.*, 234.

⁸⁰*Geogr.*, 233-4. The *Spiegel* given by Lindeström was known under a different name by the Dutch and it was probably the same as the *Dolphijn*.

⁸¹Elswick's *Relation*, Rising's *Journal*; "Reck. med Söd. Comp.," Rising's *Process* (R.A.).

sent to Governor Stuyvesant, which would answer his demands in full. A council of war was then called to decide on the course of action to be taken. The walls of the fort were in poor condition and only one round of ammunition was on hand. Besides the soldiers were out of spirits, some were mutinous, a few had escaped over the embankments and the general condition of the besieged was miserable. Yet there was no thought of surrender at present, but on the contrary it was decided to hold out against the enemy as long as possible. No hostilities should be begun and no occasion for action should be given by the Swedes on account of their lack of means of defence, but all attacks should be repulsed until further resistance was useless when they should surrender on the best terms obtainable.

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 brought their possessions to Printz Hall for better protection, but some Dutch went there also who carried off the property of Madame Papegoja and of the others and broke into the church, taking away "the cordage and sails for a new ship." The Indians also did their share of the plundering, and on September 2 they stole all Clement Mickelsson's goods from his house.⁸²

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 the morning Rising sent a commission to Stuyvesant, who was still at Fort Casimir. The deputation consisted of Hendrick von Elswick, Gregorious van Dyck, and Peter Rambo. A memorial in seven paragraphs was given to them, defining their powers and giving minute instructions as to their procedure. Elswick, who was to give an oral answer to Stuyvesant's demand of surrender, should see that the honor of

⁸²Rising's *Journal*; Elswick's *Relation*; Doc., XII. 105, 109; Records of Gloria Dei; cf. Acrelius, pp. 78-9. "Hausset nu die Hollender sehr übell mit Todtschlagung des Vihes, und plündrung der Heüsser aussen führ dieser Fortresse." Elswick's *Relation*.

the Crown of Sweden and of the Commercial College was respected, that Rising and the other officers were given their proper titles for the honor of their superiors.⁸³ 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 abstain from hostilities on the ground that a continuation of the siege would bring about a break between the two nations in Europe, and as they were closely related in religion they ought to be friends, the country being large enough for both.⁸⁴ Elswick was further to insist that the dispute about the boundaries could better be settled in Europe and lastly he should protest against the imprisonment of Höök.⁸⁵ The deputation presented these remonstrances as well as several other protests, among other things demanding that Stuyvesant should withdraw his troops from the fort at once. To these protests and remonstrances Stuyvesant simply replied that he was following the orders of his superiors who must answer for the consequences.⁸⁶ On September 9 Elswick in the name of his superior was ordered to write a letter to the Dutch governor in which he was to protest 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 at which it was decided that Rising should request an interview with the Dutch governor on the following day, "especially since he had on two successive days . . . demanded a conference" and a messenger was sent to Stuyvesant, informing him of the decision of the Swedish offi-

⁸³ In his letter of September 15 (n.s.) Stuyvesant had not used the proper titles in addressing Rising. See "Memorial," etc., September 6/16, 1655. (Copia) N.S., I. (R.A.).

⁸⁴ Elswick was also to say that Rising would not have attacked Fort Casimir if the gates had been closed, or if the garrison had made the least resistance.

⁸⁵ Elswick went to the Dutch governor in a boat and the conference took place on the *Waag*. It lasted for three hours. Elswick's *Relation*.

⁸⁶ *Doc.*, XII.

cers.⁸⁷ The proposal was agreeable to Stuyvesant and accordingly the two governors met between the fort and the Dutch camp.⁸⁸ "A complete reply was made to . . . [Stuyvesant's] lengthy letter of the previous day" and more vigorous protests were made against his procedure. But they could come to no agreement and Rising returned to Christina to await further developments. On the following day the batteries of the Dutch were brought to completion. Stuyvesant "daily demanded Rising's surrender with great threats" and sent a drummer on the twelfth (twenty-second) and thirteenth (twenty-third) requiring another colloquy with Rising, and demanded that the fort should be surrendered before sunset on the last mentioned day.

Meanwhile the condition of the besieged was daily growing worse, some being mutinous and many being sick. 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 and it was decided to capitulate on the best terms that could be had. At sunset Elswick was sent to Stuyvesant with the reply 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 one another, "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."⁸⁹ Rising was accompanied by Von Elswick and Jacob Swensson and Stuyvesant was followed by Vice-Governor de Sille and Major Friedrich de Coninck. The conference lasted for about an hour. Rising warned his opponent not to press things too far as the conse-

⁸⁷ A letter was sent with the messenger and Elswick presented a copy to the Commercial College in 1656. The message was sent on September 10, Elswick's *Relation*.

⁸⁸ 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*.

⁸⁹ Lindeström's *Geogr.*, 235-6; Elswick's *Relation*; *Doc.*, XI. 106. Rising, omitting the former interview, describes this similarly to Elswick's description of the previous one.

quences 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 capitulation, which had been drawn up 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 which was to be signed by the two governors the following day (September 15)⁹⁰ consisted of eleven articles, containing the following main points: The garrison should march out of the fort to Timber Island with all the honors of war; all property "belonging to the High Crown of Sweden and the South Company . . . in and about Fort Christina" should remain the property of the 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 allowed to dispose of them in any manner they saw fit; the Swedes were to have liberty to

⁹⁰ Elswick's *Relation; Doc.*, XII. 102. Hence it is clear that the agreement to surrender was made on September 14 (24) and not on the fifteenth as Rising says and Acrelius and others state. From Stuyvesant's letter of Friday evening (about 8 P.M.) September 24 (n.s.) it can also be seen that Rising had already agreed to surrender and that only the signatures to the document were necessary. "These few lines are . . . to serve [as an explanation?] to the enclosed capitulation entered into with the governor of Fort Christina, which, if it pleases God, will be signed and take effect to-morrow." *Doc.*, XII. 102. But Rising says: "Altså måste wij den 15 Hujus" (n.s., September 25), etc. "Skickades altså dagen thereafter [September 15] een häröfwer uth till the Hollenske, att wij oss innan försatte terminer skulle betänckia." "Relation," etc., Arfwedson, p. 30. Lindeström says: "The 17th (n.s., 27th) of September we agreed on the terms and signed them." *Geogr.*, 235-6. A manifest error. Cf. Bogaerd's *Report, Hist. Mag.*, II. 589; Acrelius, p. 73 ff.; *Col. of N. Y. Hist. So.*, N.S., I. 443-8; Winsor, IV. 482, and others.



“ Cannon balls dug up from the foundation ruins of Fort Christina.” Benjamin Ferris says of these balls: “When I consider the indubitable genuineness of the treasures — that they are incontrovertibly the deposit of the Swedes before the subversion of their authority on the Delaware in 1655, I think them the greatest curiosity pertaining to the original settlements on the River.” From the Year-Book of the Hist. So. of Delaware, 1901.

leave the country without hindrance and all who returned home should be transported to Gothenburg free of expenses; Rising 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 the Dutch Jurisdiction should be allowed to 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 the other officers during the surrender of the Fort on the Sandhook," and the capitulation should take effect on September 15.⁹¹ "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."⁹² According to this "secret separate article," Rising and Elswick were to be landed either in England or in France, while Stuyvesant promised "to advance to Director Rising either in cash or in bills of exchange the sum of £300 Flanders."⁹³ Goods 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 met on the place of parole. The articles "were re-examined and found to be correct," whereupon two copies were

⁹¹ *Doc.*, XII. 104-5; *Acrelius*, p. 73-5.

⁹² Rising calls the article a "separate treaty." The fact was undoubtedly that the article was not to be made public at the time. It was known to Rising's people to the extent that Elswick and the other Swedish officers present at the capitulation became acquainted with its contents and witnessed the signing of the document. *Doc.*, XII. 110.

⁹³ It is possible that the "secret article" was not agreed upon before September 15 (25). *Doc.*, XII. 106, *Acrelius*, p. 76.

signed and New Sweden was a Swedish colony no more. At three o'clock in the afternoon the little garrison ("about thirty men")⁹⁴ marched out of the fort⁹⁵ "with beating of drums, playing of fifes, flying banners, burning matches, musketballs in their mouths and hand and sidearms."⁹⁶ The soldiers were quartered in the houses on Timber Island, but the officers were lodged in their own quarters in the fort. The Dutch soldiers took possession of Christina as soon as the Swedes departed and the Dutch flag was raised above it.⁹⁷

Stuyvesant was lenient in his demands of the Swedes, but he had special reasons for being so. A few days after he had left New Amsterdam with his forces the Indians attacked several settlements in the Dutch colony, killing scores of settlers.⁹⁸ On September 2 (12), the day after the surrender of Fort Trefaldighet and the date on which Stuyvesant reported his success, the council informed the governor by letter that the Indians had begun hostilities and committed many murders.⁹⁹ They questioned the sagacity of subduing distant places, when they ran 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

⁹⁴ *Relation*, etc., Arfwedson, p. 28.

⁹⁵ 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*.

⁹⁶ *Doc.*, XII. 104.

⁹⁷ Elswick's *Relation*; Rising's *Journal*; Lindeström's *Geogr.*, 235 ff.; *Doc.*, XII. 104 ff.; Rising's *Relation*, etc., Arfwedson, p. 29 ff.; *Col. of N. Y. Hist. So.*, N.S., I. 443 ff.

⁹⁸ 100 men were murdered in nine hours, *Doc.*, XII. 99.

⁹⁹ 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 as revenge. *Geogr.*

advantage on the Delaware.¹⁰⁰ 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 Trefaldighet was captured and before Christina was besieged, it is more than likely that he would have returned to New Amsterdam as soon as possible, 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 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."¹⁰¹ 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).¹⁰² 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 conditions 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 and "the country was large enough for them both."¹⁰³ Rising was naturally

¹⁰⁰ *Doc.*, XII. 98-99. The copy in the *Doc.* is dated September 12 (n.s.), 1655, but in the text it is stated "that in the morning hours of the 15th inst. many armed savages came. . . ." There is a mistake somewhere. Perhaps the 15th inst. is a mistake for the 10th inst.

¹⁰¹ *Doc.*, XII. 100.

¹⁰² It had not arrived on the evening of September 14 (24).

¹⁰³ "In the year 1655, the 15th (25th) of September, Peter Stuyvesant with his officers and entire council came to me, Johan Rising, in Fort Christina . . . and presented an unexpected proposition, namely, if I would let our people go again

surprised at this unexpected turn of affairs. He answered the Dutch governor that the proposition seemed somewhat strange to him. He thought it was too late to come to any such agreements, but he requested Stuyvesant to present the offers in writing and promised that a written reply would be delivered as soon as the Swedish council had considered the matter.¹⁰⁴

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, Lieut. Sven Höök, who had been released, Hendrick von Elswick, Gregorius van Dyck, the gunner, Johan Danielsson, the ensign, Peter Wendell and Peter Rambo, besides some 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.¹⁰⁵ 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

with the flag and occupy the fort and places all the way from Christina Kill [up the Delaware] and let the Hollanders occupy what there was below [Christina Kill] and assure him that the Swedes would never complain about it, but live together [with the Dutch] in good friendship—the country being large enough for both—and we should make an offensive and defensive league." Minutes of the Council for considering Stuyvesant's proposition, September 16, 1655, N.S., I. (R.A.); see also Rising's *Journal*; Elswick's *Relation*, 1655, N.S., I. (R.A.).

¹⁰⁴ Lindeström says: "Den 18 September om mårgonen kom General Styfvesandh inn till oss på Fort Christina medh sitt Träåbeen stylvandes, rächte oss handen, till bödh oss wårt landh igen och all giord skada wedhergiälla willia." *Geogr.*, p. 236.

¹⁰⁵ Gregorius Van Dyck: "In consideration of the above mentioned reasons, [and] of the condition of the country [I] agree with the rest. We surrendered on favourable terms [Stuyvesant now tries] to entice us to go into [the fort] again, our superiors will have injury and disgrace through it, it is therefore best to stand by the capitulation." Report of the Proceedings of the Council, September 16, N.S., I. (R.A.).

fort. After a vote had been taken an answer to Stuyvesant's proposition was drafted by Elswick which was sent to the Dutch governor through two soldiers, informing him that the Swedish council had decided to abide by the capitulation.¹⁰⁶

Arrangements were therefore made by the Dutch to carry out the articles of surrender. When an inventory of the property belonging to the Swedish company and the Swedish government had been made (from September eighteenth to the twenty-second) which was signed and sealed, the keys to the storehouse were delivered to Stuyvesant's servants by the gunner Johan Danielsson.¹⁰⁷

The Dutch soldiers had plundered many of the plantations at Finland and Upland, during the siege, but it is probable that order was restored soon after the signing of the treaty, most of the settlers going back to their homes.¹⁰⁸

An article had been included in the treaty giving Rising the right to inquire into the conduct of the Swedish officers at the surrender of Fort Trefaldighet, and on September 24 a court-martial was held on Timber Island, at which an examination was made into the behavior of Lieutenant Sven Skute.¹⁰⁹ He was blamed for not giving orders to fire on the Dutch ships as they passed, although Lindeström and Stålkofsta stood by the guns ready to apply the match. He was also accused of not taking council with his officers about what was to be done, and Rising told him openly that he had disobeyed his orders, while

¹⁰⁶ The reasons for not accepting Stuyvesant's offer are summarized by Rising as follows: (1) They had no authority to make an offensive and defensive league with him, without the knowledge of their superiors, furthermore it would not be advisable as the Indians had attacked New Netherland while the savages were friendly to the Swedes. (2) They could not guarantee that no trouble would arise from the hostility, attacks and affronts he had made against the colony. (3) It was not to their honor to reoccupy the fort. (4) All pretensions to damages would be waived. (5) They could not subsist in the country since the provisions were gone, most of the cattle butchered, the plantations ruined and their credit with the English destroyed. Rising's *Journal* (Up. B.); cf. Lindeström's *Geogr.*, pp. 236-7; Elswick's *Relation*.

¹⁰⁷ Elswick's *Relation*, 1656, N.S., I. (R.A.); Lindeström's *Geogr.*, pp. 237-8.

¹⁰⁸ Elswick's *Relation*, 1656, N.S., I. (R.A.); Lindeström's *Geogr.*, p. 237 ff.

¹⁰⁹ Lindeström is inaccurate. He gives the date as September 26. *Geogr.*, p. 239.

several other accusations 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 and to make them "fight like men." It seems that Skute had expected to be held to account for giving up the fort, for 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, 1655.¹¹⁰

"Preparations were now made with all diligence for the departure of the Swedes" for New Amsterdam and the restoring of order. Part of the goods 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.¹¹¹ Only a small number of the colonists desired to return to Sweden. Those who remained, however, were obliged to swear allegiance to the Dutch. A "call upon the Swedes to take the oath" was drawn up and nineteen freemen signed the documents preserved to us. It is likely that many of the other inhabitants of New Sweden took the oath later.¹¹²

From September 25 to 29 the baggage of the officers, soldiers and colonists, who desired to return to the fatherland, was loaded upon the Dutch ships and when Rising had gone on board the *Waag*¹¹³ 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), when he was advised by Elswick to visit Governor Stuyvesant in his fort to make complaints about various damages done the property of the New Sweden Com-

¹¹⁰ Report sent by Skute to Eric Oxenstierna, August 31, and letter September 29, 1655, *Ox. Saml.* (R.A.).

¹¹¹ Elswick's *Relation*, 1656, N.S., I. (R.A.).

¹¹² *Doc.*, XII. 106-7.

¹¹³ A salute of five large guns was given, as Governor Rising arrived at the ship. See Elswick's *Relation*; cf. Lindström's *Geogr.*, p. 239.

pany. He also accused Stuyvesant "of breach of 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).¹¹⁴ On the following day Rising replied to the counter protest, denied the accusations made by Stuyvesant, repeated some of his former complaints, "requested in all justice that, according to the capitulation the troops . . . should not be influenced to remain here, 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."¹¹⁵ The protest was delivered to Stuyvesant by Elswick, accompanied by Lieutenant Sven Höök and Peter Hansson Wendell and it seems to have remained unanswered.

Arrangements were now speedily made for the transportation of Rising and his men to Europe, orders concerning their passage and landing being given to the skippers in whose vessels they were to go;¹¹⁶ but the Dutch, who did their best in persuading the Swedes to remain at New Amsterdam, prevailed on most of the Swedish people to locate in the colony.¹¹⁷ The officers and people (37 in all)¹¹⁸ who were determined to leave were finally placed on board three vessels with their baggage, and on October 23 (November 2) they went to sea.

¹¹⁴ Elswick's *Relation*; *Doc.*, XII. 107-8. The protest was brought to Rising's dwelling by the secretary of New Amsterdam, Van Ruyven and "two good men."

¹¹⁵ *Doc.* XII. 109-110; Elswick's *Relation*.

¹¹⁶ *Doc.*, XII. 110. The money promised to Rising was given in two drafts, one on De Cruso of London for 1,000 guilders and the other on Steenwyck for 800 guilders. *Doc.*, XII. 111.

¹¹⁷ Elswick's *Relation*. The people were admonished by Rising and Elswick to return, but to no avail.

¹¹⁸ Elswick says: "35 Personen von uns Volk." He evidently excludes himself and Director Rising, *Relation*, N.S., I. (R.A.). Pufendorf says: "Eodem anno id quoque insensu à Belgis Sveciæ illatum, quod hujus Colonos Nova Sveciæ plane ejecerint, cujus Gubernator Risinguis cum *triginta sex hominibus* mense Decembri Pleimuthensi in portu Angliæ adpellebat." *De Rebus a Carolo Gustavo, etc.*, Liber II., § 85 (p. 120). Cf. Appendix below.

The ships arrived at Plymouth on December 7 (17), whence Elswick wrote to Commissioner Joachim Pötter, giving a brief relation of 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.¹¹⁹ The other passengers continued on their way to Holland, arriving there in January. They were well cared for by Croon, the commissioner of the Dutch West India Company, being lodged and fed by him. Shortly after their arrival Lieutenant Höök made a report before Peter Trozsig at Amsterdam and several officers, soldiers and servants, who had money due to them from the company, according to a list signed by Rising, applied for aid.¹²⁰ Elswick almost immediately set out for Stockholm, where he arrived February 6. On the following day he appeared before the Commercial College, presented a letter from Rising and made a report.¹²¹

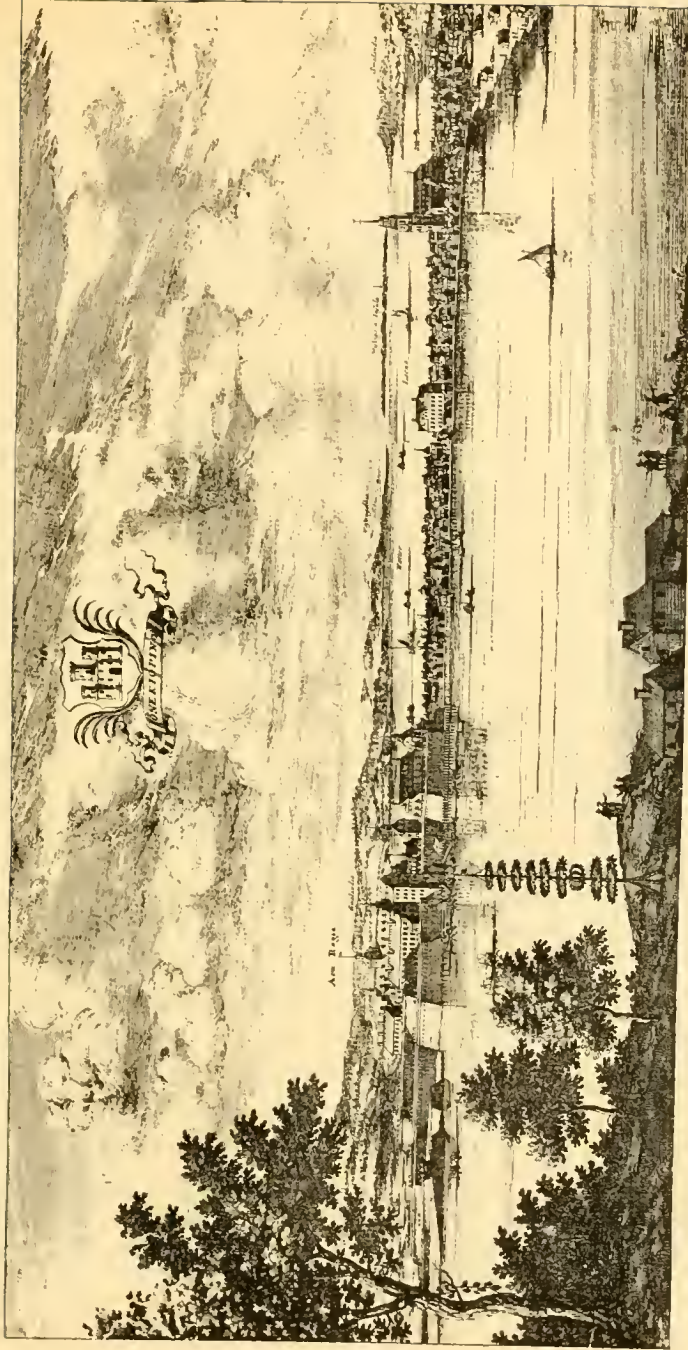
¹¹⁹ Elswick's *Relation*. In Holland Rising's luggage was plundered and his large economic work was destroyed. *Itt Uthogh om Kiöp-Hand.*, etc., p. 7.

¹²⁰ See Lindeström, *Geogr.*, Journal, no. 1448 ff.

¹²¹ Elswick's *Relation*. It is probable also that he was requested to prepare a written report and his Journal or Relation was presented a little later.

BOOK V.

The American Company and the Twelfth Expedition, and
the Swedish Settlements under Dutch Rule,
1654-1664.



Jönköping, where Gov. Printz lived after his return from New Sweden. (From *Svecia Antiqua*.)

PART I.

THE AMERICAN COMPANY, THE LAST EXPEDITION TO NEW SWEDEN AND THE EFFORTS OF SWE- DEN TO REGAIN THE COLONY, 1654-1736.

CHAPTER XLVIII.

THE AMERICAN COMPANY OR THE THIRD REORGANIZATION OF THE NEW SWEDEN COMPANY, 1654-1655.

Shortly after the sailing of the *Haj* Printz and Huygen¹ arrived at Stockholm and made oral and written reports to the Commercial College. The servants and soldiers, who had accompanied the governor, gradually made their appearance in the capital also, relating their experiences and clamoring for pay. The condition of the colony and the urgent need for aid was therefore well known to the authorities and officers of the company and we might expect a period of great activity. Eric Oxenstierna, who continued to be the leading spirit in the efforts to promote the interest of New Sweden, brought the matter up for consideration in the Commercial College, which led to the proposal of certain plans. Already in the previous March, before the sailing of the *Haj*, the company had in mind to send out a new expedition, but there was not a sufficiently large capital in the treasury to make an immediate journey possible and, when the officers, soldiers and other servants presented themselves for aid, the treasury was further reduced.²

¹Printz landed in Gothenburg on April 24, 1654, and Huygen undoubtedly preceded him by a few days.

²Printz to E. Oxenstierna, April 25, 1654, *Ox. Saml.*; Hans Kramer to E. Oxenstierna, May 25, 1654, N.S., I. (R.A.). Several men were paid by Kramer, John Matsson, Pāwel Jansson, Peter Meyer, Peter Andersson, Thomas Jurgensson and Hans Janeke, being mentioned in the Journal among those returning. *Journal*, no. 1180 ff.

The company still³ had claims against the government for several thousand riks daler, but the political situation was not favorable for pressing these bills. The pleasure-loving Queen no longer paid attention to the duties of a sovereign; the state treasury was empty through her extravagances and everything was in confusion.⁴ Under such conditions we can expect no great efforts in behalf of the little settlement on the Delaware. But things were soon to change. Christina surrendered her scepter to the great Charles X.

New life was now put into the machinery of the state and order was restored in the various departments of the government.⁵ The colony was not neglected by the King nor by the Commercial College, which was still the "legal director" of the New Sweden Company. In the autumn the Örn returned from the South River bringing Rising's report and requests for more supplies.⁶ On October 4 letters from Bockhorn and Papegoja, written at Gothenburg, were read at a meeting of the Commercial College and the colony was discussed at several other sessions of that body. The oral and written reports, which were presented by Papegoja and Bockhorn in the autumn, helped to increase the interest in the colony and serious efforts were now made to prosecute the undertaking with more vigor.

Previously the college had made attempts at establishing trade between New Sweden and other places in America. Palbitsky was to request trade concessions from Spain for the Swedish colony on the Delaware⁷ and Israel Lagerfelt,⁸ while on his mission of mediation to England,⁹ proposed that "the navigation and commerce be free, lawful and uninterrupted for

³ See above, Chap. L.

⁴ See *Introduction*, above.

⁵ Cf. above, Chaps. I, III.

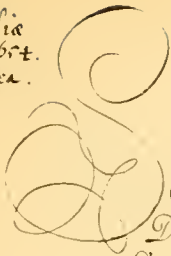
⁶ Cf. above, Chap. XXXIX.

⁷ Cf. above, Chap. II, p. 10. Documents concerning Palbitsky's mission to Spain not referred to on p. 10 are *Com. Col. Reg.*, 1651-1655; Beier to Oxenstierna, March 5, 1652, *Ox. Saml.* (R.A.).

⁸ Israel Lagerfelt (1610-1684) became vice-president in the Commercial College in 1654.

⁹ Sent to England to mediate between England and the Netherlands.

1654.
1st. Upsalæ
8 May 1654.
le Guinca.



ERENISSIMÆ AC CELESTISSIMÆ
Domini Olivarij Domini Protectoris Republicæ Angliæ
Scotiæ et Hiberniæ Earumq; Ditionum atq; eiusdem Republicæ Commissarius
Procurator deputatus, et Legatus Extraordinarius Ego infra scriptus -
Bulstrodeus Whitelockius Constabularius Castellæ de Windsor, et
Unus Custodum Magni Sigilli Republicæ Angliæ, notum, testatumq;
facio quod cum ipso Frederici Tractatu inter predictum Serenissimum
ac Celestissimum Dominum meum Olivarium. Dñum Protectorem
ac Serenissimam Potentissimamq; Principem ac Dominam Dominam
Christianam Dei gratiâ Suecorum Gothorum Vandalorumq;
Reginam, Magnam Principem Finlandiæ Ducem Esthoniæ
Caroliæ Bremæ Verda, Sictini, Pomeraniæ Cassubiæ, et Vandaliciæ
Principem Rugiæ, nec non Dominam Angriæ, et Wimariciæ, &c.
stabilita sit, firma, pax, et amicitia, eidem congruè potissimum iudicari
modum reperit, amovendis nonnullis Subditorum, Populorum ac Civium
intericem gravaminibus, et præcipere materiam et occasionem unde, in
posterum evascentur; Prinde de motis quibusdam questionibus ita cum
predictæ suæ Regiæ Majestatis, Regniq; Suecici Senatoribus ac
Plenipotentiibus Commissarijs Illustrissimis atq; Excellentissimis
Dominis Domino Axelio Oxenstierna, Regni Cancillario
et Iudice, Provinciali Occidentalium Norlandiarum, Lapponiarq;
Herredatiæ, et Lemptiæ, Comite Moræ Australis, Libero -
Barone in Kimitho, Domino in Fiholm, et Tydöen Equite, Aurato
et Domino Erico Oxenstierna, Axelij Generatili, Gyllegij
Commerciorum Præsidi, Comite, Moræ Australis; Libero,
Barone

First page of treaty between England and Sweden concerning the Swedish colonies in America and Africa, Upsala, May 8, 1654. Original preserved in the Riksarkiv. Translated below, p. 753.

Quibus, quorum miserata iungenda, ab iisq; observanda fore, hinc
presens in Commissionis mea in me, integerrime recipio, et,
Subscriptionis manus mea, sigilloq; corrobora. Actum Urbis 8^o
e Mensis Maii Anni 1657.

Bulstrode Whitelocke



Last page of the English-Swedish treaty, signed by Bulstrode Whitelocke.

Her Sacred Majesty of Sweden and all her subjects, generally and particularly, . . . throughout England, Scotland and Ireland as also the islands and ports subject and belonging to the Commonwealth of England in Virginia, New England, Guiney and elsewhere," to which the Council of State replied that the trade and navigation of both nations should be free "except in the Barbadoes and such plantations, ports and places in America, belonging to the Commonweadth of England, whereunto trade and traffic is prohibited without special license, both sides observing the laws, customs and ordinances of each place respectively."¹⁰

In the treaty of friendship made between England and Sweden on April 11, 1654, through Ambassador Whitelocke and Chancellor Axel Oxenstierna, an article was included concerning the trade of Sweden in America,¹¹ and in the special treaty of May 8 the same year¹² it was stated that "the same rule [of friendship and good will] shall also be observed in America between the colonies of New Sweden and of the English so that they may cultivate true friendship and refrain on both sides from injuries and annoyances."¹³ Again in December, when Peter Coyet,¹⁴ one of the officers of the Commercial College,¹⁵ was sent to England, he was instructed to obtain permission from the English government for Swedish merchants to trade in the Barbadoes "and other islands and lands in America." "Lastly he was at the proper opportunity to present the case of the boundaries between New Sweden and Virginia in order that

¹⁰ Council of State to Lagerfelt, July 7, 28, 1653, *Foreign Entry Books*, 151, Pub. Rec. Office. Cf. above, Chap. II., p. 12, notes 16-19; Thurloe, *State Papers*, II. 142-3, 299-301, 314, etc.

¹¹ Treaty Papers, Sweden, 1618-1672, no. 69, Pub. Rec. Office; Whitelocke, *Embassy*. Cf. Mss. 32,093, fol. 320, Brit. Museum; Whitelocke to Thurloe, Upsala, March 10, 1653, *Add.* 4156, fol. 92 (or 51 or 49 all three given). Whitelocke writes: "The Queene is pleased to spend some time to learne English of me."

¹² For discussions which led to the signing of the treaty see Whitelocke, *Embassy*.

¹³ See facsimile and appendix, below.

¹⁴ Peter Julius Coyet (1618-1667) was ambassador to England in 1654-5, Swedish commissioner at Brede in 1667, where he died.

¹⁵ Peter Coyet was now *Assessor* in the college.

certain commissioners might be appointed for this purpose, who should inspect the boundaries and place certain limits and landmarks [between the two colonies], that the good friendship and confidence, which have been renewed and consolidated between the two nations here in Europe, might be transplanted and enlarged [over] there in America, also that a free trade there no less than here might be commenced and established."¹⁶

Nor was the business of the company in Sweden neglected. The officers first of all endeavored to increase the capital stock and since most of the old members had not furnished the full amount of their shares they presented the case to the King. His Majesty, who was very interested in the colony and the company, consequently ordered the Commercial College to remind the stockholders that the remainder should be paid and they were to take more interest in the company.¹⁷

It is probable that Printz in his oral and written reports to the government suggested new plans for the increase of the colonial trade and that he explained the advantages that could be reaped by the company if a monopoly of the tobacco trade should be granted to it so that the tobacco could be brought directly from America. About this time a certain Wahlbeck made proposals for the beginning of such a trade with America and in November he was called into the college, questioned as to his plans and asked "if his intention was to establish a trade in New Sweden."¹⁸ Nothing, however, seems to have come out of it, but the question was not allowed to drop.

Towards the end of 1654 the members of the company made application for a monopoly on tobacco, and on December 23 the King issued a *Privilegium* for "the American Company,"¹⁹ granting to the same the sole right to the importation of tobacco,

¹⁶ "Memorial," etc., December 16, 1654, *Com. Col. Reg.* (1651-55), 1, fol. 43 (R.A.).

¹⁷ R.R., December 23, 1654; Stiernman, II. 783; *Hand. och N ringar. Nord. Saml.* (Up. B.); *Journal*, N.S., III. (K.A.); *Com. Col. Prot.*, April ff., 1654 (R.A.).

¹⁸ *Com. Col. Prot.*, November 8, 1654.

¹⁹ It seems, therefore, that steps had already been taken for the reorganization of the New Sweden Company and that the name was being changed.

“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.” Any one found importing tobacco or selling the same would be fined 40 marks silver money for the first offense, if the amount was not over 20 lbs. (besides forfeiture of the lot imported); for the second offense the fine was doubled, and for the third it was increased fourfold and so on in geometrical progression. If more than 20 lbs. were confiscated, the owner was fined 20 öre silver money for each lb. besides the loss of the tobacco.²⁰

Daniel Junge was appointed factor to fill the place vacated by Bonnell and other steps were taken for the furtherance of the company at this time. Already in 1653 there was some thought of reorganization, but the idea was dropped for obvious reasons. In the beginning of 1655, however, the subject was taken up in earnest. The bookkeeper, Hans Kramer, was appointed treasurer to receive the funds. Letters were written to the heirs of the Oxenstiernas and of Klas Fleming, with the request that they not only pay the remainder of their shares, but that they 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. As a consequence it seems that inquiries were made about the colony and the advisability of investing in the company. An answer to these questions was drafted by Kramer, or some other officer,²¹ familiar with the subject. The document states that there is no country under the sun which could bring greater profits than New Sweden; everything which Sweden must procure from other parts could be raised and obtained there, if the colony could be put on a prosperous footing; for no people in the

²⁰ Stiernman, II, 783-5; “Prev. för dät Am. Comp.,” December 23, 1654, R.R., fol. 2142 (R.A.); *Com. Col. Prot.*, November 8, 1654.

²¹ Kramer, Junge or Strömsköld.

world are more adapted for the cultivation of the soil than the Swedes and the Finns.²² The document was probably distributed in copies to several prospective stockholders.²³

But the result of the efforts for the New Sweden Company were minimized by the activities of the Swedish African Company, which also received the attention of the Commercial College, splitting the energies of that body. In August, 1654, "the African Organization" likewise endeavored to increase its capital from 125,000 R.D. to 300,000 R.D. There was a dividend of 28 per cent. on the old capital and three cargoes had just been sent to Africa, from which it was expected that a gain of 22 per cent. would be realized. New stockholders were therefore assured a large profit and the appeals from the directors of the African Company were probably more effective than the requests for a larger capital for its older sister, the New Sweden Company.²⁴

The activity of the Commercial College in behalf of the New Sweden Company was not in vain, however. Some of the old stockholders increased their capital. Eric Oxenstierna and "his co-heirs" as well as the heirs of Gabriel Gustafsson Oxenstierna increased their subscription by one half and a contract to this effect was drawn up for their signature. Eric Oxenstierna paid in 2,000 R.D., leaving his contribution only 46.38 R.D. short of the amount subscribed and the Countesses Maria de la Gardie and Brita Kurk paid 1,450 R.D. each to the treasurer (or promised definitely to pay), completing their combined share of 4,500 R.D.²⁵ A subscription list was also drafted for new members and Hendrick Huygen²⁶ and the city of Viborg in Finland joined by subscribing 2,000 R.D.²⁷ each,

²² Usselinx expressed similar views. Cf. above.

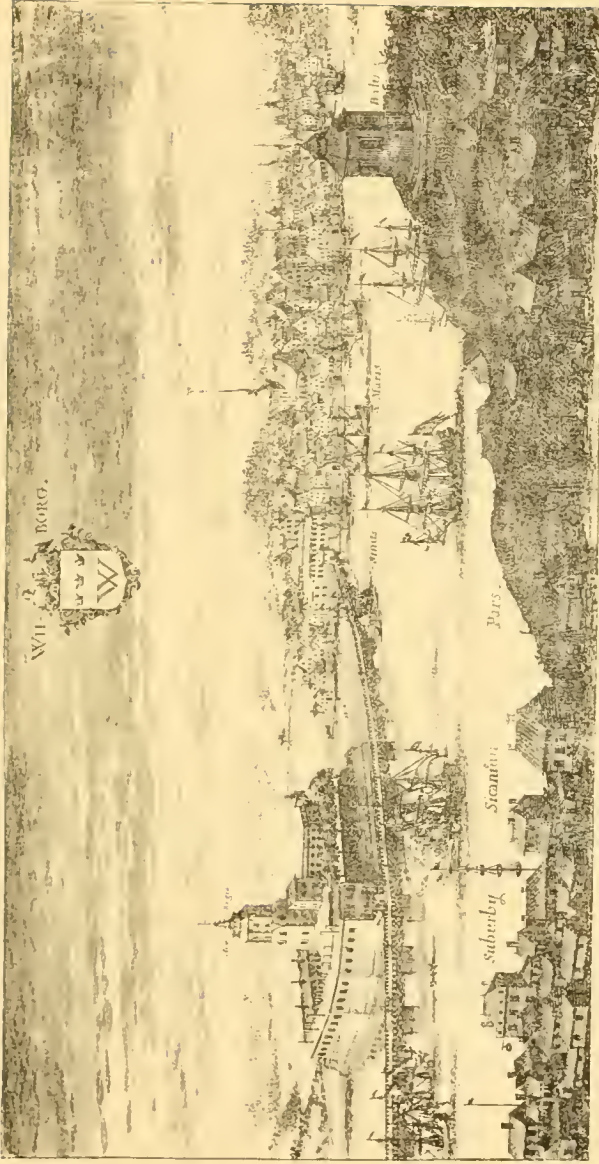
²³ "Swar på een frågan," etc. (no date, but probably from the beginning of 1655), N.S., I. (R.A.).

²⁴ *Com. Col. Prot.*, October 4, ff. 1654 (R.A.); "Swar på een frågan," etc., N.S., I. (R.A.); *Com. Col. Reg.*, August 11 (12), 1654, January 13, 1655 (R.A.).

²⁵ According to later documents, however, it is clear that the total was either not paid up or some of the capital was later withdrawn. Cf. below.

²⁶ The company owed Huygen a large sum on his salary and it seems that he agreed to accept shares in payment.

²⁷ Viborg paid only a small part of this.



Viborg in the seventeenth century. See p. 202. (*Svecia Antiqua.*)

while Strömsköld subscribed 1,209 D. in the beginning of 1655.²⁸

During several sessions of the Commercial College in the beginning of 1655 attention was given to the company and it was decided to send a cargo to the colony as soon as possible. As early as January 13, a letter was written to Trotzig, by order of the King, requesting him to buy a cargo in Holland for about 6,000 florins. Olof Andersson Strömsköld and Hans Kramer were appointed 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 consideration. On February 11 these papers were laid before the college, according to which the Crown owed the company 19,349²⁹ R.D. at the end of 1653, besides the value of three ships, amounting to 12,500 R.D. and some accounts due the company from the Admiralty. But the company had used 28,255 R.D. of the South-Ship Company's capital and it was now proposed that the government should buy up these shares (from the old stockholders?)³⁰ and thus reduce its debt to the New Sweden Company.³¹ The proposals were accepted by the members present and the chancellor himself undertook to present them to the King for his approval.³² At this meeting (February 11) the

²⁸ Subscription contracts for the old and new members (no date but from the beginning of 1655), *Söderk.*, 1637-59 (R.A.); "Fört. uppå part, uti Am. C.," etc. (no date but from 1655); "Gabriel Gustafsons och E. Oxenstiernas . . . Andel i Comp.," etc. (no date but from the beginning of 1655), *Söderk.*, 1637-59 (R.A.); Strömsköld till C. Bonde, October 30, 1658, Rising's Process (R.A.); Journal, N.S., III. (K.A.).

²⁹ The fractions are omitted.

³⁰ It is not clear how the government was to buy the shares or to whom the money was to be paid. Perhaps it simply meant that the government should assume the shares and thus become the principal stockholder. Cf. above, Chap. XXIV.

³¹ Even then the Crown would owe the company almost 3,000 R.D.

³² The account of the government with the company was as follows:

DEBIT.

	Riksdaler.
On December 31, 1653, The Crown was indebted to the company for the sum of.....	19,349: 3:10
The Crown was further indebted to the company for three	

company was fully re-organized, and it is from now on commonly called the *American Company*, although the Official Journal still retains the old name,³³ in some cases, however, using both (thus "the New Sweden or the American Company"). New efforts were also made to raise the capital stock, which in February (1655) was as follows:

	Daler.
The South-Ship Company.....	27,000
The government	9,000
The Countesses Maria de la Gardie and Brita Kurk.....	6,750
Eric Oxenstierna	6,750
The heirs of Klas Fleming.....	2,250
The heirs of Peter Spiring.....	4,500
The city of Viborg.....	3,000
The Commissary Hendrick Huygen.....	3,000
Olof Andersson Strömsköld.....	1,209
Total	63,459 ³⁴

A little later Johan Papegoja writes: "A new company has also been formed, yet along the same lines as the former one, much stronger, however, than it has been before."³⁵ Olof

ships, according to the certificate of the admiralty of August 5, 1646, namely:

The <i>Kalmar Nyckel</i> , estimated at.....	5,000 R.D.
The <i>Fama</i> , estimated at.....	5,000 R.D.
The <i>Charitas</i> , estimated at.....	2,500 R.D.
The Royal Admiralty was indebted to the New Sweden Company on March 17, 1658, for the sum of.....	5,132:40[4] 16/25
Total	36,981:43:14 16/25

CREDIT.

	Riksdaler.
Capital stock of the government in the company.....	6,000
As it was proposed that the government should buy up the stock of the South-Ship Company, 18,000 R.D., and the other money used by the New Sweden Company, 10,255:27 R.D., these sums were credited to the government.....	28,255:27
To balance this account the government is still indebted to the New Sweden Company for the sum of.....	2,726:16:14 16/25
Total	36,981:43:14 16/25

"H. Kongl. Majjt," etc., Mar. 17, 1655; certificate signed by Erich Ryningh, August 5, 1646, *Söderk.*, 1637-59 (R.A.).

³³ There is no break in the Journal.

³⁴ "Fört. uppå part . . ." etc., *Söderk.*, 1637-59 (R.A.) *Journal*, N.S., (K.A.); "Staten," etc. (copies), N.S., I. (R.A.), *Söderk.*, 1637-59 (R.A.); and Rising's *Process* (R.A.).

³⁵ Papegoja to Rising, March 10, 1655, N.S., I. (R.A.).



Seal of Carl X.

A handwritten signature in a cursive script, appearing to read "Carl X Gustaf". The signature is written in dark ink on a light background.

Signature of Carl X Gustaf

Andersson Strömsköld was appointed director with a salary of 600 D. per year (partly because Eric Oxenstierna, who had been the soul and spirit in the activities, was about to go to Prussia). Hans Kramer retained his position as bookkeeper, but he was also to act as a co-director with Strömsköld and he signed the letters, instructions and other papers together with him. The new budget of the company at Stockholm was estimated as follows:

	Per Month.	Per Year.
One director	50 D.	600 D.
One bookkeeper	37½ D.	450 D.
One office boy	8⅓ D.	100 D.
Office rent per year.....	60 D.	
Eight cords ³⁶ of wood.....	12 D.	
Two <i>lispund</i> (18 lbs.) of light (candles).....	6 D.	
Three reams of paper.....	18 D.	
For ink and sealing wax.....	6 D.	
		102 D.
		1,252 D. ³⁷

A new budget was also made for the colony (including the following officers and servants):

MILITARY OFFICERS AND SERVANTS.

	Per Month.	Per Year.
1 Commandant	75 D.	900 D.
1 Captain	36 D.	432 D.
1 Lieutenant	24 D.	288 D.
1 Ensign	18 D.	216 D.
1 Guard	15 D.	180 D.
2 Contaples, @ 8 R.D., who are also to be armorers, each in his fort.....	24 D.	288 D.
1 Corporal	9 D.	108 D.
1 Drummer	7½ D.	90 D.
36 Common [soldiers] @ 4 R.D.....	216 D.	2,592 D.
1 Provost-marshal	9 D.	108 D.
1 Executioner	6 D.	72 D.

CIVIL OFFICERS.

2 Clergymen @ 10 R.D.....	30 D.	360 D.
1 Head commissary who is to manage the trade and the bookkeeping	30 D.	360 D.
1 Fiscal who is also to be the adjutant of the com- mandant	12 D.	144 D.

³⁶ "8 fambnar," *Famn*, cord, 128 cubic feet (Eng.).

³⁷ *Com. Col. Reg.*, January 13, 1655; *Journal*, N.S., III. (K.A.); "Memorials, 1655, den ult. feb.," etc., *Rising's Process* (R.A.); "Staten," etc. (copies), N.S., I. (R.A.), *Söderk.*, 1637-59 (R.A.), and *Rising's Process* (R.A.).

