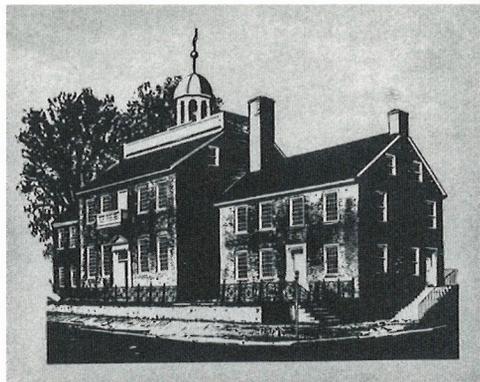


**JOHN A. MUNROE**

# **COLONIAL DELAWARE**

**A HISTORY**



# **COLONIAL DELAWARE**

## **A History**

John A. Munroe

Copyright © 2003  
Delaware Heritage Press

All rights reserved

No part of this publication may be reproduced or transmitted in any form or by any means, electronic or mechanical, including photocopy, recording, or any information storage and retrieval system, without permission in writing from the publisher.

**A Delaware Heritage Press Book**

Second Printing

ISBN: 0-924117-27-3

Library of Congress Control Number: 2003113424

Delaware Heritage Commission  
Carvel State Office Building  
820 N. French St, 4<sup>th</sup> Floor  
Wilmington, DE 19801

# COLONIAL DELAWARE

## A HISTORY

John A. Munroe

Delaware Heritage Press  
Delaware Heritage Commission



## PREFACE

In a prefatory note (dated February 1887), to his original, extensive, comprehensive, but often inaccurate volumes on Delaware, J. Thomas Scharf expressed his surprise that no one had heretofore written a history of this colony and state though 256 years had passed since its first settlement by a literate people. As far as the history of the colonial period is concerned, the situation has not changed much since Scharf's time. A number of writers have copied him, but the only volume dealing specifically with the entire colonial period is Henry Clay Reed's *The Delaware Colony*, an excellent book in style and content, but a short work (just over one hundred pages) aimed at a youthful audience, though good reading for anyone.

Fortunately for latter-day historians compelled to lean on the work of their predecessors, good scholars have illuminated several aspects of Delaware's colonial past. Foremost among them is Amandus Johnson, whose studies of New Sweden are still authoritative, although the greatest and earliest of them, *The Swedish Settlements on the Delaware* was published sixty-six years ago. More recently Clinton A. Weslager has earned the gratitude of historians of colonial Delaware through a series of books and articles on the aborigines, the Dutch, and the early English settlers. The essays of Judge Richard S. Rodney throw light on the history of New Castle and on Delaware as an English colony, but the demands of his professional life restricted the time spent on what was for him only an avocation. Particularly for the late colonial period, Harold Hancock has been producing a series of works based on thorough examination of the sources. Although other good studies are noted in the bibliography, great dark gaps remain in the colonial history of Delaware, particularly for the mid-eighteenth century, where surviving records await analysis.

The neighboring colonies, especially Pennsylvania and New York, which once had intimate ties with Delaware, naturally attract the interest of the Delaware historian. But historians of colonial Pennsylvania from Robert Proud to Gary Nash and Joseph Illick are primarily looking at Penn's province and not at the "territories appended thereto." Historians of New Netherland and of ducal New York similarly give only casual attention to the settlements on the west shore of the Delaware.

Small as the Delaware colony was, it had a long history and an involved one. Its study is instructive in demonstrating how the vagaries

Hoffecker, the Rev. Theodore L. Ludlow, William E. McDaniel, the late Ernest J. Moyne, Edward H. Rosenberry, Clinton A. Weslager, and W. Emerson Wilson, as well as the series editors, Jacob E. Cooke and Milton M. Klein, who offered stimulating criticism. The author is grateful to his colleague Russell Remage for providing a refuge on Lake Winnepesaukee when the text was being revised and to Constance R. Weber for her thoughtful, intelligent work as typist. The copy editor asked searching questions and saved the author from many errors and infelicities of expression. Domestically, he was humored and spoiled as he always has been; otherwise this book could not have been written.

Newark, Delaware

John A. Munroe August 17, 1977

## PREFACE 2003

The author is grateful to Dr. Deborah P. Haskell and to the members of the Delaware Heritage Commission for providing a new edition of this book, which has been out of print for a number of years. A notable difference between this edition and the original is the inclusion here of citations that were prepared at the time of the original (1978) edition of Colonial Delaware but not printed then in order to conform with other volumes in the series entitled *A History of the American Colonies*, conceived and edited by Milton M. Klein and Jacob E. Cooke.

If the bibliography were to be enlarged, various studies by Dr. Carol E. Hoffecker and Dr. William H. Williams would be among the first to be added.

Newark, DE

John A. Munroe July, 2003

## EDITORS' INTRODUCTION

The American colonies have not lacked their Boswells. Almost from the time of their founding, the English settlements in the New World became the subjects of historical narratives by promoters, politicians, and clergymen. Some, like John Smith's *General History of Virginia*, sought to stir interest in New World colonization. Others, such as Cotton Mather's *Magnalia Christi Americana*, used New England's past as an object lesson to guide its next generation. And others still, like William Smith's *History of the Province of New-York*, aimed at enhancing the colony's reputation in England by explaining its failures and emphasizing its accomplishments. All of these early chroniclers had their shortcomings but no more so than every generation of historians which essayed the same task thereafter. For it is both the strength and the challenge of the historical guild that in each age its practitioners should readdress themselves to the same subjects of inquiry as their predecessors. If the past is prologue, it must be constantly reenacted. The human drama is unchanging, but the audience is always new: its expectations of the past are different, its mood uniquely its own.

The tercentenary of John Smith's history is almost coterminous with the bicentenary of the end of the American colonial era. It is more than appropriate that the two occasions should be observed by a fresh retelling of the story of the colonization of English America not, as in the case of the earliest histories, in self-justification, national exaltation, or moral purgation but as a plain effort to reexamine the past through the lenses of the present.

Apart from the national observance of the bicentennial of American independence, there is ample justification in the era of the 1970s for a modern history of each of the original thirteen colonies. For many of them, there exists no single-volume narrative published in the present century and, for some, none written since those undertaken by contemporaries in the eighteenth century. The standard multi volume histories of the colonial period—those of Herbert L. Osgood, Charles M. Andrews, and Lawrence H. Gipson—are too comprehensive to provide adequate treatment of individual colonies, too political and institutional in emphasis to deal adequately with social, economic, and cultural developments, and too intercolonial and Anglo-American in focus to permit intensive examination of a single colony's distinctive evolution. The most recent of these comprehensive accounts, that of Gipson, was

the history of Delaware's formative era is richly varied and historically consequential. It is also unique, in the sense that it is the story of a successful struggle not only for political autonomy but also for political identity.

In the seventeenth century Delaware seemed to merely be a shuttlecock in the game of European diplomacy. Successively an appendage of New Netherland, New Sweden, and New York, Delaware was finally joined to Pennsylvania in the munificent land grant that the English monarch awarded to William Penn. The political union between Delaware and Pennsylvania was from the outset fragile, and it broke early in the eighteenth century when Penn granted the Lower Counties their own assembly. The two provinces continued to share a common governor and proprietor and the smaller, still nameless, colony remained an economic and intellectual satellite of Philadelphia, but for all practical political purposes Delaware was henceforth a separate proprietary colony.

Delawareans were troubled neither by their colonial nor proprietary status. Uniquely among American colonists, they respected rather than resisted their proprietary ties. While the more populous and vastly larger colony of Pennsylvania might ponder the advantages of exchanging a profit-seeking proprietor for a royal master, the Lower Counties regarded their connection with the Penn family as beneficent. Alone among the colonies, Delaware was more vulnerable to the assaults of its neighbors than it was menaced by proprietary and imperial restrictions.

These restraints were so mild as to be scarcely felt at all. No other American colony more successfully contrived to run its own affairs. Nor did it particularly matter that what Munroe describes as the "rewards of obscurity" were primarily attributable to Delaware's "inconsequence in the grand pattern of an expansive and expanding empire." There were, in sum, advantages in smallness and Delaware made the most of them.

The fortunate result was that "politically and culturally" the colony "had reached maturity decades" before it enlisted in the movement for American independence. Why should such a singularly contented colony have done so? Although Delawareans would have found the notion of English tyranny hard to credit, they nevertheless felt imperiled. As Professor Munroe explains, their "great fear was of losing their identity, of forfeiting the large measure of independence they had attained under the proprietors and the Crown." So it was that Penn's Lower Counties unhesitatingly entered a war that confirmed rather than established their

# CONTENTS

1	Swanendael and New Sweden .....	1
2	The Dutch Conquest .....	25
3	The Duke of York's Colony.....	55
4	A Quaker Proprietor.....	75
5	A Brittle Connection.....	97
6	The Rewards of Obscurity .....	117
7	The Founding of a City and the Peopling of a Countryside.....	143
8	The Revival of Faith and Learning .....	161
9	The Economy—Old Patterns and New Beginnings.....	177
10	The Anglo-French Wars .....	197
11	The Eve of the Revolution .....	217
12	Independence and Union.....	235
	Endnotes .....	253
	Epilogue.....	261
	Bibliography .....	263
	Index.....	285

To  
Stephen, Carol, and Michael

## SWANENDAEL AND NEW SWEDEN

The discovery of the Delaware River and Bay comes late in the chronicle of European exploration of America. Almost a century earlier, Balboa reached the Pacific at Panama and other Spanish adventurers conquered Mexico and Peru. Long before the Delaware estuary appeared on maps, the coasts of Baffin Island in the far north and of the Carolinas to the south had been delineated. Settlements were being planted, not always successfully, from Florida to Maine, while the fertile valley of the Delaware still remained unknown to Europeans.

Perhaps one of the earliest European explorers did enter Delaware Bay. No clear report of any such entry survives, though it seems possible that Giovanni da Verrazzano in 1524 saw the capes at the mouth of this bay. The truly significant discovery, the discovery that led to important consequences, was made by Henry Hudson, an Englishman, who was in command of a Dutch ship, the *Half Moon*, when he entered Delaware Bay in 1609. Searching for a northwest passage that would provide a route to the Far East, Hudson was examining the American coast north of Cape Charles when on August 28 he rounded Cape Henlopen and, in the words of his mate, Robert Juet, "found the Land to trend away Northwest, with a great Bay and Rivers."<sup>1</sup> The bay was tidal and so full of shoals that they feared to explore further and left after a night at anchor.

Brief as the visit was, it was quite long enough to convince Hudson that this broad estuary was probably not the entrance to the strait he sought. "Hee that will thoroughly Discover this great Bay," to quote Juet again, "must have a small Pinnasse [a pinnace, or tender], that must draw but foure or five foote water, to sound before him."<sup>2</sup>

This brief visit was also enough to call the bay to the attention of the Dutch and the English, for Hudson, after a much more extended exploration of New York Bay and its main tributary, made port in England on his return and was prevented from going on to Holland. His ship, however, with part of his small Dutch-English crew and his reports, went on to Amsterdam, and thereby the Dutch maritime world learned of his discoveries. The captain himself was furnished with an English ship and the money to make a new search for a northwest passage, a search that led him to his death in what was thereafter called Hudson Bay.

one of these Iroquoian tribes, the Minqua, who from their homeland in the Susquehanna valley (they were also called the Susquehannock) often sent war parties to the lower Delaware to attack Lenape villages. The Appoquinimink Creek and the Christina River were favorite routes for Minqua invaders, and the latter stream became known to the Dutch as the Minqua Kill. Many Lenape moved to the east bank of the Delaware, in flight from the Minqua, and in time the Minqua established a sort of suzerainty over the southern Lenape, while the northernmost Lenape became similarly subject to the powerful Iroquoian tribes of the Five Nations who controlled the head waters of the Delaware.

