

THE
SWEDISH SETTLEMENTS
ON THE DELAWARE

THEIR HISTORY AND RELATION TO THE
INDIANS, DUTCH AND ENGLISH

1638-1664

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

VOLUME I

BY

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1911

the pleasure of Her Royal Majesty and the Right Hon. Company."⁴²

Several other courts are also on record, at which individual colonists were tried for misdemeanors. The Swedes were prohibited from trading privately with the Dutch, but it seems that the orders were not strictly lived up to, giving rise to litigations and trouble. "Per Gunnarsson was summoned to court on a charge of selling grain to the Dutch and, [when he] appeared before the court, the governor asked him how much rye he had sold to the Hollanders," pronouncing judgment, it seems, without proper regard to the jury nor the hearing of witnesses in this case.⁴³ The settlers were likewise forbidden to sell arms and ammunition to the savages. Knut Persson left a gun with Per Kock, requesting him to sell it to the Indians. The gun was later stolen by the savages (or sold to them).⁴⁴ News reached the governor and Per Kock was summoned to answer at court, since Persson had died in the meantime. If we are to believe a "complaint" against Printz, presented to Director Rising in 1654, the former disregarded the opinion of the jurors also in this case and told them that he would do, "not what seems [right] to them," but what he wished, [and Per Kock was condemned] "to do work for the company for three months, on his own board." For some crime or misdemeanor, "a lawful sentence" was passed on Anders the Finn, depriving him of a certain amount of rye, and imposing other fines.

In 1653 there was much trouble in New Sweden and in the autumn the situation reached a crisis. Ships did not arrive, some colonists deserted and a "revolt" arose against Governor Printz. Several colonists had real or imaginary grievances against the governor. A written supplication in eleven articles,

⁴² *Court Rec.*, N.S., I. (R.A.); *Report*, 1647, *Penn. Mag.*, VII., p. 273.

⁴³ "Förklaring," July 7, 1654, N.S., I. (R.A.).

⁴⁴ The report submitted to Rising states that Per Kock did not dare to sell the gun; but Persson said, "when the governor sells so many guns, why should I not dare to sell mine. . . . Then the gun was stolen from Per Kock by the savages," "Förklaring," etc.

signed by twenty-two settlers,⁴⁵ was presented to him on July 27. It states that the colonists were "at no hour or time secure as to life and property"; it complained that they were all prohibited from trading with either the savages or Christians, although the governor never refrained from grasping an opportunity of traffic with these parties; the governor was accused of brutality and avarice and of passing judgment in his own favor against the opinions of the jury; he was accused of forbidding the colonists from grinding the flour at the mill and of prohibiting them the use of the "fish-waters, the trees in the woods, the grass on the ground and the land to plant on, from which they had their nourishment." The petition then prayed that Anders the Finn might be released from his fine, "in order that his wife and children should not starve to death."

On account of these and other troubles, the petitioners said, they were obliged to send two men to Her Royal Majesty and the Hon. Company in the mother country to ascertain if they were entirely neglected . . . and what they should do, since they were not able (allowed?) to seek their subsistence in this country." The petition kindled the wrath of the governor. Anders Jönsson, who appears to have been the leader of the opposition, was arrested, tried and "executed [on a charge of treachery] . . . on August 1, 1653."⁴⁶ Rev. Lock was also involved in the disturbance, but for some reason his freedom and office were not interfered with.

Two days after the execution of Anders Jönsson, the governor made a written reply to the charges. The petitioners were addressed as rebels and their petition was answered point for point. Only the fur trade with the savages was forbidden them

⁴⁵ These names are (in the order of their signatures): Mats Hansson, Olof Stille, Axel Stille, Johan Hwiler, Hindrick Matsson, Ifvar Hindricksson, Måns Andersson, Olof Ericksson, Hindrick Matss[on] the Finn, Valerius Loo, Hans Månsson, Peter Jochim, Anders Andersson, Per Rambo, Peter Kock, Sven Gunnarsson, Anders Hansson, Mårten Mårtensson, Klas Johansson, Johan Fysk, Lars Thomasson Bross. Complaint (copy), N.S., I. (R.A.).