628 THE SWEDISH SETTLEMENTS ON THE DELAWARE.

1 Barber-surgeon	15	D.	180	D.
1 Engineer, who is also the secretary.....	12	D.	144	D.
1 Assistant commissary, appointed to be at the Horn Kill	12	D.	144	D.
Grand total	550½	D.	6,606	D. ³⁸

The salaries and wages of the officers and servants of the new company in Stockholm and in New Sweden were therefore estimated at 7,756 D. (including office rent and the like 7,858 D.), but this does not include all the officers that were employed in the colony. The reports and letters of Johan Rising seem to have pleased the authorities at Stockholm and he was appointed *Commandant* of New Sweden.³⁹

About this time or a little later a new charter was drafted in several respects resembling that given to the "Old South Company." Only the company or those authorized by it had right, according to this octroy, to sail to the North American coast north of *Nova Spania*, or to trade there on pain of forfeiting goods and ships, and, as the territory of New Sweden was the property of the company, no one could settle there without the consent of the same. All the officers and servants were to be appointed and paid by the company, but the appointment of the governor was always to be ratified by the Crown and 1,000 R.D. were to be paid into the state treasury as often as the selection of a governor was affirmed. The company was granted the right to build cities and forts, to provide for the administration of political and judicial affairs and to grant privileges to cities and communities; it was at liberty to import duty-free raw material from America for the supply of manufacturing establishments that might be founded in Sweden and all goods manufactured there could be exported for ¼% duty, but usual duty was to be collected on all goods bought and shipped out of the kingdom; the ships built in the colony would have the same privileges as those built in Sweden; the company had the power to give privileges to others to sail to its waters

³⁸ "Staten," etc. (copy), N.S., I. (R.A.) and *Söderk.*, 1637-59 (R.A.).

³⁹ "Fullmacht för Wälb. Johan Rysingh at wara commendant uthi Nya Swerige," July 30, 1655. *Com. Col. Reg.* (R.A.); cf. above, Chap. XLI, appendix, below.

for the purpose of trade by paying a certain duty; it could import tobacco by paying only 2 öre per lb.; it could call upon the government for the aid of soldiers and officers, whose salaries and wages were to be paid by the company, and finally it could make treaties and compacts with the people with whom its people and officers came in contact, whether they were savages or Christians. The company was to labor for the conversion of the heathens and the Augsburg Confession was to be maintained and lived up to in the colony, but other creeds were also to be tolerated. Swedish law and order was to be maintained, observed and administered, and from the judgments that were pronounced (which the governor was to execute) there should be no appeal. The sovereignty of the Swedish government was to be acknowledged and all the inhabitants of the colony should swear allegiance to the Crown as well as to the company. The King also guaranteed that no ships, ammunition or cannon would be taken for the use of the government, unless it was absolutely necessary for the welfare of the kingdom and then only on certain conditions.⁴⁰

The charter (or copy of the same), as we have it, is dated May, 1655, but it is evidently drawn up somewhat earlier. The copy is not signed by the King, nor is the charter entered in the Royal Copy Book,⁴¹ as far as the author has been able to find; but this is no certain proof that it was not issued by His Majesty, for all royal documents and letters were not copied into the Copy Book.⁴²

During February and March there was much activity in behalf of the company and the colony. Kramer made a report on the condition of New Sweden and he and Strömsköld were busily engaged, trying to place the company on a firm basis, while the Commercial College continued to discuss its business.

⁴⁰ Privilegium för Amerikanska Compagniet, May, 1655, N.S., I. (R.A.) Sprinckhorn (p. 61) says, that it was "utfärdat af Konungen i Maj, 1655," but the copy we have is not signed by the King and we have no means of knowing when it was *utfärdat* or if it was issued at all. Cf. Dr. Keen in Winsor, IV. 477.

⁴¹ Nor was the charter printed.

⁴² *Riksregistraturet* (R.A.).

It was also decided to appoint a special factor in Gothenburg to look after the interest of the company there and the position was offered to Ulrick Steinkamp, who accepted the same. No salary was connected with the office, but he was to have "a reasonable commission."⁴³

⁴³Steinkamp to Kramer, July 6, 11, 1655. *Söderk.*, 1637-39 (R.A.); *Com. Col. Prot.*, March 15, 1655 (R.A.).

CHAPTER XLIX.

THE TWELFTH OR LAST EXPEDITION, 1655-1656.

Preparations for a new expedition were now begun in earnest. On February 12 it was decided that a ship should be bought in Holland. At a meeting four days later letters from Rising and Elswick¹ were read, relating to the capture of the *Haj* and repeating the former requests for aid and reinforcements. These letters gave renewed vigor to the activities. Kramer and Strömsköld were commanded to write to Trotzig, requesting him to buy a ship, provisions and goods and a letter was sent to the latter informing him of the above decision and of the fact that new directors had been appointed for the company. A letter from the directors dated February 17 was sent in the same package with the request that the commissary should 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-sail," besides provisions and goods. He was also to hire a mate and sailors.² About the same time negotiations were begun with Hans Macklier for the purchase of a ship belonging to him and some other proprietors.³ But Admiral Anckarhjelm, who was requested to inspect the ship, reported that it was "not suitable for such a dangerous passage" and the sale was not effected.⁴

Trotzig, however, lost no time in executing his instructions. It seems that he was unsuccessful in finding a new ship for sale,

¹Rising's letter dated September 23, 1654, and Elswick's letter from New Amsterdam. Cf. above.

²"Memorial," etc., Rising's *Process* (R.A.); letter to Trotzig, Jan. 13, Feb. 17, 1655, *Com. Col. Reg.* (R.A.); Strömsköld and Kramer to Trotzig, February 17, 1655, *Com. Col. Reg.* (R.A.); *Com. Col. Prot.*, January 3 ff., 1655.

³Cf. below.

⁴The *Com. Col.* to Anckarhjelm, April 14 and June 30, 1655, *Com. Col. Reg.* (R.A.).

answering the requirements of the directors, but instead he bought an old one (*Mercurius*), at Saardam,⁵ which "he caused to be built anew entirely." A cargo was also obtained and loaded upon the vessel, which was dispatched to Gothenburg as soon as it was ready, where it arrived some time in July. Anckarhjelm had been requested to take charge of the vessel and he and Kramer managed the preparations of the expedition.⁶ The ship was leaking as it came into port, making it necessary to unload the cargo and careen her. Further inconvenience was caused by the skipper, David Fredricksson, who deserted, taking charge of a Dutch vessel. Several sailors were also needed and Anckarhjelm found it very difficult to secure a sufficient crew, but some Danes and Swedes were finally hired. About the middle of August the ship was again in a condition to receive its cargo of goods, brought from Holland and purchased in Gothenburg and elsewhere. Stones were brought on board as ballast instead of the sand in the ship, "as sand was not serviceable on so long voyages." Thus while Stuyvesant was slowly advancing on the forts of New Sweden the company was making strenuous efforts to send out a large expedition.

Neither cannon nor ammunition could be obtained at Gothenburg, "even if we would pay their weight in money," writes Anckarhjelm. Ten iron cannon (valued at 380.38 R.D.), 500 lbs. of powder (valued at 125 R.D.) and 500 balls (valued at 22.39 R.D.) were therefore purchased by Kramer in Stockholm. Kramer also bought provisions and other material for the journey at Västervik and hired a new skipper at the capital. The cannon and other goods were sent by sea on a sloop, which left the city about the end of August with Hendrick Huygen, Jon Hindricksson, the skipper, a barber-surgeon and several colonists on board. But the sloop encountered unfavorable weather and did not arrive at Gothenburg before October 4,

⁵ Saardam, Zardam, Zaardam or Zaandam, a town $5\frac{1}{2}$ miles northwest of Amsterdam, on the Zaan.

⁶ Kramer wrote to Anckarhjelm at short intervals, giving orders, etc., and the latter kept the officers of the company informed of the progress of the preparations. See Anckarhjelm's letters to Kramer, 1655, N.S., I. (R.A.).

delaying the expedition. The *Mercurius* was almost ready to sail about the middle of September, but nothing could be done before the sloop appeared. As soon as the sloop had arrived Anckarhjelm made great efforts to get the ship to sea. Sixty-six barrels of salt, shoes, cloth, four grindstones, nets, and various other articles were brought on board.⁷

Some efforts seem to have been made to gather colonists. On October 5 Anckarhjelm writes that "six families have come from Lytestegen (?)⁸ in Värmland, as the enclosed list shows, who relate that 80 persons small and big will come from other places in Värmland."⁹ Gradually these colonists arrived in Gothenburg and on October 10, some 64 had made their appearance, which number had swelled to about 200 a few days later. Kramer warned the admiral, however, not to allow too many people to go on board, that no sickness might arise as it happened in the case of the *Örn*, and advised him in one letter after another that the ship be made ready and sent off. Towards the end of October the cargo was all on board, but a larger stock of provisions was necessary than at first estimated on account of the increased number of emigrants, and the most desirable colonists to the number of 85 were selected from the whole (one hundred and ten being originally admitted, but in accordance with the warning of Kramer the number was reduced). "A hundred persons or more were left behind" and "it is a pity and shame that they cannot all go along," writes Papegoja. "Here was seen such a lamentation and weeping, for the unfortunate ones have sold all they possessed, yea [they have] done away with home and ground for half of the value,

⁷ The Com. Col. to Trotzig, May 5, 1655, and the Com. Col. to Anckarhjelm, June 30, July 28, 1655, *Com. Col. Reg.* (R.A.); Anckarhjelm to Kramer, July 20, 25, August 3, 10, 17, 24, September 8, 15, 26, 28, October 3, 5, 1655, N.S., I. (R.A.); "Reck. för kom. för Mer.," 1655; R.A. "Förslag," etc., 1655, *Söderk.* 1637-59 (R.A.); "Förslag hwadh Skeppet Mercurius," etc., N.S., I. (R.A.); "Räck. uppå dett, som . . . Mercurius," etc., N.S., I. (R.A.); *Journal*, no. 1246 ff.; Com. Col. Prot., January 3, March 15 ff., 1655 (R.A.).

⁸ There seems to be no place by that name in Värmland now. *Letstigen* is the old road between Nerike and Värmland from Örebro via Quistbro, Svartå, Nysund (where it crosses the *Let River*) and Visnum to *Christinehamn*.

⁹ Anckarhjelm to Kramer, October 5, 1655, N.S., I. (R.A.).

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."¹⁰

Contrary winds delayed the vessel about a month after it was ready to sail, causing great expense, for the people had to be housed and fed in the city by the company. About the middle of November the wind began to be favorable, and the colonists were reviewed and brought on board. Some changes were made and the list was increased to 110 people (twelve of these being old settlers),¹¹ making 130 souls on the ship including the sailors.¹² The majority were "Swedish Finns" and, since Papegoja did not understand the Finnish language, he engaged one Hendrick Olsson, who had been in New Sweden before, to assist him. Hendrick Huygen went to the colony as head commissary and he had charge of the ship. A clergyman, Rev. "Mathias,"¹³ and the barber-surgeon, Hans Janeke were also among the passengers. Johan Papegoja was appointed as commander of the people and to his care were intrusted the appointment of Rising as commandant and other documents.¹⁴ Johan Classon Rising, the younger, 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,¹⁵ but on Sunday the wind became contrary again. Here

¹⁰ Papegoja to Kramer, November 2, 14, 1655; Aneckarhjem to Kramer, October 10 ff., 1655, N.S., I. (R.A.).

¹¹ Who had been in New Sweden before.

¹² A classified list of the colonists was made by Huygen as follows:

Officers and old servants.....	9
Swedish women	2
Swedish maidens	2
Finnish men, old and young.....	33
Finnish women	16
Finnish maidens	11
Finnish children from 12 years and thereunder.....	32

Total

Huygen to Kramer, no date but end of November, *Söderk.*, 1637-59 (R.A.).

¹³ On the authority of Acrelius. It is not certain that he was on the ship, however.

¹⁴ Cf. above.

¹⁵ Sprinchorn (p. 62) says the ship set sail on October 16.

she remained for over a week. On the twenty-third she "again set sail before noon, with a lot of other ships," but winds and fog again delayed the ship for two days. On November 25, however, the wind was at last favorable and the *Mercurius* left port for its long journey across the Atlantic. In a bill preserved to us the cost of the expedition is itemized as follows:

		Riksdaler.
The cost of the ship <i>Mercurius</i> in Holland.....	R.D. 5,383:14	
The cargo bought in Holland.....	2,569:36	
Provisions bought in Holland.....	33[1]:[3]0	8,284:32
Guns and ammunition from Stockholm.....		528:29
Wages paid in Stockholm		345
Cargo bought in Gothenburg.....	D. 4,244: 9	
Monthly wages for the people.....	D. 3,114:21½	
Provisions consumed in Gothenburg and on the journey	D. 1,716:30	
For the preparation of the ship.....	D. 1,911: 1½	
	D. 10,986:30	2,746:35
Sixty-six barrels of salt bought in Stockholm.....		165
For the wages of the sailors, who were discharged in Gothenburg and other expenses		1,344:45
Total		13,414:45 ¹⁶

The ship was at sea nearly four months, but the journey 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), 1656.¹⁷ After obtaining a large cargo of tobacco, the ship set sail for Europe in the summer and arrived at Gothenburg on September 6, 1656. Some time later she proceeded to Stockholm.¹⁸

¹⁶ "Rech.," etc.; "Förslagh," etc., *Söderk.*, 1637-59 (R.A.).

¹⁷ In my copy of Papegoja's letter concerning the events, the date is April 14 (24), which is manifestly an error for March 14 (24).

¹⁸ Letters from Anckarhjelm to Kramer (and Strömsköld) October 10, 17 (inclosing a list), 26, November 2, 7, 14, 16, 20, 23, 28, December 3 (ca.), 1655, N.S., I. (R.A.); letters from H. Huygen to Hans Kramer, November 20, November (end of month), 1655, July 11, 1656, *Söderk.* (R.A.), to Amiralitetet, November 25, 1655, N.S., I. (R.A.); Papegoja to Kramer, Nov. 2, 1655; Papegoja to E. Oxenstierna, July 30, August 9, 1656, N.S., I. (R.A.); P. Meyer to Kramer, July 20, November 6, 1655, *Söderk.* (R.A.); J. Hendrickson Lange to Kramer, November 20, 1655, *Söderk.* (R.A.); *Com. Col. Reg.*, July 30, 1655, fol. 16 ff.; "Räckning," etc., November, 1655, N.S., I. (R.A.); "Rechnung von dem . . . Mercurius," etc., July 12, 1655, N.S., I. (K.A.); "Rechnung inleef. aff He.

Rising's relations and letters of June 14, 1655, as well as Elswick's letter of June 16 reached the Commercial College about the time or shortly after, the sailing of the *Mercurius*. These documents led to conferences of the interested parties and on November 30 the officers of the college, ignorant of the calamity that had befallen the colony and that Rising was approaching the shores of Europe, wrote a letter to the director in answer to his own. Rising was advised to cultivate tobacco with all zeal, to strive to make the country feed the people, and to treat the Indians in a manner that he should be able to monopolize the fur trade. He was admonished eventually to give up trading with the English, for their friendship in the end would prove of more value to the colony than their trade, and he was especially to refrain from issuing drafts. He was assured of additional cargoes at an early date. Merchandise for a new expedition would be bought in the spring and efforts would be made to settle the disputes about the limits of the country through diplomatic channels. The directors also wrote to him. Their letter as far as the author is aware has not been preserved, but it was probably somewhat similar in contents to that of the college. On the following day (December 1) the college sent copies of Rising's letters to Christer Bonde,¹⁹ the Swedish ambassador at London,²⁰ with the reply of the college and a letter to the ambassador at the request of the directors, instructing him to try to effect some settlement "in the disputes about the limits and titles of land in America, so that no confusion may arise from it in the future."²¹

Rentmäst.," etc., November 19, 1655, *Söderk.*; "Räck. uppå dett, som . . . Mercurius," etc., N.S., I. (R.A.); "Förslagh, hwad skeppet Mercurius," etc., 1655, N.S., I. (R.A.); "Rulla," etc. (October 5, 1655), N.S., I. (R.A.); *Journal*, nos. 1320 ff., 1401 ff.; P. Andersson and P. Jansson to Strömsköld, July 20, 1655, *Söderk.*; Steinkamp to Kramer, July 6, July 11, 1655, *Söderk.*; *Doc.*, XII. 120 ff.; "Kort Relation"; "Memorial," etc.; "Kort Memorial om Com. . . . Rising," etc.; "Eftersköfne saker ähre," etc., Rising's *Process* (R.A.).

¹⁹ Christer Bonde (1621-1659) became president of the Commercial College after Oxenstierna's withdrawal.

²⁰ Cf. above, p. 12.

²¹ Letter from the Com. Col. to Rising, November 30, and to Christer Bonde, December 1, 1655, *Com. Col. Reg.*, fol. 35 ff.

CHAPTER L.

THE TOBACCO TRADE OF THE AMERICAN COMPANY, 1654-1658.

The tobacco trade had again begun to attain some importance and the government, as we have seen, aided the company by granting special privileges. "The Tobacco Ordinance" was printed and sent to the governors and magistrates and other local and government officials throughout the kingdom. Special letters were also sent to the collectors of customs and others.¹ The tobacco brought over on the *Örn* was bought by the company, relieving Rising of the lot, and sold by the factor, Daniel Junge. The 11,056 lbs., which Printz brought to Holland for the company, had been sold there, but at a loss of 573 *daler*.² Several thousand pounds were also purchased by Trotzig in Holland and sent to Sweden, where it was sold by Junge.³

In February, 1655, Daniel Junge, the factor (now also the treasurer), offered to pay the company 16,000 R.D. for the exclusive right of selling the tobacco in the kingdom, but no arrangements were made.⁴ Junge also imported tobacco from Hamburg and Amsterdam for the Swedish trade, and from the time the company received its new privileges (December, 1654) until the end of February, 1656, 15,390⁵ lbs. of raw tobacco were sold, but "the spinning," which played such an important role in 1648-52, was continued and 15,950 lbs. were

¹ *Com. Col. Reg.*, November 9, 1655, etc. (R.A.).

² It was sold by Trotzig. *Journal*, nos. 1178-80, 1213 ff. "Memorial," etc., Rising's *Process* (R.A.).

³ *Journal*, N.S., III. (K.A.).

⁴ "Memorial," etc., d. 11 Feb., 1655, Rising's *Process* (R.A.).

⁵ The 15,390 lbs. were sold for 17,363 D. 24 öre. "Förteck," etc., *Tobaksk.*, 1643-59 (R.A.).

spun, of which 7,527 lbs. had been sold in February, 1656, for 11,290 D.⁶

Much smuggling was done, however, and in January, 1656, Daniel Junge was sent to the cities to establish and "organize the tobacco trade according to the Royal Mandate"; but the effects of his efforts were not gratifying, for illegal importation continued⁷ and "at Narva and Nyen they refused point blank to live up to the orders of the King."⁸ Soon reports of the capture of the colony reached Stockholm and relations of Rising, Lindeström, Elswick and others were presented. The finances of the company were now in a deplorable state. Large sums were demanded by the returning people and there was little in the treasury to pay them. Several loans had been made which drew an interest of ten per cent. and the company still owed Trotzig some 2,000 R.D. for the provisions and the cargo bought by him.

In the early summer of 1656 Strömsköld went to Prussia, where he met Rising and Eric Oxenstierna. He also carried with him new proposals for aiding the American Company, put forth in a letter from Kramer and Junge. The company could be kept going by securing new stockholders, but an effective means would be to grant new privileges, giving the company exclusive right to sell the tobacco as well as to import it. In the autumn of 1656 the Commercial College complained to the King about the matter and requested him to grant sole right to the company to sell the tobacco also, so as to increase the income of the Crown.⁹

But the privileges were not granted. To aggravate matters Isaac Allen, the factor of Richard Lord, appeared at Stockholm and presented the draft of 2,196½ R.D. The Com-

⁶ *Journal*, no. 1380 ff.; "Förteckning," etc., 1656, *Tobaksk.*, 1643-59 (R.A.), also in N.S., I. (R.A.); "Extract," etc., ult. Nov., 1656, *Tobaksk.*, 1643-59 (R.A.).

⁷ Until August 7, 1656, over 8,000 lbs. were confiscated by Von Klaen, "Extract," etc., *Tobaksk.*, 1643-59 (R.A.).

⁸ The Com. Col. "Fullmacht för . . . Jungh," etc., January 4, 1655; the Com. Col. letter to the Gov. General of Lifland, February 8, 1656, *Com. Col. Reg.* (R.A.).

⁹ The *Com. Col. Reg.* (R.A.).

mercial College ordered the company to pay the draft as well as the salary of Elswick and the duty on all imported tobacco. By strenuous efforts the bills were paid, but the treasury was now empty. Daniel Junge and others advanced money for buying tobacco and even made use of their personal credit. The *Mercurius* returned safely with several thousand lbs. and thus the trade went on as before.¹⁰

But the demand for some reason was not as large as the directors had hoped for. In December, 1656, Daniel Junge and Ulrick Steinkamp, the factor of the company in Gothenburg, had sold 37,299 lbs. of tobacco, but 39,888 lbs. were yet unsold in the storehouse at Stockholm. The importation continued, but the duty became a burden and complaints were made to the Commercial College. In the autumn of 1657 the college resolved that only 2 öre per lb. should be paid in duty and the excise paid by the company before that date was reduced by one half—making a difference of more than 2,700 R.D. for the years 1655 and 1656.¹¹ From 1655 until the end of 1658 the company imported 107,914 lbs.¹² and paid over 4,495:68 R.D. in duty.¹³ Illegal importation, however, increased, making it more difficult than ever to sell the tobacco and one of two things became necessary—the dissolution or the reorganization of the company.

¹⁰ Letter from D. Junge and H. Kramer to E. Oxenstierna, May 3, 1656; "Kort Relat.," etc., 1653-59, Rising's *Process*; "Erkauf. Tob.," 1655-56, *Tobaksk.*, 1643-59 (R.A.); the Com. Col. "till Kongl. Maj., December 6, 1656, *Com. Col. Reg.*; the Com. Col. "till Direk.," December 12 and other dates, 1656; Elswick's letter of September 12, 1656, Rising's *Process* (R.A.).

¹¹ R.R., July 16, 1656; the *Com. Col. Reg.*, July 24, 1657; the Com. Col. "till Am. Com.," July 31, 1656, *Tobaksk.*, 1642-59 (R.A.); *Journal*, 1300 ff. (K.A.).

¹² 6,012 lbs. were imported directly to Viborg in Finland in 1655. "Am. Comp.," etc., N.S., I. (K.A.); "Specification," etc., 1655-1660, N.S., I. (K.A.).

¹³ The tobacco imported for the different years from 1655 until 1659 was as follows:

1655	28,758 lbs.
1656	36,398 lbs.
1657	19,201 lbs.
1658	23,557 lbs.
Total	107,914 lbs.

CHAPTER LI.

THE AMERICAN TOBACCO COMPANY, 1658-1662.

The colony was lost, but the tobacco trade, which had proven itself the most profitable, could still become a source of large gain to the stockholders, if placed on a practical basis. The remedy proposed for the existing evils and drawbacks was the re-organization of the company, the extension of its activities and a monopoly of the tobacco trade in the kingdom as well as the exclusive right of importation. The suggestions now met with the approval of the King and in the spring of 1658 the company was re-organized along the above lines.

On May 22, 1658, the King published a "*placard* concerning the importation and trade of tobacco."¹ One of the principal reasons for the granting of the privilege to the company was "that the productive² colony in Nova Svecia, [which will be] of great benefit to Us, our kingdom and subjects, as well on account of the navigation as on account of the trade and commerce and the accompanying profit and advantage, might be preserved and maintained." The ordinance contained eight articles, defining the rights of the company and prescribing fines and punishments for those found guilty of trespassing upon its privileges. The company was to appoint agents from among the residents in various parts of the kingdom to sell the tobacco, when application for such privileges were received; but, if no application was made by the cities within three weeks of the publication of the ordinance, the company had a right to appoint and send its own representatives there.³

¹ It was dated at Gothenburg.

² "Then importente Colonien i *Nova Svecia*." *Importente* seems to have had its Latin meaning of producing at this time.

³ Stiernman, II. 875-80.

The entire tobacco trade of Sweden was now placed in the company's hands and extended to almost every city, village and hamlet in the kingdom and to the principal centers in Finland and the other provinces. It also supplied the tobacco for the army in the field. Strömsköld, Kramer and Junge were to remain as managers and they are mentioned as the "Directors of the American Company." Chrispinus Flygge was appointed inspector general over the trade in Västergötland, Värmland, Nerige, Dal, Halland, Skåne, Blekinge, Bohus län,⁴ the city of Gothenburg, Elfsborgs and Skaraborgs län, and Daniel Junge was appointed to the same office at Stockholm, with jurisdiction over a large territory. Searchers to control the trade and guard the rights of the company were also engaged⁵ and "inspectors" and agents were appointed to sell the company's tobacco as well as to "inspect the tobacco trade" in their districts. Contracts were signed by them in which they agreed to follow the orders and regulations of the company, and powers of attorney or warrants were given them by the directors.⁶ The searchers were given one third of the confiscated tobacco and in some cases a wage of 12 R.D. a month.⁷

Several applications were also filed by private citizens, in accordance with the ordinance, for the privilege of retailing tobacco. These merchants or "contractors" like the agents

⁴ The last four provinces were ceded to Sweden in the treaty at Roskilde, 1658. Hildebrand, *Sv. hist.*, V.

⁵ Jon Hansson Fries and Måns Rosell were appointed to visit all vessels coming to Waxholm. "Concept auf dem fullm.," etc., October 2, 1658, *Tobaksk.*, 1643-59 (R.A.). Two other *Besucher* were hired to work at Stockholm, Lars Berg and Nils Matsson, but Berg later went to Enköping, *Journal*, no. 1539.

⁶ Anders Andersson was appointed inspector over the trade in "Nerike and Västmanland"; Pål Kröger was appointed inspector in Jacobstad, Finland; Krister Hansson in Västervik; B. Hanneman in Ekenäs and surrounding district; Per Erissman in Kalmar län and city as well as Öland and surrounding districts. See Krister Hansson's "Revers," November 18, 1658; B. Hannemann's letter, December 3, 1658; Per Erissman's Revers, December 4, 1658; C. Flygge's letter, November 9, 1658; Strömsköld's letter, June 9, 1658; Anders Andersson's "Revers," July 13, 1658; Kröger's "Revers," October 26, 1658; *Tobaksk.*, 1643-59 (R.A.); C. Schmit's obligation, March 19, 1659, N.S., I. (K.A.).

⁷ *Journal*, nos. 1538, 1539 ff.

and inspectors of the company signed rigid contracts, and retained a certain percentage of the amount they sold.⁸

The accounts were still kept in the old journal of the New Sweden Company, but on December 31, 1658, the book was full and a balance was made as follows:

ASSETS.	D. öre.
The Swedish government.....	29,023:19 5/12
The late Klas Fleming.....	227:21 1/2
The heirs of Gabriel Gustafsson Oxenstierna.....	1,575
The heirs of A. Oxenstierna.....	70: 6
The Admiral Richard Clerk.....	83:24
The old shipbuilding at Västervik.....	465:11 1/2
Hans Neuman and Robert Smith.....	711: 6 1/2
Robert Smith.....	1,111:14 1/2
Capt. Baerendt H. Hopp.....	457:16
The large sea-excise in Stockholm.....	1,042:17 11/15
The Royal Admiralty.....	9,563:10 1/2
The Shipbuilding Company at Västervik.....	1,575
The late Peter Friedell.....	57:24 1/2
Cargo charged to Johan Rising.....	4,206: 3 4/5
The Commissary Johan Rising.....	3,603: 6
The King and Crown of Spain.....	34,693:16
The West India Company in Holland.....	241,133:24 1/5
The ship <i>Mercurius</i>	8,844: 8 2/5
Ulrick von Steinkamp in Gothenburg.....	232:30 2/5
The Director Daniel Junge.....	300:15 3/5
Journey of the ship <i>Mercurius</i> to Lübeck.....	530:16 2/5
The searchers employed by the company.....	106
Tobacco (purchased) under Peter Olofsson (586 1/2 lbs.).....	128
Confiscated tobacco under Peter Olofsson (245 1/2 lbs.).....	122:24
The district court judge in Blekinge, Peter Durell.....	1,806: 8
The general-inspector, Mr. Chrispinus Flygge.....	1,685:16
Total	343,357:21 11/20

⁸ On August 31, 1658, privilege was granted to Jon Persson, Per Ersson (?) and Steffan Andersson "to be the contractors of the company in the city of Upsala and the surrounding districts." S. Volckmar was retailer in Gothenburg, J. Larsson in Mariestad, Anders Andersson in Vänersborg, Jacob Junge in Alingsås, Fredrick E[n]gelbrecht (?) in Lidköping, T. Schneyder in Borås, Per Wilsso in Odemaldt (Ödemåla(?)), Anders Olsson in Skyffe (?), Jon Jonsson in Åkerström and Anders Persson in Skara. Erick Ericksson was commissioned to sell tobacco in Hedemora and surrounding district. "Priv.," signed by H. Kramer and Olof Strömsköld, Stockholm, August 21, 1658, and the contract of these tobacco merchants (unsigned) of same date, *Tobaksk.*, 1643-59 (R.A.). "Erick Erickssons . . . Revers, d. 18 August, 1658," Chrispinus Flygge, *Tobaksk.* (R.A.).

1613: Die General handels conto der Compagnie Istedt Au Capital conto der Americanischen Compagnie
 R 226785: 31 $\frac{12}{100}$ -

87
 128

Wird bei die General handels conto der Compagnie Istedt Au Capital conto der Americanischen Compagnie
 an selbiger dinstung der ganzen handelsbuch dato stovandigt worden
 die Summa von 226785 R 31 $\frac{12}{100}$ von aus dem in toferndere Zeit der gade
 Lang die Compagnie ihre Capital conto hat bezogen wird in den folgenden
 Nummern aber da die Compagnie höher finaliter gefogelpon worden als
 wird selbige conto saldet und dem Capital conto der Americanischen
 Compagnie zu geh gefogelpon als Numbel die Summa von 226785 R 31 $\frac{12}{100}$

1614: Balance dieser Bücher Istedt. Au Debet und zuwärtig
 Creditores R 343357: 21 $\frac{11}{100}$ -

129

Wird bei die Bücher vollendet zu se. son und zu Bilanzieren Nachstende
 26 Nummern so von Debitores in diesen Büchern se. son und zuwärtig
 g. Creditores und gefogelpon und zummal in den Nummern die selbigen
 wiederum bei Debitores zu se. son als Numbel //

2	zwey Kön. Mag. und Leondogreden particulier Rechnungsb.	20023: 19 $\frac{11}{100}$
4	zwey Kön. Mag. z. Plas Fleming und Rechnungsb. particulier	227: 21 $\frac{7}{100}$
9	Des d. g. Reichs Proches Erben Rechnungsb. particulier	1575: -
10	Des d. g. Reichs Bankers Erben Rechnungsb. particulier	70: 6
24	Der Amiral Rigsråd Thord	83: 24
25	Der Alts. d. g. Schaw zu Westerw. g.	465: 12 $\frac{1}{2}$
26	Hans Meyman und Robert Schmidt in Compagnie	211: 67
26	Robert Schmidt seine particuliere Rechnungsb.	1111: 14 $\frac{7}{100}$
53	Captein Wacredt Garmenben Gopp	457: 16
55	Der K. r. se. Dezhell in Stockholm	1042: 12 $\frac{7}{100}$
74	Die Königl. Amiralitet in Stockholm	9563: 30 $\frac{7}{100}$
84	Die d. g. Straungsb. Compagnie zu Westerw. g. 1650 R.	1575: -
90	Dege. doctor Frieder.	57: 24 $\frac{7}{100}$
94	Carantien bezeuget unter dem Commissar Johan Nilings	4206: 3 $\frac{1}{2}$
97	Der Commisarius Johan Nilings	3603: 6
99	Der König und die Kron Hispanien	34693: 16
100	Die z. h. Ind. se. Compagnie in Holland	R 241133: 24 $\frac{7}{100}$
108	Das d. g. Mercurius so in Holland bearet ist	8844: 8 $\frac{7}{100}$
110	Der Reich von Steenkamp in Wottenburg	232: 30 $\frac{7}{100}$
122	Der Directeur Daniel Jansz N.	300: 35 $\frac{7}{100}$
123	Vingio Mich. d. g. Mercurius Mag. Lubek	530: 16 $\frac{7}{100}$
124	Der Compagnie Angenomene Besizers	106: -
125	Erbhändler Eckart unter d. g. d. d. 1667 R.	128: -
125	Erbhändler Eckart unter d. g. d. d. 1657 R.	122: 24
127	Der Landt boymars in Bleecking zu Peter Durell	1806: 8
127	Der General Inspector zu Crispinus Flügge	1685: 16

343357 21 $\frac{11}{100}$

Anno: 1658. Ady: ultimo: Decemb:

über Mann
1658

1658. Nachstehende Quants des Debitores Debet. An
Balance dießer Bücher 343557: 21 ¹¹/₂₀

Wohl das diese Bücher wohl ordentlich zu führen und zu bilanzieren das ist
20 Rechnungen welche sonderlich von Creditores in diesen Büchern zu führen
von Debitores Debetiert und geschlossen und sonderlich in den neuen
Büchern die selbige wieder durch Creditores zu führen als N. M. L. L.

7	Deßte Peter de Witts Silber Erens Leben.....	118: 14
35	Der Erenen Capital Conto in der Americanischen Compagnie	9000: —
36	Der Alten de Witts Compagnie Capital Conto in dito Compagnie	27000: —
37	Deß de Witts Reichs Capitäl Conto in dito Compagnie.....	4500: —
38	Deß de Witts Reichs Capitäl Conto in dito Compagnie.....	6750: —
40	Deß de Witts Reichs Capitäl Conto in dito Compagnie.....	2250: —
41	Deß de Witts Reichs Capitäl Conto in dito Compagnie	4500: —
48	Der Erenen Ammunition Rechnung.....	1583: 3
63	Der Erenen in New Sweden de Witts Johan Prinz.....	15060: 7 ¹ / ₂
65	Die Alte de Witts Compagnie ihre Rechnung particular.....	19212: 31 ¹ / ₂
73	De Witts Reichs Capitäl in Amsterdam 7260 Gulden.....	3993: 9 ¹ / ₂
88	Stad der Erenen Bedienten in New Sweden.....	8481: 17 ¹ / ₂
104	De Witts Reichs Capitäl in New Sweden.....	4210: —
106	Die de Witts Reichs Capitäl in Africa Compagnie.....	1210: —
109	Der de Witts Reichs Capitäl in der Americanischen Compagnie.....	3000: —
111	Der de Witts Reichs Capitäl in der Americanischen Compagnie.....	857: 20 ¹ / ₂
113	Caracas von de Witts Reichs Capitäl vor Rechnung de Witts Johan de Witts Reichs Capitäl in New Sweden.....	3700: 13 ¹ / ₂
121	Hans de Witts Reichs Capitäl in der Compagnie Buchhalter.....	196: 14 ¹ / ₂
126	Hans de Witts Reichs Capitäl in der Compagnie Buchhalter wegen deo Buchhalter von Contierten de Witts und de Witts Buchhalter.....	427: 19 ¹ / ₂
128	Capital der Americanischen Compagnie.....	226785: 31 ¹ / ₂
129		343557: 21 ¹¹ / ₂₀

LIABILITIES.	D. öre.
The late Peter Spiring.....	118:14
The capital of the Crown in the company.....	9,000
The capital of the South-Ship Company.....	27,000
The capital of the late <i>Riksdrots</i> (Gabriel Gustafsson Oxenstierna)	4,500
The capital of the late Chancellor.....	6,750
The capital of the late Klas Fleming.....	2,250
The capital of the late Peter Spiring.....	4,500
The ammunition account of the Crown.....	1,583:3
The governor of New Sweden, Johan Printz.....	15,660:7 2/5
The South-Ship Company, particular account.....	19,212:31 3/4
Peter Trotzig in Amsterdam (7,263:6 fl.).....	3,913:9 1/5
The budget of the colony.....	8,481:17 1/15
His Excellency Christer Bonde.....	4,210
The Swedish African Company.....	1,210
The capital of Hendrik Huygen.....	3,000
The capital of the city of Viborg.....	857:20 4/5 ⁷
Cargo sent by Norfelt to Rising.....	3,700:13 1/5
Hans Kramer, the bookkeeper.....	196:14 3/20
One third of the confiscated tobacco, due the Crown.....	427:19 1/5
The capital of the American Company.....	226,785:31 47/60
Total	343,357:21119/20

Hans Kramer, the bookkeeper and director of the company (who also continued to be bookkeeper for the African Company), found his duties too arduous and in October, 1658, the company engaged one Per Olofsson as secretary at a salary of 200 R.D. per year with the understanding that he should take Kramer's place in January, 1659, with an increase of 100 R.D. Strömsköld, who for various reasons¹⁰ desired to withdraw from the company, sold his shares to the Commercial College and resigned his position as director in February, 1659.¹¹

As may be imagined, the business¹² of the company attained

⁹ *Journal*, nos. 1614, 1615.

¹⁰ He was sued by Rising for a large sum and to escape paying this was probably the main reason for his withdrawal. *Rising's Process* (R.A.).

¹¹ *Journal*, no. 1665; Olof Strömsköld to the Com. Col., November 19, 1658, *Tobaksb.* (R.A.); "Kort Memorial, 1653-82," etc., "Kramer, Oloff Strömsköld, etc.," July 10, 1657, *Rising's Process* (R.A.).

¹² 13,484 lbs. of tobacco were distributed by Flygge in Gothenburg and the district assigned to him. (In 1655, 4,763 lbs. were sent to Gothenburg. Here it was ruined and it was later shipped to Stockholm, which circumstance seems to show that the greater part of the tobacco supply in Gothenburg before 1658 was obtained from smuggling.) In 1658 J. Larsson sold 960½ lbs. in Mariestad,

enormous proportions.¹³ Its complete organization seems to have worked almost to perfection. The searchers and inspectors prevented smuggling or secret sales in any considerable quantities, although the practice was not stamped out as can be seen from the fines imposed. But the smuggling business was more dangerous than before and less profitable. But complaints were soon made against the company and its methods. The opposition to the company reached a crisis already in 1660. The matter was brought before the diet, which was convened in the spring of this year, and in the Royal Resolutions of March 8 it is stated that the King decided to abolish the company the following year, since "it was considered harmful to his faithful subjects."¹⁴

Already in November the same year the Commercial College was instructed to dissolve the American Tobacco Company and to place the tobacco on the excise lists, made before the privileges of the company were issued.¹⁵ But some of the agents of the company sold tobacco for some months after the ordinance was published. Casper Schmid in Västerås received a lot of 5,808 lbs. in July, 1661, and the company was not entirely dissolved till 1662.¹⁶

739 lbs. were sold in Alingsås by June; Anders Persson sold 221 lbs. in Skara and F. E[n]gelbrecht sold 2,017½ lbs. in Christinehamn. About 6,000 lbs. were sent to the "Northern Army." These lots passed through the hands of Flygge. *Tobaksk.*, 1643-1659 (R.A.).

¹³ The importation of tobacco by the company was as follows in 1659-60:

1659	39,036 lbs.
1660	52,707 lbs.

"Specification," etc., 1655-60, N.S., I. (K.A.).

¹⁴ Stiernman, *Riksdagars beslut*, II. 1331.

¹⁵ Stiernman, III. 6; Kong. Maj. to the Com. Col., March 6, 1661.

¹⁶ "Casper Schmid in Westerås," etc., 1659-60, N.S., I. (K.A.); *Privilegier, Patenter*, etc., *Hand. och Näringar, Nord. Saml.* But see also Stiernman, 105 ff., 123 ff.

CHAPTER LII.

THE NEW TOBACCO COMPANY AND THE AMERICAN COMPANY AFTER 1662, 1662-1736.

I.

It was thought that the excise on the imported tobacco would not only not decrease after the company was abolished, but that it would bring a larger revenue into the treasury than the company paid.¹ After the restrictions were removed, however, the tobacco was smuggled into the country in such quantities that the excise was very materially reduced, making it necessary to publish new regulations in less than two years, and in October, 1662, the importation and wholesale tobacco trade was assigned to Anders Andersson and Peter Bohm of Stockholm for a period of ten years (from January, 1663, until 1673). They were to pay the sum of 120,000 D.k.m. for the first five years and 170,000 D.k.m. for the last five years, being freed from the "little excise." Former ordinances were repeated and the privileges given to Bohm and Andersson were in several particulars similar to those given to the American Company in 1658.² Gerhard Burman was appointed fiscal over the tobacco trade and new *placards* and ordinances concerning the trade were published by the government in 1665, and in 1670 letters were sent to the governors and magistrates. But complaints were made as usual, leading to resolutions and

¹ Stiernman, III. 6 ff.

² See Stiernman, III. 105-24. Some of the excise received from the duty on the tobacco was to be used as follows:

- (a) 100,000 D. copper money should be used for the payment of creditors.
- (b) 200,000 D. copper money for the founding of workshops ("Handt wärker") and the Orphans' Home in Stockholm.
- (c) 50,000 D. copper money annually for the building of a frigate.
- (d) 8,000 D. copper money for the search for Swedish antiquities and their publication, etc.

royal letters (at the diet in the autumn of 1664 it was complained that poor tobacco was sold) and in 1670 new ordinances and contracts were made.

It seems that a new company was formed with Andersson and Bohm as principal stockholders in 1672, and in May the same year the old privileges (of 1662) were extended for two years, on the condition that the company paid into the state treasury 100,000 D.k.m. The participants of the company now made a new contract and drew up a charter concerning "the direction and management." In the summer of 1673 another "prolongation of the contract for the stockholders in the Tobacco Company" was issued. The contract was to be in force for ten years beginning on January 1, 1675.³ The company was even now at times called the American Company, for in a document of 1689 it is stated that "The American Company" was in dispute with the inspector Sven de Blom about certain accounts.⁴

II.

The American Company having lost its special privileges in 1660 was dissolved in 1662, but the company as well as its directors who figured in claims and lawsuits for a long time after this date (often confused with the African Company) are found in documents and bills as late as 1736.

When Rising returned to Europe he applied to the Commercial College for his salary and payment for the supplies,

³ Stiernman, III. 6 ff., 105 ff., 114 ff., 123 ff., 318 ff., 320, 819 ff., 821, 828 ff., 934 ff.; "Fullm. för G. Burman," etc., July 21, 1663; "Patent om godt Tob.," etc., March 18, 1665; "Resol. för städerne," etc. (par. 7), August 27, 1668; "Tobaksint. unders. Revers, 1662," etc.; "Explication på Tobackzc.," etc., December 10, 1663; "Resol. för Direct.," March 2, 1670; "Resol. för Tob. Comp.," etc., November 24, 1670; "Svar på Landsh. H. Oxes bref," etc., June 11, 1670; "Kongl. Maj:s förord.," November 27, 1670; "Intres. af Tobakzc. sins emel. up. cont.," etc., March 28, 1670; "Jonas Österling och Anders Anderssons ingångne cont. om tobaksh.," April 7, 1670; "Sampt. Instr. af tob. Comp. . . . up. Cont.," September 20, 1672; "Cam Tien. Zacharias Renhorn att wara Tob. Comp. i Stockh. afnämare," etc., 1673; "10 års prolong. på cont.," etc., June 26, 1673; "Berge Cronbergs Änkias och J. Öst[er]lings . . . up. Contr.," July 26, 1674. "Priv. och Patenter," etc., *Hand. och Naringar, Nord. Saml.* (Up. B.).

⁴ See De Blom's letter of September 25, 1689, and documents accompanying it, concerning the period of 1684 to 1689, N.S., I. (K.A.).

which he had provided the people in the colony, and for a quantity of merchandise sent to New Sweden on the *Mercurius*, but years passed and his claims remained unsettled. The King ordered the college to pay the sum in 1669, but the order could not be carried out, "because the directors had not been named." Being unable to obtain redress from the college, Rising tried to secure his claims from the company and from Strömsköld but without result. The company claimed that he had not kept proper books, making him responsible for the cargo of the *Örn*. It was also maintained that he had used goods belonging to the company in buying tobacco for his own trade. Finally Rising was blamed for the loss of the colony and consequently it was maintained that he was not entitled to anything.⁵

Rising died and no settlement was made. His heirs kept up the litigation, however, and there are documents in the case from 1675, 1680, 1681, 1682, 1683 and 1684 and probably later.⁶

Governor Printz also had large claims for salary and his contributions to the soldiers and servants in the colony, amounting to 30,060 D.⁷ His claims, however, were presented to the government. They were not paid during his lifetime, but his heirs finally succeeded in collecting their different shares. The last documents the author has found in the case are from 1736, when the last payment seems to have been made.⁸

⁵ See the large number of documents in Rising's *Process* (R.A.); cf. also *Hist. Tid.* (1896), p. 46 ff.

⁶ Rising's *Process* (R.A.).