Algonkian-speaking tribes to the southwest of the Delaware Indians included the Nanticoke and Choptank, dwelling on tributaries of the Chesapeake. They too were oppressed by the Minqua and possibly also by the Five Nations, till they finally withdrew in the 1740s from the Delmarva Peninsula, as the Eastern Shore of the Chesapeake is called, to seek refuge from European civilization among their old native enemies on the Susquehanna. Only a remnant of these tribes, and of some Assateague, who had settled on Indian River, remained on the peninsula.

The Lenape, in their gradual retreat, followed the same path westward into Pennsylvania but then split, some continuing west into the Mississippi valley while others went north westward into Canada. Their numbers, which are estimated at over ten thousand in the time of the first explorers, may have dropped to less than half that by 1671. Hardship and adaptation gave the Delaware Indians a changed and more militant posture by the time they became known in the Indian wars of Ohio and the trans-Mississippi plains. After two centuries, descendants of the people whose lives were interrupted on the Delaware were prominent among the hardy scouts who accompanied Kit Carson and John C. Fremont across the Rockies to California.

The name given the Indians and the river they lived on owes its origin to the second European sea captain known to have visited Delaware Bay. This was Samuel Argall, a veteran of the Newfoundland fisheries who was employed by the Virginia Company, when on August 17, 1610 blown from his course on a voyage from Virginia to Bermuda, he took refuge from the weather behind Cape Henlopen, arriving a year almost to the day later than Hudson. The headland, nameless, indeed non-existent, on his charts, and the bay behind it he named for his master, Thomas West, Baron De La Warr, the governor of Virginia. The headland lost this name, but the bay retained it, and from the bay the name traveled to

Responsibility for New Netherland was assigned by the company to the most important of its five boards of directors, the Amsterdam chamber, a group of twenty of the principal stockholders of the company from Amsterdam, by this time the largest, wealthiest, and most powerful city in the Netherlands. Under these auspices several trading posts were established in the colony, but they remained weak, and those on the Delaware—the Walloon colony and Fort Nassau—were soon abandoned. On the other hand, two settlements in the Hudson Valley—Fort Orange, at the site of modern Albany, and New Amsterdam, on the tip of Manhattan Island—persisted, and the latter became the seat of a governor or director who, with his appointed council, became the chief authority of the colony *in situ*.

Meanwhile both English and French ships had entered the Delaware, and it became clear that the Dutch claim to this area, as well as to all the New Netherland, was insecure. Even the war party among Dutch merchants wished to retain control of New Netherland because they saw it as one more base for raids on the Spanish. A plan was therefore devised to bring private initiative to the fore and to encourage establishment of a number of private colonies that would strengthen the Dutch presence in New Netherland. This was a charter, of "Freedoms and Exemptions" prepared by the West India Company in 1628 and approved, with modifications, by the States General in 1629.

The charter encouraged independent settlers by promising them a gift of as much land as they could cultivate properly. But a special incentive was reserved for stockholders in the West India Company. Any stockholder who would settle fifty adults in America might arrange privately to buy from the Indians a tract sixteen miles long on one shore of a river or eight miles long on both shores, running inland as far as was practical. In this tract of land (it could be larger if the settlers numbered more than fifty) the controlling stockholder had the powers, roughly, of a manor lord, and he was given the hereditary title of patroon, equivalent in meaning to the English "patron" but grander in concept. His colonists were to be tax-free for ten years but could not leave the land except with the patroon's written consent. The patroon could fish and trade all along the coast between Florida and Newfoundland, but all imports and exports must pass through New Amsterdam and the fur trade remained a monopoly of the company wherever the company had an agent. The manufacture of cloth in New Netherland was forbidden.

After an adventurous voyage, twenty-eight men disembarked in Delaware Bay and immediately began construction of a brick house, surrounded by a wooden palisade, on the bank of Lewes Creek. Gillis Hossitt commanded the settlement, the first by Europeans in what is now Delaware. It was soon slightly enlarged, and in May Hossitt and Captain Heyes purchased another tract of land on the east side of Delaware Bay, registering their purchase at New Amsterdam with Director Peter Minuit and his council on June 3, 1631.

Godyn had hoped that the *Whale* would return with a valuable cargo of furs, whale oil, or commodities purchased or seized from the Spanish in the West Indies. But the West India Company's vigilance in insisting on its monopoly of the fur trade prevented Hossitt from sending home another shipload of pelts, and the only oil Captain Heyes loaded was a sample from a dead whale found on the shore. He arrived too late in the year for the whale fishery, Heyes explained, and he had no West Indian cargo either, probably because he took a northern route home. "This was a losing voyage to us," wrote David de Vries, with sarcasm, "because this captain . . . durst not sail [back] by way of the West Indies with only one ship of eighteen guns, where he must have made good the expense of this voyage."<sup>5</sup>

Dutch merchants looked for quick profits, but Godyn encouraged his partners not to give up. A second expedition was fitted out, this one to be commanded by De Vries himself, who presumably would not fear the dangers of the Caribbees. The plan was to leave in the spring, allowing for adventures in the West Indies and arrival in Delaware waters before winter, when the whales were said to come to this coast.

Before the expedition sailed, Godyn and company heard of tragedy at Swanendael, the news probably brought by Peter Minuit, returning from New Amsterdam, where he had been serving as director of New Netherland. The settlers had been massacred by Indians, killed to the last man.

Nevertheless Godyn went ahead with plans for the second expedition to the Delaware, altering only his intent to send additional settlers and supplies to Swanendael. The mission of this second expedition, consisting again of the *Whale* and a yacht, was whaling primarily, as far as the Delaware was concerned. After leaving Holland in May and experiencing various adventures in the West Indies, the two vessels arrived off Cape Henlopen on December 3, 1632.

At Swanendael De Vries found the burnt remnants of the house and palisades, with the bones of the thirty-two murdered settlers and the skulls of their horses and cattle lying here and there. At first the Indians kept out of sight, but in a few days De Vries enticed them aboard and heard from them the story of the destruction of the settlement. The settlers had fastened a tin Dutch coat of arms on a column. All metals being great rarities to men who could not smelt ores, an Indian stole this tin piece to make a tobacco pipe. The Dutch made a great to-do about the theft as an insult to their country, and in consequence some of the Indians killed the thief. The Dutch were disturbed that the Indians had taken such quick vengeance, but this was not the end of the affair. The slain Indian's friends blamed the Dutch for what had happened and one clear day, when most of the Dutch were at work in the fields, these Indians came to Swanendael, pretending to be bringing furs to barter. When the chief Dutch trader came down from his loft with trade goods an Indian mashed his head with an axe. The Indians killed a sick man in the house and then stole up on the Dutchmen at their work, killing every one. A dog chained by the house may have offered the greatest resistance, for the Indians shot twenty-five arrows into him before they were satisfied he was dead.

Wisely, De Vries decided there was no point in prolonging the dispute by taking vengeance on the Indians, even if he could find the guilty ones. After reestablishing peace, he had his men set up a cauldron for whale oil and a wooden shelter on Lewes Beach, and while they proceeded with the whale fishery in the bay, De Vries sailed up the Delaware in his yacht, the *Squirrel*, hoping to buy corn from the Indians. In two voyages up the river—the second lasting a month because he was caught in the ice—DeVries had many adventures and learned much about the geography of the Delaware valley but had little success in obtaining food for his men, for the Delaware Indians were themselves on short rations and in flight from raiding parties of Minqua.

In desperate need of provisions for the voyage home, De Vries sailed to Virginia, thinking it more likely he would find an ample supply there than at New Amsterdam and also probably intrigued with the idea of learning something about the English settlement and the possibility of developing trade with it. He was well received at Jamestown, where the English were eager to learn more about the Delaware, which they claimed as England's. They had, in fact, sent a sloop there in September 1631, with seven or eight men, but it had not returned. De Vries could explain this disappearance; in his voyage up the Delaware he had seen

sites with fine landings along the many estuaries of the Chesapeake; for several decades, consequently they had little temptation to move into the forested interior of the peninsula separating the two bays, the Chesapeake and the Delaware.

Another English claim that encompassed Delaware was New Albion, a colony planned by Sir Edmund Plowden, an ambitious, contentious man with a rich wife whose money he may have used in purchasing a vast tract along the Atlantic seaboard in 1634. Plowden set out for the Delaware in 1642 but was taken to Virginia by error. It is possible that he did reach the Delaware River late in 1643, but by that time his followers had abandoned him and he was powerless to make good his claim.

The Swedish settlement of Delaware came about as a result of Dutch interest in the area. Seventeenth-century Sweden was a kingdom renowned for great military prowess but of limited commercial development. Swedish armies had won control of most of the shores of the Baltic Sea, but the trade of the area was dominated by the Dutch. In the late sixteenth century 55 percent of the ships entering the Baltic were Dutch, and they carried 75 percent of the cargoes. When King Gustavus Adolphus of Sweden founded the city of Gothenburg (Goteborg in Swedish) in 1619 in order to have an Atlantic port (outside the Danish-controlled entrance to the Baltic Sea\*), the new city was so Dutch dominated that ten of the eighteen members of the first city council were Dutch, and the Dutch language was accepted on equal terms with the Swedish.<sup>7</sup>

The Dutch influence in Swedish commercial life explains how it was that Dutch merchants went to Sweden for a charter empowering them to develop an American trade outside the monopoly of the Dutch West India Company. The first of these men was William Usselinx, an Amsterdam merchant born in Antwerp and a principal founder of the Dutch West India Company who became disenchanted with the company soon after its founding because he felt his services were insufficiently rewarded.<sup>8</sup>

After accepting an appointment in Danzig as agent for Dutch grain merchants, Usselinx traveled to the Baltic city via Gothenburg. While Usselinx was in Gothenburg, Gustavus Adolphus met him and heard his proposals for a Swedish trading company. At just this time a rare interval of peace in Gustavus's wars allowed the Swedish king to concentrate on the economic development of his country, and he was sufficiently

---

\* The southern provinces of present-day Sweden, those nearest to Copenhagen, Denmark, did not become Swedish until 1658.

Minuit, a veteran adventurer of fifty-five, had recently been dismissed as director general of New Netherland, apparently on suspicion of favoring the interests of individuals over those of the company. German-born, but of French or Walloon descent, Minuit had gone to New Netherland, probably as a merchant, when the original settlements were being made, had quickly been given positions of authority in West India Company service, first as a councilor and then as director general, had helped make Manhattan Island the center of Dutch authority, and had there registered the patroonships claimed by Godyn, Blommaert, and others. He therefore was well aware of the failure of the plans of all the patroons except Van Rensselaer, and he influenced Blommaert to turn his negotiations with the Swedes in the direction of American rather than African trade and colonization.

With Oxenstierna's acquiescence, plans went forward rapidly. The New Sweden Company was chartered with power to trade along the American coast from Newfoundland to Florida and perhaps to do much else that is not certainly known today because the charter is lost. Before the year was out an expedition was prepared and under way to found a colony in America for the greater glory of Sweden and the profit of its Swedish and Dutch supporters.