⁴⁶ *Monatg. B.*, 1642-56, fol. 51, 81. Anders Jönsson was hired by Johan Papegoja on December 1, 1643, to serve as soldier in New Sweden for a salary of 4 R.D. a month. He remained in the service until he was arrested, but he had received goods and cash amounting to 525:19 R.D., leaving him in debt to the company for 57:19 R.D.

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

But the answer of course did not satisfy the petitioners. They were silenced for the time being, but in a later document, presented the following year, new charges were made and the old ones were repeated. The colonists were forbidden, says the document, on pain of death to trade with the Dutch freemen, "but when the Hollanders were in greatest need, the governor assisted them himself, with provisions, flour, beer, pork and other things" and sold large quantities of beavers to the English for gold and sent heaps of beaver skins to Holland.

The governor was further accused of ill treating several of the colonists.⁴⁷ The freemen were put to work on his plantations; they built his houses without remuneration; made planks which he appropriated for his own use; they harvested his grain before their own and their sleds were taken from them in harvest time, so that their grain was spoiled by the rain. Such and other equally grave or graver charges were made; but we

⁴⁷ In Paragraph 8 of the "Förklaring" we read: "Thus we have been treated more contrary to law than according to law. For example, Clemet, the Finn, had a hand-mill together with Anders, Johan and Måns, the Finn. [Later] Clemet bought the mill from the other Finns, and when he then got the mill he went after it and fetched it to himself and his house. As this [had happened] he immediately made it known to the governor. Then when Clemet came to church on a common day of prayer, the governor called Clemet to himself before the sermon and asked him, why he had taken the mill? Clemet answered: 'The mill is mine.' Then said the governor, 'You rascal, shall you take the mill without asking me?' With this he seized Clemet, struck him firstly in the hall and followed him with blows and strikes until he fell down and yet further he struck him on the ground, so that he lost his health through it. In addition he threw him into the church, and the day after he let him be brought to Christina into the chest (prison), where he lay for 8 days. When he recovered somewhat, he (the governor) took him out and let him do work for some weeks."

must make some allowance. That some of the charges were true, goes without saying, but the majority were undoubtedly overdrawn or unfounded.⁴⁸ Acrelius gives the correct view, when he says: "That it is probable that the Swedes, after they came into this *Canaan* and got a taste of an unknown good, tired of such labor as was nothing more than usual at home, and thus conceived an unmerited hatred to their governor."⁴⁹

Printz discharged his office as governor with no small ability. He gave deeds to the colonists, issued commissions to traders and passes and sea letters, but he was at a great disadvantage, for lack of proper assistance and support. He solicited several times for "a learned and able man to administer justice and to attend to the law business." Very intricate cases occurred and Printz complained "that it was difficult and never ought to be that one and the same person appear in the court as plaintiff as well as judge."⁵⁰ But no assistant was sent him, and he did the best he could under the circumstances. His government was at times harsh and probably tyrannical; but it required a strong hand to rule the rough element. The majority of the colonists were peaceful and well-behaved, but there were those who had little regard for law and order and who had to be kept in check. In 1650 Printz wrote that there were not thirty men under his charge, whom he could trust, and some time before Papegoja reported that "it was very hard for him to remain here, for he received only rebuke and ingratitude for everything he did, and besides the soldiers cherished secret hatred towards him and if they would find a small fault in him they would likely murder him."⁵¹ Papegoja's complaints are likely exaggerated, but they go far to prove that we must not take the complaints against Printz too seriously.⁵²

⁴⁸ Tradition of the tyranny of Printz lived on among the settlers for generations. In 1759 Acrelius writes: "Some blame was put on Printz that he was too strict with the people, made slaves of the Swedes, kept them to work on the fort and his Tenakongh estate. And although this talk is still circulated, it can nevertheless not be looked upon otherwise than as groundless." *Beskrif.*, p. 82 (transl., p. 83).