⁷ The bills presented were as follows:

(1) Salary for 12 years.....	14,400	D.
(2) Money advanced to the soldiers in New Sweden, etc.....	13,163:18½	D.
(3) Money advanced to the servants of the company.....	2,496:79⅓	D.
Total	30,060:79½	D.

His salary was also reckoned for 13 years, making 15,600 D. See "Likvi. först., etc., 1620-1680," Printz (K.A.). In the official *Journal* of the company Gov. Printz's account is 15,660:7 2/5. See above, p. 643.

⁸ Letters in *Saml. Biog. P.* (R.A.); *Johan Printz*, 396 (K.A.); letters from his daughters, from De. Rees, and others, *J. Printz*, 173 (K.A.); "Likvidat. först. och lef., 1620-1680," Ser., B., No. 221, *Johan Printz* (K.A.). There are a great many documents concerning Printz in this collection. Cf. author's article in *Ungdomsvännan*, March, 1909.

CHAPTER LIII.

EFFORTS TO REGAIN THE COLONY, 1656-1673.

I.

It is now in order to turn to the efforts made by Sweden to regain the colony. Soon after the capture became known in Stockholm the Swedish resident at The Hague was instructed to protest against the Dutch occupation and on March 22 (n.s.), 1656, Harald Appelbom presented a memorial to the States General, demanding indemnity and the restoration of the colony. Almost immediately resolutions were passed by that body, as well as by the States of Holland, to the effect that the matter should be further investigated and referred to the Dutch West India Company.¹

The efforts led to no settlement, however. Appelbom reported the state of affairs to his government, but the question was dropped for a time. The Swedish government was engaged in larger matters and paper weapons alone could effect nothing with the authorities at The Hague and at Amsterdam.

Charles X. was at this time extending the boundaries of his kingdom and shaping its final geographical form; but as soon as the first smoke from his victorious cannon had blown away, 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 by 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, where the retaking of the colony is taken as a foregone fact. Johan Rising made reports and presented plans for its recapture and further settlement and

¹ Thurloe, *State Papers*, IV. 599-600; *Doc.*, I. 617 ff.; De Witt, VII. 201-2; *Penn. Ar.*, V. 263 ff.; Hazard, p. 210 ff.

reasons for doing so, but wars with the neighbors required all the energies of the kingdom, so that nothing was done.²

An opportunity having presented itself for renewing the claims in 1663, however, the government instructed its representatives "in their conference with Heinsius,³ the resident of the States General," to demand the restitution of New Sweden as well as the payment of an indemnity to the company. But the Dutch had of course no intention of returning the colony to the New Sweden Company. They made every effort to keep intact what they had won and showed great concern about certain preparations that were now being made in Sweden.⁴

Vice-Admiral Sjöhhelm fitted out two ships (in 1663), the *Falk*, carrying 32 guns, and "a yacht with 8 or 10 cannon" for an expedition, the object of which was kept secret. Sjöhhelm (or Zeehelm as it is written in the Dutch records) "was well acquainted with the coast of New Netherland, inasmuch as he was employed there in 1641 with the ship *Neptunis* from Curaçao." Hence there was some likelihood that his expedition was destined for the Delaware. Rumors reached the directors at Amsterdam that the ships would take on board 200 soldiers in the sound and go directly to the South River. Stuyvesant was therefore ordered to be on his guard and properly prepared. But they were soon relieved of their anxiety, for on the way from Stockholm to Gothenburg the yacht was wrecked. The directors obtained news of the mishap, which was conveyed to Stuyvesant, removing his fear also. Sjöhhelm, however, set out with the *Falk* alone, manned with about 70-80 sailors, not for the South River but towards Africa. He visited "Madagascar, Sambigor,⁵ Anzoov,⁶ the Red Sea and

² *Rådspr.*, April 15, 1658; cf. Sprinchorn, p. 81; Carlson, *Hist.*, I. (old ed.), p. 160. A letter from Appelbom referring to the colony was read in the council on April 15, 1658. Cf. above.

³ Nicolaas Heinsius. He was in Swedish service for some time, later Dutch resident at Stockholm.

⁴ "Instruction," etc., July 4, 1663 (par. 12), R.R. (R.A.); *Copia in Hollandica, Förhandlingar, 1661-1679* (R.A.).

⁵ Sambelan (?).

⁶ Anzoan (?).

Goa," remaining several weeks at some of those places. The vessel was finally sold by the admiral, whereupon some of the sailors made their way to Sweden, reporting the events.⁷

It is probable that Appelbom reported his endeavors in behalf of the American Company during his visit to the capital in 1663-1664, but no instructions to continue his negotiations along these lines seem to have been given to him as he left Sweden, but events of peculiar interest to the government soon made the question acute.

In the beginning of 1664 a number of Finnish families from northern Sweden and probably from Finland landed in Holland on their way to New Sweden. January 17, Trotzig informed the government about the fact and suggested that such immigration should be stopped unless Sweden could regain its colony.⁸ This as well as two later missives, relating to the English and Dutch complications,⁹ again brought the attention of the government to the matter and on March 5 a letter was sent to Appelbom, instructing him to protest against the Dutch occupation and to demand again that they should restore the colony, "which they were bound to do," watching closely that they should not gain any advantage in their negotiations with the English. Leijonberg, the Swedish ambassador at London at this time, was instructed to present the matter to the English government and to complain about the Dutch encroachments.¹⁰

The chancellor also requested Trotzig to inquire further

⁷ If the expedition had been sent to the Delaware and the two vessels had arrived here safely, it is likely that the colony would have been recaptured as was feared by Stuyvesant. See "Falken Exped.," 1664, *Skepsexp.*, 1664-66 (R.A.); cf. also Anrep., *Attart.*, under *Sjöhjelm*; *Doc.*, II. 233, 236; XII. 445 ff., 455; The Com. Col. to Ch. Schneider, concerning the ship *Falk* in the Sound, September 7, 1663.

⁸ Trotzig to the chancellor, May 24, 1664, *De la Gard. Saml.* (R.A.). A résumé of this letter is found in *Palmsk. Saml.*, 322 f., 335-6 (Up. B.).

⁹ Trotzig till Kongl. Maj., January 26, and to the Riksk., February 16, 1664. Sprinchorn (N.S.) has a misprint or mistake in note 1, p. 83. The letter is not addressed to E. Oxenstierna (who had long been dead), but to De la Gardie.

¹⁰ To Appelbom, March 5, 1664, R.R., fol. 182; "Memorial för Leyonberg," April 28, 1664, R.R., fol. 487 ("Concerning New Sweden and the Guinean case"). Letters were also sent to Silfvercrona and Appelbom about the African Company, R.R., July 20, November 19, 1664 (fol. 202, 257), April 15, 1665 (fol. 468).



ILLUSTRISSIMUS, EXCELLENTISS^{VS}
et generosissim^{VS} Dominus, DN^S.
MAGNUS GABRIEL DE LA GARDIE
Comes in Läckö & Arensburg &c.
Regni Senator et Cancellarius &c.

Magnus Gabriel de la Gardie. From Pufendorf's *Hist. du Reg. de Charles Gustave*.

about the Finnish families. Accordingly Trotzig went to Waterlandt,¹¹ where the colonists were housed, to investigate in person. He found that they were about "140 souls, old and young, many children, boys as well as girls, small and quite large, who ran about mostly naked in shirts. The children and most of the [grown] people talk Finnish and part of the men talk Swedish." Friends in New Sweden had written to them about the "glories of the country" and one of the immigrants showed a letter from his brother dated in New Sweden, 1657. They had made their way across Norway to Christiania, in some instances having passports (one passport being dated at "Medelpad, March 5, 1664, with the Seal of the *Socken* upon it in green wax"), and from thence they were taken to Holland on a Dutch vessel, hired by themselves as they said, but, as Trotzig supposed and as seems most probable, at the expense of those interested in the colony on the South River. They were fed and housed by the city-officials of Amsterdam and rumors reached the Swedish representatives that the immigrants had been enticed by special agents.¹²

It is probable that Appelbom reported these rumors to the government, for towards the end of May, letters were sent to certain governors "about the families that are decoyed out of Finland," stating that "several hundred families had been enticed to leave their country and go across the mountains to Norway, in companies of five or six persons at the time." This could not be tolerated and the governors were ordered to keep close watch that it did not occur again. If the instigators of the migration could be captured they were to be kept in arrest.¹³ A letter of much the same import was sent to Governor Banér in June, requesting him to investigate the facts.¹⁴ Trotzig was

¹¹ A district in north Holland, between Amsterdam and Alkmaar. Probably a village by that name also.

¹² Trotzig to De la Gardie, May 24, May 31, June 26, 1664. *De la Gard. Saml.* (R.A.). Résumé of the first letter in *Palmsk. Saml.* (Up. B.), 322 f., 335-336.

¹³ R.R., May 27, 1664, fol. 641.

¹⁴ R.R., June 9, 1664. It is hardly probable that Dutch agents worked in Finland to secure colonists for the Delaware colony.

instructed to present the matter to the States and demand that the "fugitives" should be returned to Sweden at the expense of those who had prevailed upon them to immigrate;¹⁵ but as it is not likely that Dutch officials or others easily detected had a hand in the affair (at least no substantial evidence was at hand) nothing could be done, and on June 26 (n.s.?) Trotzig wrote¹⁶ that the Finns were about to be transported "within fourteen days to New Netherland on the South River, where New Sweden is located."¹⁷ These events caused the Swedish government to consider the question of regaining the colony with more earnestness and the matter was taken up with much energy by Appelbom. Shortly after delivering his credentials, he requested a conference with the Dutch authorities and on June 19 (n.s.), he presented a memorial to the States General. Troubles with England were brewing—"Parliament decided in April . . . to ask the King for redress" for injuries suffered at the hands of the Dutch¹⁸—and the States General listened with more attention to Appelbom's protest than otherwise would have been the case, treating it with such respect that a resolution was passed upon it the same day. De Heyde was appointed to look up the case and report. Apparently the Swedish ambassador was not satisfied with the progress made, for on June 27 (n.s.) he again laid a memorial before the States General. This body (on the same day) again resolved to place the controversy in the hands of the Dutch West India Company, who should try to settle "the same in a friendly manner." A third, longer memorial, was thereupon presented to their "High Mightinesses," going into some detail about the

¹⁵ R.R., May 27, 1664.

¹⁶ In the same postscript Trotzig writes that "Just now in closing, it is affirmed, reported and said to me that a large number of families of Finns, at least 140 souls strong . . . have secretly left Finland this last winter, through the direction and large promises of evil persons." Letter to De la Gardie, Postscript, June 26, 1664, *De la Gard. Saml.* (R.A.).

¹⁷ It has also been said that the "Finns were sent to their homes in Sweden and Finland in June." See Nordmann, "*Fin. i mel. Sv.*" p. 151.

¹⁸ Ranke, *Hist. of Eng.*, III. 417 ff.

Swedish claim to the colony on the Delaware.¹⁹ Appelbom's memorials were answered, partly in writing, partly orally by Van Braeckel and other Dutch deputies at their conferences with the Swedish ambassador.²⁰

II.

In the autumn of 1664 further conferences were held. Appelbom was told that the claims of the African Company would be settled, but that the New Sweden troubles would once more be referred to the Dutch West India Company.²¹ In October, however, the latter body sent an answer to the letters of the States General, denying all rights of the Swedish company to the land and the settlements on the South River and this ended the matter for a while, it "being placed in the hands of Messrs. Van Ommeren and the other their High Mightinesses' deputies for the affairs of the . . . [Dutch] West India Company, to inspect, examine and then to report on them."²²

In the meantime New Holland passed into the hands of England and in February, 1665, Trotzig wrote to De la Gardie that "news had come in that the English had captured everything on the South River."²³ The relation with England was cordial. In July, 1656, a "friendship and commercial treaty" was made between the two nations,²⁴ and again in the autumn of 1661 another treaty of friendship was concluded. In March, 1665, a new treaty was signed, including among other

¹⁹ This memorial bears no date, but it was written on or after June 27 (n.s.), 1664.

²⁰ Appelbom's memorials, June 27, 1664; *Doc.*, II. 239-42, 246-7, 258-60 (where the memorials, etc., are translated); *Penn. Ar.*, V. 513 ff. The answer of the States General, August 29, 1664, and letters from Appelbom to the Swedish government are preserved in R.A.

²¹ The letter of the States General to the company was dated August 15, 1664.

²² *Doc.*, II. 258-90.

²³ Letter, February 20 (n.s.), 1665, *De la Gard. Saml.* (R.A.).

²⁴ "Eng. trak.," No. 3, A, B (R.A.), especially § 9, "Quod ad Commercio in America habendum," etc. See also "Treaty Papers," Sweden, 1618-72, No. 69, Pub. Rec. Office.

things "that a perpetual peace shall subsist between the two Crowns, both at home and in Africa and America."²⁵

It could not be expected, however, that England should turn over to Sweden a territory she had captured from the Dutch, and hence the Swedish government still pressed its claim at The Hague, and Königsmark, who was sent on an embassy to France in 1665, was given a historical résumé of the relation between Sweden and Holland in his lengthy instruction,²⁶ also stating that demands had been made from the Dutch "to restore His Royal Majesty's land in Guinea and America," and of this as well as of the other points he was to advise the French government and gain its sympathy for the Swedish claims.²⁷

Soon a new opportunity for pressing its claims presented itself to the Swedish government. 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 was to blame for the capture through his act of hostility. The colony was not under Dutch control and in order to be able to present the Swedish demands, proofs of their validity must be presented. The Commercial College, therefore, aided by Kramer, made an inventory of the property lost by the American Company as a consequence of the Dutch occupation. The *Katt* expedition and the claims against the Spanish government were also added, "since the company was unable to press its claims [in Spain] through the actions of the Dutch," and the bill footed up to 262,246 R.D.²⁸

²⁵ Treaty of alliance between Sweden and England, October 21, 1661; Treaty, March 1, 1664/1665; "King of Swe. full power, February 27, 1665," and other documents. Other treaties between Sweden and England were made in July (25), 1668, and on April 4/14, 1672. Treaty Papers, Sweden 1618-72, No. 69, Pub. Rec. Office.

²⁶ Dated May 31, 1665, in 36 paragraphs, R.R., fol. 642 ff. (R.A.).

²⁷ Paragraph 30.

²⁸ "Akte ang. Isbrandt," etc., (R.A.); Rådsp., November, 1665; R.R., December 18, fol. 804, December 24, 1665; "Förteck. uppå K. Maj. och Ameri. Comp.," etc., N.S., I. (R.A.); "Deductio Juris, quod in Novam Sveciam," etc., February 27, 1667, N.S., I. (R.A.). Cf. *Monumenta polit.*, etc., quoted by Sprinckhorn, N.S., p. (249) 85, where the sum is 262,240 R.D.

At the conference between the Swedish and Dutch envoys in the spring of 1667 the question was again considered and claims and counterclaims were presented. The treaty of April 13, 1667, contained a paragraph relating to the American Company,²⁹ and, in the "treaty of friendship," three months later, a new paragraph was inserted about the American claims to the effect that these should be settled according to justice and as soon as possible.³⁰ In the following year the Swedish government again instructed its foreign representatives to find out who of the contesting parties was in possession of New Sweden "in order that it might be restored."³¹

In the beginning of 1669 a report reached the Swedish government that there were 500 families in New Sweden forsaken and left to themselves. In February a letter was written to the Commercial College about it and Appelbom³² and Leijonberg³³ were instructed to correspond with one another and do their best at their respective courts to obtain redress. About two months later Leijonberg was enjoined upon "to try to ascertain what England intended to do with the colony" and inform his government about it. In the summer a memorial,³⁴ setting forth the rights of the American Company to the colony, was transmitted to the English government through its ambassador at Stockholm, and a copy with a letter and further instructions were sent to Leijonberg. He presented the case to the English officials and the British representative to Sweden promised to do all in his power to secure redress. But of course nothing came out of these efforts. Leijonberg was answered that England got the colony through conquest and treaty; it was now too late to change the result.³⁵

²⁹ Treaty at the Hague, April 13, 1667, § 6 (R.A.).

³⁰ "Vänskapsf.," July 18/28, 1667, § 6, Holland, No. 10 C (R.A.); Acrelius, p. 88.

³¹ A new treaty was made between Sweden and England, July 25, 1668. Treaty Papers, Sweden, 1618-72, No. 69, *Pub. Rec. Office*.

³² At the Hague.

³³ At London.

³⁴ "Memoriale juris, quod habet Societas Sveco-Americana in Novam Sveciam ab Anglis jam occupatam" (in eight paragraphs), July, 1669, N.S., I. (R.A.).

³⁵ Letter to Appelbom, April 18, 1668; to the Commercial College, February

Two years later³⁶ or in the summer of 1671 a letter was written by the Swedish representative at The Hague to De la Gardie, stating that he "had pointed out on several occasions of what great importance and consideration it was to recover New Sweden . . . It is a country which is flourishing greatly. The peasants being well suited are ardently awaiting the deliverance for which they have been made to hope." The letter goes on to say that the restitution ought now to be much easier, since the land had been given to an English Count.

Sweden was about to send an embassy to London, and hence it was a proper time to speak about it.³⁷ As a consequence the question was again renewed and in June, 1672, a letter was sent to Lejönberg requesting him to "try in a polite way to prevail upon England to return 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."³⁸

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.³⁹ But it was all wasted energy. No indemnity was secured by the Swedish American Company and the colony was forever lost to Sweden.

12, 1669; to Lejönberg, April 28 (and earlier), June 30, R.R. (fol. 41 ff.); "Lejönberg till Kongl. Maj." (R.A.); State Papers, For., Sweden, 1666-7, No. 6; orig. letters from Lejönberg, 1668-70 and from others, State Papers, For., Sweden, 1668-71, No. 7, Pub. Rec. Office.

³⁶ 1669 is the last mention of the colony in the diplomatic correspondence used by Sprinchorn. See his *N.S.*, p. 86.

³⁷ Letter to De la Gardie (in French), May 12, 1671, *N.S.*, I. (R.A.).

³⁸ *Pamsk. Saml.*, 322, f. 337 referring to *Linsk. Protoc.*, 1672, del I. 320 (R.A.).

³⁹ "Con. inter legatos Reg. Sve. et Com. ord. Gene. Foed. Belg.," etc., Actum. Hagae, 22 April/2 May, 1673, § 3, *Holland, No. 15, A.B.* (R.A.).

PART II.

LIFE IN THE COLONY, 1655-1664.

CHAPTER LIV.

THE FIRST PERIOD OF THE SWEDISH SETTLEMENTS UNDER
DUTCH RULE AND THE COMING OF THE *Mercurius*,
1655-1656.

We have now come to the period of the Swedes under Dutch jurisdiction, the last period of the present treatise. When the articles of surrender had been accepted and Rising with his men was about to leave the country, 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 November Jean Paul Jacquet was selected as vice-director, who was to have "supreme command and authority," governing the colony with a council¹ under the direction of Peter Stuyvesant. In his instruction (issued at New Amsterdam) he was required to enforce the observance of the Sabbath, the regulations concerning the sale of liquor to the Indians and to keep peace and order in the colony. 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 the immoderate desire for land he "should impose a tax of 12 stivers annually

¹ The council consisted of Andries Hudde, E. Cleyn and two sergeants.

for each *morgen*,"² 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" and send them to New Amsterdam if possible. On December 8 (n.s.) Vice-Director Jacquet took the oath of office before Peter Stuyvesant and it is probable that he set out for the South River shortly after.³

In the meantime the Swedes who remained in the country made the best of their situations, repaired the damage done by the invasion as far as possible, 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 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.⁴

On (or shortly before) December 18 (n.s.), 1655, Jean Paul Jacquet assumed his office as vice-director at Fort Casimir, and several new ordinances were soon put into effect. Some of the articles in Jacquet's instruction would effect the old settlers in their rights if put into execution, but caution was used and "the letter of the law" was hardly ever followed.⁵

Allerton and probably other traders visited the river in the autumn, winter and spring and several Jews, "who had put

² *Morgen*, acre, "a superficial measure = 600 sq. perches of 144 sq. feet each." Calisch, *Woordenb.*, II. 441.

³ *Doc.*, XII. 113 ff.; Hazard, p. 204 ff.

⁴ Cf. *Doc.*, XII. 118; 134 ff.

⁵ *Doc.*, XII. 133 ff.

goods on board a ship for the South River," requested permission to trade there, which was conditionally granted to them. The Swedish barks and yachts surrendered by Rising were used on trading expeditions, but *Eindracht*⁶ stranded at Sandy Hook in January, 1656. The council at New Amsterdam authorized Jan Teunissen, the carpenter, to save the vessel and he was promised 200 florins if he succeeded.⁷

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 appeared before Jacquet and his council and requested permission to remain on their lands until the expiration of one year and a half, agreeably to the capitulation, as they had not then any inclination to change their place of abode nor to build in the new town. The petition was granted and they remained undisturbed in their possessions.⁸

About March 13 the ship *Mercurius* arrived, as we have seen. Hendrick Huygen and Johan Papegoja went ashore, presented themselves to the Dutch 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.⁹ 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.

⁶ Cf. above, Chap. XXXII.

⁷ *Doc.*, XIV. 117 ff.

⁸ *Doc.*, XII. 133 ff.; Hazard, p. 208 ff.

⁹ Huygen also wrote to Stuyvesant.

It was decided not to allow the Swedes to land, 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, giving it free passage to New Amsterdam, where necessary supplies could be obtained. To prevent an uprising of the Swedes it was decided to send several soldiers to the South River. It was likewise decided that all Swedes, who had not hitherto taken the oath of allegiance, should now be required to do so. Those "who refused or contravened against it" should be sent away "by every opportunity," and Jacob Swensson and Sven Skute were especially named as "undesirable citizens," since they held secret conferences with the Indians, being looked upon with suspicion "because," says Acrelius, "they¹⁰ often came to the homes of the Swedes and were, as usual, well received."¹¹

When these instructions were received at Fort Casimir, Huygen determined to go to New Amsterdam and present his case in person. He went over land, arriving at the Dutch fort about April 1 (11), and delivered a written remonstrance to the Dutch council. The council decided that his requests could not be granted, repeated the 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, it was decided to send the warship the *Waag* there. Finding that he could accomplish nothing, Huygen appeared before the council the following day and accepted the proposals, making it unnecessary for the *Waag* to proceed to the Delaware. Huygen reported the outcome 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 Delaware and on April 18 (28) it was decided at a hurried meeting of the council to send

¹⁰ The savages. The council answered Papegoja's letter on March 29 (n.s.), *Doc.*, XII. 123.

¹¹ *Doc.*, XII. 120 ff.; Acrelius, p. 91.

Ensign Smith overland to the South River with twelve to sixteen soldiers to ascertain the state of affairs. When Smith arrived there, however, the ship had already landed the goods and people.¹²

Papegoja gives the following description of the 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 collected speedily 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 unable to decide what to do, but, seeing the danger of refusing the request of the angry savages, he commanded the skipper to proceed up the Delaware. (It has also been said that a large number of Indians and some old Swedish colonists went on board the vessel.)¹³ The ship then gave the Swedish salute (which was answered by one discharge from the fort) and sailed up to New Gothenborg,¹⁴ where the people were put ashore.¹⁵

Letters were thereupon written to Huygen, informing him of the events, and 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 to bring the *Mercurius* from there and settle the difficulty with the natives. Huygen as well as Papegoja were

¹² *Doc.*, XXI. 122 ff.

¹³ Acrelius, p. 92; Sprinchorn, pp. 74-75.

¹⁴ Acrelius says the vessel was brought to Christina.

¹⁵ Papegoja met his wife here and probably remained in Printzhof during his stay in the country.

exonerated from blame and the former was allowed to return to his ship on the *Waag*, after he had given bond that he would behave well and attempt to settle the differences between the savages and the Christians.¹⁶

The councillors De Sille and Van Tienhoven were commissioned to go to the river for the purpose of investigating the matter. The *Waag* set sail as soon as the wind was favorable, but when the vessel arrived in the South River she ran on a sandbank and could not proceed. But when the commander saw, says Papegoja, that we showed no hostile intentions, he requested the Swedes to help them get the *Waag* off the bank, as well as to pacify the savages. When the *Mercurius* arrived at the bay, however, the Dutch vessel was afloat. Some merchandise was then brought on board of the latter ship which was presented to the savages in the name of the Hollanders and thus peace was restored.

The *Mercurius* was later 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 Manhattan Island, on a Dutch vessel on June 13 (23) arriving in Amsterdam about the beginning of August. The *Mercurius* was loaded with a return cargo and finally set sail for Europe some time during the summer. But Huygen remained in the colony and we find him employed in various capacities in the service of the Dutch.¹⁷ It seems that the great majority of the newcomers remained in the colony. They were gradually given land, and as soon as they were able they built new homes and cleared their plantations.

¹⁶ *Doc.*, XII. 125 ff.

¹⁷ Letter from Papegoja to E. Oxenstierna, July 30/August 9, 1656, N.S., I. (R.A.); letter from Huygen, June 11, 1656, *Söderk.*, 1637-59 (R.A.); Stuyvesant to Papegoja, March 30, 1656 (copy), N.S., I. (R.A.); Trotzig to the directors, August 16, 1656, *Söderk.*, 1637-59 (R.A.); *Doc.*, XII. 120 ff.; Acrelius, p. 91.

CHAPTER LV.

THE LAST PERIOD OF THE SWEDISH SETTLEMENTS UNDER THE DUTCH, 1656-1664.

The Swedes and Finns behaved well and gave no trouble. Consequently Fort Christina was allowed to go to ruin and Papegoja says that it "was robbed of gates, windows and chimneys." Lieutenant Gyllengren, Sven Skute and Gregorius van Dyck remained here and they naturally became the leaders of the Swedes and Finns. These men carried on agriculture like the rest and probably fared well. Disturbances of a milder kind arose from time to time and sometimes murders and graver misdemeanors were reported ("the sister of Elias Gyllengren's wife" being shot in the autumn of 1656). Madame Papegoja remained at New Gothenborg and she was allowed to retain Printztorp, experiencing some difficulty, however, in finding people willing to cultivate the land on the terms she offered. The grants of many of the other Swedes were confirmed by the Dutch, "some having deeds from Queen Christina."¹ Various improvements were made by the Dutch which bettered the condition of the Swedes, bricks being made, roads improved, bridges built, fences constructed, overseers and tobacco-inspectors appointed, etc.²

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.^{2a} The seat of government of the city's colony was to be Fort Casimir, whose name was

¹ As for instance Gyllengren (through Amundsson) and Sven Skute.

² *Doc.*, XII.

^{2a} 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.

changed to New Amstel,^{2b} while Christina (changed to Altena) was to be the center of power for the company's colony, and Stuyvesant was commanded to garrison the latter as well as Fort New Gothenborg with eight or ten soldiers.

Jacob Alrichs was appointed director at New Amstel in December, but, being delayed by a shipwreck and other misfortunes, he did not arrive at his destination before the spring of the following year. Quite a large number of colonists also arrived with him.³

In the meantime complaints were made against Jacquet. He was finally removed from office and put in arrest, but he was later released. Fort Christina was placed in a better state of defense with the arrival of Alrichs as the Dutch still distrusted the Swedes, the new director being 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 they requested to be exempt from taking sides if trouble should arise between Sweden and Holland, which was granted them.

The country was now divided into court jurisdictions and the Swedes were given a sort of self-government at Tinicum Island.⁴ About the same time Sven Skute was elected captain; Anders Dalbo, lieutenant; Jacob Swenson, ensign; Gregorius van Dyck, sheriff; and Olof Stille, Matts Hansson, Peter Rambo and Peter Cock were elected magistrates.⁵ On May 8, (1658) they appeared before Stuyvesant with a petition for certain privileges. They requested instructions for their guidance, they desired a court messenger and 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 author-

^{2b} *Nieuwer-Amstel* after one of the suburbs of Amsterdam.

³ *Doc.*, XII., II. Alexander d' Hinoyossa was made lieutenant.

⁴ Their council met there.

⁵ Some of these had been elected before this.

ities, and performed many valuable services for them as interpreters and guides. They cut masts and other timber and by their thrift were able to supply much of the food used by the soldiers.⁶

The crops were poor in 1658, there being too much 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 the Swedes and Dutch, a custom employed by Rising as we have seen, but complaints were made that the horses were ill-treated.⁷

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 instructions in eight articles were given to him on October 18 (28). He was to have the oversight and supervision of the Swedes and was to be the custom-officer and auditor in the country, being required to be present at New Amstel, when ships arrived there or whenever his duties so required.

Beeckman proposed to tax the Swedes and Finns to the amount of 400 guilders a year, thus providing for the current expenses, and the directors of the Dutch West India Company did not approve of giving them officers of their own, but Stuyvesant replied to their orders for discharging these officers and appoint Hollanders in their stead, that he thought that the best way to win the hearts of the Swedes was by lenient methods of governing them. The Swedes were also called upon to do military duty, but they objected strongly, and the Dutch had no power to force them, Beeckman reporting that if an emergency should arise "they would be more cumbersome than useful." Troubles arose with the English as well as the savages, keeping the Dutch in constant alarm, and they were therefore

⁶ *Doc.*, XII. 212 ff.

⁷ *Doc.*, II. 8 ff., 50 ff., etc.; XII. 187 ff.; Hazard, 242 ff.

compelled to treat the Swedes and Finns with more respect and consideration than would otherwise have been the case.⁸

Attempts were made from time to time to settle them in villages, 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 Swedish sheriff's and commissaries "help and intercession." But they 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 now numbered about 130 men who could bear arms according to the report of Van Dyck.^{8a} Disputes arose among them about this time on account of the distribution of land, perhaps largely occasioned by the fact that many of the Finns did not understand Swedish, 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 to trade with the savages, but they were somewhat restricted in their freedom by D'Hinoyossa, giving rise to complaints and dissatisfactions.

The Swedes and Finns were very successful in cultivating the land, and many of them undoubtedly had attained prosperity, and they were very desirable in the colony, requests being made that more agriculturists be sent here, "not Hollanders, however, but other nations and especially Finns and Swedes, who are good farmers." A grist mill was built by Johan Stålkofa (Stalcop), L. Petersson and Hans Block in the summer of 1662 at the Falls of the Turtle Kill and the old mill erected by Printz was kept in repair.

⁸ *Doc.*, II, XII.

^{8a} In August, 1657, Rev. Megapolensis wrote that "at least two hundred" Swedes and Finns lived above Ft. Christina. Jameson, *Nar. of N. Neth.*, p. 395.

In the autumn of 1663 the Swedes, Finns and other nations⁹ had erected about 110 good boweries, stocked with about 200 cows and oxen, 20 horses, 80 sheep and several thousand swine. The settlers, as we have seen,¹⁰ wrote to relatives and friends in Sweden, praising the land and inviting them to come over. They were also encouraged by the Dutch authorities to do so, and as a result several settlers arrived from Sweden from time to time. In the summer of 1663 the skipper Peter Luckassen brought a number of colonists to the South River, among whom were some 30 Swedes, and in December Alexander d'Hinoyossa arrived there with 150 colonists, including 32 or more Finns and probably some Swedes.¹¹

The colony was peaceful as a rule also during this period. A few minor disturbances arose, however, and Evert Hindrickson, 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 brought into court. The Swedes and Finns continued to have their own officers and some were even employed in the service at the forts. Timon Stidden, who remained here, continued to act as barber-surgeon and he treated the ill and wounded as far as he was able. Witchcraft also played a role in the settlement in this period and Margareta Matsson was said to be a witch, as Henry Drystreet was told about 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.¹²

⁹ Probably Germans are meant. There were also a few Danes in the colony.

¹⁰ Cf. above, Chap. LII.

¹¹ *Doc.*, XII. 421 ff.

¹² Peter Meyer ("a subject of Sweden") came into Maryland from New Amstel in 1661 with wife and children and was granted permission by the council to settle there.

Axel Stille (from New Amstel), Peter Jacobs[s]on, Marcus Sipherson

Little is known of the religious history of the Swedes and Finns during this period. 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 that was later regretted by some of the Dutch. Lars Lock remained here 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 from the settlers. Rev. Lock continued to have trouble and in 1661 his wife was unfaithful to him and eloped with another man, causing inconvenience and law-suits. Having obtained a divorce, he married again, however, 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 their parents. He as well as Olof Stille objected to the interference of the Dutch court, saying that the consistory in Sweden alone had jurisdiction over the case. Rev. Lock also had other troubles, and one 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 themselves. Acrelius asserts that a priest by the name of Mathias came out here on the ship *Mercurius*, but he returned to Sweden with the vessel according to the same authority.¹³ As many Lutherans resided at New Amstel who desired a minister, they applied for permission to call a young man by the name of Abelius Zetskorn or Setskorn to serve them. The Swedish commissaries at Tinicum desired to have him preach in their church, but Rev. Lock objected "to it with all his influence." Setskorn preached there

(Sifversson), Clement Mickels[s]on, Andrew (Andreas) Clement[s]on, Hendrick Hendricks[s]on, Peter Montson (Månsson), Ma[t]thias Cornelisen (?), Hendrick Mathias[s]on, Joh[a]n Wheeler, Bartholimeus Hendricks[s]on, Cornelius Urin[s]on, Joh[a]n Urin[s]on, Andrew Toreson (Andreas Thors[s]on), Paul Joh[a]n[s]on, Gothofried Harmer are also given in the Md. Archives as coming from the Delaware. They were given permission to live there as "free denizens." *Md. Archives*, III. 428-30.

¹³ Cf. above.

on the second day of Pentecost, however, and he received a call as school-master with the same salary as the preacher enjoyed, but the people "of New Amstel would not let him go,"¹⁴ and Lock remained alone among the Swedes and Finns, north of New Amstel. The population was now too large for the work of one preacher and besides the language question complicated matters. Many of the Finns could not understand Swedish during the first years and these were without religious instruction. As time went on, however, the Swedish language became predominant, the Finns and Dutch gradually acquiring the same.¹⁵

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 now 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 Hon. Company," being inclined rather to remove than to submit to the conditions offered them.

Many new plantations had now been begun by the Swedish and Finnish settlers and land grants were made and confirmed by the Dutch. 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 the other utensils and implements, which 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 success from the Dutch point of view, however. Thousands of florins were borrowed and expended and other thousands were needed to put the colony on a prosperous footing.

In 1664 rumors of a Swedish attempt at recapturing the

¹⁴ 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.

¹⁵ *Doc.*, XII., II.

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 were about to depart for 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 at the Delaware 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 anyone was allowed to depart from the river 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 period.¹⁶

¹⁶ *Doc.*, II., III. 68 ff., XIII. 113 ff.; *Cal. of State Papers*, Col., 1661-68, p. 236 ff.; Hazard, *Register*, I. 16; *Min. of Pro. Council*, I. 93 ff.; *Penn. Mag.*, V. 169, X. 269; Acrelius, *Beskrif.*, 89 ff.; Hazard, 208 ff.; Norberg, p. 6.

APPENDICES.

APPENDIX A.

BRIEF BIOGRAPHIES.

Anckarhjelm, Martin Thijsen (his Dutch name was Maarten Thijsen), was born in Vlissingen. He served the Dutch West India Company for some time and in 1644 he was placed in command of the fleet which De Geer sent to Sweden in aid against Denmark. The same year he entered Swedish service and was raised to the rank of the nobility, whereupon he was given the name of *Anckarhjelm*. He was used in various capacities by the government and his services were of great value to Sweden. He often prepared ships for commercial expeditions to foreign countries. At times he supplied large sums of money to the Crown and he took a lively interest in the New Sweden Company as well as mercantile and manufacturing establishments in his adopted country. Anckarhjelm received several honors from the Swedish government and in 1653 he was made an admiral in the navy. He died in Stockholm, 1657.

Printed Sources. Munthe, *Sv. sjöhj.*, V. 195 ff.; *Nordisk familjebok* (2d Ed.), I. 920; Holfberg, *Biogr. lex.* (2d Ed.), I. 29; *Hand. rör. Skan. Hist.*, V. 87 ff., XX. 303 ff.; Kernkamp, *De Sleutels van de Sont*. Histories of Holland, Denmark and Sweden give facts about him.

Manuscripts. I. Riksarkivet. A great number of letters in R.R. to Anckarhjelm and letters from him in N.S., I. (R.A.); letters from Anckarhjelm to Axel Oxenstierna (*Ox. Saml.*); letters from the Com. Col. to Anckarhjelm (Reg., 1653).

II. Flottans arkiv. A. A great many "Skrifvelser till Anckarhjelm," 1645 (about 23 in all); 1646 (about 23), March 18, fol. 245, February 28, fol. 203, from fol. 765 to 1053, etc.; 1647, letters to Anckarhjelm in Portugal, February 6, fol. 74 etc.; 1653, January 12, 20, April 30, May 2, 6, 11, 14, etc. (concerning the fitting out of ships and procuring of provisions), June 24, fol. 386, etc.; 1655, March 22, April 2, 5, 7, 12, fol. 30, etc. (concerning the shipbuilding establishment at Gothenburg. He was to collect material, etc.), May 17, August 30, etc.; 1657, February 3, fol. 47 (concerning money advanced by Anckarhjelm). A

great many other entries found in the different volumes of the *Am. Reg.*

B. Ankomna skrivelser (till amiralitetet). A great many letters from Anckarhjelm to the Admiralty (*Sixty during 1646*, etc.).

III. Kammararkivet also contains various letters and documents concerning Anckarhjelm.


Appelbom, Harald, was born in 1612 at Söderby in Sweden. Became correspondent in Holland in 1642 to take the place of Samuel Blommaert. In 1647 he was made commissary at Amsterdam. In 1652 he was sent to England to take the place of Spiring, who died in London the same year. Appelbom was made a resident at the Hague after his return to Holland and he presented protests against the Dutch encroachments and occupation of New Sweden. He died at the Hague on March 8, 1674. Besides his diplomatic duties, he was engaged in literary pursuits and translated into Swedish, Barclay's *Argenis*, "the Indian saga," *En Book om konungars Liuus eller Conduite*, etc.

Printed Sources. *Nordisk familjebok* (2d Ed.), I. 1242; Schück och Warburg, *Sv. lit. his.*, I. 375, 378, etc.; *Hand. rör. Skan. Hist.*, VII. 77; IX. 94 ff. Thurloe, *State Papers*, I. ff.; Hazard, *Reg. Penn.*, I.; Hazard, *Annals; Doc.*, I., II.; Aitzema, V., etc.; the histories of Sweden, Holland and England contain references to him.

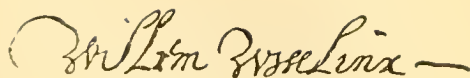
Manuscripts. Diplomatic correspondence in Riksarkivet, Stockholm. Memorials and letters at the Hague and letters in the Record Office, London.

Beier, Johan (von), was born in Berlin, on May 10, 1606 (?), and died in Stockholm September 13, 1669. He entered Swedish service in 1632 (?). In 1637 he was appointed secretary of the Commercial College and in 1642 he became "postmaster here in the kingdom [Sweden]." The same year it was proposed in the council that he should be put on the budget of the chancery and become secretary in the old chancery, handling the German correspondence. He edited the first paper in Sweden in 1645. He was treasurer of the New Sweden Company and took much interest in the welfare of the colony. Reports and letters from New Sweden were often sent to him and he at times paid the colonists and sailors, who had served the company.

Printed Sources. *De la Gard. Arch.*, VI. 12 ff.; *Rådspr.*, II. ff.; *Nordisk familjebok* (2d Ed.), II. 1228-29; Hofberg, *Biogr. lex.*, I. 66; *Anrep*, I. 135; *Sv. Biogr. lex.*, *Ny följd*, II. 49-54. (This account is inaccurate, but it gives a great many interesting facts about him.) Holm, *Sv. all. postv.*, I.-III. (a good work); *Sv. postv. ålder*.



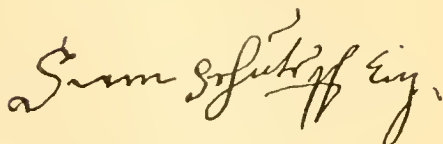
Christer Bonde. (See pp. 616, 636).



Willem Usselinx (see p. 698).



[Andries] Hudde. See pp. 408 ff., 581 ff.



Swen Schute. (See p. 451 ff.)



Sven Höök. (See p. 681.)



Gustaf Printz. (See p. 687.)



Henrich von Elsswich. (See p. 680.)

Facsimiles of the signatures of Usselinx, Hudde, Gustaf, Printz, Höök, Bonde, Skute and Elsswich. For the handwriting of Anckarhjelm, see p. 632, of Beier, p. 132, of S. Blommaert, p. 92, of Van den Bogaert, p. 142, of Bonde, p. 479, of Brahe, p. 238, of Burell, p. 238, of Carl X Gustaf p. 626, of Christina, p. 501, of Peter Coÿet, p. 479, of Durell, p. 479, of Van Dyck, pp. 128-129, of Klas Fleming, p. 238, of Gustavus Adolphus, p. 52, of Huygen, p. 318, of Kramer, pp. 233, 452, 642-643, of Lagerfelt, p. 479, of Van Langdonk, p. 200, of Lindeström, pp. 518, 554, of Macklier, p. 194, of Minuit, pp. 96-97, of Axel Oxenstierna, p. 238, of Eric Oxenstierna, p. 479, of Gabriel Oxenstierna, p. 238, of Papegoja, pp. 454-455, of Johan Printz, pp. 318, 444-447, of Ridder, pp. 198-199, of Rising, pp. 564-565, 616, of Ruttens, pp. 184-185, of Schotting, p. 233, of Spiring, p. 154, of Stuyvesant, p. 432, of Trotzic, pp. 282-283, of Whitelocke, p. 620, Weis, p. 124.

For his writings see *Biogr. lex., Ny följd*, II. 53-54; Hammarsköld, *Sv. Witterh.*, p. 173 (but several of the works given there belong to his son, Johan Gustaf von Beier (1646-1705), who was a poet and author).

Manuscripts. R.R.; Letters from Beier to the government (R.A.); letters to A. Oxenstierna (*Ox. Saml.*); letters to De la Gardie (*Sandb. Saml.*, K.A.); letters in Dahlb. Saml. (R.A.); letters in N. S., I. (R.A.).

Blommaert,¹ Samuel, was born in Antwerp on August 21, 1583. From Antwerp Blommaert's father removed to England, where he died in September, 1591. Young Samuel was sent to school in London by his stepmother. (His mother died when he was about a year old and his father married again.) Later he was sent to the Hague, Haarlem, Amsterdam, Hamburg and other cities to learn the trade of a merchant. In 1603 he entered the service of the Dutch East India Company and went to the East Indies the same year, where he spent almost seven eventful years. In September, 1610, he took passage on the ship *Hoorn* and arrived at Texel the following June.

On his return to Holland he settled at Amsterdam in the business of a merchant. Here he prepared expeditions to the Indies and soon became "an important man." He also became a stockholder in the Dutch West India Company and was elected one of its directors several times. He was appointed factor of Eric Larsson von der Linde (a Swedish citizen and nobleman) and he had large transactions in grain and copper with the Swedish government in 1630 and 1631 and perhaps earlier. He was also interested in Swedish manufacturing establishments and obtained privileges from the government. Through Falkenberg and Le Blon he was brought into communication with Axel Oxenstierna and in 1636 he was made Swedish commissary at Amsterdam with a salary of 1,000 R.D. a year (paid out of the Dutch subsidies) and allowances for travelling expenses. Finding that his position as a representative of the Swedish Crown and as the principal promoter and shareholder in the rival Swedish company became obnoxious to his fellow-members of the Dutch West India Company and a source of much disagreeable criticism, he withdrew from the Swedish service in the summer or autumn of 1642 (the last letter I have found to him is dated April, 1642, N. S., I., R.A.), for in July arrangements were made at Stockholm to appoint some one in his place (see above, p. 156).

¹ There were many others by the name of Blommaert at this time. Thomas Blommaert, who removed to Sweden and advanced the Swedish iron and brass industries. He had also dealings with the commercial companies. Andriaen Blommaert was a trader in New Netherland, skipper on the *Hope*, etc.

Blommaert was interested in the Dutch settlements in America. In company with Godyn, De Laet, Van Rensselaer, Paauw and Hamel he founded a colony on Brand-pylens Island, having a tenth share in the same, and he registered a colony on the Fresh River in November, 1629, which was never settled, however. He was one of the patrons, who bought land on the South River before the coming of the Swedes and established the unsuccessful Swanendael colony of which he owned one fifth. He had also plans in 1630 to establish a colony on the "Island of St. Martin or Barbadoes among the Caribbean Islands." His name was attached to several places in America. The Fresh River was called *Blommaert's River* after him, but the name did not last. "The fourth creek above Fort Orange on the west side" of the Hudson was also named *Blommaert's Kill*; "Bargenal Inlet" was called *Blommaert's Point*; five small islands lying north of Fort Orange were called *Blommaert's Islands* and a farm near by was known under the name of *Blommaert's Burg*.