The foundation of New Sweden in 1638 is correctly viewed as an extension of Dutch commercial imperialism, though as the years passed the enterprise lost its Dutch character and became more properly what its name indicated. The two ships—the *Key of Kalmar* (*Kalmar Nyckel*) and the *Griffin* (*Vogel Grip*)—that set out from Gothenburg in November 1637 as the first expedition to New Sweden were Swedish vessels, flying the Swedish flag, operating under a Swedish charter, and carrying Swedish colonists. But a former Dutch colonial official (Minuit) was in command, Dutch skippers and a crew that was half Dutch manned the vessels, a good part of the cargo was Dutch, an area claimed by the Dutch was the destination, and half of the financing came from Dutch sources. The Swedish investors were Oxenstierna and two members of his family, along with Admiral Fleming and Spiring. Blommaert was responsible for one-half of the Dutch investment, and some associates of Blommaert promised the rest, though Blommaert finally advanced much of the money.<sup>9</sup>

Heavy storms in the North Sea delayed the ships, and after securing repairs and some additional cargo (including goods and six settlers for Van Rensselaer's patroonship on the Hudson), a new start was made from

North Holland on December 31.<sup>10</sup> In mid-March they arrived in Delaware Bay, which looked so good to these adventurers that they named a promontory, where they first landed, Paradise Point. From there they proceeded according to instructions up the Delaware and into the Christina River, the Minquas Kill to the Dutch. Here, after reconnoitering the stream, Minuit met with Indians and purchased lands from Duck Creek (the southern boundary of New Castle County) to the Schuylkill. Here too a site was picked for a settlement that was called Fort Christina. It was at the Rocks, "a wharf of stone" on the Christina about two miles from the Delaware River and above the junction of the Christina and its main tributary, the Brandywine, on the east side of the present city of Wilmington.

While a palisaded square fort surrounding a storehouse and a dwelling house was being constructed, Minuit made two trips up the Delaware. At Fort Nassau, reoccupied by the Dutch, he was challenged by its commander. But this was no more than Minuit expected. The Dutch were too weak to do much beyond protest, even if affairs in Europe, where the Swedish army occupied the attention of Holland's enemies, had not discouraged Dutch aggression. Minuit and his colleagues had purposely planned their settlement in an agreeable and almost unoccupied valley of the New World, an area claimed by the Dutch but hardly utilized by them, a region with a promising fur trade not yet exhausted. Even the specific site on the Christina was a wise choice because the river offered a route westward to the interior, where furs were more abundant than on the Delaware.

While Minuit explored the Delaware, the *Griffin* was sent off on trading missions, first to Virginia and then to the West Indies. Neither was successful. The Virginians were uncooperative, and the only substantial outcome of the long West Indies voyage was the purchase of a black man who was left at Fort Christina in April 1639, the first of his race on the Delaware, before the *Griffin* returned to Sweden.

Meanwhile Minuit had left Mans Kling in charge of Fort Christina and twenty-four colonists in June 1638, when he sailed away on the *Key of Kalmar*. En route via the West Indies, where he still hoped to find a rich cargo, Minuit perished when a Dutch ship on which he was visiting at St. Kitts was blown to sea and lost in a hurricane.

The *Key of Kalmar*, however, continued to Holland, where its cargo of seven hundred beaver, otter, and bear pelts was sold as the share of the Dutch investors. (Later, fifteen hundred pelts from the *Griffin* arrived in

apparently some ill-feeling between the Swedes and the Dutchmen employed as soldiers at Fort Christina, and on the voyage some of the Dutch sailors, including the skipper, tormented a "Swedish priest" aboard, probably as much because he was a Lutheran (and not of the Reformed Church) as because he was a Swede. Besides this clergyman—the Reverend Reorus Torkillus, the first Lutheran pastor in America—and the new officers of the colony, little is known of the passengers brought on this second voyage of the *Key of Kalmar*. They probably included the first women and children; also the first farmers (other than the men employed primarily as soldiers) came at this time. Ridder did not find his colonists very handy, for he complained he had no one capable of building a "common peasant's house."<sup>12</sup>

Mans Kling, the commander of Fort Christina, returned on the *Key of Kalmar*, which arrived in Gothenburg in July with its cargo, primarily furs. Almost as soon as the ship reached Europe another expedition left Amsterdam for Fort Christina. Largely a Dutch affair, it did not originate with the Dutch stockholders in the New Sweden Company but with a group of dissatisfied farmers in the province of Utrecht who wished to move to the New World to better their lot. Repulsed by the West India Company, they appealed through Blommaert and Spiring to the Swedes, who were doubtful about further diluting their colony with Dutchmen and yet eager to populate the land they claimed. An agreement was eventually drawn up to admit these Dutch colonists to New Sweden and to give them land and privileges near Fort Christina. Two or three shiploads were expected, but only about fifty Utrecht farmers finally migrated.

Little is heard of them after their arrival on November 2, 1640, and within a few years they probably relocated in Dutch territory. The Dutch West India Company made clear its intention of seizing the property of anyone attempting to trade within the territory it claimed, excepting only, in courtesy to Swedish allies, the Christina River. If pressed, the company would necessarily make larger exceptions for Swedes, but hardly for Dutchmen unless Swedish arms protected them.

The embarrassing and unprofitable position of the Dutch stockholders in the New Sweden Company came to an end in 1641 when the Swedes bought them out. Funds for the purchase came from the old South Company that Usselinx had promoted fifteen years earlier. By its amalgamation with another Swedish enterprise, the South Company had acquired a number of vessels, one of which was now sold for the money

Swedes settling in Finland and Finns moving to Sweden. Finnish family names frequently were changed to Swedish, the two languages being very different, so that the Finnish origin of a family might be hidden, just as Irish names are often written in their English equivalent. (The relationship of Finns to Swedes had a similarity to that of the Irish and Scots to the English, and also to the relationship of the Walloons to the Dutch.)

In the seventeenth century Finns had been encouraged to take up vacant land in central and northern Sweden, where they experienced conditions roughly similar to those found by pioneers in North America. When a fourth expedition to New Sweden was being prepared in 1641 to develop an agricultural colony and difficulty was encountered in finding farmers willing to emigrate, the former commandant at Fort Christina, Mans Kling, who was himself about to return to America, was directed to recruit some Finns. He managed to obtain some Finnish foresters. One of the two vessels carrying this fourth expedition, which reached Fort Christina in November 1641, was the *Key of Kalmar*, making its third and final voyage to America.

It was something more than a year later, in February 1643, that the new governor, Johan Printz, reached Fort Christina. Printz, accompanied by his second wife and at least some of his six children, brought with him many things needed in the colony such as grain and peas, clothing, muskets, livestock and hay for their feed, wine and malt, paper and wax.<sup>13</sup> He also brought additional soldiers and colonists, some of the latter being criminals, debtors, and army deserters, including some Finns.

The new supplies and the additional personnel, especially the new governor, gave renewed life to New Sweden. As a colonial executive, fifty-year-old Printz proved to be in many ways a good choice. He was the son of a minister and had been born in Smaland in southern Sweden, unlike most of the colonists, who generally came from Upland, near Stockholm, and from other provinces of central and western Sweden. Educated for the Lutheran ministry in Sweden and at German universities, Printz while still a young man was shanghaied by a troop of mercenary soldiers. Attracted by the military life, he entered the Swedish army in the period of its greatest repute, during the Thirty Years War. In this service, in 1640, Printz was forced to surrender the ruins of the Saxon city of Chemnitz. Though cleared by a court-martial, his military career was temporarily interrupted, and he retired to a country estate until new

opportunity to advance his career arose in the form of the governorship of New Sweden.

Printz arrived in America not just as an agent of the New Sweden Company but as a salaried official of the Swedish government armed with careful instructions that gave him great power, authorities having heard of previous altercations arising from division of responsibility in New Sweden.<sup>14</sup> Printz remained in New Sweden for ten years, his governorship extending through most of the short history of this little colony.

The first half of Printz's term as governor was a period of vigorous leadership and of optimism regarding the future of the colony. Relief expeditions arrived with regularity in 1644, 1646, and 1647, and though they brought few colonists, they did provide needed supplies, including seeds, clothing, household and farm implements, and goods for trade with the Indians. In turn, furs—mainly beaver skins—and tobacco were sent back to Sweden.

Most of the tobacco was purchased in New Sweden from Englishmen who carried it by ship from their settlements on the Chesapeake. However, a significant amount was grown along the Delaware, and Printz was proud of having encouraged farming, both by freemen and by servants of the New Sweden Company. Some of the tobacco exported was raised on land Printz appropriated for himself.

By purchases from the Indians, Ridder had extended the bounds of New Sweden from Cape Henlopen to the falls at Trenton, and Printz purchased land on the Jersey shore from Cape May nearly to Fort Nassau. When ordered to build a fort so situated as to enable the Swedes to control all shipping on the Delaware, Printz constructed Fort Elfsborg on the Jersey shore, south of Salem Creek. With this exception Swedish settlement was altogether on the west side of the river and till the very last years of the colony was confined to the area between the Christina and the north shore of the Schuylkill. On or near the Schuylkill, a good site for Indian trade, Printz eventually constructed a blockhouse, a fort, and a water mill. Farther down the Delaware on Tinicum Island, he built another fort and a home for himself. For a decade this place was the capital of the colony. Another settlement, with a blockhouse, developed at Chester, but the commercial center of the colony remained at Fort Christina, the chief port.

In the early years of the colony, many of the settlers died. Printz believed that the numerous deaths, which occurred in 1643, including

children in the whole of New Sweden, which was a weak array of farms and forts strung along the Delaware.

Yet this frail Scandinavian colony survived, or at least its people did, though stronger and more promising colonies were abandoned or destroyed. Some of the colonists did desert to the English or the Dutch, and most or all would willingly have gone home to Sweden at one time or another if they could have. But in America they thought themselves a people apart, with their own customs, language, and religion. The cultural unity of the settlers was fortified by the presence of Swedish Lutheran pastors sent to America in an unending series until after the American Revolution.

The first Lutheran church seems to have been built at Fort Christina by 1643. One of the early pastors, Johan Campanius Holm, distinguished himself by acquiring some competence in the Delaware Indian language, of which he prepared a vocabulary and phrase book. In his zeal for converts, he was the first Protestant minister in America to translate a catechism into an Indian tongue. When he returned to Sweden, Campanius was succeeded by Lars Karlsson Lock, who was later viewed as a troublemaker by the English.

These Swedish pastors were expected to be teachers of more than religion, and thanks to them the population did not surrender to illiteracy. In the years of New Sweden there were usually two clergymen serving less than two hundred persons, so despite the scattered nature of the settlements, the clergy could exert considerable influence.

While Printz ruled the colony, the government of New Sweden was both arbitrary and efficient. Before he came, there had been controversies and division of authority, but Printz was the unquestioned administrative and judicial head, and his position was recognized by the Crown, which paid him four times as much as anyone else. His duties, as he recognized, were too diverse for one man and he pleaded for an assistant who could handle his correspondence with neighboring colonies, conducted largely in Latin, or for one who could be put in charge of the administration of justice, where Printz found himself both the state prosecutor and the judge.

The first courts were held at Fort Christina, and important cases were heard by a number of men, with the governor apparently presiding. In 1653 twenty-two colonists signed a protest against Printz, accusing him of brutal and avaricious conduct and of carrying on trade with the Indians and the Dutch for his private benefit. Printz's reaction was swift and

## THE DUTCH CONQUEST

The survival of New Sweden depended on the maintenance of good relations between the colonists and their neighbors. In this respect, Governor Printz did very well. Surrounded by potential enemies—Indians, Dutch, and English—Printz managed to uphold Swedish pretensions and yet keep the peace.