⁴⁹ *Beskrif.*, pp. 82-3 (transl., 83).

⁵⁰ *Report*, 1644; *Report*, 1647.

⁵¹ Papegoja to Brahe, July 15, 1644. *Skokl. Saml.* (R.A.).

The governor was finding his position quite untenable in the autumn of 1653 and at last he determined to go to Sweden in person to present the needs of the settlement and began making preparation for his departure. Indian chiefs were called to Printz Hall about the end of September. Speeches were made, small gifts were perhaps distributed among them, promises of friendship were renewed and Printz gave them the assurance that large supplies would arrive within a few months, for he went himself to hurry the preparations.

Finally all arrangements were completed for his return, the people were called together, probably farewell services were held, after which he formally delivered his authority to Johan Papegoja and he promised the colonists that in ten months⁵³ from October 1 "he would either present himself there again in person or send over a ship with a cargo." About the beginning of October he went to New Amsterdam with his wife and four daughters and from there he set sail on a Dutch vessel, thinking that he would arrive in Sweden in about two months.⁵⁴ Hendrick Huygen and about twenty-five settlers and soldiers also left the colony with Printz.

⁵³ Cf. the complaints made against Stuyvesant, Kieft and other governors of New Netherland. *Doc.*, I., Jameson, *Nar. of N. Neth.*

⁵⁴ In a letter to Beier, February 14, 1654, Printz wrote that he promised the people that "12 månader räknadt ifrån den 1 Febr. skulle [han] wara hoos deem vthi Nye Sverige igen," N.S., I. (R.A.).

⁵⁴ There is some doubt about the time of his departure from New Sweden. Acrelius says it took place in 1652. This was corrected by Hazard (p. 139) and Sprinchorn (p. 47), the latter stating that "Printz left the colony in the beginning of November." Printz writes in one letter that he was at sea for ten weeks, before he landed in France; he remained in France six weeks, was five weeks on his way to Amsterdam, where he arrived on February 7. Hence, counting 21 weeks backwards from February 7, we will arrive at the middle of September, as the time of his leaving New Sweden. But Printz is very indefinite and not consistent in his statements. In another letter he says he was "at sea for three full months on account of contrary winds." This would place the time of his departure from New Sweden about September 1. But from other circumstances it is clear that he did not leave the colony before October. On October 1 he issued a sea-letter for Cornelius and on the seventh Stuyvesant wrote in his behalf to the directors of the Dutch West India Company, probably at the request of Printz, as he was preparing to leave (and the letter was perhaps sent on the ship, that carried Printz to Europe). Letters from Printz to Brahe and Oxenstierna, December 1, 1653, February 8, 1654, April 4, 1654, to Beier, February 14, 1654, *Ox. Saml.*, *Skokl. Saml.*, N.S., I. (R.A.). Hazard, p. 139; *Doc.*, XII. Cf. below and above.