He continued to serve the Dutch West India Company and was a member of its board of accounts in 1647.² He was alive in October, 1650, and is mentioned as lately dead on June 20, 1652. It is therefore probable that he died in the spring or early summer of 1652 (hence not in 1654 as is stated by Elias, *De Vroedsch. van Amst.*, I. 373; Kernkamp, *Zweed. Arch.*, 23).

Sources. The best and only account is given by Professor Kernkamp in his *Zweed. Arch.*, p. 3 ff.

Documentary materials besides those used by Prof. Kernkamp are found in *Doc.*, I. 43, 70, 88 ff., 217, 248 ff., 320, 330, 406 ff., 480, 518 ff. *Kam. Kol. Reg.*, October 6, 1632; September 10, 1636; November 22, 1641 (K.A.); *Rådspr.*, IX.; N. S., I. (R.A. and K.A.); De Vries, *Korte Historiae*; *Van Ren. Bowier Mss.*, ed. by Van Laer and *Hand. rör. Skan. Hist.*, IX. At Sjöholm (Sweden) is a letter or bill from him. (See *Catalogue* in R.A.)

Bonnell,³ Benjamin, was an Englishman⁴ of some means, who seems

² In *Doc.* I. 248, the signature is given as J. Blommaert, but this must be a mistake.

³ There were a number of Bonnells (Bonnel) in America. *Abraham, Jacob, Joseph, John, Nathaniel Bonnel*, etc. See *New Jersey Archives*, II. 336, IV. 203 ff., V. 142, etc., IX. 185 ff., etc. The name was also found in England during Bonnell's time. Thurloe, *State Papers*.

⁴ On July 17, 1655, B. Bonnell addressed a letter to Thurloe asking for aid in which he says: "It is my unhappinesse and not my sin, that makes me suffer; and most of my suffering is for being an Englishman and for having been ever

to have been a merchant at Amsterdam for a time. He resided in Spain and Portugal for about twenty years ("weil ehr . . . woll 20 Jahre in Spanien und Portugal sich uffenth."). About 1625 he went to Sweden to establish a glass factory. He was later engaged by the South Company to begin the manufacture of glass, but the venture failed. He remained in Stockholm, however, and testified to the honesty and good character of Loeff in the latter's quarrels with the directors of the old South Company. In the autumn of 1640 he was appointed factor of the New Sweden Company at Stockholm (see above, Chaps. XVII., XIX.). In the autumn of 1651, he was commissioned to go to England to look after the interests of Sweden (above, Chap. XXXI., p. 299) and in the following year he was again sent there to endeavor to secure the release of the arrested ships of the Swedish African Company.⁵ He arrived at London on February 17, 1653, where he was received with greater ceremony and respect than his rank entitled him to. In 1656 he once more went to London in his former capacity. He seems to have returned to Sweden in 1660 (there is a "supplik from him to the Crown," no date, but undoubtedly written in 1660).

Printed Sources. (No biography.) Thurloe, *State Papers*, II. 142-3, 216 ff., 299-301, 314, 360, III. References to him and his mission in Ellen Fries, *Eric Oxenstierna*; but Dr. Fries is mistaken in calling him a merchant from Gothenburg. When he was sent to England the first time he had been factor in Stockholm for the New Sweden Company for several years. (See above.) Other references are found in Heimer, *Dipl. för.*, p. 69 ff.; Granlund, *En sv. kol.*, p. 17 ff.

Manuscripts. Documents in N. S., I. (R.A.) and N. S., I.-III. (K.A.); letters from Usselinx to A. Oxenstierna (*Ox. Saml.*); letters from Bonnell to A. Oxenstierna (*Ox. Saml.*) and to Christina, also letters from him to Carl X. (January 9, 1657—March 14, 1660, one in Swedish, the rest in French); "Frågepunct.," etc., signed by Bonnell and others, July, 1634, *Skepsk.*, 1629-50 (R.A.). See index below.

Brahe, Per Abrahamsson, d. y. (Jr.), was born in 1602. He belonged to one of the richest and most influential families in the kingdom and was true and faithful to my native country, which hath bred me many enemys in Swedland." Thurloe, *State Papers*, III. 655.

⁵ He arrived in Gothenburg on his way to London on November 30, 1652, and intended to set sail on December 18, but was delayed here by contrary winds until February 5, 1653, and landed at Gravesend on February 14, 1654. Bonnell to A. Oxenstierna, December 1, 17, 1652; February 14, 18, 1654, *Ox. Saml.* (R.A.).

an intimate friend of Gustavus Adolphus. He spent some years in the army, but peaceful occupations were more to his taste and he soon withdrew from the field. He was appointed governor-general of Prussia in 1635, and governor of Finland in 1637 and again in 1648. He took great interest in the Finnish people, was instrumental in founding the University of Åbo, established schools and founded numerous cities. Finland owes more to him than to any other man of olden times. His wise government gave rise to a proverb that has become a part of the Swedish language. He was a member of the Council of State for a number of years and he took great interest in New Sweden, giving Printz valuable advice. He became a member of the government in 1660, during the minority of Carl XI. and died in 1680.

Sources. Hofberg, *Biogr. lex.*, I. 128; *Finsk. biogr. handbok*, I. 254-5, and the bibliography given there. See also Settervall, *Sv. hist. bibl.*, for further bibliography. Cf. index, below.

Campanius Holm.,^o Rev. Johan (Johannes), the son of Jonas Peter, was born at Stockholm in the congregation of St. Klara on August 15, 1601. He went through the schools of his native city and after finishing his studies at the *gymnasium* he entered the University of Upsala, where he studied theology with distinction until he was ordained on July 19, 1633. In March (23), the following year, he was appointed chaplain to a Swedish legation to Russia and when he returned he was employed as schoolmaster in Norrtälje, a small Swedish town on the coast, a short distance north of Stockholm. Later he became preceptor and resident clergyman at the Orphans' Home of Stockholm. On February 3, 1642, he was formally called by the government to go to New Sweden, where he remained over five years. (For his activities as an author and his labors in America see above, Chap. XLIV.)

Campanius left the colony with his family in May, 1648, with a good recommendation from Governor Printz. His services in New Sweden were appreciated by the authorities and he was made first preacher to the Admiralty on the Skeppsholm, an island in Stockholm (the station of the Swedish navy) already on August 5. The following year (1649) he

^o There was a military preacher by the name of Anders Campanius, on the ship *Fortuna* in 1653, *Am. Reg.*, October 8, 1653. There were several others by the name of Holm at this time. One Johan Holm was engaged at the court in 1652 ff. He was raised to the rank of the nobility in 1653. See *Biogr.* (R.A.). One Eric Holm held high offices in Stockholm at this time and he was also made a nobleman in 1653. There were also other Holms. Holm. or *Holmiensis* indicates that Campanius was from Stockholm.

became rector of the pastorate of Frösthult and Hernevi, where he remained until his death. After a short illness he died on September 17, 1683, and was buried in the Church of Frösthult, where a handsome monument was erected to his memory. The church books giving the details of his labors in his congregation are now deposited in *Landsarkivet* at Upsala. Campanius was somewhat of a scholar, knowing Latin perfectly, and he was interested in literature and in the natural sciences. He seems to have been an able preacher and he performed his duties with faithfulness and legends about him lived on among the Swedes on the Delaware for more than a century. Acrelius says (1759) that, "since he associated much with the savages, a legend still circulates to the effect that he journeyed up into the country among them and made his way to Sweden by land."

Printed Sources. (No complete biography.) J. E. Fant, *Up. ärkest. herdam.*, I. 401-2; Holm (transl.), pp. 107-8; Acrelius, *Beskrif.*, p. 85.

Manuscripts. *Church books of Frösthult*, 1649, ff.; N. S., I. (Up. Domkap.); N. S., III. (K.A.); Beier's letters to A. Oxenstierna, 1647-8. See index, below.

Christina, the famous Queen of Sweden and daughter of Gustavus Adolphus, was born at Stockholm on December 8, 1626. Her education was thorough and extensive and at the age of sixteen she could write and speak German and Latin fluently and had a good knowledge of Greek. On December 8, 1644, at the age of eighteen, she ascended the Swedish throne, but already tired of her duties she resigned her crown in 1654. At Innsbruck she formally accepted the Catholic faith the following year and was received with great splendor at Rome, where she lived (except at short intervals) the rest of her days. She revisited her native land in 1660 and again in 1667 and made pretensions to the throne. She died at Rome in April, 1689.

She was one of the most remarkable queens that ever ruled. She called artists, philosophers and scholars to her court and astonished them by her brilliancy and versatility. But she was not suited for a ruler and her government was almost disastrous to Sweden. Had a more statesman-like sovereign occupied the Swedish throne from 1638 until 1654, New Sweden would have had a different story.

Printed Sources. See any Cyclopaedia. Bibliography very large. Cf. bibliography and index. There is a good article by E. Meyer on "*The Literary work of Christina in Italy*," in *Samlaren*, 1884, p. 65 ff. A list of her works is given on p. 98 ff.

Elswick, Hendrick von, a merchant from Lübeck. Moved to Stockholm, where he continued in his trade, as it seems, until the autumn of 1653. Being appointed factor in New Sweden in the early part of 1654, he went to Porto Rico in the same year and presented the claims of the Swedish government for the ship *Katt*. He arrived in New Sweden in the autumn of 1654. He was an able and faithful commissary and his books are complete and full of information. He returned to Sweden in 1656 and was paid his salary by Kramer.

Manuscript Sources. See bibl. below. *Rising's Relations*; *Rising's Journal*; *Elswick's Journal* (fragment) and *Relation*; *Elswick's letters to Eric Oxenstierna* (referred to above); documents in N. S., I. and *Söderk.* (R.A.); *Com. Col. Reg.*, 1653-6; *Geogr.* (R.A.). See index, below. Cf. also *Doc.*, I., XII.

Fleming, Klas Larsson. One of the greatest names in Swedish history at this period. He occupied various responsible positions in the kingdom and everywhere his great energy and large ability effected marvelous results. He reorganized the Swedish navy and it was largely through his efforts that Sweden was able to cope with Denmark on the seas in the war of 1644-1646. From the first he took charge of the affairs of the New Sweden Company, and had he lived it is likely that New Sweden would not have been so greatly neglected.

Fleming was born in 1592 and he was killed by a stray bullet from a Danish battery, July 26, 1644.

Printed Sources. Munthe, *Sv. sjöhj.*, V. 3 ff.; *Nordisk familjebok*, VIII. 565-6; Hofberg, *Biogr. lex.*, I. 339; *Biogr. lex.*, IV. 562 ff. (For the Fleming family see *Biogr. lex.*, IV. 531.) A great many of the Flemings were called Klas, see *ibid.*, 538 ff.; Stiernman, *Höf. Minnen*, I. 55 ff. For older bibliography see *Biogr. lex.*, IV. 564. *Lykpredikan öfwer Then ädle och Welborne Herre, Herr Claes Flemming . . .* aff D. Olavo Laurelio, Stock. 1645, *Palmsk. Saml.* (Up. B.), 417, predikan no. 2, p. 149.

Documents are found in *Hand. rör. Skan. Hist.*, II. 80, 92, 112, V. 86 ff.; VIII. 27 ff.; IX. 80 ff., 164; XXIV. 288, etc. (Fleming's letter to C. von Falkenberg concerning grain, etc., November 25, 1631, IX. 80 ff. etc.); Stiernman, *Kungl. br.*, etc., II. 190 ff.; *Rådskr.*, 1629-1644.

Manuscripts. Thirty-four letters (1627-44) from Fleming to A. Oxenstierna (see Munthe, *Sv. sjöhj.*, V. p. ix, and Sondén, *A. Oxenstierna (Ox. Saml.)*); *Några Clas Fleming papper 1630 ock 1640 talen* (R.A.) (not made use of by Munthe); also *Ox. Conceptor*; *Documents*

in *Söderk.* and *Tobaksk.* (R.A.); Klas Fleming to Brahe, 1637-40, *Skokl. Saml.* (R.A.); there are also letters in (K.A.) Reg. signed by him, also letters written to him in N. S., I. (K.A.). In "*Banér bref*," etc., are letters signed by Fleming alone and by him and J. Casimir (R. Library Stkh.).

Fluviander, Rev. Israel Holg, "was the son of Governor Printz's sister." He came to America in 1643 and remained here until March, 1647, preaching at Elfsborg and Christina. Holm says that he became rector in Ods congregation in the diocese of Skara, but Sprinchorn informs us that he is not mentioned in the church-books of this congregation. Sprinchorn, *N. S.*, p. 29, note.

Manuscript Sources. *Journal*, N. S., III. (K.A.); Beier's letters to Oxenstierna, 1647, *Ox. Saml.* (R.A.). See index, below.

Gustavus Adolphus, the greatest ruler and statesman of the Scandinavian North, the reorganizer of the military, political and economic systems of Sweden and the founder of modern warfare, was born in Stockholm, on December 9, 1594, and died on the battle-field of Lützen on November 6, 1632.

Sources. The bibliography is very large. See any Encyclopedia or bibliography of historical writings.

Höök, Sven, applied for permission to go to America in the service of the government or the company in 1653 and came here on the *Haj* on the eleventh expedition. He served in the settlement in the capacity of a lieutenant and returned to Sweden after the capture of the colony. It seems that he entered the navy upon his return to his native country and it appears that he was in charge of the ship *Postryttaren* in 1658. The same or another Sven Höök was commander of the *Haj* in 1647. See N. S., I. (R.A.); *Com. Col. Reg.* (R.A.). Memorial for Sven Höök, *Am. Reg.*, July 1, 1658. See index, below.

Kieft, Willem, was the sixth governor of New Netherland (1638-1647). He assumed the government of the colony about the time Minuit arrived in the Minquas Kill. The settlements were not in the best condition and things did not improve much with his coming. Indian massacres and other troubles arose, due to Kieft's policies. He was on friendly terms with Governor Printz, however, and there was not much trouble between the Swedes and Dutch during his time. He left the colony in 1647 and was drowned in a storm on the coast of Wales. No accurate biography.

Printed Sources. Histories of New York; Jameson, *Nar. of N. Neth.*,

66, 211, etc.; *Doc.*, I., XII.; *Nat. Cyclo. of Am. Biogr.*, VI. 91-2 (not accurate). Cf. index, below.

Kramer, Hans, a German. He was appointed book-keeper for the New Sweden Company in 1640 and continued in this capacity until the dissolution of the American Company in 1662. He was also director in the company after 1655 and held the positions of book-keeper and director in the African Company. He was alive in 1668.

Sources. Letters and bills, N. S., I.-II. (R.A.); Söderk., 1637-59 (R.A.); N. S., I.-III. (K.A.); Rising's Process (R.A.); Mss. in Afrik. Komp., I.-III. (R.A.) and in Nord. Saml. (Up. B.). Cf. index, below.

Lindeström, Peter Mårtensson, was the son of Mårten Månsson, who was knighted and assumed the name of Lindeström. Peter Lindeström studied at the University of Upsala, whereupon he secured employment as secretary in the College of Mines for two years. Again entering the university he specialized in mathematics and the art of fortification for some time. In 1653 he was appointed to go to New Sweden as engineer (cf. above, p. 554 ff.). He did great service for the company, but he was not satisfied with his position here, and Rising could with difficulty persuade him to remain in the autumn of 1654. He returned to Europe with the director and visited the fortifications at Plymouth and eleven other forts in England during his stay there in December, 1655.⁷ He went through Holland, Germany and Denmark on foot. He was robbed at Grensmohlen (?) and arrested at Wismar, but he was released and given full satisfaction, whereupon he continued his journey and arrived in Sweden after many adventures. In March, 1657, he was in Stockholm and, finding that there was a vacancy in the army, he applied for the position of fortification-engineer and secured the appointment (his commission being dated April 8, 1657). He was then stationed in Jämtland "to continue the fortification" there. Later he took part in the campaigns against the Danes "in Skåne and Norway." In 1661 he went abroad to seek his fortune in foreign nations, but he returned in a "couple of years," unable to obtain what he wanted.⁸ Again in

⁷ Near the English coast his chest filled with instruments, maps and descriptions was to be transferred in a boat from the ship *Bontekoe* to the *Bern*, on November 1, 1655; but as it was hauled upon the latter vessel, it was struck against the side so violently that the cover came open and all the instruments, valued at 150 R.D., were lost. The charts and descriptions were recovered, however. *Geogr.*, 73.

⁸ He could have secured a position in "General Ryllos' army," if he could have proven that he had had a longer experience as an engineer. It seems that his stay in New Sweden did not count.

January, 1666, he applied for a recommendation from the College of War, having in mind to serve under Gustaf Wrangel "on German soil." Finally he married and settled at Brosäter. About 1679 he "became afflicted with a painful suffering in all his limbs" and from 1683 until his death in 1691 he was confined to his bed, making work almost impossible. During the latter part of his life, however, he wrote his *Geographia* which was completed in its present form shortly before his death. "His last will was that the book should be presented to the King." He was given donations of land (Knäpla and Wedhÿx) in 1651 and several other grants later, but he died in very poor circumstances, due to his illness and the expenses connected with it. His widow, Margreta Roos ("about sixty years old" in 1691) was given 200 R.D. by the government in May, 1693.

Printed Sources. No accurate biography. Anrep, *Ättart.*, II. 772.

Manuscripts. *Geogr.* (R.A.); letters from Lindeström in *Biogr. L.* (R.A.); letters from Margreta Roos in N. S., II. (R.A.); letter dated January 15, 1666, in "oordnade buntar" (K.A.); letter to Com. Col. in N. S., I. (R.A.); *Rising's Journal*; Red. Kol. Akt., 266 (K.A.); *Saml.*, A. 1, fol. 906, Bergskol.

Macklier, Hans, settled at Gothenburg⁹ some time before 1629 (Berg says between 1620 and 1630). He was of a Scotch noble family and had been an officer in the English navy. At Gothenburg he became a merchant, importing salt and the like. He supplied the government with goods, became wealthy by his trade and did great service to his adopted city. He acted as commissary for the New Sweden Company after 1646 and was of great aid in the preparations of some of the expeditions. He received many honors from the city, being its representative at Stockholm on several occasions and in 1649 he was made a Swedish nobleman ("introduced in 1652"). He befriended the Marquis of Montrose during the latter's stay in Gothenburg and advanced him 60,000 R.D. in 1649, also making over to him a large quantity of arms. He was made an English baron in 1650. He married twice and had many children. He died in 1666 and was buried in the German Church at Gothenburg. All the letters the writer has seen from him, are written in German.

Source. Letters to A. Oxenstierna (R.A.); manuscripts in Gothenburg; N. S., I. (R.A.); N. S., I.-III. (K.A.); Anrep, *Ättart.*, II. 848 ff.; Berg, *Saml. till Göteb. hist.*, I. 89-90, 120 (and bilagor);

⁹ He also had a brother in Sweden.

Rådspr., I. 185; II. 141, 184; V. 127, VII. 279, 327, 343; XI. 101, 183, 303, 333; Gardiner, *Hist. of the Com. and the Protec.*, I. 212.

Minuit, Peter,¹⁰ the third governor of New Netherland and the first of New Sweden was born at Wesel on the Rhine about 1580-5.¹¹ He was probably educated at the Gymnasium of Wesel. He married the sister (?) of Hendrick Huygen and knew and associated with the wealthiest and most influential men in his home town. During the Spanish occupation of the city (1614-1629) trade was ruined and prosperity disappeared and it appears that he removed about 1623 or 1624 for in the spring of 1625 it is stated that he "had left for foreign countries," his wife having gone to Cleves. It is probable that he went direct to Holland (likely to Amsterdam) and that he secured profitable employment there through the influence of the Huygen family.

In 1625 he was appointed general director of New Netherland, beginning his duties here in 1626. His rule was wise and successful, but he made himself obnoxious to a strong party among the directors and he was recalled in 1631. He left New Amsterdam in the beginning of 1632 and returned to Holland.

His activities from 1632 until 1635 are practically unknown. About this time he offered his services to Samuel Blommaert and he soon became interested in the colonial and mercantile plans of Sweden. He was introduced to Oxenstierna and Spiring and he suggested the first practical plan to the chancellor for the colonizing of the Delaware and proposed the name *New Sweden*. He did not specify the territory to be settled, but that the west side of the Delaware is meant, can be seen from other circumstances. Being unnecessary for us to recount his labors while in the Swedish employ, since it has been done elsewhere (above Chaps. XI.-XIV., XXI.), we pass them over. His two vessels arrived in the Delaware about March 15, 1638. He bought lands from the Indians, built a fort at Minquas Kill and left the colony in June.

On his way home at the island of St. Christopher, he was invited as a guest on a ship called the *Flying Deer*. Suddenly a terrible storm arose. The ship was blown out to sea and was never heard of again, Minuit and the other passengers disappearing forever.

¹⁰ Kapp is mistaken in thinking that his name was Frenchified by American historians. According to Kapp the name ought to be written Minnewitt, but he used the French form himself and spelled it *Minuit*, hence I don't see that we have a right to change it. Cf. facsimile; *Doc.*, I. 43, etc. It is, however, also written Minnewit in the documents, see *Doc.*, I. 291, etc. See Kapp. *Sybel's Hist. Zeit.*, XV. 232.

¹¹ His father was Jan Minuit and his mother was Sara.

It has been said that Minit was a German. He was indeed born in Germany, but his parents were of Walloon or of French descent and his education must have been Dutch (and probably partly French) for he writes Dutch (and in *Dutch characters* although his spelling is sometimes German) even to Oxenstierna and it is extremely improbable that he would have used that language in writing to the Swedish chancellor, *if he had known German*. There was a large Dutch colony in Wesel and that Minit belonged to this and associated with Dutch or "Batavized" Walloons is probable. His relative Hendrick Huygen (from Wesel, said to have been *a born Frenchman*, however) likewise used the Dutch language in his correspondence with the Swedish authorities.

Printed Sources. No good biography. The most complete is that by F. Kapp, *Peter Minnevit aus Wesel* in *Sybel's Hist. Zeit.*, XV. 225 ff.; *The Hist. Mag.*, 2d S., III. 205 ff.; *Zeit. des Berg. Gesch. Ver.*, 1867; Acrelius, *Beskrif.*; Odhner, *N. S.*, 8 ff.; *Doc. I.*; *Van Ren. Bowier Mss.*; Kernkamp, *Zweed. Arch.*; *Rådspr.*, 1636-8.

Manuscripts. Blommaert's letters to Oxenstierna (*Ox. Saml.*); Spiring to Oxenstierna; Fleming to Oxenstierna (*Ox. Saml.*). See bibliogr. and index, below.

Nertunius, Rev. Matthias Nicolaus, was well educated. He was engaged to go to America in 1649 on the *Katt* but he was wrecked with the other passengers near Porto Rico. Robbed of his property and persecuted "for religion's sake" he finally made his way to Sweden after many hardships. His troubles did not end here, however. He suffered want and privation. He complains most bitterly to the chancellor that "he had suffered for some space of time in this famous capital," exclaiming that of him it could truly be said what the poet sings: "Through various accidents through so many dangers we strive."^{11a} Together with Joachimus Lycke he prayed the chancellor "to stretch out a helping hand" as he was "not only lightly tinged but deeply dyed with affliction." In 1653 he again decided to try his luck in New Sweden and this time he reached his destination safely. He returned with Rising and was recommended to the grace of the archbishop by the directors of the Commercial College in October, 1656.

Sources. *N. S.*, I.-II. (R.A.); *N. S.*, I.-III. (K.A.); *Com. Col. Reg.*, October 3, 1656.

^{11a} "Vero verius dici potest quod Poeta canit: 'Per varios casus, per tot discrimina rerum Tendimus, etc.'" Letter from Nertunius and Lycke, no date, but about the autumn of 1652. *N. S.*, I. (R.A.).

Oxenstierna, Axel, was born in Upland on June 16, 1583. Like Per Brahe he belonged to one of the most influential families in Sweden. He received a thorough education and studied at Jena, Rostock and Wittenberg. He soon became one of the leading spirits in his country and while still a young man he was employed on important diplomatic and other missions. He was made chancellor in 1612 and became the right hand of Gustavus Adolphus in the formation and execution of the great plans that were to place Sweden among the leading powers of Europe. After the death of his king he became the virtual ruler of Sweden for many years and through his genius the cause of the Protestant allies finally triumphed. He was greatly interested in the settlements on the Delaware and through his initiative the New Sweden Company came into being. "He was the greatest statesman of Sweden below the throne"—the first place must be given to Gustavus Adolphus—and with the exception of Richelieu "he was the greatest uncrowned statesman of the age," "the great man of the continent," as Cromwell called him. He died in 1654.

Sources. No complete biography. Hofberg, *Biogr. lex.*, II. 252; *Nordisk familjebok*, and English, German and French Encyclopedias. Cf. bibliogr. below, also Odhner, *Sv. in. hist.*, p. 36 ff., 73 ff. The manuscript material for a biography is vast, and is found almost all over Europe. His writings are being published at Stockholm.

Oxenstierna, Eric, the son of Axel Oxenstierna, was born on February 13, 1624. He was educated at the University of Upsala, whereupon he spent about two years in foreign travels and studied at Amsterdam and Leyden. He possessed many of the great qualities of his great father and became one of the leading diplomats and statesmen of his country, although he died at an early age.

In 1652 he was appointed president of the Commercial College and was the leading force in the renewed activities in behalf of New Sweden in 1653. The following year he was made chancellor to succeed his father. He was made governor-general of Prussia in 1655 and died there in 1656, at the age of thirty-two.

Printed Sources. The best biography is by Ellen Fries, but it is not complete and not always accurate. Cf. Wrangel, *Sv. lit. förb. med. Hol.* (also in Dutch transl.); Hofberg, *Biogr. lex.*, II. 254, and other Swedish biographical works.

Papegoja, Johan, made several journeys to New Sweden, arriving here for the first time in 1643. He married Armegot Printz about

1645, but the marriage does not seem to have been a happy one. It appears that they had five children, two girls and three boys (Bernt, Gustaf and Göran). The girls and at least two of the boys were born in New Sweden, probably Göran and Bernt, who were sent to Sweden with Rising after the capture of the colony and they arrived safely at their grandfather's (Governor Printz's) home in the spring of 1656. Johan Papegoja, who desired to enter the naval service already in 1645, became captain in the Swedish navy about 1661 (Anrep says in 1663).¹² He lived at Ramstorp, where he owned an estate, and it seems that he died in 1667.

The family name of this branch of the Papegojas became extinct before 1720. It has been said that the last male representative of the family died in 1774, but in a document written in September, 1720, a few days after the death of the last daughter of Governor Printz, it is stated that "Bernt Papegoja died *without children and with him that family became extinct.*"

Bernt like his father entered the navy and advanced to the rank of captain. It seems that he was later commander of the castle of Leckö. His brother Göran entered the army and took part in the war of 1676 against the Danes. He advanced to the rank of major. Gustaf Papegoja became captain in 1673 and commander in 1675. He died in 1675. (In some manner about half of the writer's notes on Johan Papegoja and on Trotzig were lost and it was not possible to replace the material as the sources are in Sweden.)

Printed Sources. There is no biography. Anrep, *Ättart.*, III. 157; *Manuscripts.* *Palmsk. Saml.* (Up. B.), 230, fol. 230, 377-89. "Rela. om sin adm. No. 53, 1661" (by Printz), *Skr. fr. landsh. till K. Maj.* (R.A.); N. S., I. (R.A.); N. S., I.-III. (K.A.); *Red. Kol. Act. Printz* (K.A.); *Am. Reg.* (Fl. Ark.).

Printz, Gustaf, son of Governor Johan Printz, came to New Sweden in 1643. He was employed here as an officer, finally given the rank of lieutenant. He returned to Europe in command of a vessel in 1653. It seems that he had in mind to return to the colony on the tenth expedition, for travelling expenses were supplied to him on December 22, 1653, but

¹² In the "*Rela. om sin admin.*," etc., Printz states under date of *December 1, 1661*, that *Capt. Johan Papegoja* was paid 493:16 D. (*Skr. fr. landsh. till K. Maj.* (R.A.). Anrep has probably taken his statements from *Palmsk. Saml.*, 230 f. 377-89 (Up. B.), where it is stated that Johan Papegoja became *skeppskapten* in 1663. It is also stated there and in Anrep that he *became major in 1676* (this is nine years after his death!).

for some reason he did not go, probably because his father had left the colony. In 1656 he was in Elbing on some duty. The next year he was again in Sweden, seeking employment in the Swedish army. Through the influence of Per Brahe he was finally given an appointment in "Öf. Herr H. Horns Regemente af Wästg. Reuttery" about July, 1657, with a salary of 820 D., but he died in Skåne the same year.

Sources. No biography. Letters to Per Brahe, *Skokl. Saml.*, to A. Oxenstierna, *Ox. Saml.*; *Com. Col. Prot.*; *Journal*, N. S., III. (K.A.); *Wästg. Ryt.*, Krigsarkivet.

Printz, Johan, was born in Bottnaryd, Småland, Sweden,¹³ on July 20, 1592. He went to school in his home district and later attended the universities of Rostock and Greifswald, but he was soon compelled to return home on account of financial straits. In 1620, however, Gustavus Adolphus made it possible for him to go abroad again. He studied at Leipzig, Wittenberg, Jena and other places, but circumstances once more forced him to break off his studies. He was made a prisoner by some soldiers, who compelled him to accompany them to Italy, and he was now thrown into a long list of adventures. After spending some time in the field, in French and Austrian armies, he returned to Sweden in 1625. Thereupon he entered Swedish service and it has been said that the King gave him two fully barbed steeds from his own barn.

In 1630 he became cavalry captain and four years later he was advanced to the rank of major. In 1635 and 1636 he fought in Germany under the command of Ture Bjelke and was captured by the imperial forces in February of the latter year. "He bought himself free, however, for 800 R.D.," which were returned to him by the government. In 1638 he was again promoted, receiving the rank of lieutenant-colonel. Two years later, when he was in the city of Chemnitz with only a few soldiers, he was compelled to surrender after a heroic defense. Returning to Sweden soon after he made a grave mistake in not securing a passport and leave from Johan Banér, the commanding general. As a consequence he was arrested in Stockholm and accused of having surrendered the city with disgrace. He was tried by the College of War, but this body exonerated him in the surrender of Chemnitz (it was even brought out that he made a most heroic stand against the enemy), and it was thought that he had been punished sufficiently through his imprisonment for his neglect to secure a passport. The

¹³ It is difficult to see how the statement widely circulated, that Printz was born in Germany, could have arisen.

Council of State, however, reversed the sentence and removed him from his command "as a warning to other insubordinate officers."

In 1642 he was requested to become governor of New Sweden and in July the same year he was knighted. He was governor of the colony from 1643 until the autumn of 1653. When he returned to Sweden he was received with favor and was again given the rank of colonel. In 1657 he was appointed *commandant* of the castle at Jönköping and the following year he was made governor of Jönköpings län. He died on May 3, 1663.

Printz was twice married. His first wife, Elizabeth Bock, died in 1640. Before his departure for New Sweden in 1642 he married Maria von Linnestau and his family accompanied him to the colony. He had six children, who attained to maturity (five girls—Armegot, Catharina, Christina, Elsa and Gunilla—and one boy—Gustaf).

He was of a religious nature, as religion was taken in those days. It is said that he often read the Bible and he was permitted to preach in his father's congregation while a student. The English said that he was "furious and passionate, cursing and swearing upon every occasion" and the Swedes themselves accused him of tyranny and ill treatment, but we must not take any of these statements at their face value.¹⁴ Printz was a soldier, educated in the rough school of the Thirty Years' War, and his language was not characterized by restraint, but he was not the tyrant and ruffian he is often made out to be. He was of heavy build and it is probable that he increased in weight as years grew upon him. The Indians called him the big tub and de Vries speaks of him as weighing over 400 lbs.¹⁵

Printz has received much unjust criticism from historians. He performed his duties faithfully as governor of New Sweden and his services as governor of Jönköpings län were marked by ability and executive power. He was strict in his demands and required absolute obedience from his subjects. He was of hot temper and at times he went beyond his limit, but his rule as a whole was just. He was in many ways a remarkable character (his adventures before entering Swedish service in 1630 border on romance) and he deserves a prominent place among the early governors of the American settlements.

¹⁴ See above, Chaps. XXXII., XXXVIII. and index below.

¹⁵ "Was ghenamnt Capiteyn Prins, een kloeck Man van postuer die over de vierhundert pondt woeg." De Vries, *Korte Historiæel*, p. 184. The statement that he was a heavy drinker is not borne out by the documents.

Printed Sources. There is no complete biography of Printz. Biographies and references to him are found in all Swedish and large American biographical works and histories. Cf. Pufendorf, *Der Sch. und Deut.*, etc., I. 332, 540; II. 45-6; Pufendorf, *Drot. Christinas hist.*, etc. A biography was published by the present writer in *Ungdomsvännan*, March, 1909, pp. 84-5.

Manuscripts. Letters from him to the King, March 14, 1658—December 30, 1658 (15 in all); January 9, 1659—December 28, 1659 (39 in all); *Landsh. skr., Jönk. län.*, 1640-1671 (R.A.); *A journal of his official acts* (R.A.); R.R., January 30, 1659; February 6, 10, December 10, 1659, etc.; letters from him to P. Brahe, *Skokl. Saml.*; to A. Oxenstierna, *Ox. Saml.*; also letters in *Biogr.* (R.A.). In Kammararkivet are a large number of documents concerning him. *Likvidationer*, 1620-80, *Ser. B., No. 221*, etc. (Also letters from the daughters of Printz in these collections in K.A.) Cf. below, index and bibliography.

Armegot Printz married Johan Papegoja in New Sweden. She lived in Fort Christina until August, 1654, when she removed to Tinicum Island.

In May, 1662, she sold the island to De la Grange for six thousand florins, whereupon she seems to have taken her personal property to Printz Torp and returned to Sweden,¹⁶ where she met her husband for the last time. She came here again before March 8, 1671, and settled at Printz Torp. As the second half of the price for Tinicum was not paid, Armegot "obtain[ed] a judgment upon the verdict of a jury . . . against Andrew Carr and Priscilla, his wife, for the sum of 3000" florins and in the spring of 1673 the governor confirmed the decision, empowering the sheriff to put Armegot "into possession of the said island and the stock thereon." She now returned to Tinicum, where she continued to live until her final departure for Sweden¹⁷ in 1676(?).¹⁸ She probably lived upon her husband's estate Ramstorp, at least at intervals after her return. She died on November 26, 1695.

Madame Papegoja was given many privileges by the Dutch.¹⁹ She

¹⁶ On her way home she was paid 3,000 florins in Holland on July 31, 1662.

¹⁷ Having sold the island to Peter Kock.

¹⁸ On pp. 646-649 Fernow prints a "Census of the responsible housekeepers" between two documents from April 21, 1680, and May 1, 1680, making us believe that Armegot was still in the country. But it is an error and the census must have been made a few years earlier. *Doc.*, XII. 646-649.

Armegot had two sons in the Swedish war of 1675-1679 and not two sons-in-law as is stated in *Mem. of Long Isl. Hist. So.*, I. and elsewhere.

¹⁹ Acrelius is mistaken, however, in stating that the Dutch gave her "1st. gödd

carried on agriculture and distilled small quantities of liquors from corn. She had difficulty in finding servants, however, to perform her work. In 1672 she had "only one man-servant" and was compelled to hire other people in harvest time. She was a woman of some ability, and seems to have been of an overbearing nature, irritable and self-willed, and the Swedes complained greatly about her tyranny.

Printed Sources. No biography. The article in *Prärieblomman*, 1903, p. 148 ff. is not reliable. Sources for her life are found in *Doc.*, XII.; Sluyter's Journal, *Mem. of Long Isl. Hist. So.*, I. 177 ff.; Hazard, *Annals*; Acrelius, *Beskrif.*; *Penn. Mag.*, II. 467.

Manuscripts. In *Kammararkivet* among the Printz-papers; *N. Y. Col. Mss.*, XX. fol. 26, 82, XXI. fol. 51.

Catharina Printz married Major Pylfelt and died in 1703.

Christina Printz married Governor Örneklo. She died on January 13, 1696.

Elsa Printz married twice, the first time Von Rohr, the second time Lagmannen Jacob du Rees who died on May 9, 1720. Elsa died on the twenty-fourth of September, 1720.

Gunilla Printz married Major Gyllenpatron and she died on February 1, 1697. *Red. Kol. Act.* (K.A.).

Ridder, Peter Hollender. Ridder was of Dutch or low German origin (his German letters prove this and his attempts at Swedish were not successful at least not before 1655). The date of his arrival in Sweden²⁰ cannot be determined. He entered Swedish service about 1635²¹ and was used in various capacities by the Admiralty in Finland and Sweden. In 1639 he was engaged to go to New Sweden. He arrived here on the second expedition and remained as governor of the colony until February, 1643.

Some time after his return to Sweden he was again given a position in the Swedish navy with the rank of lieutenant (a rank which he had before going to America). He was made captain in 1648(?) and sent to Riga on commercial voyages about this time; chief for Gothland's Oxe: några gödda Swin och tilräckelig brödsäd," *Beskrif.*, 100. She requested permission from the Dutch in 1660 to be allowed to pay these things in taxes, *Doc.*, XII. 310.

²⁰ He had a brother in Sweden in 1640.

²¹ There is some conflict in his statements about entering Swedish service. In 1644 he says that he had served the Crown *over five years* (that would give us about 1638 or 1639), but in 1659 he says that he had served the government *for twenty-four years*, this will give us the year 1635 as the time when he entered Swedish service.

Company 1648-1651 and went to the island of Gothland to collect money and contributions for the navy; he was sent to Finland at various times to superintend the conscriptions and took part in the war of 1658-9 with honor. He advanced to major in 1660 and he was employed on various missions and important expeditions by the Admiralty until 1666, when he became *hopman*, later (1669) commander, at the castle of Viborg in Finland. (Several donations of land had also been given him in Viborgs *län* and *socken* already in 1650.)

After his strenuous life and many hardships, he was now given a position where he could spend the remainder of his numerous days in peace and quietness. Viborg Castle had once been of great importance as a guard against Russian hordes; but this importance was lost long before 1666 and little attention was now paid to its maintenance as a fort and stronghold. It is therefore probable that Ridder had little to do. He was married before going to New Sweden. He had at least two sons, Peter Peterson Ridder and Constantin Ridder,²² and at least four daughters. There is some uncertainty about the year of his birth as well as the year of his death. But his son Constantin writes the day after his death ("*i går som war den 23 huius,*" the letter, however, being without date), that he was 84 years old when he died and that he had served the government for 56 years. Now if he entered Swedish service in 1635 (and the statement of his son is correct) he must have died in 1691 and in that case he was born in 1607.²³

Printed Sources. There is no biography. Short mention of him in Ruuth, *Viborgs Stads hist.*, I. 392-3, G. Lagus *Ur Wiborgs hist.*, II. pp. 62-3, and Zettersten, *Sv. flot. hist.*, II. 228, 622.

Manuscripts. A large number of letters to him in *Am. Reg. (Fl. Ar.)*, 1638, April 14, June 19, November 3, December 22; 1639, March 11, May 16, July 8; 1646, February 5; 1648, February 21, 26, June 23, October 27; 1649, April 20, Sept. 13; 1650; 1651, August 22, September 23; 1653, February 8, 18, March 4, August 20, October 21; 1655, February 2, December 13, 15; 1656, April 4, May 22, June 18, 20, December 23; 1657, January 15, April 3, May 1, 14, June 11, July 9, 16, August 20; 1658, December 21; 1659, January 2; 1660, July 18, December 7 (also a large number of letters from him in *Inkomna skrifvelser*). Letters and other documents in *Red. Kol. Act.*, No. 313

²² Lagus mentions only one son.

²³ That this is approximately correct (*perhaps correct*) is borne out by other facts, for we know that he was alive in 1685 and that he was dead in 1693.

(K.A.). Peter H. Ridder till Kung. Maj. and letters from Constantin Ridder, Ursula Ridder, John Elvers, Otto von Mengden, *Biographica* (R.A.). Peter Ridder to Carl X., July 5, 1659 (R.A.). Letter to Klas Fleming, May 13, 1640, N. S., I. (K.A.); letters from Ridder to A. Oxenstierna, *Ox. Saml.* (R.A.). See index below. For a history of Viborg Castle see Ruuth, *Viborgs stads hist.*, I. 254 ff.

Rising,²⁴ Johan Classon,²⁵ was born in 1617 (if his own statement is correct) and, after graduating from the Gymnasium at Linköping, he entered the University of Upsala in the autumn of 1635. After his university studies he spent several years in foreign countries (he was for a time a student at Leyden), partly as a companion to Count Tott and Sten Bjelke, partly on stipends given by De la Gardie and Queen Christina and "he travelled through many kingdoms, countries and provinces, observed their manners, laws and statutes and learnt various tongues and languages." The stipends given to him by the government entailed the condition that he should study commerce and trade and write a treatise on these subjects. For this purpose he revisited Holland in 1647 and 1650 and spent some time in Amsterdam, which possessed the greatest and most perfectly organized commercial system of that time. As he returned to Sweden the Commercial College was being organized and in the summer of 1651 he was appointed secretary in this department of the government. He resigned in the autumn of 1653, however, being commissioned to go to New Sweden as an assistant to Governor Printz. Shortly before his departure he was raised to the rank of a nobleman. He arrived here in 1654. After the fall of New Sweden he returned to Europe and landed in England. After a visit to London he went to Holland, where his books, manuscripts and clothes were confiscated and sold at auction and from there he proceeded to Elbing in Prussia, where he met Eric Oxenstierna and made a report to him. In December, 1657,

²⁴ *Rising* was the name of the district (*socken*) where Johan Rising was born and he adopted that name. There are over eight places by the name of *Risinge* in Sweden. Rising's father was Rev. Clas Botvidi.

²⁵ Rising had two brothers by the name of *Johan Rising*, one of whom went to New Sweden on the *Mercurius* in 1655; the other lived at Gothenburg and held several offices there. One *Johan Rising* (not mentioned by Dr. Fries) was lieutenant on the ship *Falken* in 1659, and it is stated in *Med. fr. Sv. Riksark.*, V. p. 151, that he had been governor of New Sweden. But this is of course a mistake. There are several memorials and letters to this Rising in Am. Reg. November 9, December 8, 15, 1660, etc. (Fl. Ar.). A Johan Rising was living in Norrköping, who does not seem to have been any relation to the director of New Sweden.

he settled at Elbing, having been appointed general inspector over the collection of tolls in Prussia and Pomerania, with a salary of 1,200 R.D. annually. But his duties were not to his liking. Already in October, 1658, he asked to be released. It seems that nothing better was offered him, however, and he remained at his post. During his stay there he wrote several reports and memorials and collected further materials for his great work. But in 1660 he was compelled to leave his office and return to Sweden, since Elbing was captured by the enemy. He was now without permanent employment and he was for years unsuccessful in his attempts to collect his salary and other bills dating from the time of his directorship of New Sweden. (Only a very small part of his salary was ever paid him, and his bills against the American Company were never collected, in fact the officers of the company maintained that he owed the same several thousand dollars.) In 1665 he was made an *assessor* in the newly organized Maritime Court with a salary of 400 D. a year, but the court was not put into operation and the officers were of course paid no salary. With the exception of some aid from his patron, the Swedish Mecnas De la Gardie, Rising was dependent on what little he could make in this way or that and it is not clear how he managed to live. (His relatives, however, supplied funds for him in later years.) His life was one of intense hardships and privation. He continued his literary labors, however (see above, Chap. XLIV., Rising as an author), and his ambition and burning desire to complete his one great work, *A Treatise on Trade*, never deserted him. But he labored under tremendous difficulties. He was forced to occupy the most miserable quarters, and he was barely able to provide sufficient clothing for his body. Cold prevented him from doing thorough work in winter and when summer came necessary books and other materials, yes even ink, were wanting. He was ever in debt and kind-hearted people and royal intercession alone saved him from the prison bars. Under such conditions it is a wonder that he could accomplish what he did. The end came in April, 1672. It is a sad picture to see the *former director of New Sweden*, the *first writer* of importance on *economy and commerce* in this country, "ages ahead of his time in his views," die in a small, miserable hovel in a tailor's hut. A later age has been more considerate and more charitable, and his books, which could not be sold during his lifetime, are eagerly sought for by the collector and they often bring a comparatively large price.

Printed Sources. There is no complete biography. The best is that

of Ellen Fries in *Hist. Tid.* (1896), p. 31 ff. but it is not accurate. Older and less accurate articles are to be found in *Biogr. lex.*, *Ny följd*, VIII. 495 ff.; Stiernman, *Matrikel*; Anrep, *Ättart.*; *Nordisk familjebok*. References to him are found in Wrangel, *Sv. lit. förb. med Holland* (a splendid work); Fryxell, *Berät.*, XVIII. 123 ff.; Carlson, *Hist.*, II. 66; Arwedson, *De Col. Nova Svecia; Doc.*, II., XII.