Printz was not devoted to peace for its own sake but was rather a realist who recognized he was too weak to pursue any other policy. He would probably have preferred destroying the Indians to treating with them. "They are a lot of poor rogues," he wrote home, requesting "a couple of hundred soldiers" to be stationed in New Sweden until they would "break the necks" of all the Indians in the valley.<sup>15</sup>

Instead of "a couple of hundred soldiers,"<sup>16</sup> Printz had less than three dozen, so he adopted a peaceful policy toward the Indians, as did his predecessors and successors. There were times when the policy was sorely tried. In 1643 and 1644, for instance, three Swedes and Finns were killed near Fort Christina; early in 1655 a woman was murdered in the same area and property was stolen. Yet unlike the English in Virginia or the Dutch in New York, the Swedes consistently avoided war with the Indians.

Despite continued good relations, the New Sweden Company did not profit from Indian trade as it had hoped to do. In the early years, large shipments of furs were sent to Europe, but as time went on and Swedish vessels no longer came to the colony, the supply of trade goods ran out, and the Swedes unhappily watched the Dutch reestablish their control of the fur trade.

The Dutch, and the English too, viewed the Swedes as trespassers. But European politics long protected New Sweden, for both the Netherlands and England were to some degree aligned with Sweden in the Thirty Years War. This conflict lasted from 1618 to 1648, and it suited neither Dutch nor English policy to provoke the Swedes in that time.

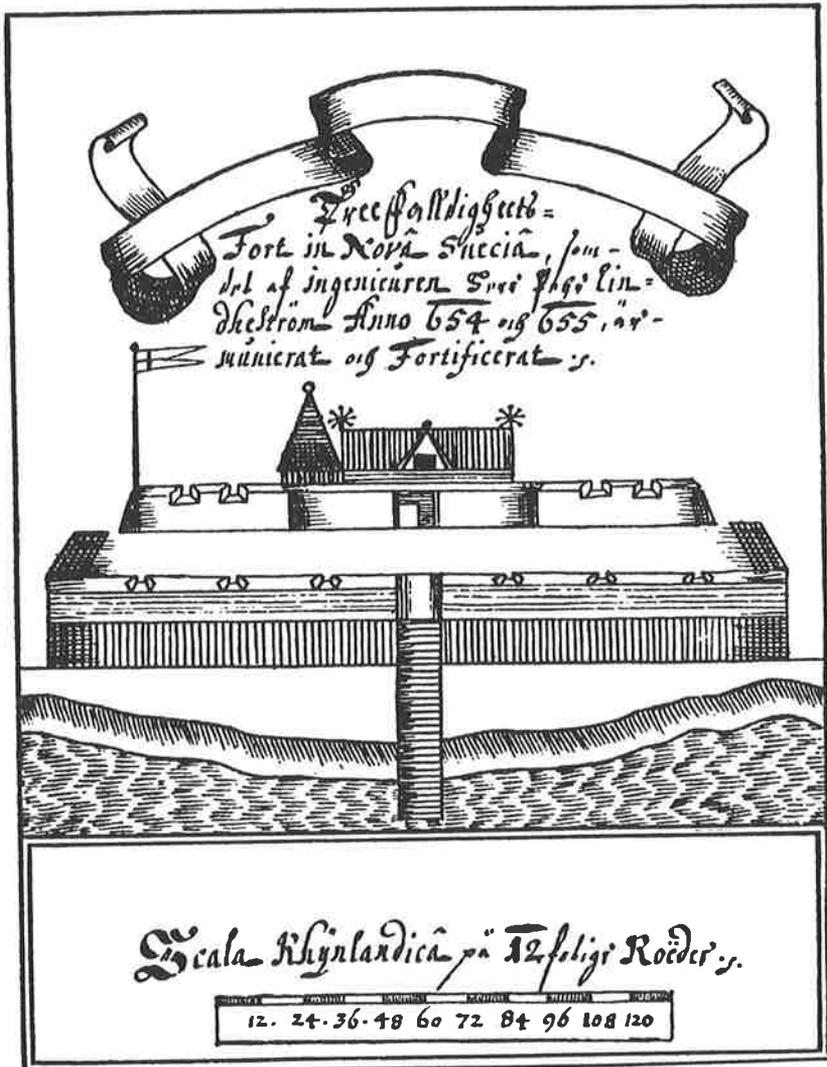
When Printz arrived in 1643 he found Dutch and English settlements in the Delaware valley, the Dutch upstream at Fort Nassau and the English downstream on the Salem River, both in what later became New Jersey. Weak as he was, Printz handled the situation very diplomatically,

ourselves with some patience sooner than make use of force against them, provided they do [not] invade our jurisdiction insolently," ran his instructions.

It was a special irritation to Stuyvesant that the Dutch post on the Delaware, Fort Nassau, was located on the wrong side of the river for the fur trade and potentially cut off from the ocean by Swedish forts downstream. Several Dutch efforts to establish footholds on the west shore of the Delaware, particularly along the Schuylkill, which offered a route to the Indian country and the fur trade, were blocked in one way or another by the Swedes, who, though minuscule in number, still had more able-bodied men on the Delaware than the Dutch.

Then in the summer of 1651 Stuyvesant suddenly took measures to rectify this situation. Without consulting authorities in Holland, Stuyvesant sent a fleet of eleven vessels to the Delaware and marched an army of 120 men across New Jersey to Fort Nassau to join the fleet. After overawing the Swedes by sailing his fleet up and down the river, Stuyvesant proceeded with the plan, which was to fortify a point on the west shore of the Delaware, downstream from New Sweden, so that he and not Printz would now be in a position to control the river traffic. Some Indians were persuaded to grant the Dutch land on the river shore between the Christina and the bay. The same land had been sold twice before (to Godyn and to the Swedes), but the show of legality still seemed desirable as a prelude to Stuyvesant's next step, which was to abandon Fort Nassau and move its cannon, its garrison, and its stores to the Sandhook, on the west bank, about seven miles below Fort Christina. Here a fort, called Fort Casimir, was quickly built, and around it some two dozen Dutch colonists were settled.

Printz was enraged at the audacity of the Dutch, but there was nothing he could do. Temporarily the Dutch had the greater strength on the river, and by the time winter came and the last Dutch vessel left, the new settlement was well established. Printz fumed and protested, but he was too wary to attack Fort Casimir lest he bring the Dutch in force into the river again. The best way to deal with Stuyvesant, Printz foresaw correctly, was to populate the river with Swedes and simply crowd the Dutch out of it. The West India Company did not want the expense of a war where no quick profit was to be made. What Stuyvesant did to place the Dutch in an advantageous position in the Delaware valley, he did on his own.



Fort Trinity, formerly Fort Casimir, at New Castle, 1655. A sketch by the Swedish engineer, Peter Lindeström, published in Amandus Johnson's edition of Lindeström, *Geographica Americae* (Philadelphia, 1925). Courtesy of the Eleutherian Mills Historical Library, Greenville.

Following the capture of Fort Casimir, Rising's policies emphasized the Fort Christina area as the center of New Sweden. Most of the new colonists were settled between Fort Casimir and Fort Christina, where Rising himself resided, or up the Christina River beyond the fort and toward the Elk River, a tributary of the Chesapeake. Rising even purchased Indian lands along the Elk to give his colony a new western orientation. Behind Fort Christina, he divided the land into rectangular lots to form a village called Christinahamn.

Rising also proceeded to reinvigorate the government by holding courts and issuing ordinances regarding agriculture, forestry, livestock, and the like. Several times he assembled some representative men of the colony at Fort Christina to get their agreement to new ordinances, and apparently he won the support of both the Swedish and Finnish colonists, whose complaints against the absent Johan Printz were heard in Rising's court and forwarded to Sweden. But Rising's attempts to improve the position of New Sweden by diplomacy were a failure.

Rising asked the governor of Maryland to return colonists who had fled New Sweden to escape the harsh Printz regime, but the response was discouraging: a Maryland delegation at Fort Christina in June 1654 argued that this part of New Sweden belonged to them under Lord Baltimore's grant of 1632 and even cited Sir Edmund Plowden's grant to support English ownership of the entire valley. New Haven also pressed its claims to land on the Delaware when Rising sent delegates to this colony on Long Island Sound.

Fortunately for New Sweden, Anglo-Swedish relations in America were ameliorated by a treaty of April 11, 1654, between the two mother countries, providing for friendship between their colonies overseas. With the Dutch, however, Swedish relations were becoming worse. The end of the Thirty Years War in 1648 decreased Dutch need for a Swedish alliance and thereafter the Dutch began to side with Sweden's enemies, especially the Danes, in their jealousy of rising Swedish maritime strength in the Baltic. As for the colonies, when the Anglo-Dutch war ended in 1654 the Dutch West India Company felt free to encourage Stuyvesant not only to recapture Fort Casimir but to take all of New Sweden as well. In this same year, 1654, the Dutch began to seize a few posts the Swedes had established on the African coast.

By his seizure of Fort Casimir, Rising played into the hands of Stuyvesant, who appealed to Holland for permission to retaliate. When an emissary arrived from Rising with explanations and excuses,

command. The Swedes had strengthened Fort Casimir (Fort Trinity) and stocked it with arms, ammunition, and provisions. Sven Skute, who commanded the seventy-five man garrison, was ordered to challenge any ship coming up the river.

When the Dutch arrived on August 31, however, their fleet of seven vessels, the largest expedition ever seen in this valley, intimidated Skute, who withheld his fire. The Dutch sailed past the fort and landed troops to the north of it, cutting off the direct road to Fort Christina, where Rising had remained. Then Stuyvesant landed artillery, demanded Skute's surrender, and prepared to storm the fort when the Swedes tried to stall for time. Rising sent a small relief force from Fort Christina, but the Dutch surrounded it and captured all but two members who fled back across the river into the safety of the fort they had started from.

This skirmish on the Christina was the one armed conflict of the campaign. The only casualty at Fort Casimir was a Swedish soldier shot by one of his own officers for trying to desert by climbing the walls. The strength of the Dutch fleet, particularly the powerful flagship of thirty-six guns, and the size of the Dutch army, which was practically equal to the total adult male population of New Sweden, were overwhelming, particularly in view of the dispersion of Swedish strength over more than thirty miles of the valley. Rising was foolish in allowing a large portion of his fighting men and armaments to be cut off in Fort Casimir. If this fort could not command the river and keep the Dutch from sailing up stream, it should have been abandoned and the Swedish strength concentrated at Fort Christina, their main settlement.

Skute surrendered Fort Casimir on September 1, 1655, and his men were held as prisoners on the Dutch ships until they could be sent to New Amsterdam. After placing a garrison in the captured fort, the Dutch fleet moved into the Christina River to begin a siege of the Swedish colonial capital. Dutch troops already stationed on the riverbank opposite Fort Christina set up a battery and entrenched themselves. For awhile Governor Rising hoped the Dutch were stopping there, limiting their claims to the land below the Christina and their former holdings around Fort Casimir.

He soon learned better. On September 5 the Dutch landed men in his rear, seizing all the fast land in the immediate vicinity and surrounding Fort Christina by land and by sea. As the Swedes labored to strengthen the fort's defenses the Dutch began firing regular volleys, apparently just to show their strength, for no damage was reported. An Indian carried a

message from Stuyvesant to Rising demanding total surrender and removal of all Swedes from the Delaware valley unless they were willing to remain as subjects of the Dutch.