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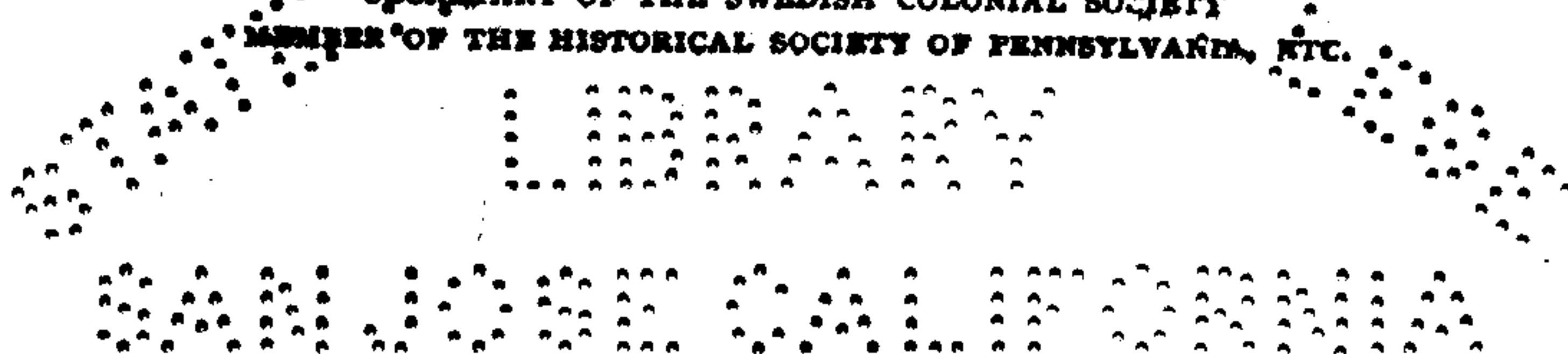
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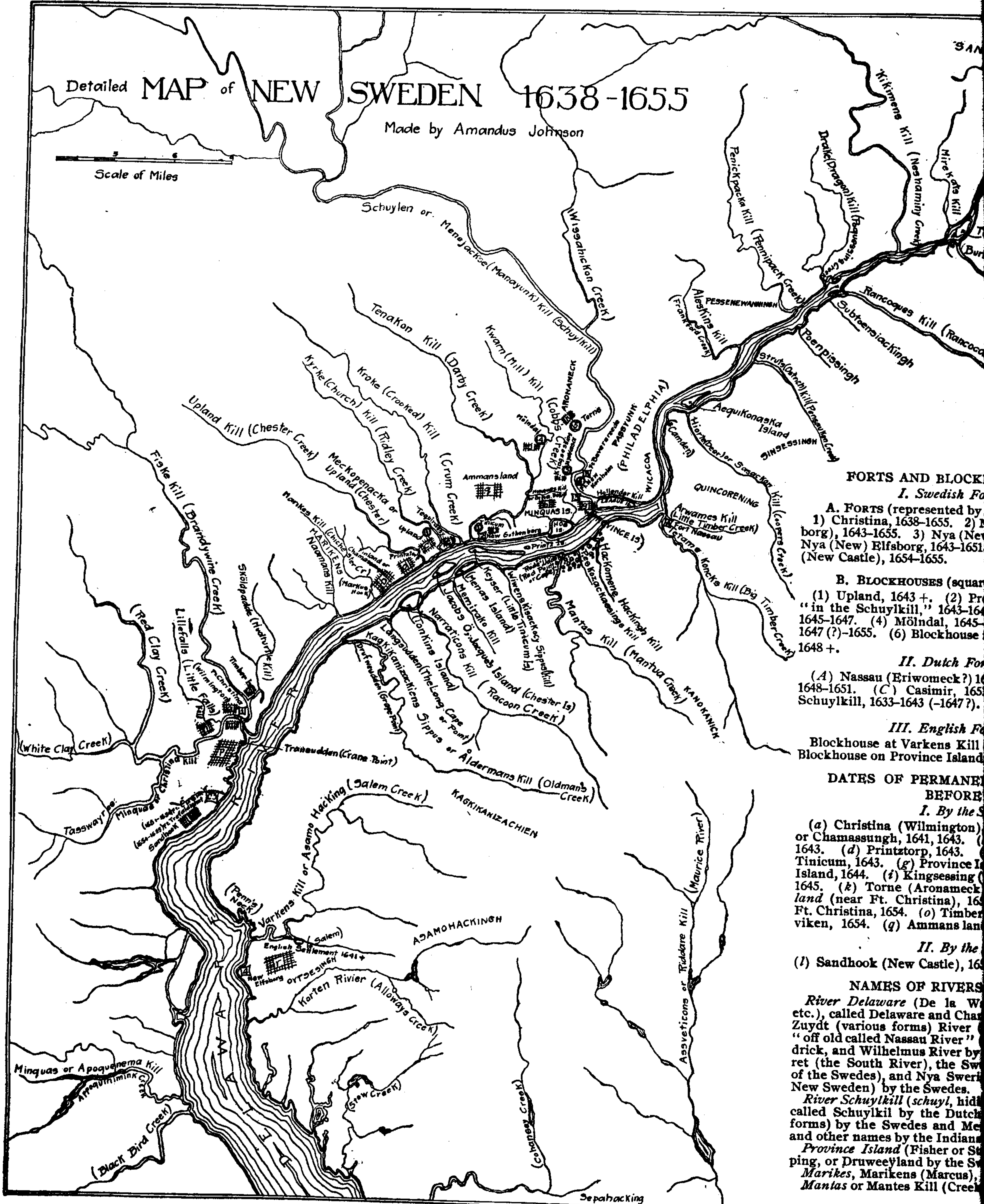
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Detailed MAP of NEW SWEDEN 1638-1655