Manuscripts. Letters from him to E. Oxenstierna, *Ox. Saml.*; letters to the King, to De la Gardie and others (R.A.); letters and reports in N. S., I. (R.A.) and N. S., I. (K.A.); and a large number of manuscripts in *Rising's Process* (R.A.).

Schotting,²⁶ **Timon van**, was born in Flanders, 1603, and went to Sweden with his father about the age of 24. He settled at Gothenburg and seems to have engaged in mercantile business there. In 1639 he was appointed factor for the New Sweden Company, but his bills were often faulty and he allowed some of the goods to go to ruin under his care, making his resignation necessary. Later he became *burggraf*²⁷ in Gothenburg and received other honors. He died in 1674.

Sources. Manuscripts in N. S., I.-III. (R.A.); N. S., I.-III. (K.A.). Anrep, III. 661; Berg. *Saml. till Göt. hist.*, I. 79-80. Cf. index, below.

Spiring²⁸ **Silfverkrona, Peter.** Spiring was the son of a wealthy Dutch merchant. He came in touch with A. Oxenstierna about 1623 (a memorial dated "d. 24 Junio, A. 1623," being the first paper in the *Ox. Saml.* from him), and he was soon employed by Sweden in various capacities. He was sent to Holland, 1635, to represent Sweden and to try to obtain subsidies from the States (Oxenstierna considering him more suitable for this mission than Camerarius, says Aitzema, II. 340) and later he was made resident at the Hague. In 1636 he received the title of nobility with the name of Silfverkrona, and from now on he always signed his name "Peter Spiring Silbercron van Noresholm." He did great service to Sweden and was often called upon to give advice in commercial and other matters. He was one of the stockholders of the New Sweden Company and always took a keen interest in its business. He presented several memorials to the States General concerning ships belonging to the company and he was always of aid to the expeditions on

²⁶ It was often written by himself and others with an *en*, Schottingen.

²⁷ *Burg-grefve*, "the highest office in the cities of Gothenburg, Malmö and Norrköping." The title was retained at intervals in Gothenburg until 1719.

²⁸ His brothers, Isaac and Arent Spiring also had dealings with the Swedish government and served the same.

their route to or from America, when they went by way of Holland. Although a Hollander he was a true friend of his adopted country. He was highly valued by the chancellor, who often listened to his counsel.

In the autumn of 1651 he was ordered to go to London on a diplomatic mission to look after Swedish interests and to endeavor to gain the good will of Cromwell and the English Parliament. But on the day set for an audience with Cromwell, he became severely ill and died, shortly afterwards, on February 9, 1652.

Printed Sources. Thurloe, *State Papers*; Odhner, *Sv. del. i. Västf. fredsk.*, p. 46, *N. S.*, p. 7-8; Heimer, *De dipl. förb. mel. Sv. och Eng., 1633-54*, p. 65 ff.; Anrep, *Ättart.*, III. 725; Fryxell, *Handl.*, I, 56 ff.; *Rådspr.*, I. ff. volumes. The larger histories of Sweden, Denmark, Holland and England contain many references to him.

Manuscripts. His letters to A. Oxenstierna from 1623 until December 8, 1651, are collected in six large bundles in *Ox. Saml.* (R.A.). Most of the letters are written in German (copied by a secretary, Niepeisen and others, and signed by Spiring), some are in Dutch (often in his own hand), others are in French. Several letters to Spiring, *Am. Reg.* (Fl. Ar.), 1633 ff. There are many documents concerning him in *Kammararkivet, Red. Kol. Akter*, No. 319 (where Spiring's will is found, dated June 20, 1643); King to the *Kam. Kol.*, February 22, 1653, etc. There are also a great number of letters to Spiring in *Kam. Kol. Reg.* (K.A.) and in *R.R.* (R.A.); letters and bills from him in *N. S.*, I. (R.A.), *N. S.*, I.-III. (K.A.). See bibliography and index below.

Stuyvesant, Peter. He was probably born in 1602 in Friesland. Being the son of a clergyman, he received a good education. Soon after leaving school he entered military service, losing a leg at St. Martin, 1644, and had served a long apprenticeship before he was appointed to the directorship of New Netherland in 1646. He took charge of the colony in May, the following year. He was an active governor and the colony prospered during his reign. Accusations of various kinds were made against him, but most of these were unjust and we must assign him the first place among the governors, who ruled over New Netherland. He showed more firmness against the neighbors than his predecessor. He erected a new fort on the Delaware and finally captured New Sweden; but he was himself to suffer the same penalty as he had inflicted upon Rising, and New Netherland passed into the hands of the English in 1664. Stuyvesant remained in the colony under the English govern-

ment, thus escaping the fate of Rising, and he died at New York in 1682 about the age of eighty.

Printed Sources. There is no accurate biography. In the *Nat. Cyclop. of Am. Biog.*, V., p. 138 ff., it is said that he died "in seclusion upon his farm in August, 1672," the statement on his tombstone also being accepted that he was 80 years of age at that time and born in 1602! The article in Appleton's *Cycl. of Am. Biog.*, V., p. 735, is a better one. Facts about him can be found in all the histories of New York. See also Fiske, *The Dutch and Quaker Col.*; *Doc.* I.-II. See bibliography below and index.

Torkillus, Rev. Reorus, was born at Mölndal, near Gothenburg (now a manufacturing town) in 1608. He attended school at Lidköping and Skara and was later called as a lecturer to the High School of Gothenburg. Here he was employed as a chaplain to the superintendent, Andrew Printz, until he was sent to New Sweden on the second expedition in 1639. He had much trouble with the Hollanders of the Reformed Faith, both on the journey to America and in the colony, and his labors here were not very pleasant. He was the first preacher in New Sweden and the first Lutheran clergyman to serve in America and as such he is worthy of remembrance. He was married and had one child. He seems to have been ill during the greater part of 1643. He died on September 7, 1643 and was buried by Campanius.

Sources. *Rådspr.*, IV., *Journal*, N. S., III. (K.A.); Holm, *Beskrif.*, p. 107; Norberg, *Sv. kyr. mis.*, p. 3.

Trotzig, Peter,²⁹ was born in Sweden, but he moved to Amsterdam and became a merchant there. He was employed by the Swedish government in Amsterdam in 1642 to take the place of Blommaert, and continued to serve his country for a great many years, being made a commissary in 1661. He hired Dutch sailors, officers and skilled laborers for Swedish service, he bought ships and caused others to be built and he was employed in various commercial transactions. He was the factor of the New Sweden Company in Holland and purchased many of the cargoes sent to the Delaware. About 1666 he returned to his native land and was employed in the city government at Stockholm. He was knighted and changed his name to Trotzenfelt. (The author lost most of his notes on Trotzig with those of Papegoja, making it impossible to give further details.)

²⁹ His two brothers Anthoni and Johan Trotzig were engaged in cannon manufacture in Sweden at this time. See *Am. Reg.*, 1650; 1651, June 18; 1652; June 7 (F. A.).

Printed Sources. Wrangel, *Sv. lit. förb. med. Holland. Manuscripts* in *Am. Reg.*, 1643 ff. (Fl. Ar.); *Kam. Kol. Reg.*, 1642 ff. (K.A.); *R.R.* (R.A.); *N. S., I.* (R.A.); letters to A. Oxenstierna (*Ox. Saml.*) and to De la Gardie (R.A.). See index below.

Usselinx, Willem, the founder of the Dutch West India Company and of the Swedish South Company, was born at Antwerp in June, 1567. After receiving a business education in his native town he spent several years abroad, in Spain, Portugal and the Azores, and returned to Holland a wealthy man, about 1591. He soon formed the idea of founding trading companies and from 1600 until his death (about 1647), he was engaged in the promotion of great projects and plans of colonization and trade.

Source. A good biography by J. F. Jameson, *Pap. of the Am. Hist. Ass.*, II., p. 161 ff.

Whitelocke, Bulstrode, was born in 1605. He was educated at Oxford, which he left without a degree, and was called to the bar at the Middle Temple in 1626. He became a member of Parliament and served the government in various capacities. In 1653 the Council of State nominated him as ambassador to Sweden and he was pressed by Cromwell to accept the post. His mission was successful and after his return to England he was appointed to other important offices. He died in 1675. Whitelocke was a voluminous writer, even writing plays, and he was a great copyist, several "original manuscripts" being preserved of some of his writings. His *Swedish Embassy*, being a journal of the embassy, is a work of much value.

Sources. *Dictionary of National Biography*, LXI., p. 110 ff. and the references there; Schelling, *The Eliz. Drama*.

APPENDIX B.

LISTS OF OFFICERS, SOLDIERS, SERVANTS AND SETTLERS IN NEW SWEDEN, 1638-1656.

I. GARRISON AND SERVANTS AT FT. CHRISTINA IN NEW SWEDEN, 1638-1640.

OFFICERS.

Måns Nilsson Kling, commander.
William Laury, provost (provost-marshal).¹
Hendrick Huygen, *commiss.*

SOLDIERS AND SERVANTS.

Clas (Klas) Jansson and twenty other soldiers.
The negro slave Anthony.

II. GARRISON, SERVANTS AND FREEMEN IN NEW SWEDEN, 1640-1643.

OFFICERS.

Peter Hollender Ridder, commander.
Måns Nilsson Kling, lieutenant.
Joost van Langdonk,² commissary.
The Rev. Reorus Torkillus.
The Rev. Christopher.
Gregorius van Dyck,³ assistant *commiss.*
Jöran (Göran) Olsson⁴ (from Ösmo?),⁵ provost (profoss).
Per Anders[s]on, guard and skipper on the yacht.

¹ It is not possible to determine with certainty whether Laury came here on the first expedition in 1638 or on the second in 1640. He returned to Sweden on the *Kalmar Nyckel* in 1642. He was probably an Englishman. *Journal*, no. 146.

² He returned to Europe in 1642 upon the arrival of Hendrick Huygen.

³ Returned to Europe in 1642.

⁴ Jöran also written Jurgen.

⁵ *Ösmo*, a *socken* or district in Stockholms län.

SOLDIERS, SERVANTS AND FREEMEN.

Clas Classon.	Anders Nilsson Nagel.
Ambrosius Ericksson.	Påfvel Nilsson.
Per Gunnarsson.	Mats Olofsson.
Johan Hindricksson, constaple.	Steffan Olofsson.
Mårten Guttersson. ⁶	Anders Olsson Brandt.
Clas (Klas) Jans[s]on (Jansen).	Mats Sifversson. ⁷
Anders Jöransson, constaple.	Anders Svensson. ⁸
Anders Larsson Dalbo.	Nils Svensson. ⁹
Mickel Larsson, from Ösmo.	Olof Svensson.
Johan Matsson, constaple.	Bengt Thomasson.

For other freemen in the colony at this time see above, Chap. XVIII., pp. 151-53; appendix B, IV.

The following returned to Europe in 1643: Lieutenant Peter Hollender Ridder, The Rev. Christopher, Per Andersson, Bengt Thomasson, Johan Hindrickson, Olof Svensson, Clas Classon (the carpenter), Jöran Olsson (the provost-marshal), Johan Matsson and Johan Papegoja.

III. ROLL-LIST OF THE MALE INHABITANTS OF NEW SWEDEN IN
1643-1644.

(Adapted from the list of Gov. Printz, 1644.)

I. AT FORT CHRISTINA.¹⁰

OFFICERS:

Lieutenant Johan Papegoja	1
Commissary Hendrick Huygen	1
The Rev. Mr. Johan Campanius.....	1

⁶ Mårten Göttersson.

⁷ Also written Mats Siwersen.

⁸ Andreas Swenson.

⁹ Nils Swenson.

¹⁰RULLA.

oppå allt deedt Folck, såsom vtli Nye Swerigie ähro, huru thee på alle platzer och plantatier fördelte ähro, som vnder specificeres pro Anno 1644.

Officererne

widh Cihrstina Skantz:

Johann Paapegaia	1
Commissen Hindrich Hugenn	1
Pastoren M:r Johann Companius	1

LISTS OF OFFICERS, SOLDIERS, SERVANTS, ETC. 701

Barber-surgeon Hans Janeke	I
Trumpeter Erick Andersson	I
The gunner Mats Hansson	I
The blacksmith Mr. Hans Rosback.....	I
The provost-marshal Johan Olofsson.....	I
Balbererenn M:r Hanns	I
Trumbetarenn Erich Andersson	I
Constapel Matz Hansson	I
Smedenn M:r Hanns	I
Proposenn Jahan Oluffzonn	I
Eftterschreffne aff Compagnitz Folckett plantera Tooback vpå plantatien weedh Cihrstina:	
Knut Mårthensonn	I
Peer Gunnersonn Rambo	I
Mårthenn Göttersson	I
Lars Andersonn Vlff	I
Månnns Andersonn	I
Lars Käckin	I
Svänn Gunnersonn	I
Mårthenn Glaasere	I
Joenn Torsonn	I
Oluff Torsonn	I
Anders Timbermann	I
Eftternembde ähro Timbermän på Hälmenn:	
Class Claasonn	I
Tommas Timbermann	I
Eftterskrefne ähro förordnade att waara continue på Slupenn:	
Skepperen Andress	I
Lars Tommesonn	I
Bengt Torsonn	I
Vndertecknade arbeeta Tobakz faat och annat kyperj:	
Lauriss Kyper	I
Lukass Personn	I
Swine Wachterenn:	
Anders Minck medh sin sonn.....	} 2
Claas Andersonn	
Poickenn som wachtar boskapen:	
Swenn Swensonn	I
Mölnaren som ähr continue hoos quarnen:	
Anders Dreijer	I
Comis: Hindrick Hugens drench:	
Gäätfreedh Hermansonn	I
Såldater weedh Cihrstina:	
Erich Täät	I
Mårthen Hansonn	I
Lars Jacobsonn	I

702 THE SWEDISH SETTLEMENTS ON THE DELAWARE.

The following people of the company plant tobacco on the plantation at Christina:

Knut Mårtensson Vasa.....	I
Per (Peter) Gunnarsson Rambo	I
Mårten Göttersson	I
Lars Andersson Ulf	I
Måns Andersson	I
Lars Käckin (Kock?)	I
Sven Gunnarsson	I
Mårten Mårtensson Glasare (also Glasbiten).....	I
Jon Thorsson	I
Olof Thorsson	I
Anders Mats (?) Persson (Person), the carpenter.....	I

The following are carpenters on the island:

Claas Claason	I
Thomas Göransson (also Jurgensson) the carpenter.....	I

The following are appointed to be on the sloop continually:

The skipper Andries Lucas[sen] (he returned to Holland in 1646)	I
Lars Thomasson	I
Bengt Thorsson	I

The laborers listed below make tobacco casks and other cooper's articles:

Lauris the Cooper	I
Lukas Persson	I

The swineherd:

Anders Classon Mink with his son.....	I
Clas (Klas) Andersson	I

The boy who herds the cattle:

Sven Svensson	I
---------------------	---

The miller who is continually at the mill:

Anders Kristiansson Dreijer	I
-----------------------------------	---

The servant of Com. Hendrick Huygen:

Gotfried Harmer	I
-----------------------	---

Soldiers at Christina:

Erick Åkesson Tått	I
Mårten (Marten) Hansson	I
Lars Jacobsson	I

Total at Fort Christina34

II. AT FORT ELFSBORG.¹¹

OFFICERS:

Lieutenant Sven Skute	I
Head guard (<i>wachtmäster</i>) Gregorius van Dyck.....	I
Gunner Johan Matsson	I
Drummer Sven Andersson	I
Rev. Israel Holg Fluviander	I

COMMON SOLDIERS:

Nicklas Bock	I
Johan Gustafsson	I
Peter Meyer	I
Isack van Eissen (or von Eysen)	I
Constantinus Grönberg (Grünenburg)	I
Peter Jochim (Jochem, Joachim)	I
Anders Jönsson	I
Bengt Hindricksson (also Hindersson)	I
Anders Andersson	I
Jacob Svensson (Swenson)	I
Walle Looer (also Lohe and Loo).....	I
Jon (Joen) Nilsson the tailor	I
Knut Liljehök	I
Total at Fort Elfsborg	18

¹¹ *Officererne*

widh Skantzenn Elssborgh:

Leutenampten Swänn Skuuta	I
Wachmesteren Gregorius van Dicke	I
Constap: Jahaan Matzonn	I
Trumbeslageren Swänn Andersonn	I

Giemene Sälđater:

Nicklaus Bock	I
Jahann Gustaffzonn	I
Petter Meijer	I
Isack vann Eissenn	I
Constantinos Grönebergh	I
Petter Jochim	I
Anders Joensonn	I
Bengt Hindrichsonn	I
Anders Andersonn	I
Jacob Swensonn	I
Walle Looer	I
Joenn Skreddere	I
Knut Liliehök	I

III. AT THE SCHUYLKILL PLANTATION.¹²

OFFICER:

Lieutenant Måns Kling	I
<i>The working-people, who plant tobacco on the plantation in the Schuylkill:</i>	
Påfvel Jonsson. (Probably the same as "Jöns Påfvelsson, servant of the Company" who died here in the summer of 1645.)	I
Sven Larsson	I
Hindrick Matsson	I
Mats Pipare(?)	I
Ambrosius Ericksson	I
Anders Larsson Dalbo	I
Peder (Peter) Larsson Kock (Cock)	I
Total at the Schuylkill	8

IV. AT THE UPLAND PLANTATION.¹³

OFFICERS:

Per Liljehök	I
Elias the tobacco-planter	I
Mickel Nilsson, the blacksmith	I

¹² *Officererne*

widh Skyllerkill:

Leute: Måns Klingh	I
Arbetz Folcket som planta Tooback på plantatien weedh Skyllerkill:	
Påfvell Jonsson	I
Swenn Larsson	I
Hindrich Matzonn	I
Matz Pipere	I
Ambrosius Erichsonn	I
Anders Daalbo	I
Päder Käck	I
	8

¹³ *Officererne*

widh Vplandh:

Päder Liliehök	I
Elias Toobakzplantere	I
Smeden Mickell Nilsson	I
Efterskrefne Arbetare planta Tooback weed plantatien Vplandh:	
Hindrich Matzonn	I
Matz Hansonn	I
Iffwer Hindersson	I
Jahann Andersonn	I
Hanns Månsonn	I

The following laborers plant tobacco on the plantation at Upland:

Hindrick Matsson	I
Mats Hansson	I
Ifvar (Ivar) Hindersson	I
Johan Andersson Stålkofsta	I
Hans Månsson	I
Eskill Larsson	I
Lars Björ[n]sson	I
Bertil Eskilsson	I
Johan Ericksson	I
Jacob Spaniol (the Spaniard?)	I
Clemet (Klement) Jöransson	I
Total at Upland	14

V. AT FORT TINICUM.¹⁴

OFFICERS:

Governor Johan Printz	I
Gustaf Printz, son of Governor Printz.....	I
Hindrick Olsson, servant of Governor Printz.....	I
Eskill Larsson	I
Lars Björsson	I
Bertil Eskilsson	I
Johann Erichson	I
Jacob Spaniol(?)	I
Clemet Jörensson	I

14

¹⁴ *Officererne*

with Tennakungh:

Gouverneuren Jahann Printz	I
Satt öffuer proffwiantet och rechningerne:	
Carl Jahansson	I
Skriffwaren:	
Knut Personn	I
Bösse Smedenn:	
Mester Niklaus	I
Constapelz Maat hooss dheer 4 små kopperstyckenn på Tennakungh:	
Svonn Waass	I
Såldaterne, som dageligen fölia, föresa och achta på Gouverneuren:	
Elias Gyllenngrenn	I
Hanns Lüneburger	I
Jörann Snöhuitt	I
Lars Andersonn	I
Anders Andersonn	I
Nils Andersonn	I

Placed over the provisions and accounts:

Carl (Karl) Johansson	I
The secretary Knut Persson	I
The gun-smith Master Nicklas	I
<i>The gunner [who] is in charge of the small copper cannon on Tinicum:</i>	
Sven Vass	I
<i>The soldiers who daily follow and serve the governor:</i>	
Elias Gyllengren	I
Hans Lüneburger	I
Jöran (Göran) Kyn Snöhvit (<i>Snow-white</i> , probably so called on account of his complexion. <i>Göran</i> , same as <i>George</i>)	I
Lars Andersson	I
Anders Andersson	I
Nils Andersson	I
Johan Andersson	I
Måns Nilsson, "from Trammegiäld" ^{14a}	I
<i>The laboring people, who are appointed to cut hay for the cattle and also in the meantime to follow the governor on the little sloop:</i>	
Anders Svensson Bonde	I
Per Andersson	I
Anthoni, the negro ("the black")	I
Olof Ericksson	I
Total at Fort Tinicum	19
Jahann Andersonn	I
Månns Nilsonn	I
<i>Arbetz Folcket, som ähr förordnad till att slåå höö för booskapenn, såsom och dess emellann fölia Gouverneuren på denn lilla Jachtenn:</i>	
Anders Bonde	I
Perr Andersonn	I
Antoni Swart	I
Oloff Erichsonn	I
	17

^{14a} Tranegärde(?), Elfsborgs län, southwestern Sweden.

*The following have died in New Sweden in 1643 and 1644:*¹⁵

OFFICERS:

- On September 7, 1643, the preacher Reorus Torkillus at
Christina 1
On July 18, 1643, the corporal Karl Håkansson at Elfsborg. 1

SOLDIERS:

- On June 10, 1643, Mickel Kyrssner at Christina..... 1
On July 3, 1643, Måns Larsson, from Brätta, at Elfsborg.. 1
On July 5, 1643, Erick Hindersson, from Södertelje, at
Christina 1

¹⁵ Efterskrefne ähro Anno 1643, 1644 vthi Nye Swerigie medh döödh affgånge:

Officererne:

- Den 7 Septemb. 1643, Predikanten herr Regardh vthi Kirstina.... 1
Den 18 Juli 1643, Corporal Carll Häckensonn vthi Elfzborgh.... 1

Säldataerna:

- Den 10 Junij 1643, Mickell Kyrssner wid Kirstina 1
Den 3 Julij 1643, Måns Larsson widh Elfzborgh..... 1
Den 5 dito 1643, Erich Hindersonn widh Kirstina 1
Den 3 Augustij 1643, Rutkiert Tysk widh Kirstina 1
Den (?) Novemb: 1643, Johenn Hartman weed Tennakungh.... 1
Den 4 Martij 1644, Bleff vtaff dhe wille i hielslagne emellan
Kirstina och Elfzborgh efterskrefne Säldataer:
Märthenn Bagge 1
Märthen Finne 1

Vtaff Compag: Arbetz Folck ähro döde blefne:

- Den 9 Julij, 1643, Friman Jönns Påfvelsonn widh Vplandh.... 1
Den 10 dito 1643, Carll Marckusonn widh Elfzborgh..... 1
Den 12 dito 1643, Märthenn Björsonn weedh Vplandh..... 1
Den 29 dito 1643, Matz Jörensonn widh Kirstina 1
Den 30 dito 1643, Joen Isacksonn wid Elfzborgh 1
Den 31 Juli, 1643, Bonden Per Mickellsonn weed Elfzborgh... 1
Den 31 dito 1643, Bonden Larss Andersonn ifrån Ålandh weed
Elfzborgh 1
Den 13 Augusti, 1643, Påfuel Påfuelsonn weed Elfzborgh..... 1
Den 14 dito 1643, Jacob Tommeson weed Kirstina..... 1
Den 30 dito 1643, Peder Oloffzon ifrån Giefle wed Elfzborgh... 1
Den 31 dito 1643, Joenn Jerpe widh Elfsborgh..... 1
Den 10 Decemb: 1643, Zachriss Andersonn weedh Kirstina.... 1
Den 11 dito 1643, Påfwell Personn weed Skyllerkill 1
Den 1 Marti, 1644, Frimann Jahann Finne benembd, drungknadh
weedh Vplandh 1
Den 7 dito 1644, Een ängelssman, huilkenn haffuer taaget sigh een
swensk hustru, mordade och i hiellslegne aff dhe wille... 2
Den 4 dito 1644, Giert Elekenn i hielslagenn aff dhe wille emellan
Kirstina Skantz och Elfzborgh 1

- On August [3], 1643, Rutkiert Tysk (also Röther Tijck)
 from Hamburg, at Christina 1
- On November (?), 1643, Johan Hartman, from Hamburg,
 at Tinicum 1
- On March 4, 1643, *the following soldiers were killed by the
 savages between Christina and Elfsborg:*
- Mårtn Bagge, from Roslagen, Sweden..... 1
- Mårtn Thomasson, the Finn, from Österbotten..... 1
- The following laborers of the company have died:*
- On July 9, 1643, the freeman Jöns Påvelsson at Upland... 1
- On July 10, 1643, the freeman Karl Markusson at Elfsborg. 1
- On July 12, 1643, the freeman Mårtn Björ[n]sson at Up-
 land 1
- On July 29, 1643, the freeman Mats Jörensso[n] at Christina. 1
- On July 30, 1643, the freeman Jon Isacksson at Elfsborg.. 1
- On July 31, 1643, the peasant Per Mickelsson at Elfsborg.. 1
- On July 31, 1643, the peasant Lars Andersson, from Åland,
 at Elfsborg 1
- On August 13, 1643, [the peasant?] Påfvel Påvelsson at
 Elfsborg 1
- On August 14, 1643, Jacob Thommasson at Christina... 1
- On August 30, 1643, Peter Olofsson, from Gefle, at Elfs-
 borg 1
- On August 31, 1643, Jon Järpe at Elfsborg..... 1
- On December 10, 1643, Sakris Andersson at Christina... 1
- On December 11, 1643, Påfvel Persson at the Schuylkill.. 1
- On March 1, 1644, the freeman called Johan the Finn,
 drowned at Upland 1
- On March 7, 1644, John Johnson, an Englishman, who took
 a Swedish wife, was murdered and killed [with his wife]
 by the savages 2
- On March 4, 1644, Giert Elcken, [was] killed by the sav-
 ages between Fort Christina and Elfsborg..... 1

THE FOLLOWING RETURNED HOME TO SWEDEN IN 1644:¹⁶

OFFICERS:

Captain Christer Boije (Boje) ^{16a}	1
The barber-surgeon Timon Stidden	1

SOLDIERS:

Esbjörn Mårtensson from Stockholm.....	1
Påfvel Smal from Stockholm. Came here in 1643.....	1
Total	123
Deceased	26
Departed for Europe	4
Living male inhabitants	93

ENGLISH PLANTERS AT VARKENS KILL NEAR ELFSBORG
UNDER SWEDISH JURISDICTION.¹⁷

Elias Baily	1
William Braunvell (?)	1
Robert Coxwell	1
John Erie	1
Thomas Marod	1
Mr. Spinning (?)	1
John Wall (?) (John Wallin or Woollen?).....	1
	7

The male Swedish inhabitants of the colony as given above
including five others not given by Printz¹⁸.....98

¹⁹ Eftterskrefne förrese heer ifrån till gamble Swerigie:

Officerer:

Christer Boije	1
Predikanten herr Israell	1
Balberen Mester Zim	1

Såldaater:

Esbjörnn Mårthensonn	1
Påfuell Smaal	1
Summal	121

Datvm Kihrstina denn 20 Junij 1644

JOHEN PRINTZ

manu propria. Odhner, *N. S.*, 37-39; *N. S.*, I. (R.A.).

^{16a} Boije belonged to a Swedish-Finnish noble family. There were several by that name in Sweden and Finland at this time. Cf. *Ox. Saml.* (R.A.).

¹⁷ From *Acc. B.*, 1643-8.

¹⁸ Mickel Johansson, who came here in 1641 is not mentioned in the above list. He returned to Sweden before 1648. Måns Svensson Lom, Olof Stille, Axel Stille and Eskil Larsson are also not given in Printz's list.

Total number of male inhabitants of New Sweden in
 1644 105

IV. ROLL LIST OF THE PEOPLE WHO WERE ALIVE IN NEW SWEDEN
 ON THE FIRST OF MARCH, 1648.¹⁹

OFFICERS:

Governor Johan Printz.

Lieutenant Gustaf Printz. (Not given in Kramer's list of March, 1648. He returned to Sweden in 1652.)

Lieutenant Johan Papegoja.

Lieutenant Schwenn Schuute (Sven Skute), came here with Gov. Printz in 1643.

The preacher Lars Carlsson Lööck (Lock), who went to New Sweden with the ship *Swan* from Gothenburg on the twenty-fifth of September, 1647.

The barber-surgeon, Hans Janeke, "from Königsbergh, who went to New Sweden on the ship *Fama* in 1643 and settled there on the thirty-first of March, 1644, in the service of the Crown."

The head guard (watch-master) Gregorius van Dyck, who returned to "New Sweden with Governor Printz in 1642."

SOLDIERS, FREEMEN AND SERVANTS:

Clas (Klas) Jansson, freeman, "who went over to New Sweden with Commander Pieter Minuit in 1637."

Anthony, a Morian or Angoler,²⁰ who was a purchased slave, brought here on the *Grip* in 1639.

The following arrived here on the Kalmar Nyckel in 1640:

Peer (Per) Gummerrson (*Per Gunnarsson*) Rambo, freeman. (Probably from *Rambo, Degersfors socken, Västerbotten, Northeastern Sweden.*)

Peer (Per) Andersson, skipper on the *Speel-yacht*.

Anders Svensson Bonde, served as constaple (gunner) at New Gothenburg from May 1, 1643, until September 1, 1653, and returned to Sweden with Printz in 1653. He returned to the colony.

Måns Andersson, freeman.

Joen Toorsson (Jon Thorsson), freeman.

¹⁹ Based on a list in Kramer's handwriting (probably a copy from a list sent to Sweden by Printz in 1648), N. S., I. (R.A.).

²⁰ "Morian [negro] or Angoler" indicates that he came from Angola, the Portuguese Colony in West Africa near the river Kunene.

Anders Larsson Daalbo (Dalbo) provost-marshal. (Probably from Dalbo on the island of Gothland, or he may have come from Dalarna.) He was a tobacco planter in 1644. On November 1, 1647, "he was hired by Printz to serve among the soldiers as provost-marshal" at the rate of 6 R.D. a month. He served until November 15, 1648, when he left. He entered the service again about December 15, 1650.

Swenn (Sven) Larsson Maarbo, laborer.

Swenn (Sven) Gunnarsson, freeman. (Probably a brother of Per.)

Larss Swensson (Lars Svensson), freeman.

Mårten (also Mårten) Guttersson (or Göttersson), laborer. Returned to Sweden on the *Örn* in 1654. Died in Sweden in the autumn of 1654.

*The following arrived here in 1641:*²¹

Claess Claesson, a Dutch carpenter. He returned to Sweden in 1653.

Laurens Andriesson, the barman, a Hollander, who came here on the ship *Kalmar Nyckel*. He returned to Sweden with Claesson in 1653.

Matz (Mats) Hansson, appointed gunner in 1641, in which capacity he served until December 1, 1646, when he was made a freeman, came over on the *Kalmar Nyckel*.

Gottfriedt Hermer (Gottfried Harmer, also *Hermansson*), who went over on the ship *Charitas* in 1641 as a cabin guard, later became an assistant to Commiss. Huygen.

Iffwer (Ifvar) Hindricksson (Cf. above, p. 151), laborer, was hired by Måns Kling in 1641 and came over as a farm hand.

Johan Ericksson from Ångermanland (Northeastern Sweden, bordering on the Gulf of Bothnia), was hired by Måns Kling in 1641 as a laborer. Became soldier on October 1, 1646. Deserted in 1651, leaving a debt of 1,017 florins behind.

Anders Hansson, freeman, was hired by Måns Kling as a farm hand in 1641 and was later made a freeman.

Jacob Sprint from Nyland (northern Sweden) was hired by Kling in 1641 as a farm hand, was later appointed a soldier.

Powell Joensson (Påfvel Jönsson or Jonsson), from Jämtland, was hired by Kling in 1641 as a farm hand. On October 1, 1646, Governor Printz hired him as a soldier for 4 R.D. a month. He returned to Sweden with Printz.

Axel Stille,^{21a} was hired by Kling in 1641 as a farm hand and was later made a freeman.

²¹ Cf. above, p. 151 ff.

^{21a} Probably from Länna *socken*, Roslagen, Stockholms län.

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Hindrick Matzon (Matsson), was hired by Kling in 1641 as a farm hand and was later made a soldier.

Johan(n) Andersson, from Strängnäs, was hired by Kling in 1641 for a farm hand. On October 1, 1646, he was hired by Printz to serve as soldier. He seems to have left with Printz.

Olof(f) Ericks[s]on, was hired by Kling in 1641 for a farm hand.

Mat(t)s Hansson from Borgå (Finland), the servant of the late Mr. Klas Fleming, was sent here in 1641 to serve the company and was later made a freeman.

Peer (Per, Peter) Larsson Kock (Cock), freeman, was sent here in 1641 to serve the company and was later made a freeman.

Eskell (Eskil) Larsson, laborer, was sent here in 1641 by the College of War, to serve as a punishment, because he deserted from the army; later he was made a free laborer.

Hanss Månsson, from Skara, was sent here from Gothenburg as a laborer in 1641 and was later made a freeman.

Lars Andersson from Gothenburg, the cook on the sloop here.

Roff Toorsson (Olof Thorsson), laborer, who came here as a midshipman on the *Kalmar Nyckel* in 1641.

Lars Björsson (Björnsson), laborer, who came here as a midshipman from Gothenburg in 1641.

Lucas Persson, sailor on the sloop here who went over as a sailor in 1641 on the ship *Charitas*.

Knut Martensson Wasa (Knut Mårtinsson Wasa), probably from Wasa in Finland, freeman, went over as a sailor on the ship *Charitas* in 1641, later made a freeman.

Lars Thomsson (also Thomasson), from Weddinge, sailor on the sloop here, came over on the ship *Charitas* as a sailor in 1641.

Matz Olofsson (Mats Olofsson), wood sawyer here, came over as a sailor on the *Kalmar Nyckel* in 1641.

Måns Swensson Loom (Svensson Lom), freeman, had been a lieutenant before and came over on the *Charitas* in 1641.

Olof(f) Stille,^{21b} freeman, a mill-wright, with his family consisting of a wife and two children.

Siwirt or If(f)wert Siewertsson (Ifvar Sifversson), came over on the *Charitas* as a freeman in 1641.

Anders Christiaensson (Kristiansson), the miller, came to New Sweden from Gothenburg.

^{21b} "From Roslagen, Länna *socken* and Penningsby *gård*."

Måns Jurrensson the Finn, freeman, was sent here on the ship *Kalmar Nyckel* in 1641 as a laborer, later he became a freeman.

Clement Jurgensson (Göransson) the freeman, was sent here as a servant of the company and was later made a freeman.

Hinrich Matzon (Matsson), the Finn, was hired as a soldier by Printz on October 1, 1646, served until March 1, 1648, when he was made a freeman.

Eskiel (Eskil) Larsson, or Lars Eskiellson, was sent here in 1641 and was later made a freeman.

Bartell Eskiellson (Eskilsson), came here with his father Elskiel Larsson and was later made a freeman.

The following arrived here in 1643:

Knuut Peersson (Knut Persson), secretary. Died before the autumn of 1653.

Swen(n) Andersson, drummer, served here until 1655.

Nicholaes Borck (Nicklas or Nickolaus Bock), corporal.

Hans Lüneburger (Lynberger), soldier from Stralsund (at that time belonging to Sweden). Came on the *Fama*. He died in New Sweden about the middle of June, 1650.

Lars Andersson, soldier, "från Sältuna socken."^{21c} He served here until September 1, 1653, and returned to Sweden with Governor Printz.

Joen Nielsson (Jon Nilsson), "soldier from *Skånings härad*," Skaraborgs län.

Lars Jacobsson, soldier.

Elias Gyllengren (Gyllengren), constable at Ft. Korsholm. Served as soldier until March 1, 1648. Served as constable from March 1, 1648, until July 31, 1651, when he returned to Sweden. He came here again in 1654.

Anders Andersson Homman, "from Sältuna socken." Came here on the *Swan* in 1643, served as soldier until March 1, 1648, from which time until 1653 he served as trumpeter. Zettersten, Sv. fl. hist., II. 609.

Jurgen Schneeweiss (Göran Kyn Snöhvit), soldier.

Peter Mejer (Meyer), soldier from Gothenburg.

Constantinus Grünenborgh (also Konstantin Grönberg), "soldier from Mark Brandenburg."

Johann Olufsson (Johan Olofsson), was hired to serve as provost-marshal in 1642. Came here on the *Fama*. Returned with Printz in 1653.

^{21c} Sollentuna socken, Stockholms län.

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Peter Jochimson (Peter Jochum or Jochim), soldier from Slesvik-Holstein.

Isack von Eÿssen (van Eisen or Eissen), from Stockholm. Served as soldier until August, 1643, when he was made a corporal at a wage of 6 R.D. a month.

Jacob Swensson, "from Sårestad in Askerad,"^{21d} constaple at Christina. Michell Nielsson (Mickel Nilsson), blacksmith.

Thomas Jurgensson (Göransson), carpenter, returned to Sweden with Printz in 1653.

Marten Martensson (Mårten Mårtinson) Glassbijten, freeman.

Johan Gustaffsson (also Johan Göstasson), from Kinekulle, Sweden. Came here on the *Swan* in 1643. Served as soldier until 1653, when he probably became a freeman.

Niels (Nils) Andersson, "from Mällpa(?) in Kinna^{21e} hundred." He served here as a soldier until the middle of March, 1649, when he died, owing the company 35:42 R.D.

Anders Andersson, the Finn, was sent here from the Castle of Elfsborg as a punishment. Returned to Sweden in 1653.

The following arrived here in 1644 on the Fama:

Jan Matzon (Johan Matsson), constaple (gunner) at Fort Elfsborg. Engaged as constaple on April 1, 1644, at 6 R.D. a month. On December 1, 1646, his wage was raised to 8 R.D. a month. He served as constaple until September 1, 1650, when he was engaged as skipper on the sloop at 25 florins a month. From August 15, 1651, until September 1, 1653, he served again as constaple. He returned to Sweden with Governor Printz.

Anders Joensson²² (Jönsson), soldier, was engaged on the first of December, 1643, by the nobleman Johan Papegoja. Served as soldier until August, 1653. He was executed on August 1, 1653.

Wolle Lohe (Walle Looer), soldier, was engaged by the nobleman Papegoja on December 1, 1643. Seems to have left the service in 1653 and returned to Sweden.

Swen Swensson (Sven Svensson), a youth, went to New Sweden with Papegoja in 1643.

^{21d} Askeryd socken, north Vedbo härad, Jönköpings län.

^{21e} Kinda(?) hundred in Östergötlands län.

²² He is probably the same as Anders Jonsson, from Nyköping, who was here in 1642. In that case he returned to Sweden in 1643 and came here a second time in 1644.

Skipper Dirck (Diedrick) Jacobsson, skipper on the sloop in the river, was taken into the company's service in New Sweden on August 10, 1646. He died here about 1650 (before 1652).

Hindrick Olufsson (Olofsson), the Finn, was taken into the government's service in New Sweden as a soldier on September 1, 1646. (The list has December 1, 1646.) He owed the company 28:32 R.D. in September, 1653.

The following are not found in Kramer's list:

Åcke Israelsson (also Israel Åckesson) came here in 1641 according to *Journal*, N. S., III. (K.A.), and returned to Sweden in 1654 on the *Örn*(?). Cf. *Monatg. B.*, 1642-56, but he is not mentioned in Printz's list of 1644 nor in the list of 1648 unless he is given under a different name. In the list of 1644 is an Erich Tååt (Erick *Åkesson* Tååt), however.

Peter Bock (not given in list of 1648 nor in list of 1644), probably a son of Nicklas Bock, who came here in 1643. Signed the Indian certificates of July 13, and July 16, 1651.

Anders Mats (?) Persson (Person), the carpenter, was here in 1644 and is mentioned as being in New Sweden in 1649, but he is not given in the list of 1648.

Total number of male inhabitants in 1648: 83.

Names of the fortified places in New Sweden in 1648:

1. Fort Christina.
2. Fort Elfsborg.
3. Fort New Gothenborg.
4. Fort New Korsholm on the Schuylkill.
5. Mölndal.
6. Tårne (Torne). (Probably erected about 1647 after Vasa had been abandoned. Called after Tårne (Torne), at the northern point of Bay of Bothnia.)

The following returned to Sweden in 1648:

Erick (Eric) Andersson, the trumpeter, came here in 1643, served the Crown until July 1, 1645, when he became a freeman. On February 1, 1647, he again entered the service of the Crown and remained in the service until April 1, 1648. He came here again in 1654.

Måns Nilsson Kling, Rev. Johan Campanius, the blacksmith Hans Rosback, Anders Classon Mink, Knut Liljehök, Måns Nilsson, Eric Åkesson Tååt (who served as a soldier from 1643 until April 1, 1648),

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Johan Andersson (soldier), Friedrich Hans Koch (barber-surgeon), and Bengt Hindricksson (Hindersson).²³

V. LIST OF OFFICERS, SOLDIERS, SERVANTS AND FREEMEN IN THE COLONY, 1654-1655.²⁴

OFFICERS.	
Rising, Johan, director.	Lock, Lars Karlsson, Rev.
Papegoja, Johan, lieutenant. ²⁵	Nertunius, Matthias, Rev. (1654).
Elswick, Hendrick von, commissary (1654).	Olofsson, Anders (also Anders Olsson), corporal (1654).
Svensson, Jacob, assistant commissary.	Peters[s]on, Peter, trumpeter (1654).
Skute, Sven, captain.	Peters[s]on, Peter, drummer ^{27a} (1654).
Höök, Sven, lieutenant (1654).	Schalbrick(?) ²⁸ Johan, drummer (1654), from Reval.
Gyllengren, Elias, lieutenant.	Lars[s]on, Anders, sergeant (1654).
Lindeström, Peter, engineer (1654).	Lars[s]on, Nils, Gewaldiger ^{28a} (1654).
Stake, Måns, ²⁶ provost-marshal (1654).	Stidden, Timon, ²⁹ barber-surgeon.
Kämpe, Anders, <i>rustmästaren</i> (armorer) (1654).	Anderson, Lars, munsterschreiber (muster-clerk) (1654?).
Julius, Carl (Karl), schreiber (secretary) ²⁷ (1654).	Andersson, Sven, trumschläger (drummer).
Junge, Jacob, <i>packhausechreiber</i> (1654), from Gothenburg.	Dyck, Gregorius van, wachtmäster (head guard).
Hjort, Peder (Peter) Larsson, Rev. (1654).	

²³ He was a brother of Christiernus Alsinius, *Rector Scholae* of Stockholm.

²⁴ The names have been gathered from N. S., I.-II. (R.A.); N. S., I.-III. (K.A.); Rising's Journal; *Doc.*, XII., and private letters. 1654 after the names indicates that the persons came here in 1654 on the *Örn*. It is the intention of the writer to publish a more complete list in a following volume, which will comprise names of Swedish, Dutch, Danish and Norwegian settlers from 1656 to 1700, also indicating the localities where the colonists lived. For some names not given here Cf. Chap. XXXVIII, note 45 and p. 726 below.

²⁵ Returned to Sweden on the *Örn*.

²⁶ Probably the same as Måns Person Stake.

²⁷ Came on the *Haj*, 1654. Arrived in New Sweden November 30, 1654.

^{27a} He is probably same as Peter Peters[s]on, trumpeter.

²⁸ *Mss.* have Schialbrich, Schialbrick and Schallbrucher.

^{28a} One *Ms.* has Gevaliar. *Gavaldiger* was the old Swedish name for a constable, also a prisonkeeper.

²⁹ "From Hammel," *Hammal*(?), north of Sundsvall, Sweden. His mother lived at Stockholm in 1641.