The situation of the rivals for control of the Delaware had become reversed. Rising had encouraged Dutch settlers to remain near Fort Casimir if they accepted Swedish rule, and now Stuyvesant offered similar terms to the Swedes. The outnumbered Swedes had only one round of ammunition on hand because so much had been sent to Fort Trinity. The walls of Fort Christina were not strong and with every passing day Swedish morale grew weaker as the soldiers saw or heard of Dutch depredations. The little village of Christinahamn, outside the walls, was burned. Up the Delaware the Dutch raided Swedish settlements and Indians looted Swedish farmhouses.

Rising spoke bravely of defying the Dutch and of resisting to the end, but he soon changed his mind. In two conferences with Stuyvesant, Rising argued that he would never have seized Fort Casimir had the Dutch offered any resistance, but such pleading did him no good. Terms of capitulation were worked out providing for free passage to Gothenburg of all settlers who wished it, respect of all private property, including that of the Swedish Crown and the New Sweden Company (except the claims of the company to the land), and continued residence and practice of their religion by the settlers who wished to stay in America. A special provision, apparently intended to be kept secret, provided that Rising and his commissary were to be taken to England or France and that Rising was to be advanced a sum of three hundred Flemish pounds against property of the New Sweden Company and the Swedish Crown.

At the very moment of victory, Stuyvesant was greatly embarrassed by news from New Amsterdam, where the Indians in the lower Hudson valley had risen against the Dutch, weakened by the departure of most of their soldiers. In three days 100 Dutch settlers were killed, 150 seized by the Indians, and most Dutch farms abandoned as the residents fled to New Amsterdam, which itself was in danger from Indians bands wandering over Manhattan Island outside the town.

Messages were sent at once to Stuyvesant, urging him to return to his capital. If the Swedes had held out for one more week at Fort Christina, Stuyvesant might have been compelled to abandon the siege. As it was, the news he received from New Amsterdam led him to make a remarkable proposal: the return of Fort Christina and all the Swedish

a difficult and often dangerous land transit through the unsettled backwoods of New Jersey was required.

Dutch rule increased the diversity of the population of the Delaware valley. Not only did Dutchmen settle beside the Swedes and Finns, but the Dutch, notorious slave traders, brought in Africans to satisfy the demands for labor. Also representatives of most of the people of western Europe came to Dutch America, generally from Amsterdam where they had first been drawn by the opportunities of that cosmopolitan center. Recent studies indicate that not more than 50 percent of even the white immigrants to New Netherland were Dutch by birth. Germans and Scandinavians made up a good part of the rest, with smaller elements of French, English, Scottish, and various other peoples.<sup>17</sup>

The earliest inhabitants, the Swedes and Finns, prospered under Dutch rule, finding themselves less isolated than under neglectful Swedish control and now more easily able to acquire the goods they could not produce themselves. They even received an unexpected increment to their numbers in the spring of 1656, when the ship *Mercury* (*Mercurius*) arrived from Sweden, carrying over one hundred colonists (including thirty-one women and thirty-two children), mostly Finns, selected from double that number who came to Gothenburg in hope of a passage to America. Now, when it was too late, colonial life in America had gained popularity in Sweden.

When the *Mercury* left Gothenburg, the Dutch seizure of New Sweden had not yet been reported. Papegoya and Huygen, commanding the expedition, were astonished to find the Dutch in control of the Delaware. Their request to land the colonists till they could get further orders from Sweden was denied by Dutch authorities. However, local Swedes and Finns encouraged Indians to board the *Mercury* and then persuaded the master to run the ship upstream past Fort Casimir and unload his passengers. Jacquet, commanding the fort, was afraid to fire at the passing ship with Indians on its deck lest he precipitate at once a Swedish revolt and an Indian war. By the time Stuyvesant and his council on Manhattan Island learned what had happened, the deed was done. The colonists were allowed to remain on the Delaware, but the *Mercury* was required to bring its cargo to New Amsterdam and pay duty on it.

Decidedly outnumbered on the Delaware by Swedish and Finnish settlers, the Dutch were forced to be considerate of them. With English and Indian neighbors a constant threat to New Netherland, responsible

Godyn a quarter century earlier, who believed that profit could be made from an American colony. They were also particularly concerned in 1656 with the warlike policy of Charles X of Sweden, who had attacked Poland, source of the Dutch grain trade. So on February 12, 1656, the Amsterdam city council appointed a committee "on the occasion of the present war in Poland to inquire" into the improvement of trade with New Netherland.<sup>20</sup>

The committee's report was encouraging: "...the climate there is very mild and healthy, entirely agreeable to the constitutions of the inhabitants of this country [the Netherlands], also by nature adapted to the production of all kinds of products and crops which now have to come from the Baltic." All that the land required, the committee was told, was immigrants—people to reap the harvest of riches America could produce.<sup>21</sup>

The West India Company had emphasized war and commerce, not settlement. Nor was it financially in any position to become a land developer; indeed, it was already in debt to the city of Amsterdam for assistance with the expedition to conquer New Sweden. A bargain was quickly struck and ratified by the States General in August 1656. For the sum of 700,000 guilders the company sold to the city of Amsterdam the land on the west shore of the Delaware from Bombay Hook, the head of Delaware Bay, to the Christina River, including Fort Casimir.

Two other tracts of land had been considered, one high up the Hudson and the other on the east bank of the Delaware. Amsterdam preferred a site on the Delaware, where "the soil is richest but the population smallest."<sup>22</sup> Of the two Delaware River sites the one on the west shore was preferable because there was already a fort on the site.

Immediately the city set about peopling the new colony, convinced that all the Baltic products on which Amsterdam depended—"masts included"—could be procured from the Delaware valley.<sup>23</sup> To attract immigrants the city council offered free land, with exemptions from taxation (except for the company's tariff) for ten years, timber for building, seed and clothing for one year, passage money (to be repaid later), supplies at reasonable prices, a smith, a wheelwright, a carpenter, a schoolmaster who will "read the Holy Scriptures and set the Psalms," and some popular participation in government at the local level, much as in Holland.<sup>24</sup>

Settlers were found, but too often they were traders and artisans rather than the farmers who were most needed in America. Dutch

bridge over a small creek nearby. Early in the winter he called another public meeting. "The whole community" gathered with the vice-director and his council to agree on prices to be paid the Indians for furs and hides, lest the trade should be ruined by extravagant prices offered by rich men. Thirty-two men signed this agreement (eleven of them, being illiterate, by a mark), and two men are said to have dissented.<sup>26</sup>

Dissatisfaction arose with Jacquet in the last months of his administration. High prices, trade restrictions, complaints from men hired to work for the company or Jacquet on shares, and dissatisfaction with his handling of damage claims were grounds for charges to Stuyvesant against the vice-director. Some settlers moved to Manhattan or across the peninsula to Maryland.

When the new colonists sent by the city of Amsterdam arrived at New Amstel in the spring of 1657 they found only twenty families, mostly Swedes, settled around the old Dutch fort.<sup>27</sup> With the coming of this expedition, the settlements on the Delaware were divided into two colonies. Below the Christina River, centered on New Amstel (modern New Castle) was the colony administered by the city of Amsterdam, sometimes referred to by the name of its chief town. With the arrival of the 150 people of the city's first expedition, this "City Colony" became predominantly Dutch.

North of the Christina River lay a second colony, predominantly Swedish and Finnish in population, still administered by the Dutch West India Company. Isolated from New Amsterdam by the unsettled wilderness of New Jersey, this "Company Colony" was administered by a deputy appointed by Stuyvesant who made old Fort Christina, now called Altena, his headquarters.

Because of complaints, Jean Paul Jacquet was relieved of all administrative responsibility when the new colonial administration was begun though he lived out his life on a farm below the Christina.<sup>28</sup> His successor at New Amstel was Jacob Alrichs, who had previous colonial experience in Brazil and soon set about making improvements and providing for the new settlers who came with him or arrived soon afterward on the Amsterdam ship, *Balance*. The fort was strengthened, public buildings were constructed, and plots of land were assigned by lot, with the stipulation that individuals should begin building on them within six months. After shelter and gardens were provided, fields were distributed, again by lot, in whatever quantity a man could use, with improvements to be under way in two years.<sup>29</sup>

New Amsterdam; it was fiscally inferior, because a duty to the West India Company had to be paid on imports and exports to New Amstel.

By 1658, when Alrichs had been at New Amstel for a year, Stuyvesant began to hear disquieting reports. There were now roughly six hundred people in the New Amstel colony, but their proper relationship to the West India Company was not being observed. The oaths required of new settlers contained no reference to the company or to its officials in America; appeals to Stuyvesant and his council were refused; removals to Altena and the Company Colony forbidden; and, worst of all in Stuyvesant's view, duties were not being paid on imports or on exports (such as furs).

Peter Stuyvesant was a vigorous man. He had already traveled over his colonial jurisdiction from Albany to Curacao, so it was in character for him to visit the two colonies on the Delaware in the spring of 1658. In the Company Colony he met with leaders of the old colonists he had conquered and engaged to protect. Then at New Amstel, the capital he had founded, he interviewed Alrichs. "Many things there," he reported to the company after returning to New Amsterdam, were "not as they ought to be."<sup>32</sup>

Stuyvesant decided to send a personal emissary to represent him on the Delaware and to function as vice-director of the Company Colony, residing at Altena, and also as customs collector for both colonies, with his customs office at New Amstel. William Beeckman, a schepen at New Amsterdam, received this assignment, a sensitive one since his responsibility stretched over both the City Colony and the Company Colony; he was the resident commander of the latter, but he had only limited authority in the former.

Alrichs had foreseen the underlying difficulty when he proposed, a year earlier, that the whole river valley be placed under one government. He was especially eager that Dutch settlers should take up all the good land available before English interlopers moved in, and he urged attention to the area called the Whorekill (spelled Hoeren-Kil and in other ways by the Dutch), site of the unfortunate Swanendael settlement, "a very fine and excellent country, so good and fertile that the like is nowhere to be found."<sup>33</sup>

In time his recommendation was accepted. But before it was, Dutch authorities had a fright when some Englishmen turned up at the Whorekill. Apparently they were fugitives from Virginia or Maryland who came in two small boats and were captured by the Indians. Alrichs

would have been. Agues and fevers spread through the colony, with the children particularly vulnerable. Alrichs's wife and one of his three councillors died. Among many others the miller also died, and there was a shortage of flour. The City Colony's vessel (a "galiot") was frozen in the ice and unable to bring provisions from New York. Another vessel bringing supplies from Virginia failed to arrive because the captain set off privateering.

Stuyvesant saw that Alrichs himself was at fault too. "Too great preciseness" was the way Stuyvesant spoke of the New Amstel director's weakness, by which he meant that Alrichs was too insistent on all the city's rights and privileges.<sup>36</sup> Whether or not the director was indeed too rigid, his administration was clearly a failure. Death and desertion drained away New Amstel's population. Alrichs refused to permit his settlers to return to Holland or even move to Altena or Manhattan. His argument was that their removal meant the city lost the expense of their transportation, but he was accused of keeping even those who offered to pay their debts.

Nevertheless the settlers did flee. A population of six hundred in the City Colony in 1658 was reduced to one-third that number in a year. Settlers prevented from sailing to Manhattan (it was still very dangerous to go by land across New Jersey), could easily cross the peninsula into Maryland. Even the garrison of fifty soldiers which the city had supplied was halved by death and desertion, and despite the numbers of unemployed or underemployed colonists, Alrichs and his military commander, D'Hinoyossa, were not able to fill their ranks.