Made by Amandus Johnson

Scale of Miles



FORTS AND BLOCKHOUSES

I. Swedish Forts

A. FORTS (represented by squares)

1) Christina, 1638-1655. 2) Malmö (New Castle), 1643-1655. 3) Nya (New) Elfsborg, 1643-1651. 4) Nya (New) Elfsborg, 1643-1651. 5) Nya (New) Elfsborg, 1643-1651. 6) Nya (New) Elfsborg, 1643-1651.

B. BLOCKHOUSES (represented by circles)

(1) Upland, 1643+. (2) Printztorp, 1643. (3) "in the Schuylkill," 1643-1647. (4) Mölndal, 1645-1647. (5) Mölndal, 1645-1647. (6) Blockhouse at Varkens Kill, 1648+.

II. Dutch Forts

(A) Nassau (Eriwomeck?), 1648-1651. (B) Casimir, 1651. (C) Casimir, 1651. (D) Schuylkill, 1633-1643 (-1647?).

III. English Forts

Blockhouse at Varkens Kill. Blockhouse on Province Island.

DATES OF PERMANENT SETTLEMENT

BEFORE 1638

I. By the Swedes

(a) Christina (Wilmington), 1638. (b) Malmö (New Castle), 1643. (c) Printztorp, 1643. (d) Province Island, 1644. (e) Kingsessing (New Castle), 1645. (f) Torne (Aronameck land), 1645. (g) Ft. Christina, 1654. (h) Timber viken, 1654. (i) Ammans land, 1654.

II. By the Dutch

(l) Sandhook (New Castle), 1654.