SOLDIERS, SERVANTS AND FREE- MEN.	Andriasson, Måns, freeman (1654).
Åkerman, Håkan Persson (or simply Håkan Persson), soldier (1654).	Backare(?) (the baker), Isack (1654).
Anders i Salungen(?), freeman (1654).	Olof Bagge's widow, ³⁵ freeman (1654).
Anders, the Finn, freeman (1654).	Bankson (Bengtsson), Andrew (Andreas), b. 1640.
Andersson, Anders, freeman.	Benckson (Bengtsson), Erick, sol- dier (1654).
Anders[son], Benjamin, free- man(?) (1654).	Bengts[s]on, Israel, soldier (1654).
Anders[s]on, Eric, soldier (1654). (Erick) Anders[s]on's widow. ³⁰	Bengts[s]on, Mathias, free- man(?) ³⁶ (1654).
Anders[s]on, Hindrick, freeman ³¹ (1654).	Bengts[s]on, Mats ³⁷ (1654).
Anders[s]on Stå(h)lkof(f)ta, ³² Johan, gunner.	Bertils[s]on Likagod (just as good), Olof, soldier (1654).
Anders[s]on, Jöns, Smidt (black- smith) (1654).	Bickert (Bicker), Gerrit.
Anders[s]on, Lars, the Finn, sol- dier. ³³	Boijs (Boyer), Alexander, Dutch freeman.
Anders[s]on, Måns (also Moens Andriesen).	Brun (Brown), Thomas, an Eng- lish freeman.
Nils Anders[s]on's ³⁴ widow (1654).	Braueversche, Hustro Agneta ³³ (1654).
Anders[s]on, Nils, müller (the miller).	Burke(?), Cornelius (1654?).
Anders[s]on Husgalen (House- crazy), Olof (1654).	Bus(?), Lars (1654?).
	Carson (Karsson), Nils, Junge oder pöjke ³⁹ (1654).
	Clasen, Abbe, skipper (1654).

³⁰ Andersson died on the journey or in New Sweden before June 9, 1654.

³¹ Ill June 9, 1654.

³² Later changed to Stalcop (Cf. Acrelius (trans.), p. 192, 265.). *Stålkof*ta means steel-coat or jacket.

³³ There are two or three with same name.

³⁴ Nils Andersson, freeman, died on the *Örn* or before June 9, 1654.

³⁵ Bagge died on the journey or in the colony before June 9, 1654.

³⁶ He lived at Kingsessing.

³⁷ Probably the same as Mathias Bengt[s]on.

³⁸ It is difficult to see what the name is. Hustro Agneta, Frau (fru) Agneta? But *Braueversche* may mean that she brewed ale in the colony.

³⁹ Boy.

- Clementsson (Clemetson), Anders, soldier (1654).
 Collinns (?), Lars Andersson (1654).
 Dalbo, Anders Larsson, freeman.
 Daniels[s]on, Gösta (Jösta), soldier⁴⁰ (1654).
 Daniels[s]on, Gustaf (1654).
 Danielsson, Johan, Arklimästare (gunner) (1654).
 Eckhoff, Jan, freeman (1654?).
 Ericksson, Abraham (1654).
 Lars Ericks[s]on's widow⁴¹ (1654).
 Ericksson, Olof, freeman.
 Esbjörsson Skräddare (tailor),⁴² Lars (1654).
 Esbjörnsson, Lars, soldier⁴³ (1654).
 Eskelsdotter, Margareta⁴⁴ (1654).
 Eskils[s]on(?), Bertil (Bärtill), the Finn.⁴⁵
 Eskelsson, Abraham, soldier (1654).
 Eskelsson, Mats (1654).
 Esselse(?), Mathias, freeman (1654).
 Evers, Peter (1654).
 Forsman, Gabriel Samuels[s]on, soldier (1654).
 Fransson,⁴⁶ Olof, freeman.
 Friland, Samuel Pers[s]on, freeman (1654).
 From,⁴⁷ Hindrick Lars[s]on, soldier (1654).
 Grimm, Otto (1654).
 Grönberg (Grönenbergh, Gryneberg, Grüneburg), Constantinus, freeman.
 Gunnarsson, Sven, freeman.⁴⁸
 Gustafs[s]on (Göstasen), Anies (?), freeman(?)⁴⁹ (1654).
 Göstas[s]on, Johan (Jon), gunner⁵⁰ (1654?).
 Gustafs[s]on, Johan (?).
 The widow of Rolof de Haes (1654).
 Håkans[s]on, Nils, freeman(?) (1654).
 Hans[s]on, Klas, freeman (1654).
 Hans[s]on, Mats.⁵¹
 Hans[s]on Friskebonde, Olof⁵² (1654).
 Hermers(?), Peter (1654).

⁴⁰ Hired at Stockholm in 1653 for 4 R.A. a month. Jösta or Gösta.

⁴¹ Ericksson, freeman, died in the colony before June 9, 1654. His widow took oath of allegiance to the Swedish Crown.

⁴² Hired in Stockholm in 1653 for 4 R.D. a month.

⁴³ Probably same as the foregoing.

⁴⁴ Margareta Eskelsdotter, Margarete the daughter of Elskel (Elskil).

⁴⁵ He lived at the Schuykill.

⁴⁶ *Doc.*, XII. 107, has Olof Franien. He was ill on June 9, 1654.

⁴⁷ *From* = good, pious.

⁴⁸ Lived at Kingsessing.

⁴⁹ *Doc.*, XII. 107, has Göstaffsen Anies instead of Anies(?) Göstaffsen (Gustafsson).

⁵⁰ *Mss.* has Göstason, may be the same as Johan Gustafs[s]on.

⁵¹ Probably same as Mats Hans[s]on, who was hired in 1641 at Gothenburg to serve as gunner at Christina. Cf. above.

⁵² *Fiskebonde*, "fish-peasant."

Hijden (Hiden?), Anders (1654).	Jans[s]on, Hans, the Finn (1654).
Hindricks[s]on, Anders, freeman (1654).	Jockum (Jochim), Peter, freeman.
Hindricks[s]on, Hindrick, soldier (1654).	Johans[s]on, Girret (1654).
Hindricks[s]on, Ifvert (J u e r t, Ivert, etc.), freeman. ⁵³	Johans[s]on, Herman (Harman Janz[on]), freeman (1654).
Hindricks[s]on, Johan, freeman ⁵⁴ (1654).	Johans[s]on, Henrick, freeman ⁵⁸ (1654).
Isgrå (Icegrey), Olof, soldier (1654).	Johans[s]on, Hindrick ⁵⁹ (1654).
Jacobs[s]on, Hindrick, soldier (1654).	Johansdotter, ⁶⁰ Karin (1654).
Jacobs[s]on, Johan, ⁵⁵ freeman(?) (1654).	Johans[s]on, Philip (1654).
Jacobs[s]on, Johan, sagemülsmeis- ter (mill-wright) (1654).	Johansson, Simon, soldier (1654).
Jacobs[s]on, J o h a n, f r e e m a n (1654).	Tomas (Thomas) Johans[s]on's ⁶¹ widow (1654).
Jacobs[s]on, Päder (Peter), free- man (1654).	Jons[s]on, Anders, soldier (1654).
Jans[s]on, Anders, ⁵⁶ freeman(?) (1654?).	Jons[s]on, Bengt, freeman (1654).
Jans[s]on, Bernt (Baernt Jan- sen) ⁵⁷ (1654).	Jöns[s]on, J ö r a n (G ö r a n, George), freeman (1654).
	Jons[s]on, Hans, soldier ⁶² (1654).
	Jons[s]on, Olof (1654).
	Jons[s]on, P a u l, f r e e m a n ⁶³ (1654).
	Jörans[s]on, Nils, soldier (1654).
	Justen (?), Jan, ⁶⁴ f r e e m a n (?) (1654).
	Klemels[s]on, ⁶⁵ Anders (1654).

⁵³ He lived at the Schuykill.

⁵⁴ He was ill in June, 1654.

⁵⁵ May be same as Johan Jacobs[s]on *Sagenmülsmeister*.

⁵⁶ *Doc. XII. 107* has Andries Jansen.

⁵⁷ May be the same as Bengt Jons[s]on.

⁵⁸ This can hardly be the same H. Johans[s]on who escaped from Ft. Trefaldighet, for he joined Elswick on his own accord on August 31. Elswick's *Relation*, see also N. S., II. (R.A.). He lived at the Schuykill.

⁵⁹ Escaped from Ft. Trefaldighet in 1655.

⁶⁰ The daughter of Johan (Jon).

⁶¹ Thomas Johans[s]on, freeman, died during journey on *Örn* or in colony before June 9, 1654.

⁶² May be same as Hans Jans[s]on Finne.

⁶³ Lived at the Schuykill.

⁶⁴ *Doc. XII. 107*. Possibly the same as Johan Gustafsson(?).

⁶⁵ Probably Klementsson.

- Kock (Cock), Peter Lars[s]on, freeman.
 Lasse Kock (Cock, Cocke), b. 1646.
 Koskel (?), Johan.
 Krum, Marten (Mårtin), soldier (1654).
 Kyn, Gjörgen (Görgen or Göran, Jöran).
 Kypere,⁶⁶ Lukas (1654).
 Larsdotter (the daughter of Lars),⁶⁷ Karin (1654).
 Larsdotter,⁶⁸ Karin (1654)
 Lars[s]on, Anders, freeman⁶⁹ (1654).
 Bärtil Lars[s]on's widow⁷⁰ (1654).
 Larsson, Hindrick, the Finn, soldier (1654).
 Lars[s]on, Jöns (1654).
 Lars[s]on, Lars, Freüwerböther (?) (1654).
 Lars[s]on, Markus (1654).
 Mats Lars[s]on's widow⁷¹ (1654).
 Lars[s]on, Påfvel (Påwel) (1654).
 Lars[s]on, Peder (or Per), soldier (1654).
 Lane, Simon, an Englishman.
 Lom, Måns, the widow of.
 Lorans (Lorensen or Lorensen), Frans⁷² (1654).
 Lukas Krüger, Sigesmundus,⁷³ (1654).
 Måns[s]on, Hans.⁷⁴
 Månsson Klockare (parish-clerk),⁷⁵ Lars (1654).
 Måns[s]on, Peder (Peter), freeman (1654).
 Matzdochter, Carin (Karin Matsdotter) (1654).
 Mats[s]on Kjäring (Woman), Anders (1654).
 Mats[s]on, Hindrick, the Finn, freeman (1654).
 Mats[s]on, Hindrick, freeman.
 Mats[s]on Skrika, Johan, soldier (1654).
 Mats[s]on, Martin (Mårtin), freeman (1654).
 Matsson, Mats (Matz Matzon), the blacksmith (1654).
 Mats[s]on, Mathias (Mats)⁷⁶ (1654).
 Mats[s]on, Morten (Mårtin, Marten) (1654).
 Mats[s]on, Nils, sågkvarnsmästare,⁷⁷ from Torshälla (1654).

⁶⁶ Kypare = barman.

⁶⁷ The small maid-servant of the company.

⁶⁸ The large maid-servant of the company.

⁶⁹ Ill June 9, 1654.

⁷⁰ Bärtil Lars[s]on, freeman, died on voyage or before June 9, 1654. Oath.

⁷¹ M. Larsson, freeman, died on voyage or in colony before June 9, 1654.

⁷² Probably a Dutchman.

⁷³ "Cordewanbereiter," Preparer of Cordowan leather.

⁷⁴ Lived at Kingsessing.

⁷⁵ Klockare, a sacristan, a parish-clerk, one who leads or aids in singing.

⁷⁶ Lived at the Schuykill, probably on Province Island.

⁷⁷ Millwright from Torshälla, Södermanland, Sweden.

- Mickelsson, Clement(?), freeman (1654).
 Mickels[s]on Fischer, David (1654).
 Mickels[s]on, Erick, soldier (1654).
 Mickels[s]on, Jacob (1654).
 Mickels[s]on, Lambert, freeman (1654).
 Mjöltnare (the miller), Nils (1654).
 Morris, William, freeman(?), probably an Englishman.
 Mört, Peter, Proviant-sreiber (1654).
 Mårtinsson (Martensson) Glasare (glasbiten, the *piece of glass*), Mårten (Morten), freeman.
 Mortens[s]on Vasa, Knut, freeman.
 Mortens[s]on, Morten (Mårten Mårtinsson), freeman (1654).
 Nils Snickare (carpenter (1654).
 Nils[s]on Jute (Dane?), Börge(?) (1654).
 N . . . , David, soldier.⁷⁸
 Nils[s]on Skräddare (tailor), John (Jon, Joen, Johan), freeman.
 Nils[s]on, Peder (Per), soldier (1654).
 Nils[s]on, Törgel (Torkil?) (1654).
 Olof in Slobijen (1654).
 Olofs[s]on, Björn, freeman (1654).
 Olofs[s]on, Johan (1654).
 Olofs[s]on (Oloffson), Lars, soldier (1654).
 Olofs[s]on, Mats, soldier.⁷⁹
 Olofs[s]on, Mathias (1654).
 Olofs[s]on R ä f, Nils (Nilsz Rääff) (1654).
 Påfvvels[s]on (Påwelson), Måns (1654).
 Påfvvels[s]on Peder (Peter, Per), soldier (1654).
 Pers[s]on, Jon (1654).
 Pers[s]on, Johan, soldier⁸⁰ (1654).
 Pers[s]on i Bogen (at the Bog), Samuel (1654).
 Peters[s]on (Persson), Lucas, freeman(?).
 Peters[s]on,⁸¹ Samuel, freeman (1654).
 Preutz (Pryss also Prentz), Hans, Stenhuggare (stone cutter), soldier⁸² (1654).
 Quist, Påfvel Nils[s]on, soldier⁸³ (1654).
 Rambo, Peter⁸⁴ (Per) Gunnarson.
 Rase(?), Olof, soldier (1654).

⁷⁸ Came here on the *Haj* in 1654.

⁷⁹ Probably same as Mathias Olofs[s]on. Lived at the Schuyllkill.

⁸⁰ Probably same as Jon Pers[s]on.

⁸¹ Pieter-son.

⁸² Hired at Stockholm in 1654.

⁸³ Hired at Stockholm in 1653.

⁸⁴ Lived at Kingsessing.

- Rosenmann (?), Marten (Mårten) (1654).
 Rudenius, Lars Jons[s]on, soldier⁸⁵ (1654).
 Samuel i (at) Frijandan (1654).
 Schaggen, Johan (1654).
 Schal (Skall), Peter, the tanner (1654).
 Skate i (at the) Slobyen (?), free-man (1654).
 Schoffel, Jan (Johan Skofvel), freeman (1654).
 Skog, Jonas, soldier (1654).
 Skog, Jan Måns[s]on (1654).
 Scott, Richard (an Englishman?).
 Skute, Johan (John), son of Capt. Skute, b. Sept. 4, 1654.
 Smed (the blacksmith), Nicholas (1654).
 Sprint (Sprinck), Jacob.
 Stake, Måns Persson (1654).
 Stille, Axel, freeman.
 Stille, Olof, freeman.
 Swartz (Black), Antoni (Anthony the negro), the slave.⁸⁶
- Swartz (Black), Lars⁸⁷ (1654).
 Swens[s]on, Anders, sailor (1654).
 Thomasson, Klas (Claes Tommasen), freeman (1654).
 Thomasdochter (Thomasdotter, daughter of Thomas), Elin, the company's maid-servant (1654).
 Thomas[s]on (Thomson), Lars, freeman.
 Thomas[s]on Thomas, freeman.
 Thorsson, Anton (Anthony Thorson) (1654).
 Thorsson, Olof.
 Thors[s]on Svårdfejare,⁸⁸ Sander (Alexander) (1654).
 Utter, Nils Mats[s]on, soldier⁸⁹ (1654).
 Hans[s]on Wendel, Peder (Peter), ensign (1654).
 Zakariasson (Zachariezon and Zacharieszon), Anders, soldier (1654).

⁸⁵ Hired at Stockholm in 1653.

⁸⁶ He made several purchases from the company in 1654. He may have been a freeman at this time.

⁸⁷ He may have been a negro or called Black (Svart) on account of his complexion.

⁸⁸ Hired in 1653. Sword-cutler, bladesmith, furbisher.

⁸⁹ Hired at Stockholm in 1653.

SOLDIERS AND COLONISTS HIRED TO GO TO NEW SWEDEN, WHOSE PRESENCE THERE HAS NOT BEEN DETERMINED.⁹⁹

For other sailors on the *Haj*, besides those given below, see above Chap. XXXIX., note 44.

Andersson Snickare (cabinet-maker), Nils, ⁹¹ soldier.	dier. ¹⁰²
Eric[k]s[s]on, Bengt, upper boatswain. ⁹²	Norman Östens[s]on, Nils, soldier. ¹⁰³
Ericks[s]on, Eric, from Örebro. ⁹³	Olofs[s]on, Sigfrid, boatswain. ¹⁰⁴
Eric[s]on, Johan, boatswain. ⁹⁴	Olofsson Skinnare (s k i n n e r), Nils. ¹⁰⁵
Håkans[s]on Brodd, Sven. ⁹⁵	Olofsson, Johan, common sailor. ¹⁰⁶
Hansson, Anders, gunner. ⁹⁶	Petersson, Johan, from Stockholm. ¹⁰⁷
Johansson, Gustaf. ⁹⁷	Stegsson, Hans.
Johans[s]on, Jacob, boatswain. ⁹⁸	Swens[s]on, Anders, boatswain. ¹⁰⁸
Jörans[s]on, Eric, boatswain. ⁹⁹	Stake, Lars E r i c k s [s] o n, soldier (?). ¹⁰⁹
Jostsen, Berent, "sailmaker." ¹⁰⁰	Torkels[s]on, Olof, boatswain. ¹¹⁰
Stijrman, Matheus, the ship-carpenter. ¹⁰¹	
Mat[s]on Menlös, Mickel, sol-	

⁹⁹ Most of these were on the *Haj* and stayed in New Holland. It is probable, however, that many of them went to New Sweden after 1655.

⁹¹ Hired at Stockholm in 1653 for 4 R.D. a month.

⁹² On the *Haj*, 1654. Stayed in New Amsterdam.

⁹³ Hired at Stockholm in 1653, for 4 R.D. a month; he probably left on the *Haj*.

⁹⁴ On the *Haj*, 1654.

⁹⁵ Hired at Stockholm in 1653 to serve in New Sweden for a wage of 4 R.D. a month. He probably went on the *Haj* and stayed in New Amsterdam.

⁹⁶ On the *Örn*, 1654. Probably same as Anders Hansson who was paid 15:18 D. in 1641 by the Admiralty. He perhaps died on the journey.

⁹⁷ Hired at Stockholm in 1653.

⁹⁸ On the *Haj*, 1654, remained in New Amsterdam.

⁹⁹ On the *Haj*, 1654, remained in New Amsterdam.

¹⁰⁰ On the *Haj* in 1654.

¹⁰¹ On the *Haj* 1654, stayed in New Amsterdam.

¹⁰² Hired in Stockholm in 1653.

¹⁰³ Hired in Stockholm in 1653.

¹⁰⁴ On the *Haj*, 1654.

¹⁰⁵ Hired at Stockholm in 1653 for 4 R.D. a month.

¹⁰⁶ On the *Haj*, 1654.

¹⁰⁷ Hired in Stockholm in 1653 for 4 R.D. a month.

¹⁰⁸ On the *Haj*, 1654.

¹⁰⁹ Hired in Stockholm in 1653.

¹¹⁰ On the *Haj*, 1654.

724 THE SWEDISH SETTLEMENTS ON THE DELAWARE.

VI. A LIST OF SOME OF THE OFFICERS AND SOLDIERS, WHO RETURNED TO EUROPE WITH DIRECTOR RISING IN 1655.¹¹¹

Roll List of the officers and soldiers, who return to the fatherland, and undoubtedly are to receive each a month's wage from Peter Trotzig in Amsterdam, according to this inventory:

	R.D.
Lieutenant Sven Höök	16
Engineer Peter Lindheström.....	12
Ensign Petter Wendhell (Vendel).....	12
Rev. Matthias Nertunius	10
Rev. Petrus (Peter) Hiort.....	6
Armorer Andhers Kiämpe	6
Corporal Andhers Olufsson	5
The commissary of stores Petter Mört	8
Drummer Swen Andhersson	6
Grefrijderen (freeman) Biörn Olufsson	5
The tailor, Lars Essbiörnsson	4
The soldier Mårten Crum (Krum).....	4
The soldier Hans Preutz (also Pryss).....	4
The soldier Lars Ionsson	4
The soldier (?) Carl Julius	4
The soldier Andhers Kiämpe	4
The soldier Håkan Åkerman	4
The soldier Hans Iikorn (also Ekor, squirrel).....	4
The soldier Påfwel Quist (Kvist).....	4
The soldier Erich Bengtsson	4
Total	158 ¹¹²

VII. ROLL LIST OF THE COLONISTS, ABOUT TO GO TO NEW SWEDEN, WHO HAVE BEEN EXAMINED AND WRITTEN DOWN TO THE SEVENTEENTH OF OCTOBER, 1655:

*From Frijsdalen:*¹¹³

Johan Grels[s]on with wife and three children.....	5
Mårten Påfvelsson with wife only	2
Nils Nilsson (also Niels Nielsson) with wife and four children	6

¹¹¹ The list contains all but 17 names of the people who returned to Sweden.

¹¹² Original list signed by Rising, N. S., I. (R.A.), a draft (varies, the amount given is 148:15 R.D.) in *Söderk. 1637-59* (R.A.).

¹¹³ Probably *Fryksdal* in *Karlstads stift*, Värmland, Sweden.

Anders Larsson with wife and five children	7
Mats Matsson (also Matz Matzon) with wife and one child	3
Olof Olofsson (also Oluf Olofsson), a servant	1
Gertrud (Gertrudh) a [maid] servant	1
Joen Staffes[s]on(?), the blacksmith	1
Karin Andersdotter (Karin the daughter of Anders), a widow with one child	2
Marcus Sigfriedhsson, a servant.....	1
Jöran Jöransson, a servant	1
Nils Simonsson with wife and three children	5
Jöran Sigfridsson with wife	2
Hindrick Jacobsson with four almost grown sons	5
Grels Grelsson (also Greels Greelsson), a servant.....	1
Eric Matsson (Erich Matzon), a servant	1
Lars Larsson, a servant	1
Olof Cemetsson, a servant	1
Jonss Hindricksson, a servant	1
[E]lissabeth Esekelsdotter (daughter of Esekiel?), a servant	1
Olof Olofsson (Oluf Olofsson), a servant.....	1

*From Lijtestegen:*¹¹⁴

Thomas (also Thomes) Jacobsson with wife, maid-servant and three children	6
Påfvell Persson with wife, maid-servant and three children.	6
Olof (Oluf) Philips[s]on with wife and five children....	7
Pavel (Påfvel?) Nils[s]on with wife and two children..	4
Olof Nils[s]on (also Oluf Nilsen), with wife only	2
Lars Bengtsson with wife, man-servant and four children..	7
Jöns Jöns[s]on with wife and six children.....	8
Carol (Carl) Jöns[s]on with wife, maid-servant and three children	6
Eric Mårtensson (also Erick Mårtenson), with wife and two children	4
Johan Simonsson (Simonsen) with wife and three children.	5

¹¹⁴ Cf. above, Chap. XLIX.¹¹⁵ Brunskog, north of lake Värmelen in Värmland, Sweden.

From *Brunskogh S[ocke]n*:¹¹⁵

Anders Jacobsson with wife, maid-servant and three children	6
Total	110 ¹¹⁶

NAMES OMITTED IN LIST V. ABOVE (p. 716 ff.):

Botsman, Anders.	Matsson, Anders.
Ekor, Anders.	Persson, Håkan.
Larsson, Alexander (Sander).	Persson, Måns.
Larsson, Olof.	Ref (Räf), Nils.
Månsson, Jon (Johan).	Sakrisson, Anders.

The above were all soldiers except Botsman and they were paid various sums by Rising. Rising's *Process* (R.A.).

¹¹⁶The list was made by Admiral Anckarhjelm on October 17, 1655, and sent with a letter of the same date to Kramer. It is now preserved in N. S., I. (R.A.). In all probability all of these 110 colonists remained here.

APPENDIX C.

DOCUMENTS AND TRANSLATIONS OF DOCUMENTS.

I.

Instruction,

Hwarefter Generale Commerce Collegium will opå Södre Compagnietz wägnar, att Commissarien uthi bemte. Gen. Comm. Collegio, Edle och Wälb. Johan Rissing, uthi Nya Sverige och annorstädes i America å bemte. Compagnietz tjänst, såssom een Assistentz Råd sikh skall hafva att förhålla.

I.

Skall han efter alla förmågo där hän trachta, att han uthi denne tjänst Hens. Kongl. Majjttz. wår allernådigste drottningh samt Fäderneslandzens ähro och Reputation där söker at utwidga och stabiliera, och till den ända medh flijt effterföllier alt dett, som kan tiäna till Kongl. Majjttz. Intention medh Södre Compagniet där i wärket att ställa, all hinder och skada efter sitt bästa weth och macht att afwäria eller i tidh tillkänna gifwa; hwar till Gouverneuren medh alle dhem, som där på Kongl. Majjttz. och Compagnietz wägnar böra giöra och låtha, tillwärkia och handen räckia skola.

2.

Skall han iämppte Gouverneuren omvårdnat draga, att een flitigh Gudztjänst där hållas måtte, och at alla sikh under den Augustaniske bekennelssen undergifwa, och at alla fåfänga disputer till Sinnes förhittzningar förtagas och afwärias, Så at alt till Eenigheet i dett stycket och Gudz nampne till ähro skickas och ställas måtte.

3.

I synnerheet schal hans beställningh wara, att han medh Gouverneurens Råd skall tillsee, at landet måte uthi godt schick ställas, Så wäll medh Politike Regiringen och Justitie wäsendet, Såssom och medh Commercierna och till coloniens rätta innrättningh och förmehringh goda Ordinancier författa och att dhe sampteligen draga omsorgh att

uthi godh defension emoth alla fienttliga anfall, måtte på alla görlige sätt stält och schickatt warda.

4.

Skall han iämpte Gouverneuren medh dhe om liggande Engell-och Hollendske Colonier såssom och medh dhe wilde Americaner sökia all tillbörlig vänskap att hålla, och hwar Kongl. Maj:tt och Compagnietz Interest i någon måtto något förnähr befinnes att skeep, tå gripa till dhe medell, som där till efter lägenheterna beqwämligast kunna befinnas, doch icke lätteligen till någon af dhem omliggande uthbrista, uthan så wida som Coloniens nödige försvar fordra kan, in till dess att frambeles af Compagniet derom ordres författes kunna.

5.

Alle dhe Personer, af dhe omliggande Nationer, som till landzens bruuck, Fäätackt, Fiskerijer eller annat nyttigt tianliga finnes kunna, skall han med Gouverneurens godtfinnande sökia under Colonien att draga; Män afwäräa och borttskynda dhem som någon schada eller intrångh skulle tyckias tillskynda och medh sigh bringa; Uthi hwilket alt han een serdeles försichtigheet använda och bruka skall uthi synnerheet nu medh Gouverneuren öfver och anläggia, huruledes man kunde medh det första dhe Hollendske, som sigh icke länge sedan hafwar oppå landet där een Skantz Upkastatt och där indhsatt, uthur och ifrån dhen ortten qwitt warda, doch medh all görligh försichtigheet.

6.

Dherhooss schall han brede widh Gouverneuren nooga tillsee, att landetz Gräntzer förwidgade warda måtte, och sielfwa landet åth Coloniene tillbörligen uthdeelas, så att hwar och een så mycket jordh bekommer, som han märkias kan wäl häfda kunna, till dess ordres af Compagniet derom giorde warda; Iämwal och att hwar sitt landh på tillbörligett sätt och medh flijtt brukar och bebygger, och till dhen ända i hwar district wysse uppsichtesmän ställa, hwilka därom beskeed inlewerera skola.

7.

Skall och det så lagas, att alt det, som Coloniene af landetz Cultur och bruck öfver deras egit hwshåldz behof winna och föröfwa kunna, måga på wissa ortter för billigheet förnyttra kunna, och altsså sigh någon fördeel däraf föskaffa, hwarigenom dhe deste mehra till flytt upwäckias

mätte, så att dhe och framdeles kunna något hafwa till Landzens styrckio och försvar att gifwa och wederwåga; Hwaräst alt sådant så förhandlas och ställas skall, att icke fremmande uthan Compagniet och Colonien däraf mätte nytto och fördeel hafva, eller åthminstone ingen skadha.

8.

Fördenskulldh skall Commissarien bredewidh Gouverneuren uthsee beqvänliga ortter, hwaräst bijar och landfläckier, så wäll som och Städer och handels platzer anläggias och inrättas kunna.

9.

Efter att Lagh och Rätt itt af dhe förnämste Stycken iblandh alle Folck till roligheet och wäl Lefnadh hålles och achtas; Ty skall han tillijka medh Gouverneuren därom draga försorgh, att dhär ställa dhe Personer, som efter Sweriges Lagh och lofliga sedwana wetha att dömma, på dett att Rätt och rättfärdigheet i Landet sin gångh hafva mätte.

10.

Han schall också Jämpte Gouverneuren medh flytt tillsee, huruledes Fiskerierne så wäll i Revieren och des kylar, som uthi i Siöen effter andre Nationers satt och bruck i verkett ställas kunne, alt till Landzens och Compagnietz gagn och fördeel.

11.

Deslykest schall der och eftersökias, om där i Landet någer Minerallier opfinnas kunna, Iblandh hwilka Järn och koppar till Landzens eller Coloniens nödtorfft allenest brukas skola, och alldeles inthet uthföras måga; Men wäl Guldh och Sölwer, hwar Gudh lyckan gofwo, att dhe Upstäckias mätte.

12.

Bredewidh att på åkerbrwket och Landzens Upröyande, hwar uthaf Sädh, Örtter, Rötter, Hampa, Lÿn, Fruchter sampt på allehanda Fää-tacht, däraf Kostwahrurne där tillwärkias mätte, skall godh insicht hafvas; Så schall där och Tabaksplantagen medh all flytt fortsättias, Jämwal och tillsees, om där icke Ingifähr, Suckerröhr och annat sådant nyttigt kunde stå till att planta; Om hwilket alt och sådant mehra han, Commissarien, brede widh Gouverneuren een flätigh försorgh draga skall.

13.

Efter att i Landet wilde wÿnrancker af åtskillige slagh finnes, ty skall Commissarien efter möyeligheeten så laga, att dhe där mätte Cultiveras

till Landzens gagn och bästa och därtill een snell wÿnarbetare af någon ortt sigh försee, så och wÿnstockar uhr ander ortter tÿtt framdeles förskrifwa och förskaffa.

14.

Efter att och ingen ringa nytta af bärande trään och dheras fruchter undfångas plägar; Ty skall han sin flÿtt och therom göra och folcket därtill hålla, att dhe sådanne fruchtbärande Trään, som landet efter des ortt draga kan, medh flÿtt plantera och underhålla.

15.

Dhesföruthan schall han på alle noble skogar, som där ähro i Landet een nooga Upsicht taga låtha, så att dhe icke onödigt uthuggas måtte, uthan sparsambligen till nytto och i rättan tÿdh måtte; Jämwäl och Träwerket i rätt proportion tillagas eftersom dedh till eett eller annat på sine ortter sigh kan schickas och begäras.

16.

Sedan hwadh nytta man sigh där i landet af Jacht på Wildh diur och Foglefängie göra kan, Skall han och så desslykest medh flÿt tillsee och efter som sigh bäst giöra låther gode Ordres däröfwer ställa. Thesslykest och tillsee, om Climated medhgifwa kan, och där Silkels matkar sättias kunde, efter där nogh Muhlbärs Trään wäxa, hwaruthaf sedan Silke till stoor fördeel framdeles måtte bekommas.

17.

Emädan som Uthaf Commercierne (genom Gudz wällsignelsse) förwänttas dhen förnämbste fördeel, som Kongl. Maj:tt och Compagniet emot the anwände stora kåstningar af denne Colonie, skall hafva att niuta; Ty gifvas här medh mehrbem:te Commissarien fullmacht, dett Stycket uthi sin Upsicht och Direction at taga, medh alt dett der widh och der uthaf dependerar och medh högsta flÿtt dähän medh Gouverneurens tillhielp trachta, att han heela Suid-Rivierens handell uthur de fremmandes och uthi wåre Swenskes händer kan bringa och ställa.

18.

Fördenschuldh schall han widh sitt affreesande tillsee att han Män af godhe Capital uthi wägen, serdeles uthi Göteborgh, der han kan disponera att dhe tillkommande Währ och Sommar tÿtt till Nya Swerige för

sända Skepp till att trafiquera, hälst efter han dhem kan försäkra. Hen:s. Kongl. Maj:ttz: nådigste wilia wara, att alle dhe Swänske Undersåthare, sum nu wele medh egne Skeep där i Suid Riveren handel drifwa, skola dett fritt så wäll medh dhe wilde som medh dhe angräntzande Christne, Jämwall och medh sielfwe Compagniet obehindrade giöra måga, och icke mehra än 2 pro cento där i Recognition till compagniet gifwa efter den Taxa, sum på godzet där ställes kan, och sedan tå the sådanne wahrur, som dhe i Suid Riviren där uphandlat hafwa, och medh Swenske Skeep i någon Swänsk hamn inbringandes warda, skola dhe dhem där Tullfrýt uthlasta och foryttra måga, allenast dhe een Certification ifrån Gouverneuren och Commissarien därpå wýsa, att samma wahrur där i Suid Riviren och icke annorstädes uphandlade ähro. Thesföruthan dhem där till mehra att animera, skall han hwar och een försähra måga, att dhem skall frijtt wara, där i Landet Colonierer att insättia, Landhet därmedh Tabakz plantager och annat sigh till nytto att bruka och ewerdeligen emot billigh recognition behålla på dhe ortter, där Compagniet icke till seerschiltz egendomb dhet intagit hafwer för sigh att bruka.

19.

Fördenskuldh skall han, när Gudh will han medh detta folcket lyckeligen i Landet ankommer, medh Gouverneuren uthsee för Compagnietz serskillte egendomb ett Stycke wälbelägit gott Landh, Huilket med Colonierer skall besättias och således beställas, att dhe wahrur, som af dett Landzens Cultur falla, och öfwer des torff tillwärcas kunna, måtte så wäll på dhe omliggande Custer och Oyer, såsom och åth Africa och Europa försändes och föryttras; Nembl. Sädh, Öhl, Brödh och Brännewyn åth dhe Spanske och Caribeske Öyerne, Jämwall åth Fiskeryerne widh Terra Neufor¹ och Rio Grande de Canada och annorstädes, Träwerckie och Wýnfaat åth Canarieerne, Portugall, Algerbo, Spanien och Franckerijke; Till hwilke föresagde ortter han skall måga förreesa till att trafiquera, nödigt folck till Coloniens förmehringh att förskaffa, och elliest beqwemligheterne af ortterne vthsee, alt till Compagnietz och Coloniens nytto, när lägenheeterne dedh medhgifwa kunna.

20.

Skall han sin flýtt giöra, att alt hwadh som af dhe råå Wahrarne, som där falla uthi Manufacturer, nu effter handen skall kunna där

¹ Terra Nova = Newfoundland.

tillreedas och upwårkias, Till Exempel Bräden och allahanda Träkärell, hwilke warda dyrtt för sålde mångestädes i America och på Carybis Öyerne, Sämskede Skinn och hudar, Cordwan, Lärefft, Toghwerk, Tiäru och annat, måtte medh flytt tillwårkas och bearbetas.

21.

Alle dhe wahrur, som particuliere Colonierer, ehwilke dhe och wara måge, där i Landet tillwårkat hafwa och dhem willia uth till handels försända, skola dett frijtt göra måga, allinast dhe derföre een Recognition till 2 pro C^{to} uthi Uthgående gifwa.

22.

Sedan skall han, Commissarien, i synnerheet brede widh Gouverneuren hafwa Fullmacht att emottaga och i förwaringh ställa dhen Cargasoen, peningar och Medell, som uhr Fäderneslandet tijtt till Nya Sverige af Compagniet försända warda, dhem sammaledes och quittera och sedan effter dhe medhgifne Ordres dhen Cargasoen åth dhe Wildhe eller andra omliggjande folck till Compagnietz fördeel igenom een Compagnietz där till beställte Factor förytttra och nooga Rächningar där öfwer hålla låtha, och dhem efter richtigheetz befinnande tillijka medh Gouverneuren underteckna. Sammaledes skall dett och skee medh dhe wahrur, som där ifrån till Fädernes Landet till retour försändas af hwilka bägge sydor Rächningh itt Exemplar där i Landet till Acterne föhras och förwahras skall, och itt hijtt öfversändas.

23.

Iblandh dhe förnåmbste Styckier, som han uthi denna sin beställningh hafwer till att achta, skall detta wahra, att han tillijka medh Gouverneuren skall sökia alla dhe wågar, hwar medh han där medell kan upbringa till att belöhna dhe betiäntte och understödia andre beswär, däri- genom tå Compag^t. någon lindringh och förkoffringh för störe Expenser, hwar icke någon winst, åthniuta kunde. Thett wari sikh tå igenom een rätt beställningh och direction i handelen eller af Landzens Cultur och des Inkomster eller af Fiskerijerne eller af Manufacturerer eller af publike Krogar eller af små Accijser opå förtåhringen eller af hwadh maneerligit och lämpeligit sålt dett hälst wara kan däråf folcket dhe sikh minst märkia kunna att beswärade warda.

24.

Thesse och andre fleere nödige Stychior, som till Landzens försvar, Upkompst och förkoffringh Jämwall och Commerciernes fortsättiande lända kunna, Skall mehrbem^{te}. Commissarien tillijka medh Gouverneuren där efter sitt bästa förståndh och macht såssom een Ehrligh Patriot bör, i nooga acht taga och i werket ställa, så att alt till Compagnietz fördeel, Landzens ähro och wällståndh, måtte medh Troo, Försichtigheett och flijtt dirigerat warda. Hwarföre han af Kongl. Maj:tt medh all Nåde till befordingh skall ansedd och af Compagniet på alla görliga sätt belöhnt warda. Actum, Ubsala, d. 15 Decemb., A. 1653.

På dragande Kalls och Embetes wägnar,

CHRISTER BONDE.

ERICH OXENSTIERNA AXELLSSON.

MARTIN AUGUSTINI SOHN LEYÖNSKÖLDH.

II.

Beställningsbref² för Capitenen Swän Skuthe uthi Nya Swerige.

Dett Kongl. Generale Commerce Collegium Gör härmedh wetterligt att hafwa antagit Breffwässere Ehrligh och Manhafftigh Swän Skuthe oppå Södre Compagnietz wägnar för een Capitain öfwer dett Landh- och Wärfningz-folck, som till Coloniens förstärckningh å Nya Swerige nu medh Cronones Skepp Örnen (där till Gudh lyckan för-lähna) ärnas at öfversändas. Och såssom hans plicht däruthinnan förnämligast skall bestå, att han denna sin tjänst uthi alle dhe Styckier, som een Capitain ägnar och bör, fliteligen och troligen förestår Hen:s Kongl: Maj:ttz tjänst och Södre Compagnietz gagn och bästa, i alla måtte söker att främnia och befodra, skadha och förhinder i tijdh tillkänna gifwa och afwäria. Alltsså skall han efter sin ankompt till Nya Swerige (där Gudh lyckan tillgifwe) medh fljtt och troheet sigh därom winläggia, att han alt, hwadh som af hans Embetes plicht fordras, i werket ställer, och där uthinnen Gouverneurens ordres så i dett eena som i dett andra tillbörligen fölgier och effterlefwer. Hwarföre skall han deremot hafwa Åhrligen att niuta dhen löhn, som honom för Capitains platz uthi dhen giorde Staten af bem^{te}. Compagniet påfördh är, iämwall och framdeles af Kongl. Maj:tt een Nådigh wedergällningh och avancement förmedelst Compagnietz Promotion till een högre Charge otuifwellachtigt förmoda. Wÿ wele fördenskuldth att Gouverneuren sampt

² *Com. Col. Reg., 1654.*

andre Compagnietz betiäntte däruthe wille honom Swän Skuthe för een Capitain erkänna och uthi denne tillförtrodde Charge tillbörligen maintainera, och såssom hans godha förhållande och lägenheeterna af sakernes förlopp medgifwandes warda, honom avancera och befodra, hwarefter alle the, som thetta angår skole hafwa sigh att rätta. Detta till wisso hafwa wij medh egna händers underskrift och General Commercie-Collegij wanlige Secret bekräffte låthit. Datum, Ubsala, den 13 Decemb., A. 1653.

På dragande kalls och Embetes wägnar,

CHRISTER BONDE.

ERICH OXENSTIERNA AXELLSSON.

MORTEN AUGUSTINI SOHN LEYÖNSKÖLDH.

III.

*Instruction,*³

Hwarefter Generale Commercie Collegium oppå Södre Compagniets wägnar will att Ehrligh och Manhafftigh Hans Amundson oppå Reesan till Porto Rico och sedan till Nya Swerige såssom och där i landet sigh skall hafwa at förhålla och efterrätta.

I.

Först skall han medh all fljtt uppå dröfwa, att Gallioten Gyllende Haije medh alt sitt tillbehör medh dedh första här ifrån måtte affärdigat warda, hwaropå han skall hafwa Commendo och beställningh af een Skepz-Capitain uthi Södra Compagnietz tjänst, och sigh nu straxts ther medh här ifrån åth Göteborgh begifwa.

2.

Skall han uthi Öresundh widh Helsingöör sättia låtha och däraf Kongl: Maj:ttz wår Allernådigste Drottningz Resident begära een Styreman, som bem^{te}. Galliot till Porto Rico och Nya Swerige styra kan, effter som till Wälbth. Hr. Residenten allereeda ähr aviserat wordit, att han der förskaffa wille.

3.

Efter the ordres, som honom här allereeda gifne ähro, skall han här det folck, som till Galliotens öfwerförsell och Compagnietz tjänst nödigt befinnes, antaga, medh onödigt folck sigh inthet för denna gången

³ *Com. Col. Reg.*, 1653.

belada, warandes honom allenast förundt 4 personer, som till Landzens arbete och fördeel där i Nya Sverige brukas måge.

* * * * *

IO.

I synnerhet skall han, Hans Amundsson, ther hafwa beställningh af een Capiten till Siöes, och af Compagniet hwar Månadh niuta till underhåldh Tiugu Fyra Richzdaler. Hwarföre han skall serdeles wara förplichtadt till att taga alt dedh i acht, som ther i landet till Skepz bygningen kan lända och höra, och dhen på alla giörliga sält sökia till att befrämia, seandes till att Materialierne i rättan tijd fälte och tillagade, så och allahanda Sorter af Fahrkostar, deels tiänlige på dhen Custen, deels hijt åth att segla, bebygda warda.

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Actum, Ubsala den 13. Decemb. A^o. 1653.

På dragande kalls och Embetes wägnar,

CHRISTER BONDE.

ERICH OXENSTIERNA AXELLSON.

MARTEN AUGUSTINI SOHN LEYONSKÖLDH.

IV.

Till Leuten: Swän Höök,⁴ om den förordningh vthi den Commission, Capiten Hans Amundsson war gifwen så till Porto Rico, som sedan till Nya Sverige; Och at Hindrich Elsswich i des ställe är numehra förordnat, etc.

Emädan såssom Wij, Swän Höök, af serdeles orsaker hafwe förändrat den Commission, Capiten Hans Amundsson war gifwen, så till Porto Rico som sedan vthi Nya Sverige, och i det stället förordnatt Ehrligh och Förständigh Hinrich Elsswich, hwilken fuller heela Directionen till reesans befordringh föhra skall, men hwadh Commendo på Skepzfolket angår iämpte dhen Vpsicht, som sielfwa Skeppet medh all dess Reedskap och tillbehör tarffwer, dett hafwe Wÿ edher härmedh welat tilltroo, Vthi dhen förhopningh at i drage sorgh föhre, huru alt må schickeligen och wäll tillgå, och goodh ordre iblandh Skepzfolket vnderhållas medh inbördes godh sämia och eenigheet. Vthi detta och alt annat måste i effterlefwa, Hwadh Admiralen Ankerhielm wijdare effter våre Ordres eder förhållandes warder, och såsom i på behörigh ortt wela och skola kunna Räckenskap göhra, och till swarsstånda. När i nu

⁴ *Com. Col. Reg.*, 1654.

således denne edher ombetrodde tjänst troligen och wäll hafwa förestådt, och medh Gallioten Gyllenheij, fölliandes Factorens Elsswich inrådande och Disposition, anlända till Nya Swerige, Så hafwe Wij skrifwit Commiss. Johan Risingh till, at han eder darsammastedes Vpdrager Leutenampt Charge till Siöss, och at i vnder hans Direction må hafwa opsicht på Södre Compagnietz Skeep och des reedskap med alt det till Seglations vthreedningh Södre Compagniet tillkommer taga i godh förwahrigh och wetha at giora därföre godh reeda och räckenskap, ställandes eder vthi alt detta, som i welen förhoppas at wij vthaf sådan eder flijt och troheet må blifwa förorsakade i bästa måtton edher at ihugkomma och Promovera. Befahle eder här medh Gudh Alsmechtigh. Ubsala, d. 4 Martij, A^o. 1654.

På dragande kalls och Embetes wägnar,

CHRISTER BONDE.

ERICH OXENSTIERNA AXELLSON.

ISRAEL LAGERFELDT.

P. DUREEL, Secret.

V.