The flight of Dutch settlers to the Chesapeake called the attention of Maryland authorities to the Delaware River. When Alrichs sent a letter to Maryland asking for the return of six Dutch soldiers who had fled from New Amstel, he stirred up a hornet's nest. It is a sign of the isolation of the Delaware settlers from those on the Chesapeake that Alrichs knew neither the name nor the address of the Maryland governor.

Alrichs sent his letter to Colonel Nathaniel Utie, a planter and Indian trader of significance, who was a member of the Maryland governor's council and resided on an island (Spesutie, or Utie's hope) at the mouth of the Susquehanna. The letter reminded Utie and Governor Josias Fendall that there were foreigners living on the edges of the Maryland patent, between 38' and 40'. Fendall, a restless, intriguing, ambitious man, ordered Utie to go to "the pretended Governor of a People seated in Delaware Bay" and demand he depart at once from this land on which

excluded because the grant was only to land uncultivated except by Indians. The Dutch, they told Fendall, were on the Delaware before the time of this grant. Though neither the Marylanders nor the Dutch emissaries had a very exact idea of the chronology of settlement, the Dutch claim was true.

There could be no agreement, because neither the English nor the Dutch had the power to yield any part of their claims, but the conversations were generally friendly. Herrman even had a chance for a private conversation with Philip Calvert, provincial secretary and brother of the proprietor, on the desirability of opening an easy land passage across the peninsula east of the Chesapeake. Before returning to New Amsterdam, Herrman, who was a Bohemian by birth, began working on a map of the Chesapeake Bay area (including Delaware) that eventually brought him fame and fortune. Philip Calvert, on succeeding to the governorship of Maryland, was so taken with Herrman's promise of a map that he gave the Czecho-Hollander a princely manor on the Eastern Shore. From this property, which he called Bohemia Manor, Herrman constructed a cart road via Appoquinimink Creek to the Delaware River. Herrman's road, known later as the Old Man's Road, helped the development of a close commercial connection between settlements on the Delaware and on the upper Chesapeake.

The immediate threat to the Dutch on the Delaware had evaporated. Utie never had five hundred men to lead against New Amstel, much as he might have enjoyed such a conquest, and Fendall lost his post as governor. Short-lived as the threat from Maryland was, New Amstel was all but ruined by it. Alrichs explained that agriculture was "thrown into a heap by the impending and all-destroying English War."<sup>41</sup> He had a taste for the extravagant, as in writing "God Almighty has continually visited and punished the whole of New Netherland, but especially this Colony, since it was established... This Colony has been oppressed and crushed ... like a little willow in its beginning and sprouting."<sup>42</sup>

What Alrichs saw as a divine malediction, other men blamed on his inactivity. The criticism seems fair, even though Alrichs had been ill intermittently for a year and finally succumbed to his illness on December 30, 1659. His chief assistants, perhaps excepting his relatives, were hard, selfish men who began before Alrichs was dead to complain behind his back to the commissioners in Amsterdam of his nepotism and inefficiency. Before Alrichs died, Alexander D'Hinoyossa, first councillor and commander of troops, was planning a trip to Amsterdam

to inform the commissioners of the colony of Alrichs's incapacity. The trip was postponed when Alrichs's death gave D'Hinoyossa the opportunity that he coveted for sole command.

While Alrichs as director was petty and ineffective, his successor was harsh and domineering. Moving quickly to consolidate his authority at New Amstel, D'Hinoyossa dismissed many of Alrichs's officers, replacing them with men of his own choice. Very shortly a contest arose on the Delaware between D'Hinoyossa and the West India Company. The company's agent, Beeckman, was brushed aside by the new director of the City Colony. The cargoes of ships arriving at New Amstel were unloaded before Beeckman inspected them; his attempts to subpoena residents of New Amstel to his court at Altena were flatly repulsed.

Complaints mounted against D'Hinoyossa's haughty and insolent conduct. He was accused of seizing property from colonists without compensation, permitting the open sale of liquor to Indians, and refusing to prosecute his friends when they committed serious offenses. Religion, like morality, was at a low ebb in New Amstel, for after the Calvinist clergyman, Everardus Welius, died in December 1659, he was not replaced for a dozen years. A Dutch Lutheran minister who arrived in 1663 was apparently employed in the New Amstel area only as a catechist, or teacher, and did not conduct services.

Beeckman, in neighboring Altena, was shocked at D'Hinoyossa's disregard of the company by, for example, requiring ships passing New Amstel to lower their colors as though the city had jurisdiction over the river. D'Hinoyossa sought profit as well as power, selling everything he could lay his hands on, whether his own or not; he sold even the powder and musket balls from the fort to the Marylanders for tobacco. If Dutch authorities should treat him badly, he was said to have threatened that he would act "like one Minnewit [Minnuit]... who, because he had not been treated well by the Company, had brought the Swedes here, adding, 'So I will go and fetch the English or them of Portugal, the Swede or the Dane, what the devil do I care whom I serve; I will get my revenge!'"<sup>43</sup>

These reports come, of course, from D'Hinoyossa's enemies, but they were legion. Yet there must have been some positive achievements to this fierce soldier's credit since he managed to hold power for four and a half years. He did, indeed, as even his traducers attest, increase trade, particularly with Maryland. With the cart road between the two colonies under way, D'Hinoyossa took up land near its route along Appoquinimink Creek.

status and the relationship of their North American colonies. Early in February 1663, the company agreed to cede to the city both shores of the river from the ocean to its source, with the understanding that the city would replace the troops the company kept at Altena and would also provide at least four hundred new settlers each year.

A committee of the Amsterdam city council reported enthusiastically on the potentialities of the colony, "it being beyond contradiction the finest country in the world," their report declared, "where everything can be produced that is grown in France or the Baltic, and which can in course of time be as great as both these kingdoms together." An abundance of colonists was the only need, and they were available in the refugees thronging to Holland because of hard times in Germany and Norway or from religious persecution in France and Savoy. "Trade will come," they were sure, "not only from the city's colony but from the English who offer, if we will trade with them, to make a little slit in the door, whereby we can reach them overland" in case the English navigation laws put an end to trade by sea.<sup>44</sup>

The city of Amsterdam, company directors explained to Stuyvesant, shows zeal and vigor, will populate the land quickly, and will help bring pressure on the Dutch government to arrange a boundary settlement with the English. The latter hope was a vain one, but the city's zeal in sending out colonists is undeniable.

One group of colonists whom the city assisted was a group of Mennonites, followers of an idealist named, as written in English, Peter Cornelisson Plockhoy, who planned a utopian, pacifist community on the Delaware. When Plockhoy, speaking for twenty-four families, petitioned the city of Amsterdam for assistance in establishing them on the Delaware, the city council agreed to tend one hundred guilders per family, plus free transportation for the women and children, free land, and exemption from taxes for twenty years. Forty-one Mennonites, including Plockhoy, were brought to America in 1663 on the ship *St. Jacob* and were landed in July at the Whorekill on Delaware Bay.<sup>45</sup>

The same ship that brought the Mennonite colonists landed fifty farm laborers and twelve young women at New Amstel. And the same Amsterdam commissioners who aided Plockhoy's antislavery, egalitarian colonists, made arrangements to increase the number of black slaves on the Delaware. The Dutch West India Company, which profited most in these years from its West African commerce, had a thriving slave trade, centered on the island of Curacao, where cargoes from Africa were

that he knew nothing of D'Hinoyossa's negotiations. Boundary settlement or not, it was incontrovertible that a Maryland delegation of three men, including the provincial secretary, visited New Amstel and Altena in September 1661, and the new governor of Maryland, Charles Calvert, son and heir of Cecilius, Lord Baltimore, visited New Amstel and Altena in August 1663 with an entourage of twenty-seven men.

In both cases the visit to Altena was merely incidental; New Amstel and the City Colony dominated the Delaware valley. On December 22, 1663, a deed was executed at New Amsterdam formally conveying all the land on both shores of the Delaware "from the sea upwards to as far as the river reaches, ...especially also Fort Altena," to the City Colony.<sup>50</sup> Beeckman was transferred to a post on the Hudson.

On the Delaware D'Hinoyossa was now in unchallenged control. What great possibilities may he have foreseen for his colony under stern, vigorous leadership, with the support of the wisdom and riches of the first commercial city in Europe? Yet within a year all of these prospects were ruined.

## THE DUKE OF YORK'S COLONY

James, Duke of York and Albany, heir to the English throne, was annoyed with the Dutch on several counts. First, when in exile from England he had resided for a time in Holland but had been made so uncomfortable there that he was forced to continue his travels. Second, and more recently, as governor of the African Company he had found the Dutch to be annoying and even militant competitors for the trade of the West African coast, especially the trade in slaves.

He was therefore quite happy when his royal brother, Charles II, determined to grant him a large area of the American coast, consisting of two major sections, one from the St. Croix to Pemaquid (much of what was to become the state of Maine) and another from the west side of the Connecticut to the east side of the Delaware, along with a number of offshore islands, including Nantucket, Martha's Vineyard, and Long Island.

The exact dimensions of the grant are a puzzling business on a number of counts. For instance, the grant from the Connecticut to the Delaware, together with Long Island, was obviously intended to take care of New Netherland. Yet the English did indeed already occupy the west bank of the Connecticut and some distance beyond it (for example, the New Haven Colony), and the king had recently recognized this by a charter given to Connecticut. The Dutch domains, furthermore, did not halt at the Delaware but continued on to its western side.

Geographic confusions, purposeful or not, did not deter His Royal Highness. As Lord High Admiral he was in a position to act quickly upon the grant of March 12, 1664. Four ships were assigned to the duke's service, and on them 450 soldiers embarked under command of Colonel Richard Nicolls, a faithful companion of the duke in his exile, a tested soldier, and now an officer of the duke's household. With Nicolls went three other gentlemen as a commission of four to investigate conditions in New England, where the propensity to commonwealth government disturbed true royalists.

Rumors of this fleet's departure came early to Stuyvesant, who began calling for troops and supplies from outlying posts, such as New Amstel. From Amsterdam, however, came the comforting but erroneous advice that the rumors were untrue and that the English were concerned with

The voyage from Manhattan to the Delaware was "long and troublesom," prolonged by the ignorance of the pilots and the "sholeness of the water," according to Carr.<sup>52</sup> He left New York soon after September 3, 1664, and did not arrive at New Amstel until September 30. When Carr reached the Dutch capital on the Delaware he passed right by it, going upstream first to establish relations with the Swedes, whom he was especially instructed to placate with assurance of King Charles's "good inclination" to their nation and congratulations on a "happy return under a Monarchicall government."<sup>53</sup>

The Swedes, in Carr's words, "were soone our frinds," and three days of conversations satisfied most colonists with the terms Carr offered, which were recognition of their property rights with the same privileges as under the city of Amsterdam, liberty of conscience in religion, freedom of trade as allowed Englishmen under the acts of Parliament, and government through their own local magistrates for at least six months, all on condition of peaceful submission.<sup>54</sup>

But D'Hinoyossa would not submit. At the beginning of the negotiation he was hopeful that his diplomatic skills and his good relations with the English of Maryland would win him special consideration, perhaps even a position of some authority. He ordered four chickens roasted and a ham boiled and had a nine-gun salute fired when the English came ashore to parley. But his attentions to the English were wasted. In Sir Robert Carr, D'Hinoyossa was dealing with a man who had extravagant ambitions of his own. There was no room on the Delaware for both of them.