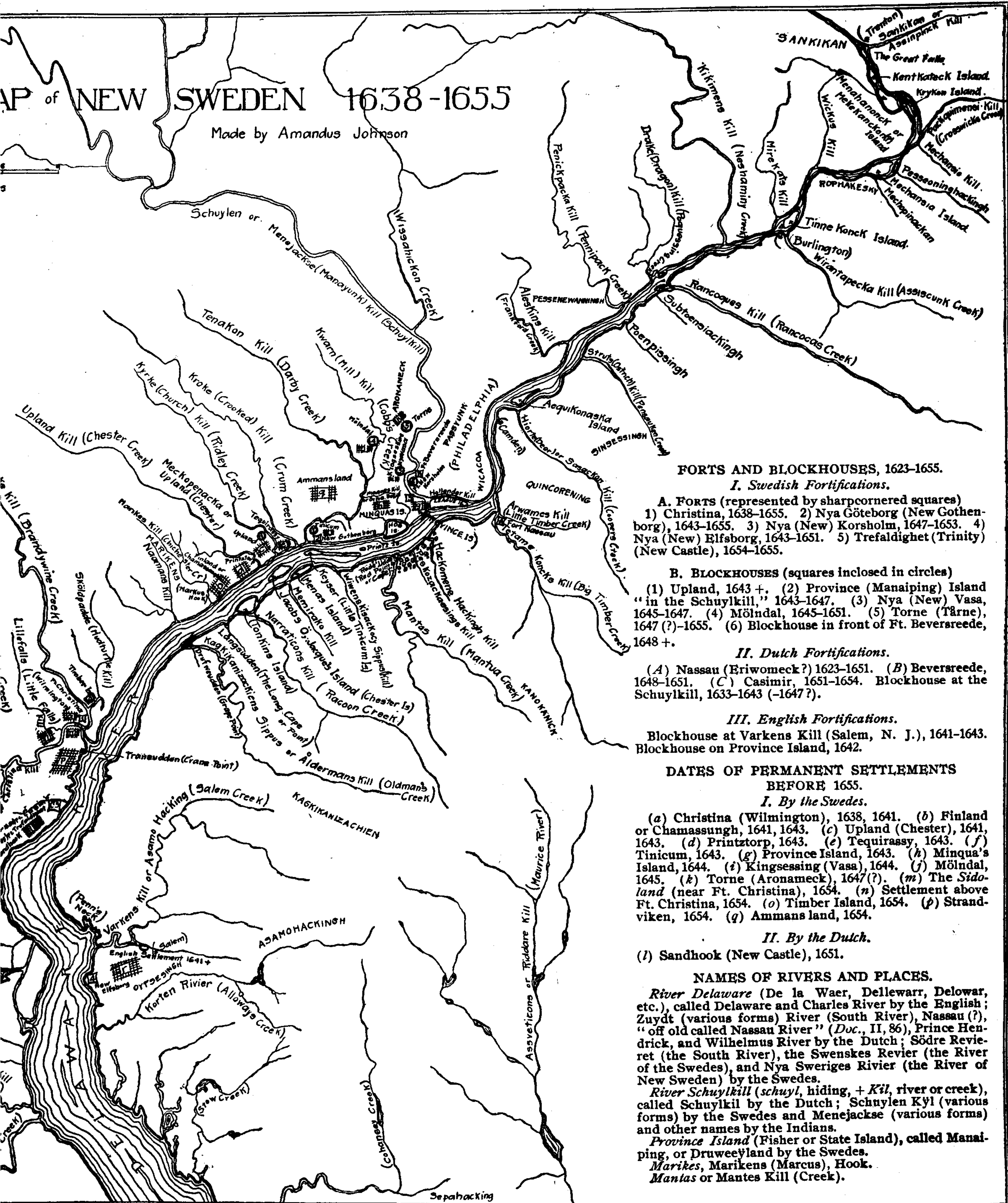
NAMES OF RIVERS

River Delaware (De la W. etc.), called Delaware and Chas. Zuydt (various forms) River "off old called Nassau River" drick, and Wilhelmus River by ret (the South River), the Sw. of the Swedes, and Nya Swer. New Sweden) by the Swedes.

River Schuylkill (schuyl, hid. called Schuylkil by the Dutch forms) by the Swedes and Me. and other names by the Indians. **Province Island** (Fisher or St. ping, or Druweeyland by the Sw. Marikes, Marikens (Marcus), Mantas or Mantas Kill (Creel

MAP of NEW SWEDEN 1638-1655

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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 (Manaping) Island "in the Schuylkill," 1643-1647. (3) Nya (New) Vasa, 1645-1647. (4) Mölndal, 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 Chamassungh, 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) Kingessing (Vasa), 1644. (j) Mölndal, 1645. (k) Torne (Aronameck), 1647(?). (m) The Sidoland (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 Kyl (various forms) by the Swedes and Menejackse (various forms) and other names by the Indians.

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

Marikes, Marikens (Marcus), Hook.

Mantas or Mantas 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.*