*Instruction,*⁵

Hwarefter General Commerce Collegium will att å Södre-Compagnietz wägnar des tillförordnade Factor i Nya Swerige, Hindrich Elsswich, så i sin ombetrodde Tjänst där sammastädz som i sin Commission till Porto Rico skall wetha att efter rätta.

I.

Eftersom Kongl. Majj^{tt}. vår Allernådigste Drottningh hafwer nådigst behagat att tilltroo Generale Commerce Collegiumet directionen aff Södre Compagniet, och Gouverneuren i Nya Swerige, Johan Printz, tillijka med Commissen Huÿgen nu ähre reeste därifrån och Vnder wägen hijtt åth, den Commission, och såssom Capitain Hans Amundsson icke allenast i Nya Swerige Vthan och till Porto Rico war betrodd, för serdeles schääl och orsaker skulldh, ähr blefwen förändratt; Hwarföre hafwer General Commerce Collegium för een nödtorfft erachtat, at nu straxt och oförsummeligen, efter Commissarien Johan Rising, som för något kortt till Nya Swerige ähr affärdigatt, och dhen där till wijdare ordre och så länge een wiss Gouverneur åter kan blifwa förordnat, Directorium darsammastädes föhra skall, Vthij Södre

⁵ *Com. Col. Reg.*, 1654, fol. 34 ff. Only the first and tenth paragraphs are printed.

Compagnietz tjänst antaga och till een Factor förordna och öfwerschicka dytt uth, Hindrich Elsswich, at han både vthj Nya Sverige Commissens Huýgens ställe förträda, och i Porto Rico Södre Compagnietz A^o. 1649 lij dne skada affordra skall, vthi hwilka bägge Ährenders och Tjänsters förrättningar General Commerce Collegium honom, Elsswigh, denne Ordre och rättelse hafwer welat medgifwa.

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10.

När nu Elsswich denne sin Commission till Porto Rico, sålunda som för bemält ähr, hafwer förättat, skall han dirigera sin Cours medh Gallioten åth Söder Revieren i Nya Sverige, och så snart han tijtt anländer gifwe sigh an hoos Commissarien Iohan Rising, offerera honom så Kongl. Majjttz. vår allernådigste Drottningz som General Comm. Colegý breff, och där iämppte låtha honom wetha, hwadh han [i] Porto Rico vthrättat hafwer, såsom och det han, Elsswich, wore på Södre Compagnietz wägnar för een Factor in Nya Sverige antagen, och derfor öfwerkommen. Och såssom Elsswich fuller weth, dett Directionen af wercket där vthe, hälst nu emädhan ingen Gouverneur ähr, ware Commissario Risingh tillbetrodd; Så skall han och wetha honom at gå tillhanda vthi alla the saker, som han kan tänckia lända Kongl. Majjtt. och Södre Compagniet till behagh, nytta och tjänst. Enkannerligen skall hans åhoga och Embete däruthinnan bestå, at then Cargasoen, Penningar och medell, som Södre Compagniet i Nya Sverige hafwer, må efter Commiss. Risings ordre icke allenast blifwa hållen i godh förwahrungh, vthan och föhras till bok och richtig Rächningh, och at alt hwadh som Vthgifwes eller inkommer, det angår anten wåhra egne Swänske eller handelen medh dhe wildhe eller andre, at det flijtigt och noga annoteras. Effter som han skall wara omtäncht richtige Böcker och Räckenskaph hålla öfwer all Compagnietz Cargasoen, Medell, Peningar och hwadh eliest Compagniet där uthe hafwe, anten det ähr härifrån kommit eller där i Nya Sverige wäxt eller acqvirerat eller af dhe wildhe eller andra förwäxlat eller elliest Vpnegotierat. Han skall och icke mindre Vpveckna alt, hwadh där vthifrån går och sändes hijt hem, så att både Vthgående och inkommande hålles i richtighet, och så iust som han dett in för Gudh, Hens. Kongl. Majjtt., Gen. Comm. Coll. och Södre Compagniet, ia hwar ährligh man will och skall kunna ansvara. Dett är så hwadh Generale Commerce Collegium hafwer godtfunnit Factoren Hinrich Elsswich både i Porto Rico och i Nya Sverige å Compagnietz wegnar at förrätta,

tilltroer så det, som hwadh mehra kan infalla hanss flijt och dexteritet, at han må sigh wist försäkra at blifwa därföre medh alt gott ihugkommet och recompencerat. Actum, Ubsala, d. 4 Martij, A^o. 1654.

På dragande kalls och Embetets wägnar,

CHRISTER BONDE.

ERICH OXENSTIERNA AXELSON.

ISRAEL LAGERFELDT.

P. DUREEL.

VI.

*Instruction,*⁶

Aussgegeben Vom General Commerce Collegio wegen der Löbl. Süder Compagnie, Darnach sich der Capitain Johan J. Bockhorn auff dem Königl. Schiffe Öرنen, auf seiner Reise nacher New Schweden zurichten hatt.

1.

Anfänglichlichen soll er dafür Sorge tragen, das weder am Schiff nach aller gerethschafft, so zu dieser Reise erfordert wirdt, nichts ermangle, Sondern alles dergestalt angeschaffet undt bestellet werden möge, damit Er sich, nechst Göttlicher Hülffe, diese Reise hin undt wieder zu verichten sicherlich getrawn könne.

2.

Von allen in Schiff geladenen Güthern undt wahren sollen zwei Special verzeichnussen oder Inventaria verfertiget werden, welcher bemelter Capitain Johan Bockhorn nebenst den Capitain Swen Schutte unterschreiben soll, undt soll von solchen verzeichnussen eines in Gothenburg an H. Admiral Anckerhielm geliefert undt zuruck gelassen, das andere aber mittgenommen werden.

3.

Darnach soll Er, im Gottes Nahmen, ohne allen fernern Zeit Verlust, wan der bestimpte Termin zu seinem Auslauf herbeÿ nahet, auch wetter undt wind dasselbe zulasset, nebenst einen der Löbl. Süder Compagnie zugehörigen Galliot, Gylldehayn genandt, zu Segel gehen, undt seinen Cours den geradesten undt beqwämsten weg nach Nova Svecia oder der Süder Rivier zunehmen, auch unterwegs gute undt fleissige vorsorge tragen, damit dass bem:^{te} Galliot nicht etwas zuruck, Sondern dass solches allezeit biss an den orth, wo sich die beqwämste gelegenheit

⁶ Com. Col. Reg., 1654.

präsentiren wirdt, das es seinen Cours nacher Porto Rico nehmen kan, unter seinen defension undt beschützung bleiben mögte. Nichts weniger soll Er, Capitain Bockhorn, auch verpflichtet sein auf sein unterhabendes Schiff zunehmen die einigen Coloniers, so der Capitain Hans Amundsohn bey seiner ablauffung nacher Porto Rico, auf dem Golliot unnötig mit zugehen ernehet, undt selbige gleichfals als die Seinige nacher Nova Svecia bringen.

4.

Auch soll Er guth Regiment unter dem Schiffsolck halten, Sie zu aller frömmigkeit undt erbahren Leben ehrmahnen, Die Bethstunden nicht vernehten, sondern fleissig abwarten lassen, undt insonderheit darauf sehen, dass alles friedlich unter dem Schiffsolck undt Coloniers zugehen möge.

5.

Für die geladene Güther soll Er fleisige sorge tragen, damit nichtes darvon verkommen oder einigen Schaden nehmen, Sondern alles (wie as nahmen haben mag) der gebühr nach wohl in acht genommen werden mögte.

6.

Alldieweiln der Boutiellier oder Schaffer auf dem Schiffe Öرنen nicht allein zu unterhaltung der Cronen, Sondern auch der Compagnie vivres gesetzet ist, alss soll dem Capitain Bockhorn obliegen mit Capitain Swen Schuten, ernstlich darüber zuhalten, damit der Schaffer die Coloniers so wohl alss das Schiffs folk, doch einen ieden von den seinigen in Essen undt trincken accommodire, undt gleichwohl auch so, damit die vivres nicht unnötig Consummiret oder gemissbreuchet werden mögten, auch mehr gemelten Boutiellier dahin halten, dass Er Ihme, wie auch Capitain Schuten, einen ieden von den seinigen eine richtige Rechnung einliefre.

7.

So oft etwas wichtiges fürfället, soll Er mitt dem Capitain Swen Schuten undt andern bei sich habenden Officieren überlegen undt berathschlagen, was am besten dar in gethan zu werden dienet, allerzeit mit ein ander guth einigkeith undt Correspondence halten, einen den andern, so oft es die Noth erfordert, in seinen dingen mit Rath undt That zu hülffe erscheinen, undt Ihr augenmerk in allem auf den gemeinen Nutz undt dienst der löbl. Süder Compagnie richten.

8.

Er soll auch nicht unterlassen ein Tagk Register oder Journal zu halten, undt darinen alles was etwa denckwürdiges passiret, so wohl auf der hinn- als auf der Ruckreise, fleissig anzeichnen, undt solches bey seiner (Beliebts Gott) wieder anhero kunfft dem General Commercio-Collegio einliefern.

9.

Wan Er nun (Gott gebe zu glüch) dortt im lande wirdt eingelanget sein, soll Er alles Gutt gebührlich von sich liefern, den Commiss aldar von allen wass vom Schiffe auf das landt dort geliefert wirdt, es habe nahmen wie es wolle, ein perfect verzeichnuss machen, dass selbe nicht allein von bem^{te}. Commiss, sondern auch zugleich von H. Gouverneuren John Printzen aldar unterschreiben lassen, undt also mit sich zurück bringen.

10.

Folgendts soll Er was dasselbst an Güthern in Vorath ist, oder in der eyl erhandelt undt Ihme geliefert werden mögte, wiederumb einnehmen, darüber den abermahls eigentliche verzeichnusse machen, undt solche nebenst den Commiss sampt Gouverneuren Johan Printzen aldar unterschreiben, eines mit anhero bringen, das ander aber dortt im Lande verbleiben lassen; undt wirdt Er alls den die einhabende Güther auf der Reise wiederumb für allen unfall wohl zu verwahren wissen.

11.

Anstatt des Ballasts soll Er aldar Eichen oder, wo Ess so baldt zu haben, Nussbawmen holtz einnehmen, doch aber wo von diesen beiden stücken keines so geschwind an die hand gebracht werden köndte, Soll er sonsten von anderen Materie, die Nützen bringen möchte, an statt des Ballasts laden, undt dess wegen keine zeit unnützlich verlihren.

12.

Wan Er nun, geliebts Gott, zu Gothenburgk wieder angelanget sein wirdt, soll Er daselbst ordre, was weiter zu thuen oder zu lassen, vor sich finden, darnach Er sich in allem zurichten. Das übrige alles, was in die feder in Eyll nicht hatt können gefasset werden, wirdt Er seinen besten verstande nach anzustellen, undt sich also, wie einen getrewen undt Beliebenden Man eignet undt wohl anstehet, zuverhalten wissen.
Datum, Ubsala den 13 Decemb., A. 1653. CHRISTER BONDE.

ERICH OXENSTIERNA AXELLSSON.

MARTEN AUGUSTINI SOHN LEYONSKÖLDH.

I.

INSTRUCTION

according to which the General Commercial College on behalf of the South Company desires that the commissary in the said General Commercial College, noble and well born Johan Rissing, shall act in New Sweden and elsewhere in America, in the service of the said company, as an assistant councillor.

1.

He is, according to all [his] ability while in this service, to try to extend and to strengthen the honor and reputation of Her Royal Majesty, our most gracious Queen, and of the fatherland and for this purpose to seek out all that which may serve the intention of Her Royal Majesty with the South Company and to turn off all hindrance and harm according to his best knowledge and power or to make it known in time, for which the governor with all those who are there ought, on behalf of Her Royal Majesty and the Company, to work and act and lend their assistance.

2.

[He] shall together with the governor see to it that diligent religious service may be conducted there and that all may submit themselves to the Augsburg Confession and that all useless disputes for the excitement of the minds may be avoided and removed, so that everything in this regard might be ordered and regulated for harmony and the honor of the name of God.

3.

His commission shall especially be that he, with the council of the governor, is to see that the land may be placed in good condition, as well in the political government and matters of justice as in commercial [affairs] and to draw up good ordinances for the proper management and increase of the colony, and that they jointly shall take care that the land, in all possible ways, may be placed in a [state of] good defence against all hostile attacks.

4.

Together with the governor he shall seek to keep on all proper terms of friendship with the surrounding English and Dutch colonies as well as with the savage Americans, and, whenever it is found that the interests of Her Royal Majesty and the company are in any way harmed, they shall then make use of those means which might best be found according to

the circumstances, yet not begin hostilities easily with any of the surrounding [peoples], except so far as the necessary defence of the colony demands, until orders concerning it may be drawn up by the company in the future.

5.

All those persons of the surrounding nations who might be found useful for cattle raising, fisheries or anything else, he shall with the governor's pleasure try to bring into the colony, but avoid and send away those who would seem to cause or bring with them harm or trouble; in all of which [things] he is to exercise and use due care [and] especially now to consult and plan with the governor about how it would be possible, at the first [opportunity], yet with all possible care, to get rid of the Hollanders who have erected a fort on the land and settled there.

6.

Moreover, he shall, together with the governor, strive to extend the limits of the country and properly parcel out the land itself to the colonists so that each one may receive as much ground as it is seen he is able to use and care for until orders concerning the same have been made by the company; also that each one uses and settles his land in a proper manner and with all diligence, and for this purpose he shall appoint overseers in each district who are to make reports concerning it.

7.

He is also so to arrange things that the colonists may for the best price be able to sell in certain places the produce which they may get above their own need so that they may gain some profit by it through which they may be the more incited to diligence, in order that they in the future may have something to give and contribute to the power and defence of the country; wherefore all such things are so to be managed and ordained that not strangers but the company and colony may have use and profit by it or at least suffer no harm.

8.

Therefore the commissary together with the governor is to select suitable places, where villages and hamlets as well as cities and trading places may be founded and located.

9.

Since law and right is considered and held to be one of the principal things among all people for [the preservation of] peace and good order, therefore he shall, together with the governor, appoint such persons there, who will know how to judge according to the Swedish law and licit custom, in order that right and righteousness may have their course in the land.

10.

He is also in connection with the governor with diligence to see to it, how fisheries may be established in the river and its tributaries as well as in the sea, according to the manner and custom of other nations, all for the good and benefit of the country and the company.

11.

Likewise he shall also seek for minerals in the country, among which iron and copper may be used only for the needs of the country or the colony and absolutely nothing may be exported, except indeed gold and silver, if God should give luck, that these be discovered.

12.

In addition to that he is to supervise the agriculture and the clearing of the land from which grain, herbs, roots, hemp, flax and fruit [are raised], as well as all kinds of cattle raising of which food-stuffs may be made there, he shall also continue tobacco planting with all diligence; also see if ginger, sugar cane and other such useful [plants] may not be cultivated; concerning all which and more of the same kind the commissary together with the governor is to have diligent care.

13.

Since there are several species of wild grapes in the country, the commissary shall, according to possibilities, so arrange it, that they may be cultivated for the service and good of the country, and for this [purpose] procure from some place a good vine gardener as well as order and import vines in the future from other places.

14.

Since it is customary that no small good is obtained from fruit bearing trees, therefore he shall diligently keep the people to this, that they

may plant and cultivate such fruit bearing trees, as the land can produce according to its climate.

15.

Besides he shall pay particular attention to all noble forests which are in the country, that they might not unnecessarily be cut down but might be sparingly felled for usefulness and in proper time, also that the wood material may be prepared in proper proportion and according to the manner in which it is requested and desired for one thing and another at different places.

16.

Then he shall also diligently see, what use one can make there in the land of hunting wild animals and the catching of birds and draw up good rules concerning it in the best manner that is possible. Furthermore he is to observe whether or not the climate will allow that silk worms can be reared, since enough mulberry trees grow there, from which silk to great advantage may in the future be obtained.

17.

Since it is expected that the principal advantage, which Her Royal Majesty and the company is to receive for the great expenses outlaid on this colony, will be derived from commerce (through the Grace of God); therefore authority is herewith given to said commissary to have oversight and directions over these things and in all that which depends upon it and with the greatest diligence with the help of the governor to strive that the trade of the whole South River might be brought out of the hands of foreigners and placed in the hands of our Swedes.

18.

Therefore he is at his departure on the way and especially in Gothenburg to try to prevail upon men of good capital that they in the coming spring will send ships to New Sweden for traffic, especially since he can assure them that it is the gracious will of Her Royal Majesty, that all her Swedish subjects who now wish to conduct trade with their own ships there in the South River may do so freely as well with the savages as with the neighboring Christians, also with the company itself and do not need to give more than 2 per cent. in duty to the company, according to the estimate which is placed upon the goods there; and then [as to] such goods as they have bought in the South River and shall bring into

a Swedish port or Swedish ships [it is ordered that] they may duty free unload them and sell them, if only they show a certificate from the governor and the commissary to the effect that such goods are purchased in the South River and nowhere else. Besides, in order to animate them all the more, he is to assure each and everyone that they shall have the liberty to plant colonies in the land and to use the land to their benefit for tobacco plantations and other things and to retain it for ever by paying a small recognition in those places, where the company has not selected ground to be used for itself as a special property.

19.

Therefore he shall, when he, God willing, arrives with this people happily in the land, in connection with the governor, select a piece of well situated, good land for a special property of the company, which is to be colonized with settlers and thus be arranged that the produce, which comes from the cultivation of the land and which can be manufactured above the needs of the same, might be sent and sold as well on the surrounding coasts and islands as in Africa and Europe, namely: grain, oil, bread and brandy for the Spanish and the Caribbean Islands, also to the fisheries at Terra Nova and Rio Grande de Canada and elsewhere, wood material and wine barrels to the Canaries, Portugal and Algerbo,⁷ Spain and France, to which places he may travel to obtain necessary people for the increase of the colony and otherwise to seek out the advantages from the places, all for the use of the company and the colony, whenever opportunities may allow.

20.

He is also diligently to see that the raw material, which can be used for manufacturing purposes, may as time goes on be made and manufactured, for example boards and all sorts of wooden utensils, which are sold for a high price in many places in America and on the Caribbean Islands [also that] prepared skins and hides, cordovan [leather], linen-cloth, ropes, tar and other suchlike [materials] might be made and manufactured with diligence.

21.

All the merchandise which individual colonists, whosoever they may be, have made in the country and which they wish to export for trade, may freely [be sold], if only they pay an export duty of 2 per cent.

⁷ Algeria?

22.

Then the commissary is especially in connection with the governor to have power to receive and keep in preservation the cargo, the money and the means which are sent out of the fatherland to New Sweden by the company, to receipt the same and then according to the transmitted orders sell the cargo to the savages or other surrounding people for the good of the company, through a factor of the company appointed for that purpose, and cause accurate accounts thereof to be kept, and sign them in connection with the governor when they have been found correct. The same is to be done with the goods which are sent in return to the fatherland of which bills one copy is to be placed with the documents in the country and one to be sent over here.

23.

Among the principal things which he is to observe in his commission shall be this: that he, together with the governor, shall seek out all the ways by which he can raise means for the reward of the servants and for the support of other service⁸ through which the company then may have some abatement [of expenses] and protection against larger outlays, if no profit might be made. This may be obtained either through a proper organization and management of the trade or from the cultivation of the land and its income, or of the fisheries or of the manufactories or of public inns, or of small excises on the consumption, or in whatever proper and suitable way it can be done, from which the people may least observe it and be least troubled.

24.

These and many other necessary points which may conduce to the defence, increase and prosperity of the land, as well as for the continuation of the commerce, the often mentioned commissary shall, together with the governor, according to his best knowledge and power as an honorable patriot, take into careful consideration and put into operation that everything might be directed with faithfulness, prudence and diligence for the advantage of the company and the honor and well being of the land; wherefore he shall be looked upon with all grace by Her Royal Majesty [as worthy] of advancement and shall in all possible manners be rewarded by the company. Actum, Ubsala, December 15, 1653.

In virtue of our office, etc.

⁸ *Besvär* (*besvär*), means "service," "burdens," "expenses," etc., when referring to *kameralväsen* ("matters of the exchequer").

II.

COMMISSION FOR CAPTAIN SWÄN SKUTHE IN NEW SWEDEN.

The Royal General Commercial College makes it herewith known that it has engaged the bearer, noble and brave Swän Skuthe, on behalf of the South Company, as a captain over the settlers and enlisted people, who are about to be sent over for the reinforcement of the colony in New Sweden with a Crown's ship *Örnen* (may God grant luck to it). And his duty^{8a} shall especially consist in this, that he shall conduct himself in Her Royal Majesty's service faithfully in all those things which become⁹ a captain and try to promote and advance in all manner the good of the South Company and in time ward off and make known all damage and hindrance. Thus he shall after his arrival in New Sweden (if God grant luck thereto) strive with diligence and faithfulness to do all which the duty of his post requires and in this follow and live up to the orders of the governor in the one thing as well as in the other. Wherefore he is annually to receive the salary which has been granted to him for a captain's position in the established budget of the company, in addition to which he is to expect a gracious reward and advancement by Her Royal Majesty through the promotion of the company to a higher charge. Therefore we desire that the governor and other servants out there shall acknowledge him, Swän Skuthe, as a captain and maintain him properly in this appointed charge and advance him according to his good behavior and as the course of the affairs may allow. According to which all whom it may concern shall be required to act. In faith whereof we have signed this with our own hands and caused [it] to be confirmed with the stamp of the General Commercial College. Dated at Ubsala, December 13, 1653.

In virtue of our office, etc.

III.

INSTRUCTION

according to which the General Commercial College on behalf of the South Company desires that noble and brave Hans Amundson is to act and regulate himself on the journey to Porto Rico and then to New Sweden as well as there in the country.

^{8a} *Såssom*, as, must be omitted in the translation.

⁹ *Ägnar och bör*, "becomes and ought."

I.

In the first place he shall diligently strive for this that the galiot *Gyllende Haije*, upon which he is to have the command and position of a captain in the service of the South Company, may be despatched from here at the earliest [opportunity] and [he is] to set out immediately with it for Gothenburg.

2.

In Öresund at Helsingöör he shall land and there request from the Resident on behalf of Her Royal Majesty, our most gracious Queen, a mate who can steer the said galiot to Porto Rico and to New Sweden, as the honorable Resident has already been advised to provide [one] there.

3.

According to the orders which have already been given to him, he is to take on board the people here which are found necessary for the sailing of the galiot and the service of the company, [but] he is not to be concerned at this time with unnecessary people, only four persons being granted to him, who may be used for the work and benefit of the land there in New Sweden.

* * * * *

10.

Especially he, Hans Amundsson, is to have the office of a captain at sea and is to be paid twenty-four Riksdaler a month. Wherefore he is especially required to take all that into consideration which there in the country concerns and belongs to the shipbuilding and to seek in all possible ways to promote it, seeing that all material may be felled and prepared in right time, so also that all sorts of vessels may be built partly for use on that coast and partly to sail hither.

* * * * *

Given at Ubsala, December 13, 1653, etc.

IV.

To Lieutenant Swän Höök concerning the ordinance in the commission which was given to Captain Hanss Amundsson on his way to Porto Rico as well as to New Sweden and that Henrich Elsswich is appointed in his stead, etc.

Since we for particular reasons, Swän Höök, have changed the com-

mission which was given to Hans Amundsson as well to Porto Rico as later in New Sweden and in his place appointed honorable and wise Henrich Elsswich, who indeed is to have the entire direction during the journey, but what concerns the command of the crew together with that supervision of the ship itself with all its implements and belongings which is necessary, we have herewith desired to entrust to you in the hope that you may look after it that everything may pass off properly and well and that good order may be preserved among the sailors with mutual good understanding and harmony. In this and in everything else you must observe what Admiral Ankerhielm will further, according to our orders, require of you, in such a manner that you may and will be able to give an account and be responsible at the proper place. When you thus have performed this your entrusted service faithfully and well, following the advice and disposition of factor Elsswich, and [when] you arrive in New Sweden, we have written to the Commissioner Johan Rising that he may there give you a charge at sea as a lieutenant, and that you under his direction may have supervision over the ships of the South Company and its implements with all that belongs to the South Company for the preparation of commercial voyages, making good accounts and performing your duties in such a manner that you will have reason to hope that we, on account of your diligence and faithfulness, may have occasion in the best manner to remember and to promote you. Commending you herewith to God Almighty.

Ubsala, March 4, 1654, etc.

V.

INSTRUCTION

according to which the General Commercial College on behalf of the South Company desires that the appointed factor in New Sweden Hendrich Elswich is to act in his entrusted post there as well as in his commission to Porto Rico.

I.

As [Her] Royal Majesty, our most gracious Queen, has graciously pleased to intrust the management of the South Company to the General Commercial College and [since] the Governor of New Sweden, Iohan Printz, together with the Commissary Huÿgen have departed from there and are on the way hither and, as the commission with which Hannss Amundsson was intrusted has been changed for the sake of special reasons, wherefore the General Commercial College has thought it neces-

sary now immediately and without delay (since the commissary Johan Rising, who a short time ago was sent to New Sweden and who is to have the direction [of affairs] there until further orders and until a certain governor can again be appointed) to accept as a factor and appoint and send thither Hinrich Elsswich in the service of the South Company that he may both take the place of Commissary Huÿgen in New Sweden and demand damages which the company suffered in Porto Rico in 1649, for the execution of both of which objects and services the General Commercial College has desired to give unto him, Elsswich, this order and guidance.

* * * * *

10.

When Elsswich now has completed this commission in Porto Rico as has been stated, he shall direct his course with the galiot to the South River in New Sweden and as soon as he arrives there he shall make himself known to the Commissary Iohan Rising and deliver to him Her Royal Majesty's, our most gracious Queen's, letter as well as that of the General Commercial College and in addition let him know what he has accomplished in Porto Rico as well as that he, Elsswich, has been engaged on behalf of the South Company as a factor in New Sweden and has come over for that purpose. And as Elsswich fully knows that the direction of the work out there, especially now since there is no governor, has been entrusted to Commissary Rising, he is to assist him in all those things which he may suppose will be for the pleasure, use and service of Her Royal Majesty and the South Company. His duties are especially to consist in this [that he shall see] that according to the orders of Commissary Rising, the cargoes, money and means which the South Company has in New Sweden are not only kept in good preservation, but also entered in the books and that proper accounts are kept and that everything, which is given out or which comes in, whether it concerns our own Swedes or the trade with savages or others, may be diligently recorded. In like manner as¹⁰ he is to keep proper books and accounts of the company's cargoes, means and money and whatever else the company may have out there, whether it has come from here or it has been grown in New Sweden or acquired there or exchanged with the savages or others or otherwise obtained, so he shall no less make lists of all that which

¹⁰ *Efter som* which generally means because, since, seems here to mean *in like manner*.

goes from there and is sent home here so that [records of] both the outgoing and incoming goods may be kept with accuracy in such a manner that he can give account before God and Her Royal Majesty, the General Commercial College and the South Company, yes [before] every honest man. This is then what the General Commercial College has found good for the factor Hinrich Elsswich to do in Porto Rico and in New Sweden on behalf of the Company,—this as well as what else may fall to his diligence and dexterity to do that he may truly assure himself to be remembered and recompensed for it with all good things.

Ubsala, March 4, 1654, etc.

VI.

INSTRUCTION,¹¹

issued by the General Commercial College on behalf of the Honorable South Company, according to which Captain Johan J. Bockhorn is to conduct himself on his journey to New Sweden on the royal ship *Örn*.

I.

In the first place he shall see that nothing is wanting on the ship of all the supplies which will be needed for this journey, but that everything shall be provided, procured and ordered, so that he can with certainty assure himself that he will be able to perform the journey thither and back again with the help of God.

2.

Two special lists or inventories shall be made of all the goods and merchandise loaded upon the ship, which are to be signed by said Captain Johan Bockhorn together with Captain Swen Schutte, and of such lists one shall be delivered to and left with Admiral Anckerhielm in Gothenburg, the other one, however, shall be taken along with him.

3.

After that he shall, in God's name, without all further loss of time when the appointed period of his departure draws near, weather and wind allowing, go to sea together with a galiot belonging to the Honorable South Company called the *Gyllden Haij* and take his course by the straightest and best way to Nova Svecia or the South River and during the way pay good and diligent attention to this, that the said galiot is not left behind but that it may remain under his defence and protection

¹¹ This is a typical instruction given to the captains who were sent to New Sweden. *Com. Col. Reg.*

and at all times follow him on to the place, where the best opportunity presents itself to it for taking its course towards Porto Rico. In like manner Captain Bockhorn shall also be obliged to receive into the ship under his command those few colonists whom Captain Hans Amundssohn at his departure towards Porto Rico finds unnecessary to take on the galiot and to bring the same in like manner as his own to Nova Svecia.

4.

He shall also keep good order among the people on the ship, require them to live a good and honorable life, not to be away from the hours of prayer but diligently to observe these, and [he is] especially to see that everything passes peacefully between the crew and the colonists.

5.

He shall diligently take care of the cargo so that nothing of it shall be ruined or in any way damaged, but that everything (whatever name it might have) might, according to his duty, be taken into [his] consideration.

6.

Since the *bouteillier* or steward on the ship the Orn is appointed to look after not only the provisions of the Crown but also those of the company, therefore Captain Bockhorn is, together with Captain Swen Schute, earnestly to take care that the steward shall accommodate the colonists and the crew with food and drink from the supply of each and in such a manner that the provisions will not be unnecessarily consumed or wasted, also to require the said steward to deliver a correct bill to him as well as to Captain Schute.

7.

As often as anything of importance occurs he shall take counsel with Captain Swen Schute and other officers he has with him and decide what is best to do and at all times to keep good harmony and correspondence with one another, and as often as need requires it one is to appear with counsel and assistance to the other and [all are to] make it their duty to work for the common good and the service of the Honorable South Company.

8.

Furthermore he is not to neglect to keep a daily register or a journal and write down diligently everything noteworthy that takes place as well

on the journey thither as on the journey back and deliver such at his (God granting) return to the Commercial College.

9.

When he then (God grant luck) arrives in the country, he shall deliver all the goods from the ship unto the commiss and make a perfect list of everything which is delivered from the ship whatever name it may have which is to be signed not only by the said commiss but also by Governor Johan Printz and [he] is to bring it back with him.

10.

Then he shall load again into the ship the goods which are in store there or that might be bought in a hurry and delivered to him of which he shall again make a list to be signed by the commiss and Governor Johan Printz, one of which is to be brought here the other to be left in the country, and he is to preserve the goods well against all mishap on the return voyage.

11.

Instead of the ballast he is to take in oak or walnut trees, if it is possible to obtain them so soon, yet, however, if none of these things can be secured so quickly he shall in their stead [procure] other material which might bring some gain and load [it upon the ship] instead of the ballast, losing no time on this account, however.

12.

When he (if it pleases God) arrives at Gothenburgk again, he will find orders there, what is further to be done and to be let, according to which he is to act in everything. All the rest, which it has not been possible to draw up in a hurry, he will, according to his best knowledge, know how to accomplish, acting as a faithful and trusted man.

Dated at Ubsala, December 13, 1653, etc.

VII.

TREATY BETWEEN SWEDEN AND ENGLAND CONCERNING THE SWEDISH COLONIES IN AFRICA AND AMERICA.

I, Bulstrode Whitelocke, signed below, keeper of the castle of Windsor and one of the costodians of the Great Seal of the Commonwealth of England, Commissioner, Procurator, Deputy and Extraordinary Amba-

sador of the most serene and most high Lord Oliver, Lord Protector of the Commonwealth of England, Scotland and Ireland and the dominions thereof and of the said Commonwealth do make known and testify, that whereas by the treaty of alliance¹² between the said my most serene and most high Oliver Lord Protector and the most serene and most potent Princess and Lady, the Lady Chistina, by the grace of God, Queen of the Swedes, Goths and Vandals, etc., great Princess of Finland, Duchess of Esthonia, Carelia, Bremen, Verden, Stettin, Pomerania, Cassubia and Vandalia, Princess of Rugen and ruler of Ingria and Wismar, etc., a firm peace and friendship is established; and I have judged it chiefly consonent thereto to find out means to remove certain grievances of the people and citizens of either state, and to take away all grounds and occasions of their arising in time to come. Therefore, concerning certain mooted questions, I have made an agreement with the most illustrious and most excellent Lords Plenipotentiary Senators and Commissioners of the said Royal Majesty and of the kingdom of Sweden, the Lord Axel Oxenstierna, Chancellor of the kingdom and Provincial Judge of East Norrland, Lappland, Herjedalen and Jämtland, Count of Södre Möre, Free Baron in Kimitho, Lord of Fiholm and Tidön, Golden Knight, and the Lord Eric Oxenstierna, son of Axel, President of the General Commercial College, Count of Södre Möre, Free Baron in Kimitho, Lord in Tidön, Vi[s]by and Gorweden, as is expressed and explained in the following:

In the first place, whereas a certain English company trading in Guinea has made complaint of one Henry Carelove,^{12a} who in the capacity of governor of the Swedish Company has in their name deprived the English of some places on the said coasts inhabited by the latter, and treated them with other injuries, while the said Swedish company has undertaken not only that the guilt of the said governor and of themselves cannot be proved, but has also retorted their charges against the servants of the said English company, and whereas these individual quarrels of merchants it has been impossible on this occasion

¹² Treaty of Alliance between Sweden and England, April 11, 1654.

"§ 16. Concerning other advantages to be enjoyed, and rules according to which the ships of war shall demean themselves which shall come into the ports or stations of the other confederate, of the trade to be had in America, also of the commodities of fishing for herrings and other fish whatsoever, of the staples and marts to be appointed for trade, and of other matters and conditions which may be required for the greater evidence of the former articles, as by a particular treaty and mutual contract shall be hereafter agreed." Cf. Whitlocke, *Embassy*, II. 102 ff., 160 ff.

^{12a} Hendrik Carloff, first governor of the Swedish settlement in Africa.

for certain reasons altogether to remove, it has been thought most advisable on both sides that they should be settled as soon as possible in a most friendly and straightforward way before certain commissioners from both sides. In the meantime, however, it is agreed that this delay shall not be prejudicial to either party, so that the partners and servants of the aforesaid companies and the subjects and citizens of both States shall not either in Guinea, and that in the freest traffic there, or on the voyage cause injury or annoyance to each other, but referring the decision of their quarrels to the chief men of each side, as is above indicated, they shall live among themselves in friendly fashion and treat each other with such good will as is agreeable to the treaty concluded on both sides. The same rule shall also be observed in America between the colonies of New Sweden and of the English so that they may cultivate true friendship and refrain on both sides from all injuries and annoyances. And in the first place let them take care for their mutual preservation until the question of the boundaries of the colonies and any other laws of friendship together with the remaining business of individuals can be duly settled before commissioners appointed from both sides, which things by virtue of my commission on me [conferred] by these presents I wholly accept to be enjoined upon all and singular the subjects and citizens of both States whom it concerns, and to be by them observed, and by the subscription of my hand and by my seal I ratify.

Done at Upsala, May 8, 1654.

BULSTRODE WHITELOCKE [SEAL]

VIII.

INDIAN CONFIRMATION ON THE SANDHOOK AND SURROUNDING DISTRICTS.

A. D. 1654, on July 8 . . . the two(?) sachems, . . . [Ahopam]eck and Peminacka, came to Fort Christina and got into conversation about the [Sandh]ock and that land which is located around there all [the way] to Christina [Kill]. Herewith they acknowledged that the purchase which the Swedes before this(?)¹³ had contracted with Metat-simint was firm and legal, so that no one else hereafter could rightfully pretend to it, and that Peminacka had never sold the Sandhock or its¹⁴ surrounding lands to Stuvesand, Gou[verno]r at Manathes, but had

¹³ Ms. defective, see facsimile. The reading might be "för detta" before this, or "pā detta"(?), upon this.

¹⁴ *thess*, its (Sandhook's) or his (Peminack's).

received some presents from him, for which he promised him [permission] to place a house there, no deeds concerning it having been made or given. Wherefore Peminacca desired to confirm herewith the said purchase, which the Swedes had closed with him, as the rightful owner of the said land, which Metatsimint had presented to him before the purchase and before his death, so that none hereafter may find cause to object to¹⁵ or censure this. This they certify with their marks. Done at Fort Christina, the day and date given above.

Peminacka, as rightful owner, Ahopameck, as witness, Sinques (?) as witness, Pinnar (?) [as w]itness. Johan Risingh, Jan Ja[nss]on Bockhorn, Gregorius [va]n Dijck, Johan (?) [Papegoja?]

IX.

INDIAN DEED OF LAND.

A. D. 1654, on July 8, the Sachems Peminacka and Ahopameck came to Fort Christina, where they began to talk about their lands, which belong to them. Thus Peminacka, the sachem, presented to the Swedes all the right and pretention which he, as rightful owner, had to these lands, namely: Tamakonck or the Sandhock with the surrounding lands, so also all the land all the way from Fort Christina up the river which has not yet been bought, especially Naamans Point to Marikens point inclusive with all its pretentions. Ahopameck, as the rightful owner, also presented to the Swedes all the land, which is located, all the way from Marikis Hook, all the way to half of the Skulkijll, Tennakonck and other [lands] unmentioned, which has been sold of other rightful owners, together with Kinsässingh, Arunameck, Mockorhuttingh, Kokarakungh, with all the lands and waters, which are subject to it, Passaijungh excepted. [They] testify and declare that these lands have been their own and are not bought by any one in particular before.¹⁶ Wherefore they and their descendants herewith sell all these aforesaid lands . . .¹⁷ For futher surety they confirmed this with their marks and witnesses who were present, placing their signatures below. Made at Christina as above.

PEMINACKA as the rightful owner

AHOPAMECK as the rightful owner.

JOHAN RISINGH

GREGORIUS VAN DIJCK

¹⁵ Seija (?), say, speak against (?).

¹⁶ The idea is that this district as a whole had been bought by the Swedes before, but the particular districts had not been pointed out and bought before.

¹⁷ Ms. defective.

X.

TESTIMONY OF THE HEIRS OF MITATSIMINT.

We the undersigned heirs of the deceased Sachem Mitatsimint give by this our writing the testimony that the land lying below Appachai-hackingh unto Mettocksinowousingh, belongs to no one else than to us, Peminacka being allowed to hunt upon Quinamkot but not as the owner to sell the same. We also know that the late Sachem Mitatsimint bargained about the said land with the Swedes, wherefore, for a confirmation, we have desired, as the true heirs and owners, by this our drawn up contract to testify that no one else, be [it] what nation it may, has a right or pretention to dwell upon the aforesaid lands or to incorporate [them] than the Swedes alone, for which [lands] we also have been contended by them, like our deceased sachem and father. Besides [we] will show (prove) by the savages in the entire river that the aforesaid land has been the property not of Pemenacka but of Mitatsimint, and [this] we as his heirs herewith maintain for a testimony of the truth, subscribing [to it] with the *marks* of our own hands.

Dated, Elsborgh, July 3, 1651.

The mark of KIAPES the son of Mitatsimint.

The mark of NOTIKE the widow of Mitatsimint.

The mark of the two children of Mitatsimint.

As witnesses:

PETER JOHIMSON.

GOTHEFRYD HARMER.

APPENDIX D.

I. THE EXPEDITIONS PREPARED FOR NEW SWEDEN, 1637-1656.

1. *The First Expedition, 1637-1639.*

The ship *Kalmar Nyckel*¹ (*Key of Kalmar*).²

Commander, Peter Minuit.

Skipper, Jan Hindricksen³ van de Waeter.

First mate, Michel Symonszen.⁴

Second mate, Jacob Everts Sandelin.⁵

Upper boatswain, Peter Johans. from the Bemster who succeeded
Andres Lucassen.

Gunner, Johan Joachimss.

Sailors, Herman Andersson, Johan Svensson, Sander Clerck.⁶

The ship *Fogel Grip* or *Gripen*⁷ (the *Bird Griffin*).

Skipper, Andrian Jöransen.⁸

The cost of the expedition was about 36,000 florins.

¹ *Kalmar Nyckel* was purchased by the Kalmar (Calmar) division of the South-Ship Company in 1632 for 27,098 D. (and not "by Peter Minuit at Gothenburg in 1637" as stated by Zettersten in *Sv. flot. hist.*, II. 573). It was taken over by the government and sold to Cornelius Rolofsson in 1651 (estimated value was then 5,000 R.D.). Cf. above, Chap. XLVIII., note 32. A ship called *Calmare Barcken* (the *Calmar Bark*) is mentioned in the fleet of King Erick XIV., Cf. *Ett bidr. till flot. hist., Hist. Tid.*, XIII. 69-71.

² Calmar, Kalmar a city on the south-eastern coast of Sweden.

³ Johan (Jehan, Jon) Hendricksen (Hendrixsz).

⁴ Michel (Michell) Simons (Simonsz).

⁵ Jacob Evertsen and Jacob Evertsz Sandelyn.

⁶ It has been said that there were no Swedish sailors along on the first voyage, but Andersson and Swensson were Swedes and probably Clerck also. They were dead in 1640 and their widows, who lived in Stockholm, were paid a small amount of money by the company. *Journal*, No. 28.

⁷ *Fogel Grip* also belonged to the South-Ship Company and was not purchased by Minuit as stated by Zettersten, *Sv. flot. hist.*, II.

During a storm in August, 1639, the ship, lying in the harbor at Gothenburg, after its return from New Sweden, "although secured by two anchors . . . was driven upon sandshoals 1½ fathoms deep." The ballast and cannon were removed, but it would not float and it seems that the ship foundered there, for it is mentioned no more. Cf. *Några Clas Fleming papper* (R.A.). A ship called *Stora Gripen* (the *Large Griffin*) and another called *Lilla Gripen* (the *Small Griffin*) are mentioned in 1564. Cf. *Hist. Tid.*, XIII. 69-71.

⁸ Andriean Janesen.

2. *The Second Expedition, 1639-1640.*

The ship *Kalmar Nyckel* (its second voyage to New Sweden).

Captain, Cornelis van Vliet⁹ as far as Holland.

The cost of the expedition was 15,840:25 D.

Commander, Pauwel Jansen, who was appointed in Holland on the outward journey of the ship.

Mate, Herman Willemsen.

3. *The Third Expedition, 1640-1641 (from Holland).*

The ship *Freeddenburgh*.

Commander, Joost van Bogaert.

4. *The Fourth Expedition, 1641-1642.*

The ship *Kalmar Nyckel* (its third voyage to America).

Skipper, Andrian Jansen¹⁰ from Saardam.

Mate, Lambert Pietersen.

The ship *Charitas*.¹¹

Skipper, Jan Jochimsen.

Mate, Jacob Everts Sandelin.

5. *The Fifth Expedition, 1642-1643.*

The ship *Swan*.¹²

Skipper, Lambert Pietersen.¹³

Boatswain, Johan Andersson.

⁹ Cornelis Van Fliet.

¹⁰ Andriaen Jansz.

¹¹ *Flöjten Charitas* belonged to (Norrköping-division(?) of) the South-Ship Company (not to the *Västerviks skeppskompani* as Zettersten has it in *Sv. flot. hist.*, II. 564). Zettersten states that it is mentioned for the last time in 1646, but it is mentioned in 1650-1653 as being among the ships captured by the English from Swedish merchants. (See *State Pap. For., Sweden, Tr. and Adm. Pap.*, 1650-59, Pub. Rec. Office.) In 1653 the "galiot the *Charitie*" of Norrköping, coming from France loaded with *Aqua vitae* was taken by the English. *Entry Books, Sweden, 1653, Pub. Rec. Office.*

¹² The *Swan* belonged to the South-Ship Company. It was of 165 lasts burden and carried 36 cannon (*Am. Reg.*, July 21, 1657). It took part in the naval expeditions against the Danes, 1644-1645, and was in the battle of Fehmarn in October. It was used on picket duty in the sound in the spring of 1652 and it seems that it was captured by the Danes in 1659. A *Swan* was also found in the Swedish navy in 1560. (There was also a *Swan* in the Danish fleet.) Cf. above, XXV., p. 251; *Palmsk. Saml.* (Up. B.), 322, fol. 333; *Am. Reg.*, April 1, 1652; August 23, October 25, 1656; July 21, 1657; Zettersten, *Sv. flot. hist.*, II.

¹³ Lambert Pietersson.

The ship *Fama*.¹⁴

Skipper, Thering Hindricksen.

Boatswain, Nils Svensson.

6. *The Sixth Expedition, 1643-1644.*

The ship *Fama* (second voyage to New Sweden).

Skipper, Peter Pålsson Kabeliaw.¹⁵

Mate, Jacob Cornelisen.

The cost of the cargo was 13,563:10 D. (12,214:16 D. for the Indian trade, 1,348:26 D. for the needs of the colony).