The parley failing, 130 English soldiers were landed above New Amstel under John Carr, a relative of Robert, and sent around to the rear of the fort, where its defenses were weakest. The two ships then dropped downstream sufficiently to fire two broadsides, and at the fire the English soldiers stormed the fort, climbing over its palisades. The Dutch soldiers in the fort, to the number of about thirty, made no attempt to fire their cannon at the ships (perhaps because D'Hinoyossa had sold so much of their powder to Maryland), but they did exchange some fire with the troops climbing into their fort. However, the defenders did no damage and were quickly overwhelmed. There were no English casualties, but three Dutch soldiers were killed and ten were wounded.

There is some mystery as to why the Dutch would fight against such odds, thirty men against one hundred and thirty, fourteen cannon in the fort, poorly supplied, against forty-six, well supplied, on the English

all the lands thereunto belonging."<sup>59</sup> As Nicolls noted, Carr had no right to such a grand title.

Nicolls and his two remaining colleagues in the royal commission summoned Carr on October 24, 1664, to join them at New York so they could proceed to their inspection of the New England colonies, but Carr did not come. Nicolls himself had to go to the Delaware before Carr could be pried loose from his conquest. And when Carr finally did join two of the other commissioners in Boston on February 4, Captain John Carr was left in command on the Delaware, though Nicolls had intended to appoint someone else.

The difficulty which almost caused a serious disruption in the English command was that the Dutch colony on the Delaware (still wholly on the west shore) was not included in the Duke of York's grant. Nicolls had been appointed deputy governor by the duke, but there was doubt that this gave him power in the Delaware colony. Therefore when Carr was sent to the Delaware, his powers came from the royal commissioners, not simply from Nicolls. Carr's orders made it clear he was to act on behalf of His Majesty the King and made no reference whatever to His Royal Highness the Duke.

When Carr had successfully reduced the Dutch colony and had begun making grants of confiscated property, he made them in the king's name, without reference to the duke, the grants being all on the west bank of the Delaware. Later, in December 1665, after his grants had been canceled, he wrote the king's secretary of state, requesting a proprietorship of his own or at least a governorship and mentioning that he had the king's promise of something of this sort. "The King spoke to you, for me," he told the secretary, "in your owne house, at a private musicke." And he advised that "if His Majesty have not disposed of Delaware and if he please to keep it in his owne hands, it will make a very convenient place of tradeing."<sup>60</sup>

Though Nicolls had spent much effort in removing Sir Robert and establishing the hegemony of his government at New York over the Delaware settlements, he was willing, under certain circumstances, to cede them away. The duke's grant of New Jersey to Lord John Berkeley and Sir George Carteret, made soon after Nicolls's fleet had left England for New York in the spring of 1664, seemed to Nicolls a serious mistake. To him it was the best part of the duke's patent, able to support twenty times as many people as Long Island. (Most of what became New York State was then Indian country and seemed likely to remain so.) Nicolls

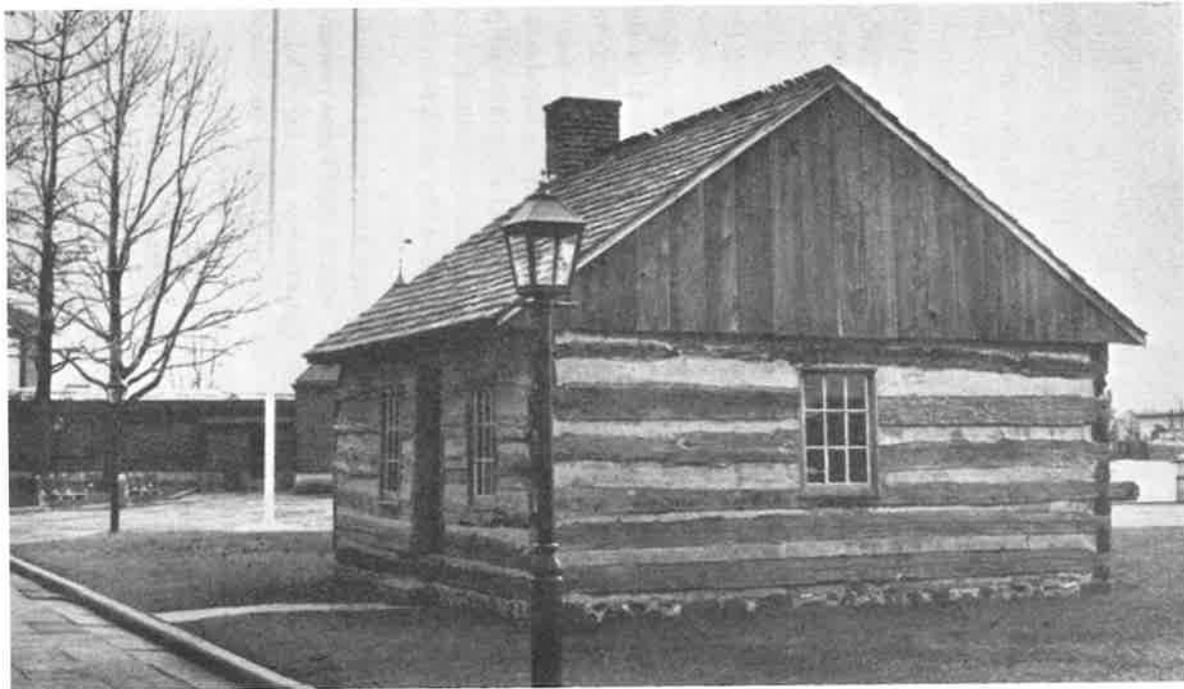
Delaware after a brief sojourn in New York and quickly rebuilt his fortunes. Colonel Nicolls gave him a patent to two islands in the river and a special permit to trade with the Indians on Delaware Bay, and finally made him a member of a council to assist Captain Carr.

Finding a place for Alrichs was in keeping with the policy of the English authorities toward the Delaware settlements, for during the years that immediately followed the conquest the English hand lay light on this colony, and local customs and local officials—Swedish or Dutch—were left as they had been found in 1664. The English governor, Colonel Nicolls, was apparently given a few instructions for ruling this colony, though it lay outside his grants. "Tis pitty that place should be neglected," he wrote to his superior in England in 1665, "for the trade will be quite lost, and all the planters upon the river will goe naked if not supplied."<sup>64</sup>

Part of the problem was that the Anglo-Dutch war which had broken out in 1664 (nominally not until after the English seizure of New Netherland) continued to 1667. Only then, with the signing of a peace treaty at Breda, was the English seizure recognized by both nations. In the course of the war the Dutch had taken from England the area called Surinam, on the Guiana coast of South America, and the promise of this country seemed such that the Dutch agreed to both sides keeping their war conquests. Thus New Netherland was, in effect, exchanged for Dutch Guiana.

Gradually, as permanent possession seemed assured, English institutions were established on the Delaware. A council of five settlers—three Swedes and two Dutchmen—was appointed by Governor Nicolls in April 1668 to advise Captain John Carr, along with the schout, on local problems. They were ordered to take an oath of submission to the Duke of York and directed to allow appeal of all important questions to the governor and council on Manhattan Island. The Duke of York's laws, drawn up in 1665 to govern the English settlements on Long Island, were gradually to be introduced on the Delaware, but in fact no copy of these laws was even seen there for many years.

In August 1668, a new governor, Colonel Francis Lovelace, replaced Richard Nicolls, who had long been eager to return to England. For the next five years the Delaware colony continued under Lovelace the very slow process of anglicization. Settlement gradually spread as old land titles were confirmed and new grants were surveyed and patented. An attempt was made to realize some profit from the land by collection of a



Log house built by a Swedish family during the eighteenth century after the period of Swedish rule in Delaware. This structure was given to the State of Delaware by the Harvey Fenimore family; it has been moved from its original location at Price's Corner to The Rocks, Wilmington. Courtesy of the Division of Historical and Cultural Affairs, Dover.

planned reconquest of New Netherland. A flotilla from Zeeland, commanded by Cornelis Evertsen Jr., and operating against the English in the West Indies, had joined there with a smaller force from Amsterdam under Jacob Binckes. Together the two admirals proceeded to raid the Virginia coast. Learning from a captured merchantman late in July that New York was poorly defended, they sailed there immediately.

In the spring of 1673, a false alarm of a Dutch threat had caused Governor Lovelace to call soldiers to Manhattan from outlying settlements, such as Albany and New Castle, but when Evertsen and Binckes really did arrive in New York Bay, Lovelace was off in Connecticut and less than a hundred men manned the New York defenses. After an exchange of fire and an attempt to bargain, New York surrendered on July 30 to Captain Anthony Colve, who commanded a Dutch landing party that was prepared to assault the fort.

With the fall of New York in 1673, the events that followed its conquest in 1664 were almost duplicated. Captain Colve was made governor, and the admirals and their ships sailed off, but not before the outlying towns on Long Island, up the Hudson, in New Jersey, and on the Delaware had acknowledged the Dutch administration.

Indeed, in 1673 the transfer of authority seemed to take place more easily than in 1664. Many of the inhabitants were Dutch after all and cheered the new regime, while on the Delaware many were Swedes and Finns to whom the change of rulers made little difference. This time, unlike the situation in 1664, no military action was necessary for the conquest of the Delaware.

Although the settlers on the river submitted quietly to the new conquerors, there was one scene of violence that interrupted the peaceful surrender of the valley. When the Dutch seized the Delaware settlements in 1673, the Maryland authorities had an opportunity to renew their claims without directly defying their king or the Duke of York. Maryland Governor Charles Calvert commissioned Captain Thomas Howell, of Baltimore County, to raise forty men and lead them in a surprise attack on the Whorekill, which Howell was to seize and hold against all persons.<sup>68</sup> Howell and his men occupied Whorekill Town (modern Lewes) in December 1673. After residing there two or three weeks they ordered all the residents of the area to report to town and turn in their arms. When the arms were secured as well as all the vessels in the creek, Howell put the town to the torch and also burned houses as far as eight

habitants were asked to nominate eight candidates, from whom the governor in New York would choose one half to be schepens or magistrates. The bailiwick government of New Castle was apparently abandoned, but Peter Alrichs, who had become bailiff, was made schout and commander of the Delaware settlements.

Before further hostilities could involve New Netherland, political developments in England brought this Anglo-Dutch war to an end. The war had thrown England into an unpopular alliance with France, and the government yielded to public opinion in February 1674 by concluding the Peace of Westminster. One of its terms was the restitution of all conquests, and thus the Dutch once again freely gave up their claim to New Netherland.

Months passed, however, before the Dutch colony was actually surrendered. On the theory that the Dutch conquest might have voided the Duke of York's rights to the province, a new patent was given him by Charles II on June 29, 1674, in almost the same terms as the earlier patent, once again making no reference whatever to the land on the west side of the Delaware.

Governor Lovelace was in disgrace because of the surrender of the province in 1673, and Governor Nicolls was dead, killed in a naval battle with the Dutch, so a new governor, Major Edmund Andros, was chosen. He, too, was a proven adherent of the Stuarts and, like many English soldiers of his time, had the advantage of having learned Dutch during military service in the Netherlands.