The ship *Kalmar Nyckel* (sailed to the West Indian Island, cf. above).

Captain, Berendt Hermansson Hopp.

Skipper, Vinsent Beckman.

7. *The Seventh Expedition, 1646-1647.*

The ship *Gyllene Haj*¹⁶ (the *Golden Shark*).

Captain, Jan Jochimsen¹⁷ from Cappel.

Mate, Jacob Albrechtsen.

The cost of the cargo was 10,075 D.

8. *The Eighth Expedition, 1647-1648.*

The ship *Swan* (second voyage to New Sweden).

Captain, Steffen Willemssen.¹⁸

Skipper, Nils Sifvertson.¹⁹

¹⁴ It was called *Engelen* or *Fama* and *Tellige skeppet Fama* or *Tellige skeppet Engelen*.

The *Fama* belonged to the South-Ship Company (and was not bought by Västerviks skepskompani in 1641 as stated by Zettersten, *Sv. flot. hist.*, II. 567). It was rerigged in 1641, and later taken into the service of the Crown. In 1653 it was repaired, made journeys to Narva (Capt. Peter Petersson) in 1653-4, and to London in 1654 (Richard Staffort, Commander). It was lost during a fog in 1659 according to Zettersten. Cf. above, Chap. XLVIII., note 32; Beier to Fleming, 1638, Några Clas Fleming papper (R.A.); Gen. Hand. och Skepsk., II., 1623-52 (K.A.); Zettersten, *Sv. flot. hist.*, II. 567.

¹⁵ Cabeliau.

¹⁶ The *Haj* is not mentioned by Zettersten in *Sv. flot. hist.* It belonged to the South-Ship Company and was commanded by Skipper Peter Michelsson (Michelsen) in 1631-1633 who made several journeys with the ship. It was captured by Stuyvesant in 1654 and used by the Dutch in the West Indian trade. Cf. above, Chap. XL.; *Gen. Hand. och Skepsk.*, III. 1630-1636[7] (K.A.).

¹⁷ Johan Jochimsson.

¹⁸ Stephen Williamsson.

¹⁹ Nels Siwersen (Siversson).

Lieutenant, Anders Jönsson.²⁰

Mate, Jan Jansson Bockhorn.²¹

Cost of cargo was 11,964 D.

9. *The Ninth Expedition, 1649.*

The ship *Katt*²² (the *Cat*).

Commander, Hans Amundsson.

Captain, Cornelius Lucifer.

Skipper, Måns Bengtsson.

Mate, Jan Jansson Bockhorn.

Cost of cargo exclusive of ammunition and cannon was 5,215 D.

10. *The Tenth Expedition, 1654.*

The ship *Örn* (the *Eagle*).²³

Commander, Johan Rising.

Captain, Jan Jansson Bockhorn.

11. *The Eleventh Expedition, 1654.*

The ship *Gyllene Haj* (did not reach New Sweden).

Commander, Hendrick Elswick.

Mate, Anders Matheus(?) from Amsterdam.

Second mate, Bengt Olsson.

Lieutenant, Sven Höök.

12. *Twelfth Expedition, 1655-1656.*

The ship *Mercurius*.²⁴

²⁰ Andreas Jöranson (Jonson).

²¹ Johan Janson Bockhorn.

²² The *Cat* belonged to the government. It carried from 18 to 22 cannon and had a crew of about 50 sailors. It took part in the naval expeditions against the Danes, 1644-1645. Was wrecked near Porto Rico in 1649 and then burnt by the Spaniards. Cf. above, and *Rådspr.*, IX. 333, etc.

²³ The *Örn* was taken from the Danes in June, 1644, and was riggered the following year at Wismar. It was 129½ (Swedish) feet long and 30 (Swedish) feet broad, carried 34 to 40 cannon and had a crew of about 80 men. It was repaired in the autumn of 1654, was ordered to bring Secretary Coijet to England in October, 1654 (*Am. Reg.*, October 4, 1654). According to Zettersten it was sunk at Karlskrona in 1680.

²⁴ *Mercurius* was bought in 1655 by Trotzig in Holland and was entirely rebuilt. It carried 14 cannon and was of about 100 lasts burden. It made journeys for some time after 1656 for the American Company. There were also two or three other ships by this name at the time. Cf. above, Chap. XLIX.; *Am. Reg.* (Fl. Ar.), May 22, 1644, October 8, 1653, January 14, 24, 1654, June 23, July 21, 1657, etc.; Zettersten, *Sv. flot. hist.*, II. 576-7. (The *Mercurius* belonging to the American Company is not mentioned by Zettersten.)

Commander, Johan Papegoja.

Second Commander or Captain(?), Hendrick Huygen.

Skipper, Jan Hindrickson Lang.

Mate, Jacob Jansson.

Barber-surgeon, Heindrich Mundt.

The total cost of the expedition including the ship was 13,414 R.D. according to one bill.

II. SHIPS BELONGING TO THE SOUTH-SHIP COMPANY, THAT DID NOT MAKE JOURNEYS TO NEW SWEDEN.

1. *Christina*, belonged to the Nyköping division of the South-Ship Company. She made several long voyages for the company, carrying salt and other merchandise. She was sold to De Geer, after which she made journeys to Africa for the Swedish African Company. She was captured by the English, but was later released.

There was a ship called *Queen Christina* in 1665 for which Leijonberg applied for permission in that year to sail to Barbadoes.

Gen. Hand. och Skepsk., III., 1630–1636 [7] (K.A.). “Förhand. ang. Hol. ersättn.,” etc., and other documents in *Afrik. komp.*, I.–II. (R.A.); cf. also Granlund, *En sv. kol.*, etc., State Pap., For., Sweden, No. 5, 1639–65, Pub. Rec. Office.

2. *Förgyllda Lejonet* (*The Gilded Lion*), probably belonged to the Stockholm division of the South-Ship Company. Was sent to Spain with a cargo of masts and spars in 1631, where it was captured by order of King Philip in 1632. Cf. above, p. 73.

3. *Gefleskeppet*. (The ship of the Gefle-division of the South-Ship Company. Cf. above, p. 69 ff.) She was probably built by Welshuisen (cf. above, p. 70). She made several commercial journeys for the South-Ship Company and was sent to Spain in 1631–32, where she was captured. Cf. above, p. 73 ff.; Gen. Hand. och Skepsk., III., 1630–1636(7) (K.A.).

4. *Konung David* (*King David*)²⁵ also called *Gamle Konung David* (*Old King David*), belonged to the South-Ship Company. It was commanded by Skipper Clas Hindersson Boender, who made a great number of commercial journeys with the ship. It was sold in 1641 by Peter Trotzig for 8,100 florins, which (less 148:12 florins expenses) were turned over to the New Sweden Company. This vessel is not mentioned by Zettersten in *Sv. flot. hist.* Cf. Gen. Hand. och Skepsk., II., 1623–52

²⁵ The ship on which De Vries sailed to the West Indies in the summer of 1634 was called *King David*. Cf. *Col. of N. Y. Hist. So.*, 2d S., III. 49.

(K.A.); Kompanier and Åtskilliga komp. (K.A.); *Am. Reg.*, October 26, 1641.

5. *Nye Konung David* (also called *Der Neue König David*, the *New King David*)²⁶ was built (or rebuilt) in Holland (1641) for the South-Ship Company for the sum of 9,900 D. to replace the *Old King David*. It was commanded by Skipper Clas Hindersson Boender, who owned one-sixteenth of the ship. The ship made 1,125 D. on freight which was carried to Stockholm on the first journey and fifteen-sixteenths of the ship were insured in Amsterdam for 6,000 florins at a premium of 135 florins for the journey. The ship earned several thousand D. for the company until it was sold by the government in 1645 to Louis De Geer for 9,000 D. (of which Boender received his share, or 375 R.D., the other 5,625 R.D. being placed to the credit of the South-Ship Company in the books of the New Sweden Company). Cf. *Journal*, no. 71 ff.; "Rächn. med Söd. Comp.," *Söderk.*, 1637-59 (R.A.); above; Zettersten, *Sv. flot. hist.*, II.

6. *Neptunis*. Sold by Le Thor and Blommaert in 1640.

7. *Norrlandskeppet*. (The ship of the Norrland-division of the South-Ship Company.) Made commercial journeys for the South-Ship Company before the autumn of 1631. It was captured in Spain in 1632. Cf. above, p. 73.

8. *Stockholms Kronan* (the *Crown of Stockholm*). It belonged to the Stockholm division of the South-Ship Company and was undoubtedly built by Christian Welshuisen. It was captured in Spain in 1632. Cf. above, p. 73 ff. This ship is not mentioned by Zettersten in *Sv. flot. hist.*

9. The ship *Svarte Hunden*, (the *Black Dog*), of 120 lasts burden, was sold by the government in October, 1640, to Daniel Schlegel in Stettin for 9,000 R.D. The sails and rigging valued at 3,000 R.D. belonged to the government and the remainder were credited to the New Sweden Company. Cf. "Hen. Kongl. Maj. och Cron. Rächn. med. Söd. Comp.," *Söderk.*, 1637-59 (R.A.); *Journal*, no. 88, etc.

10. *Turturdufvan* (*Turtell Taube*, the *Turtle Dove*) was sold in 1640 by Le Thor and Blommaert in Holland and the money was used by the New Sweden Company for paying the wages of its servants and for buying the merchandise for the Indian trade. *Journal*, nos. 19, 35, etc.

²⁶ On November 3, 1666, a pass was granted by the Lord High Admiral of England to the Swedish resident at London for a ship called *King David*, which was to sail from Rochelle to Lemerick with salt, thence to the Barbadoes. *Acts of the Privy Council*, p. 413.

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³ Claims that there was a Dutch Reformed Church at New Castle in 1642! (see p. 307).

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The English Historical Review.

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Virginia Historical Magazine.

Zeitschrift des Bergischen Geschichtsvereins.

⁴ Several dissertations on American subjects were written under the direction of Professor Kalm.

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⁵ *Förordningar* that were printed in 1522-1750.

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A. STOCKHOLM.

I. RIKSARKIVET* (the Royal Archives).

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(b) *Manuscript Catalogues and Indices:*

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Fört. öfver de i kongl. Riksarkivet befintliga från Läns-styrelserna till Kongl. Maj:t, Kansli Colleg. och kansl. chefer inkomma skrivelser, 1635-1640.

M. G. de la Gardies i Riksarkivet befintliga brevveling och öfriga handlingar, Förteckning öfver rikskansleren grefve. Uprättad af E. W. Bergman.

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* Cf. *Bidrag till Riksarkivets äldre historia*. (In *Meddelanden från Svenska Riksarkivet*, 1877-90.)

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(c) *Collections of Letters and Documents:**Handel och sjöfart. Handelskompanier.*

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3. Söderkompaniet, 1637-59. One volume. (Quoted: Söderk., 1637-59 (R.A.).)
4. General-handelskompaniet. Usselinx' memorial, 1624-1645. One volume. Quoted: Gen. handelsk., 1624-45 (R.A.).
5. Skeppskompaniet, 1629-1650. One volume. Quoted: Skepsk. 1629-50 (R.A.).
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Riks Registraturet, 1626-80. (Svenska och Latinska.) (Quoted: R. R.)

⁷ In the autumn of 1906 a gentleman who was then listing and arranging the old documents belonging to the Commercial College brought to me at the *Riksarkiv* a *Journal* of the *Schwedische Compagni* (September, 1630-spring, 1637) and a bundle of documents concerning the Swedish African Company. As I was leaving the next day I had time to take only a hurried look at the *new material* found in these records, having in mind to examine them thoroughly the following year. But these materials *could not* be found when I returned, although Dr. Sondén and Dr. Westrin both searched for them.

Rådsprotokollen, 1647-1670. In manuscript. Up to 1647 they are printed, see bibliography above.

Sjöexpeditioner, 1656-1660, 1664-1677. Two volumes.

Bref till Kongl. Maj:t. Letters from:

Johan Beier to K. M:t. (Carl X Gustafs tid.)

Johan Printz. (Cp. Med. fr. sv. Riksark.)

Peter Ridder. (Carl X.)

Dahlbergiska Samlingen. Letters from Johan Beier.

De la Gardiska Samlingen. Letters from Johan Printz, Johan Rising and Peter Trotzig to De la Gardie.

Landsh. skrivelser till Kongl. Maj:t, 1637-1656.

Örebro län, 1637-1656.

Elfsborgs län, 1645-55.

Jönköpings län. (From Johan Printz.)

Några Clas Fleming papper, 1630- och 1640-talen.

Letters from Weijss and others to Fleming.

Axel Oxenstiernska Samlingen.⁸

1. Letters from:

Hans Amundsson.

Harald Appelbom.

Johan Beier.

Jacob Blome.

Samuel Blommaert.

Benjamin Bonnell.

Gregorius van Dyck.

Conrad von Falkenberg. (His letters are published up to 1634, see above.)

Klas Fleming. (The collection of Fleming's letters also contains Extract Schreibens von d. Herr Admiral Fleming an H. Residenten Spiering. . . , 8 Junij, 1639; Memorial für Martin Augustinson. Datum Stockholm den 28 Februarii, Anno 1639.)

Hans Kramer. (The Kramer collection contains Copia aff kämbnare Domen angående H. Jacob Blome. . . den 10 Decemb., Anno 1653.)

Isak Niepeisen. (H. Peter Spierings abgefertigte diener.)

Johan Papegoja.

Johan Printz.

Peter Hollender Ridder. (The collection contains a copy of an Instruction för Leut. Peter Hollender. . . Stockholm d. 1 Julij, 1639.)

Johan Jonsson Rud[berus]. (There is also in this collection a copy of a letter from him in Kramer's handwriting, dated Anno 1651 den 13 Apprillis. The author is inclined to believe that the letter was

⁸ Quoted: *Ox. Saml.* (R.A.).

not written to Oxenstierna but to Kramer. Cf. his journal in bibliography below.)

Robert Smythe.

Peter Spiring. (Letters written in German and in Dutch, generally by a copyist, and some few in French. A number of letters are written in Spiring's handwriting, often the Dutch ones. The last letter is written December 8, 1651. There are *six volumes of letters* in the collection.)

Timon Stidden.

Joachim Stumpff. Six letters, two memorials and a copy of a letter from Oxenstierna.

Peter Trotzig.

Willem Usselinx.

2. Axel Oxenstiernas Conceptor, 1635-1647. Quoted: *Ox. Saml., Concept.*

Eric Oxenstiernska Samlingen. (Quoted: *Ox. Saml. (R.A.)*.) Letters to Eric Oxenstierna from:

Gustaf Printz.

Johan Rising. 10 letters relating to the journal of the *Örn*, one from New Sweden. The collection also contains a "Memorial," "Underdånig Postulata," etc.

J. J. Ahrman. (Supplik. No date, no place, only a copy.)

Johan Oxenstiernska Samlingen. Letters from:

Johan Beier, 1642-1649(5).

Klas Fleming.

Gustaf Printz. (One letter dated Elbing d. 22 April, 1657. It is addressed to M. Gottfrid Allbinus, the secretary of Johan Oxenstierna.)

Johan Classon Rising. (From Stettin, July, 1642, May, 1643.)

Skokloster Samlingen.

1. Letters to P. Brahe from:

Johan Papegoja.

Gustaf Printz.

Johan Printz. (The first letter is dated April 18, 1638 and last is dated April 30, 1663. Cf. Catalogue II, 52, *Skokl. Saml. Printz' Report*, 1647, is also in this collection.)

2. Per Brahes Conceptor.

Stegeborg Samlingen.

1. Johan Casimir. Letters from:

Samuel Blommaert.

Klas Fleming.

2. *Adolf Johans arkiv.* Letters from:

Johan Rising.

II. KAMMARARKIVET⁹ (the Archives of the Exchequer).(a) *Catalogues and Indices:*

Förteckning öfver de i Kammararkivet förvarade handlingar. Af dr Rosman.

General catalogue of the various collections.

Diariet öfver Kammararkivets registratur, 1630 ff.

Register öfver *Sandbergska Samlingen.*

(b) *Collections of Letters and Documents:*

Handel och sjöfart. Kolonier.

1. Nya Sverige, I. (Quoted: N. S., I. (K. A.).)

2. Nya Sverige, II. (Quoted: N. S., II. (K. A.).)

3. Nya Sverige, III. (Quoted: *Journal*, no. 1, 2, etc., or *Journal*, N. S., III. (K. A.).)

4. Kompanier, I.

5. Kompanier, II.

6. Kompanier, III. (*Gen. Hand. och Skepsk.*, 1630-6[7].)

7. Åtskilliga kolonier. (1650-1808.)

8. Enskilda räkningar, I, VII, VIII, IX, XI.

9. Strödda handlingar, I.

10. Strödda handlingar, II.

11. Strödda handlingar, III.

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Kammar Kollegie Protokoll. Quoted: *Kam. Kol. Prot.* (K.A.).

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Kam. Journal.

Kommers Kollegie Acta, 1653-9. Quoted: *Kom. Kol. Ac.* (K.A.).

Kommers Kollegie skrivelser till Kongl. Maj:t., 1650 ff. Quoted: *Kom. Kol. skr. till Kongl. Maj.* (K.A.).

Kongliga bref i Kammar Kollegium, 1635-54. Quoted: *Kongl. br. i Kam. Kol.* (K.A.).

Landsböcker, Elfsborgs län.

Rikshufvudboken.

Sandbergska Samlingen, Volume Q. Quoted: *Sandb. Saml.* (K.A.).

III. FLOTTANS ARKIV.¹¹ (the Archives of the Navy).(a) *Catalogues and Indices:*

General Catalogue of the collections by Zettersten.

Register till Ameralitets Registratur. (An index at the end of most volumes.)

⁹ Cf. E. Hildebrand, *Ett par ord om kammararkivet.* (In *Hist. Tid.*, XVI, 151-62.)

¹⁰ Cf. Gustav Kleen, *Anteck. om svenska krigsarkivet.* (*Krigsv. akad. tid.* 1880, p. 225 ff.)

¹¹ Cf. Zettersten, *Flottans arkiv på Skeppsholmen* (in *Hist. Tid.*, VI, 227-234).

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(b) *Collections of Letters and Documents:*

Ameralitetets registratur, 1630-60. Quoted: *Am. Reg.* (Fl. Ar.).
Ankomna handlingar, 1636 ff.

IV. KRIGSARKIVET (the Archives of War). A General catalogue in the Archives.
Västgöta regemente.

V. KUNGLIGA BIBLIOTEKET (Royal Library).

(a) *Catalogues and Indices:*

Kongl. Bib:s Saml. af Sv. Brefvexl., af E. Tegner. (Stockholm, 1880.)

(b) *Collections of Letters and Documents:*

Rälamska Samlingen.

B. UPSALA.

I. UNIVERSITETSBIOTEKET (the University Library).

(a) *Catalogues and Indices:*

Handskriftkatalog E., Sveriges historia till 1697.

Handskriftkatalog L., Sveriges statskunn., etc.

Nordiska Samlingen, I-III.

Palmskiöldska Samlingen, Register öfver. Tom. I-II. (I also made use of the special "Register" in the different volumes of *Palmsk. Saml.,* Vols. 81, 82, 230, etc.)

Westinska handskriftsamlingen. (Cf. *Sammlaren, 1882,* pp. 5-16.)

(b) *Collections of Letters and Documents:*

Copiebok af Kongl. bref till landshöfd. Olof Stake, 1639-43, pp. 8-9.

Handlingar om sv. handeln. L. 131.

Handel och näringar. N. 386.

Palmskiöldska (Palmschölska) Samlingen. Vols. 81, 82, 104, 322. Quoted:

Palmsk. Saml. (Up. B.). Vol. 322 contains copies of Rising's *berättelser* and other documents concerning New Sweden.

Oxenstiernska brefvexlingen. Letters from:

Klas Fleming.

Gustaf Printz.

Johan Printz.

Risings Journal. E. 433. En kort berättelse, etc. Cf. below. Quoted:

Rising's Journal. (Up. B.).

II. DOMKAPITLET'S ARKIV (the Archives of the Chapter or Consistory of the Archbishop of Upsala).

(a) *Catalogues and Indices:*

General catalogue of the collections.

(b) *Collections of Letters and Documents:*

Nya Sverige, I.

Nya Sverige, II. Quoted: N. S., I. (D. A.).

Proto. Consist. Ecclesia Stici Ubsaliensis, 1636 ff.

III. LANDSARKIVET. (The District Archives.) *A General catalogue. Church Records.*

C. LUND.

UNIVERSITETSBIBLIOTEKET (University Library).

General Catalogue.

De la Gardiska arkivet. Letters from Johan Printz.

D. OTHER LIBRARIES IN SWEDEN.

(a) *Catalogues and Indices:*

Förteckning på handskriftsamlingen å Espelunda, by V. Kôersner. (Stockholm, 1882. Bound at the end of *Hist. Tid.*, Vol. II.)

Förteckning på handskriftsamlingen å Bergshammar, by J. A. Lagermark. (Suppl. to *Hist. Tid.*, Vol. V.)

Handskriffter i Linköpings bibliotek, Förteckning öfver.

Förteckning öfver autogr. samlingen på Sjöholm (1889). In Riksarkivet.

II. ENGLAND.

A. LONDON.

I. BRITISH MUSEUM.

Class Catalogue of Manuscripts, Single State Papers, Vol. XI. *Foreign Series*, 1625-1873. Gives list of Manuscripts in chronological order.

Class Catalogue of Manuscripts, Single State Papers, Vol. XIV. *Foreign Series*, 1600-1873.

II. PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE.

(a) *Catalogues, Calendars, and Indices:*

List of Volumes of State Papers, Foreign, Preserved in the Public Record Office. (*Lists and Indexes*, No. XIX. Public Record Office, London, 1904.)

A Guide to the Various Classes of Documents Preserved in the Public Record Office. By S. R. Scargill-Bird. (Third edition, London, 1908.)

Calendars and Indexes, No. 488. Patent Rolls. (1626-1636.)

(b) *Collections of Letters and Documents:*

Signet Office Bills, Warrants or King's Bills, Docquet Books. Vols. IX and X. 1627-1633. For a description cf. *Guide to Documents*, pp. 80-85.

State Papers, Foreign. Archives, Poland [and Sweden], No. 88. Contains copies of letters from King of Sweden, etc.

State Papers, Foreign. Entry Books, Sweden, Nos. 151, 152, 163, 166.

State Papers, Foreign. Trade and Admiralty Papers (Sweden), Nos. 1-9.

State Papers, Foreign. Treaty Papers (Sweden), Nos. 69, 516, 520.

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B. OXFORD.

BODLEIAN LIBRARY. *General Card Catalogue of Manuscripts.*

Letters from:

Benjamin Bonnell.
Queen Christina.
Israel Lagerfelt.
Axel Oxenstierna.

Svecia. News Letters from Svecia, 1653-1658, 1655-1657.

III. HOLLAND.

THE HAGUE.

I. HET RIJKSARCHIEF (the Royal Archives).

Resolutien, etc. Index opt' Register van Haer Ho. Mo. *Resolutien*, etc. found in the beginning of each volume. These indices are not always reliable. Index for 1640 refers to fol. 136 instead of 137, etc.

Secrete Kas. L. A. Loketkas M. No. 9. The copies of Indian signatures found here are not accurately reproduced in *Doc.*, I, 593, 596, 597. The mark of Acehoorn is changed and that of Van Borsum is inverted (*Doc.*, I, 600).

West Indische Compagnie. Loketkas of the States General, Litt L. No. 49. A small volume bound in parchment, well preserved.

Reg. van Resolutien concerning the Dutch West India Company. 1638 ff. I-II. An index in the beginning of each volume. Vol. I (Oct. 25, 1638), fol. 11, concerning a paper from Spiring about *Kalmar Nyckel*; fol. 16; (December 31, 1638), fol. 17; Suydercomp., Nov. 16, 1639; 1644, fol. 129; 1645, fol. 148-149, 151, 155; concerning S. Blommaert, 1648, Sept. 20, Nov. 20, fol. 434, December, fol. 436; 1649, April, fol. 458, June 1, fol. 462, July, fol. 469; 1650, March 10, fol. 592; June, fol. 568, 569.

IV. AMERICA.

A. PHILADELPHIA.

I. LIBRARY OF THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF PENNSYLVANIA.

An Alphabetical Card Catalogue.

Copies of Documents from the Royal Archives in Stockholm. These copies are very good, containing but few mistakes.

Archivum Americanum. Upsal Documents relating to the Swedish Churches on the Delaware. Translated copies. I-II.

Willem Usselinx and the South Company. Manuscript copies in Penn. Hist. So. from the Archives at Stockholm, done by Sjöberg for J. F. Jameson. Quoted: *Jameson Mss.*, Penn. Hist. So.

II. AMERICAN PHILOSOPHICAL SOCIETY.

An Alphabetical Card Catalogue.

Records of the Colony of New Sweden. One Volume of copies from the Royal Archives at Stockholm. (Also a French translation in the collection.) Poorly translated in Hazard's *Reg.* Cf. bibliography above.

An Extract (translated into French) of Lindeström's *Geogr.* Presented by W. Jones in 1822.

III. THE LIBRARY COMPANY OF PHILADELPHIA.

An Alphabetical Card Catalogue.

Du Simitière Manuscript Copies. Contain lists of Indian tribes, extracts of the *Beschr. van Nieuw-Ned., Korte Historiae*, etc.

IV. ARCHIVES OF GLORIA DEI.

Kyrkio-handling[ar] wijd Församlingen Wicaco Ifrån de Sveskes förste öfverkomst till America och des deel Nya Swerige Sedan Niew Nederlandh.

B. WASHINGTON, D. C.

LIBRARY OF CONGRESS.

Col. and Rev. Doc. of the State of Delaware, III-IV. Cf. *Penn. Evening Post*, July 4, 1778.

C. NEW YORK CITY.

LIBRARY OF THE NEW YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

Translation of Notes to C. D. Arfwedson's Nova Svecia.

Copies of Manuscripts Relating to the Swedes on the Delaware. Copied for B. Fernow. Also translations into English.

Manuscript Translation from Acrelius (printed in *Col. of N. Y. Hist. So.*, 2d Se., I) and of Hesselius' *Swedish Churches in America, 1725.* (See above.)

CONTEMPORARY ACCOUNTS.

A. PUBLISHED.

A Perfect Description of Virginia, etc. (London, Printed for R. Wodenoth, at the Star under Peter's Church in Cornhill, 1649.) Reprinted in *Col. Mass. Hist. So.*, 2d S., IX, 105 ff.

BOGAERT, JOHANNES, *Letters to Hans Bontemantel, August 28, October 31, 1655.* (First printed in 1858 in the *Navorscher.* Translated by Henry C. Murphy and published in *The Hist. Mag.*, II, 257 ff. Revised translation of the letter of October 31 published in Jameson, *Nar. of New Neth.*, 383-386.) Bontemantel was director of the Dutch West India Company at Amsterdam.

- Breeden-Raedt*, etc. (Antwerp, 1649.) Translated by H. C. Murphy (New York, 1854) in a volume also containing *Vertoogh van Nieu Nederland*, p. 125 ff. Also in *Col. of N. Y. Hist. So.*, 2d Se. (1857), III, 237 ff.
- BRESSANI, FATHER FRANCESCO GIUSEPPE, *Breve Relazione D'Alcune Missioni De' PP. della Compagnia di Geiù nella Nuova Francia*. (Macerata, 1653.) An Italian Relation mentioning the Swedes. Reprinted and translated in Thwaites, *Jesuit Relations*, XXXVIII, 203 ff., XXXIX, 12 ff.
- CAMPANIUS [HOLM], JOHAN, *De itinera Mag. Johan Campanii*, etc., 1643-1648. *Rålambska Samlingen*, fol. 201. (Kongl. Bib.) Printed in Holm (transl.), p. 70 ff. The manuscript copy is partly in Latin and partly in Swedish. Kernkamp, *Skand. Archivalia*, p. 151, gives the title in Swedish as found in an older catalogue.
- Concerning New Netherland or Manhattan*. Unsigned but written by one who was well acquainted with the history of the settlements on the Delaware. It is found in the *Clarendon Papers*, preserved in the Bodleian Library at Oxford. (Published 1869 in *Col. of N. Y. Hist. So.*, Fund Se., II, 1-14.)
- A Description of the Province of New Albion*, etc. by "Beauchamp Plantagenet." (1648.) Reprinted by Peter Force, *Hist. Tracts*. (1838.) II. For the full title and a criticism see Winsor, *Nar. and Crit. Hist.*, III, 460 ff., IV, 427, 428, 437. See Sabin's *Dictionary*, V, no. 19, 724. "One Bagot under the Swedes name," etc. p. 10. "Some Swedish soldiers with the Indians marched into Virginia and carried thence the King of Pawtomeck prisoner," etc.
- DONCK, ANDRIAEN VAN DER (author?), 1, *Petition*, etc., to the States General; 2, *Additional observances on the preceding Petition*, July 26, 1649. Translated and printed in (1856) *Doc.*, I, 259-270.
- DONCK, ANDRIAEN VAN DER (author?), *Vertoogh van Nieu-Neder-Land Wegkens de Ghelegentheydt, Vruchtbaerheydt, en Soberen Staet desselfs*. (The Hague, 1650.) The document was perhaps drawn up by Van der Donck and signed by him, Augustin Herrman and several others on July 28, 1649. Transcribed from the authenticated manuscript copy in the Royal Archives at the Hague and translated and printed (1856) in *Documents Relative to the Colonial History of New York*, I, 271-318. A translation by Murphy of the printed tract was published in 1849 in *Col. of N. Y. Hist. So.*, 2d Se., II, 251-329 (also in a reprint, 1854).
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- ¹² He relates that an expedition sailed from Norway and Sweden which was never heard of again. Some think, he says, that the Indians are the descendants of these Scandinavians.

- (Amsterdam, 1655, 2d ed., 1656.) Translated in *Col. of N. Y. Hist. So.*, 2d Se., I, 125-242. (New York, 1841.) Extract in *Old South Leaflets*, No. 69.
- HAMMON, J., *Leah and Rachel; or the Two Fruitful Sisters Virginia and Maryland*, etc. (London, 1656.) Reprinted by Force, *Hist. Tracts*, III. "Much land there next the Swead," etc., p. 21.
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- MEGAPOLENSIS, JOHANNES, JR., *Een korte Ontwerp vande Mahakavase Indiaenen*, etc. (1644). (Alkmar, 1644.) Reprinted in *Beschr. van Virginia, Nieuw Nederlant*, etc. Amsterdam, 1651. Translation published in *Col. of N. Y. Hist. So.*, 2d Se., III, 137 ff.; revised translation in Jameson, *Nar. of New Neth.*, 168 ff.
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- PRINTZ, JOHAN, *Relation till dätt höglof. West Indische Compagn.* . . den 11 Junij anno 1644. [Ft. Christina, June 20, 1644.] Published by Odhner, *Kol. N. S.*, p. 27 (223) ff. Paragraphs 2, 3, 14, 15, 17 are omitted by Odhner. Quoted: *Report*, 1644. A translation by the author occurs in Albert Cook Myers, *Nar. of Early Penn.*
- PRINTZ, JOHAN, *Relation till dätt höghloff. Westindiske Compagn.* . . den 20 februari 1647. Translated by Keen in *Penn Mag.*, VII, 271 ff. A revised translation by the author occurs in Myers, *Nar. of Early Penn.*
- Relation De Ce Qui s'est passé de Plusremarquable és Missions des Peres de la Compagnie de Iesus, en la Nouvelle France, es annees 1647-1648.* (Part Second by Paul Ragueneau.) (Paris, MDCXLIX.) Reprinted and translated in Thwaites, *Jesuit Relations*, XXXII, XXXIII.
- RISING, JOHAN, *Relation concerning the conditions in New Sweden in 1654.*¹³ Dated Christina in New Sweden, July 13, 1654. Printed by Sprinchorn, in *Kol. Nya Sv. hist.*, pp. 92-102. (*Hist. Bibl.*, pp. 256-266.) Translated by the author for Albert Cook Myers, *Nar. of Early Penn.*

¹³ Copy preserved in N. S., I. (R.A.).

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- RISING, JOHAN, *Relation öfwer thet ahnfall*, etc. Printed in Arfwedson's *De Colonia Nova Svecia* (1825), p. 23 ff. Translated and published in *Col. of N. Y. Hist. So.*, 2d Se., I, 443 ff. Quoted at large by Hazard, p. 190 ff.; reprinted in the *Penn. Arch.* The translation revised by the author will be printed in Albert Cook Myers, *Nar. of Early Penn.*
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- VRIES, DAVID PETERSZ. DE, *Korte Historiae, ende Journaels*, etc. (Alkmaer, 1655.) Translated by Henry C. Murphy¹⁴ and printed by James Lenox (New York, 1853), reprinted in *Col. of N. Y. Hist. So.*, 2d Se., III, 1-129. A revised translation of part of the *Historiae*, in Jameson's *Nar. of New Neth.*, p. 186 ff.
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B. IN MANUSCRIPT.

- ELSWICK, HENDRICK VON, *Relation*, August, 1655-February, 1656. A journal of events in New Sweden during the siege of the Dutch and occurrences up to February, 1654. Moulded and partly unreadable. Preserved in N. S., I. (R. A.).
- ELSWICK, HENDRICK VON, *Fragment of a Journal* during a commercial journey to New Amsterdam in the spring of 1655. Preserved in N. S., I. (K. A.).
- LINDESTRÖM, PETER, *Een kort relation och beskrifning öfwer Nye Swerige*, etc., 1654-5. Manuscript copy in N. S., II. (R. A.). Copy in *Penn. Hist. So.*
- LINDESTRÖM, PETER, *Een kort relation och beskrifning öfwer Nya Sweriges situation*, etc., 1654-5. Fourteen pages. *Rålambska Saml.*, fol. 201. (Kongl. Bib.)
- LINDESTRÖM, PETER, *Geographia Americae*, etc. Quoted: *Geogr.* Cf. above, Chap. XLIV. Copy of Chaps. II, IV, XXIX in Swedish, with translations and translations of other chapters (without copies in Swedish) are found in *Penn. Hist. So.*

¹⁴ Murphy has made some changes in the translation. Page 120 (*Col. N. Y. Hist. So.*, 2d Se., III.) he has Rotterdam. The original reads: "Den 28 September arriveerden alhier een Haring Gainckjen ofte Buysjen dat *van Amsterdam was*," De Vries, p. 182. In the margin of the copy of the N. Y. Hist. Library some one has written Rotterdam and crossed out Amsterdam. The translation as a whole is quite accurate.

Relation of the First Coming of the Swedes. Sworn statement of four men from the *Kalmar Nyckel*. Cf. facsimile reproduction. Original preserved in Kammararkivet (Archives of the Exchequer); discovered by the author in 1906. Translated by the author for Albert Cook Myers, *Orig. Nar. of Early Penn.*

RISING, JOHAN:

1. *Een berättelse om Nova Svecia*, etc. Elbing, 1656. Copy in *Palmsk. Saml.*, LXXIV, 322, p. 263 ff. (Up. Bib.) Copy in *Penn. Hist. So.*
2. *Een berättelse*, etc. No date. Manuscript copy in *Palmsk. Saml.*, LXXIV, 322, p. 145 ff. (Up. Bib.)
3. *Een beskrifningh om Nova Svecia*, etc. Elbing, 1658. Manuscript copy in N. S., II. (R. A.).
4. *Een beskrifningh om Nova Svecia*, etc. No date, manuscript copy in N. S., II. (R. A.).
5. *Relation om Nya Sverige*, 1655. N. S., I. (K. A.). Quoted: *Report*, 1655. Lately published by the author in *German American Annals*, N. S., VIII, 87 ff., 288. Has been translated by the author for publication in Albert Cook Myers, *Orig. Nar. of Early Penn.*
6. *Berättelse öfwer thet, som sigh tilldragit hafwer i Nova Svecia widh thet Ahnfall thermed the Hollenske. . . then Svenska Colonien i Nova Svecia med fiendligheet. . . hafwa öfwerfallit.* No date. At end of Rising's *Journal* in Upsala Bibliotek.
7. *Een Kort Berättelse om Reesan till Nye Sverige*, 1654-1655. No date. (Up. Bib.) Rising's *Journal* to New Sweden and in the Colony. Gives much new material. It is well preserved. The author hopes to publish it together with a translation in the near future.
8. *A Report* in the form of a *Journal*, dated July 6, 1654, in N. S., I. (R. A.). Moulded and partly unreadable. Begins January 27, ends June 6; contains eight leaves, 14½ pages, the top and bottom of each page being moulded.
9. *Een Kort Berättelse om Thet Anfall*, etc. Manuscript copy in N. S., I. (R. A.)

RUDB[ERUS], JOHAN JONSSON, *Relation of min reesas olyckelige afgångh*, etc. 1649-51. Concerning the *Kattan Expedition*. Now preserved in K. A. Discovered by the author in 1906.

C. LITERARY WORKS.

NOVELS, POEMS AND LITERARY WORKS REFERRING TO
NEW SWEDEN AND TO THE DELAWARE AND
NEIGHBORING COLONIES.¹⁵

- ARFWEDSON, C. D., *Förenta Staterna och Canada Åren 1632, 1833 och 1834.* (Stockholm, 1835.) P. 120 ff. treats of the Swedish Colony. (Also in English translation.)
- [ARFWEDSON, C. D.], *Scener i Nord-Amerika.* Ur en svenk resandes minnes-bok. (Stockholm, 1836.) Svensken i Amerika. A story from New Sweden.
- (BELDEN, J. VAN ZILE, *Antonia.* Novel: Dutch Colonists in Hudson River Districts, 1640-50.)
- (BENNET, J., *Barnaby Lee.* Novel: Founding of New York and Maryland, 1664.)
- BUCK, W. J., *Local Sketches and Legends*, etc. (Printed for the author, 1887.) *The Tree and the Vine*, p. 33 ff., refers to Campanius Holm. and the Swedish settlers. (Also printed in *Bucks County Intelligencer* and *Hatboro Public Spirit*, May 6, 1882.)
- FOSTER, C. F., *The Bi-Centennial Hymn.* Refers to the Swedes. (In Hist. Sketch of Chester, pp. 284-5.)
- FRAME, R., *A Short Description of Philadelphia*, etc. (Philadelphia, 1692. Reprinted 1867.) Poem refers to the Swedes and Finns, p. 5.
- (GOODWIN, MAUD WINDER, *Sir Christopher.* Novel: Maryland, 1644.)
- HOLME, JOHN, *A True Relation of the Flourishing State of Pennsylvania.* The poem is printed in *Proceed. of the Hist. So. of Penn.*, I, no. 12, 161-80.) It was perhaps written in 1689. He refers to the Swedish and Finnish settlers, p. 167.
- HYLTÉN-CAVALLIUS, G. O., *Sveriges Hist. och Polit. Visor.* (Första delen, Örebro, 1853.) On p. 305 (strophe 12) is a verse about the companies founded by King Gustavus Adolphus.
- IRVING, WASHINGTON, *Knickerbocker's History of New York.* (New York, 1851.) Book IV, Chap. IX (pp. 227-41), treats of the founding of New Sweden and the English settlements on the Schuylkill. For other Chapters on the Swedish settlements see Books V and VI.
- LINDBLAD, E., *Till Minneapolis.* (In *250th Anniversary*, etc.) Pp. 40-1 refers to New Sweden on the Delaware.
- LINDHOLM, A. T., *Gamla och Nya Sverige.* (In *250th Anniversary*, etc.) Pp. 32-3.
- LONGFELLOW, H. W., *Evangeline.* Works, II, 19-106. P. 101 refers to the Swedish Church at Wicacoa of a later period than the one treated in this volume.

¹⁵ The author has made no special efforts to furnish a complete list.

- NYVALL, D., *An "Ode" on the Swedish Colony.* (In *250th Anniversary*, etc.) Pp. 36-7.
- MATTSON, HANS, *250th Anniversary of the First Swedish Settlement in America*, etc. (Minneapolis, no date but copyright, 1889.) Contains speeches, orations, etc., of historic character about the colony.
- (MOTLEY, J. L., *Merry-Mount.* Novel: Plymouth Colony, Boston, 1849.)
- [PAULDING, JAMES KIRKE], *Königsmarke [Long Finn] or Old Times in the New World*, I-II.¹⁹
- PETERSON, ARTHUR, *Collected Poems.* (Philadelphia, 1900.) II. Songs of New Sweden, pp. 57-148.
1. Dedication.
 2. Prologue.
 3. The Coming of Printz.
 4. Printz's Hall.
 5. The Settlement.
 6. The Lady Armagot (in four parts).
 7. Brita (in five parts).
 8. Eric the Archer (in four parts).
 9. The Fall of Fort Christina (in three parts).
 10. The Blackbeard (in two parts). (It concerns the pirate Ed. Teach.)
 11. Epilogue. *The Dream of Isaac the Quaker, Kelpius's Hymn and Indian Rock* do not really belong to the collections although they are included in Songs of New Sweden. See p. 59.
- Printz Hall. A Record of New Sweden.* By the author of "Blackbeard."
- RYDBERG, VICTOR, *Fribytare på Östersjön.* (Stockholm, 4de, up.) Pp. 445-6, 480-8, 498 contain references to New Sweden.
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- ST. JOHN, M., *Lettres*, etc. I-III. (Paris, 1787.) Tome II, p. 230, refers to the Swedish settlements.
- STOCKENSTRÖM, H., *An "Ode" on the Swedish Colony on the Delaware.* (In *250th Anniversary*, etc., pp. 28-9.)
- STRINDBERG, AUGUST, *De lycksaligas öar.* (In *Samlade romaner och berättelser af Aug. Strindberg.* Stockholm, 1900. Pp. 197-199.)
- TOWNSEND, G. A., *Poems of Men and Events.* (New York, 1899.) See pp. 224-5, 229, 268, 309 ff.
- Two Hundred Years Ago; or Life in New Sweden.* (By the author of "Over the Hedge." Philadelphia, 1876. American Sunday School

¹⁹ Life in New Sweden.

Union.) Purports to be a diary of a young Swedish girl who came over in the *Swan* in 1647. The Journal is continued down to 1682. UNONIUS, G., *Minnen från en sjuttonårig vistelse i Nordvestra Amerika*.²⁷ *Yaconta, A Legend of West Jersey*, in Miss Leslie's *Magazine*. Treats of an incident related in De Vries Journal. See Barber, *Historical Collections of New Jersey*, p. 204.

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- HALL, CLAYTON COLMAN, *Narratives of Early Maryland, 1633-1684*. (New York, 1910.)
- JAMESON, JOHN FRANKLIN, *Narratives of New Netherland, 1609-1664*. (New York, 1909.)
- RETZIUS, GUSTAF, *Finland i Nordiska Museet*, etc. *Bidr. till vår odl:s häfder*, 1. (Stockholm, 1881.)

²⁷ Almost every book of travel on America written by Swedes contains reference to New Sweden and many books of a literary character by Americans or Swedish-Americans about Sweden likewise refer to the colony.

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N. B. The Swedish letters *å*, *ä* and *ö* are treated like *a* and *o* and do not follow the Swedish order. In some cases information not to be found in the text about men and places is given in the index and in most instances spellings of the proper names found in the documents are given in parenthesis. All the abbreviations used in the text are either printed in full in the index or referred to the proper place in the bibliography. The names of the settlers are given under the heading colonists, and the various expeditions, forts and ships are given together under the headings expeditions, forts and ships, respectively.

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This association shall be called "The Swedish Colonial Society."

ARTICLE II.

The object of the Society shall be to collect, preserve, and publish records, documents, and other material, printed or in manuscript, and to commemorate events relating to the history of Swedes in America.

ARTICLE III.

Any male person over twenty-one years of age, of good character, shall be eligible to membership. All members shall be elected by the Council, who shall have power to suspend or expel any member who in their judgment may have conducted himself in an improper manner.

ARTICLE IV.

The entire management of the affairs of the Society, including the selection of its officers and the adoption of by-laws, shall be committed to the Council. The Council shall consist of twenty-five Councillors. Officers of the Society who may not be Councillors shall be *ex officio* members of the Council. The Councillors shall be elected by the Society at its annual meeting for a term of five years, five each year, except that, at the first annual meeting, five shall be elected for one year, five for two years, five for three years, five for four years, and five for five years. The Founders of the Society shall constitute the Council

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until the first annual meeting of the Society. In case of a vacancy in the Council from any cause, it may be filled by the Council until the next annual meeting of the Society. Five members of the Council shall constitute a quorum for the transaction of business.

ARTICLE V.

Amendments to this Constitution may be made at the annual meeting of the Society, provided such proposed amendments be produced in writing, signed by at least ten members of the Society, and notice of the same be filed with the Secretary, and mailed to the members thirty days prior to said meeting. A three-quarters vote of the members present at the meeting shall be required for the adoption of all amendments.

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