Andros came to America in the fall of 1674 and on October 30 received the surrender of New Netherland from Captain Colve. English officials who had been in office in 1673 resumed their places on the Delaware and on the Hudson with two major exceptions. John Carr, former military commander on the Delaware, had been in New York when it surrendered in 1673 and had fled to Maryland, where he found it safer to remain, lest charges be brought against him. Peter Alrichs, former bailiff and schout, lost all favor because he had offered his services to the Dutch too eagerly. But Edmund Cantwell, who had become high sheriff on the Delaware in 1672, was restored to his place as chief civil officer, and Walter Wharton, who had been surveyor before and during the Dutch conquest, remained in his office.

Under Major Andros, who became Sir Edmund after he returned to England and was knighted in January 1678, the process of anglicization of the Swedish, Finnish, and Dutch settlements on the Delaware was

Portrait of Reverend Erik Björk, Lutheran pastor of the Delaware congregation and supervisor of the construction of Old Swedes Church in 1698. Artist unknown. Courtesy of the Eleutherian Mills Historical Library, Greenville. Used by permission of the Holy Trinity Church.



Recent photograph of Old Swedes (Holy Trinity) Church, Wilmington. The south porch and the tower are additions, the former in about 1750, the latter in 1802. Courtesy of the Division of Historical and Cultural Affairs, Dover.



Hudson. The main imports, he added, were English manufactures, including blankets, duffels and the like for the Indian trade. The chief obstruction to the prosperity of planters and traders, in his mind, was the duty charged on the products of different colonies, as though they were foreign lands. A merchant worth £500 or £1,000 was accounted substantial, and a planter with half of that in movables was considered rich. There were few slaves, though some brought from Barbados sold from £30 to £35. He could give no accounting of births, marriages, or deaths.

On Andros's return from England in 1678 he was met by a series of requests from the New Castle magistrates, ranging from their desire for what they called "an Orthodox minister" (meaning a Dutch Calvinist), to "Liberty of traede" with their Maryland neighbors (whose supply of "negros, Servants and utensils" was vital) and freedom to send their vessels to England, Barbados, and other places, without touching at New York, but observing the navigation laws. A Dutch domine was soon sent to New Castle, after ordination at New York, and Andros promised the settlers on the Delaware every favor that was in his power in relation to their trade, as long as the laws of Parliament "and ordinances thereupon" were not infringed and "due Regard" was paid to the customs house at New York. Just how much freedom of trade this permitted is not clear, but it is likely that at least with Maryland the settlers could carry on almost any trade they pleased.

Settlements were spreading to such a degree that the New Castle court asked to have its southern boundary extended beyond Bombay Hook to the St. Jones River. Settlers on the St. Jones, however, who were under the jurisdiction of the Whorekill court, requested a court of their own because of the "Hazards and perills both by land and water" that they had to undergo in attending Whorekill court.

Attendance at court was not only necessary to settle land disputes, which were legion, and to register deeds and probate wills, but the justices were the source of most local government, setting prices of many commodities, performing marriages (there were not ministers of any denomination on the Delaware south of New Castle), binding out orphan children, licensing taverns, providing public scales and measures. The St. Jones settlers, amounting, they said, to about one hundred tithables, midway between the Whorekill and New Castle, had a justified complaint that was recognized by Andros in May 1680, when he granted their request by appointing justices for a new court. The St. Jones court

The duke, of course, was not an ordinary person, but his situation was still somewhat uneasy and affairs of state had to take precedence over comparatively minor problems, such as the boundaries of his American domains. A virulent wave of anti-Catholicism swept England in the late 1670s, impelling the duke, a practicing and admitted Catholic, to leave London and spend most of his time in Scotland in order to be out of the public eye until the storm of mass hysteria was spent. There was a real fear among his adherents that his rights to the throne might be lost if he did not maintain low visibility for the time being.

As Richard Nicolls had thought he might, the duke had come to regret the great generosity he had displayed in giving away New Jersey in 1664, even before he had obtained his American lands from the Dutch. The part of New Jersey bordering on the Delaware had remained largely unsettled following the failure of the early New Haven colonists on Salem River and the abandonment of early Swedish and Dutch posts at Fort Nassau and Fort Elfsborg. A very few Swedish and Dutch settlers did move across the river, including one of the early New Castle justices with the intriguing name of Fop Outhout, but their plantations were for all practical purposes considered within the jurisdiction of the county governments of Upland and New Castle. In 1675, however, a company of English Quakers, led by John Fenwick, founded a settlement called New Salem (soon just Salem) on the river to which they gave the same name.

Fenwick insisted that he was an independent proprietor by virtue of purchase of the rights of John, Lord Berkeley, one of the two recipients of the Duke of York's now regretted largesse of 1664. The 1664 grant was to the soil, with no reference to rights of government; therefore Andros ordered authorities at New Castle, the closest of the Delaware courts to Salem, to treat Fenwick and his colonists civilly but to insist they were subject to the duke's government. When Fenwick, who was a veteran soldier before he became a convinced Friend, insisted on his independence and refused a first summons to a hearing in New York, Captain John Collier, then military commander on the river, seized him in December 1676 and sent him as a prisoner to the court of assizes, which held him in custody for several months. After another shipload of English Quakers arrived, Andros released Fenwick but insisted on naming magistrates for the settlements in New Jersey and on subordinating the authority of the local officials at Salem to the court at

## A QUAKER PROPRIETOR

In 1682 Delaware came into the hands of William Penn. This most unusual of English colonial proprietors—whose father was an admiral and his mother the daughter of a Dutch merchant residing in Ireland—had been educated at Christ Church, Oxford, at Lincoln's Inn, London, and at the Huguenot school at Saumur, France. To his father's chagrin he had, about 1667, become a convert to the plain sect known as the Society of Friends, which was growing rapidly among the middle classes of England but was not considered respectable in the society of gentry and courtiers, where William Penn belonged by reason of his father's prominence.

As a member of Parliament, the elder William Penn had gone to Holland in 1660 to bring Charles II back from exile and restore him to his throne. On the return trip he was knighted by the king, who also befriended him by many subsequent appointments, including that of commissioner of the navy. In this post Sir William worked on intimate terms with the Duke of York, who was Lord High Admiral and whose flagship Penn commanded in the Second Dutch War.

King Charles was not as generous with his money as with his honors, and when the admiral died in 1670 the Crown owed him a considerable sum. Ten years later, the debt being still unpaid, young Penn, the admiral's heir, petitioned the king for a grant of land in America as part or full satisfaction. The request was inspired not only by the persecution Quakers suffered in England, in common with other radical dissenters, but by Penn's own experience with the Quaker settlements in New Jersey.

Partly because of the quarrelsome nature of John Fenwick, disputes had arisen over West Jersey among various claimants, mostly Quakers. In 1677 Penn was made an arbitrator of these disputes, and arbitration led to the establishment of a trusteeship of three men, one of them being Penn.

His responsibilities in New Jersey, added to broad interests in American colonies as a Quaker refuge from persecution, led him to become sufficiently acquainted with America to realize there was a vast unappropriated area west of the Delaware and north of Maryland. In the spring of 1680, therefore, he petitioned the king for a grant of this area.

proper commercial development of his huge, inland colony; Werden agreed to reducing the distance of the boundary from New Castle to twelve miles, it being the duke's intent merely "to keep some convenient Distance from Newcastle northwards" for the boundary. The exact number of miles, "in a Country of which we know so little," was unimportant, whereas it was certainly intended that Penn have as much opportunity to develop his colony as other proprietors enjoyed.<sup>75</sup>

When the charter of Pennsylvania, as the king named the new colony, was completed on March 4, 1681, the Delaware Colony finally took shape as a separate entity. To this point it had been part of New Sweden, New Netherland, and New York. In 1681 the Delaware Colony still remained an administrative appendage of New York, but geographically it was separated from the duke's province by New Jersey and constitutionally it was distinct by the failure of the duke's patents, both of 1664 and of 1674, to include the west side of the Delaware. The geographical and legal separation from New York had existed for several years, but only in 1681 was a line established twelve miles north of New Castle separating the lower counties on the Delaware from the Pennsylvania counties.\* The boundary with Maryland was still to be fixed, but the settlements on the Delaware had actually always been distinct from those on the Chesapeake.

William Penn did not long rest content with the new division of the settlements on the west side of the Delaware. Almost before his cousin William Markham, sent as his deputy, had reached Pennsylvania, Penn was addressing his friend the Duke of York with a request that all the latter's claims on the west side of the Delaware be yielded. Possibly Penn had hoped for such a cession all along but hesitated to risk the larger grant of Pennsylvania by begging for the smaller grant of the duke's dependencies, particularly since the duke's title to them was not clear.

Penn saw the advantage of controlling the entire Delaware valley, and the problems the Quakers in West Jersey had experienced with the Duke of York's agents in America taught him that he should avoid a repetition of these troubles if he could. He was also determined that his province should not be landlocked, and only by possessing the river and bay shore could he be sure the trade of his colony might flow unimpeded

---

\* The City Colony of New Amstel had a certain degree of independence from the rest of New Netherland from 1656 to 1663, but the boundary of the City Colony was then at the Christina, and Wilmington (Altena) was not part of the City Colony except when, in 1663-64, this colony was briefly extended to include all the Delaware River settlements.

mile circle around it, the second of the lands beside the Delaware from twelve miles below New Castle south to "the Whorekilis otherwise called Cape Henlopen." For the former, Penn was to pay ten shillings outright and five shillings yearly; for the latter ten shillings outright and a rose annually at the Feast of St. Michael, if demanded, plus one half of all "rents, issues and profits" from this area.

There were actually four legal documents involved in these grants, an absolute deed (called a "deed of feoffment") and a lease for ten thousand years for New Castle and the circle around it, and another deed and a similar lease for the land from twelve miles south of New Castle to Cape Henlopen.<sup>77</sup> Why both a deed and a lease had to be granted is not apparent, nor is it clear why the Delaware settlements were split into two parcels instead of being granted to Penn in one piece. Probably the division is explained by the duke's desire to get some revenue from these territories (in fact, however, nothing was ever paid to him thereafter) but not to interfere with Penn's use of New Castle or with his revenues from it since it was considered likely to become the major port of entry for Pennsylvania. Perhaps both deed and lease were used because of the uncertainty of the duke's legal rights to Delaware. The duke did later refer to Penn as his "lessee" for Delaware. Possibly the lawyers advised that though there might be a question of the duke's right to deed Delaware away, there was less doubt of his ability to transfer to Penn in a lease his rights in this land, which the ultimate authority, the Crown, was unquestionably allowing the duke to treat as his own. If this is so, it may have been felt that the lease might be the effective document for the moment, until the duke's title to this land was proved in law. Because of the uncertainties regarding the title, a clause was inserted in each of the deeds to the effect that the duke agreed, at the request and at the expense of William Penn, to make any further conveyances needed, in the opinion of Penn's legal counsel, to assure Penn's rights to this property.

On October 27, 1682, William Penn arrived at New Castle aboard the *Welcome*, accompanied by approximately seventy colonists, survivors of a smallpox epidemic during the crossing. In his deeds for the Delaware counties, the Duke of York had named two residents of New Castle, John Moll and Ephraim Herman,\* to act as his attorneys in formally delivering possession of the land. But when the *Welcome* arrived, Herman was away, so the ceremony of possession was put off

---

\* The son of Augustine Herrman, Ephraim spelled his last name with only one "r."

secretary he did not know how the province of New York, thus reduced, could survive.

At Upland, or Chester, on December 4 the first delegates elected from the Delaware counties to a representative assembly met and approved what their new proprietor and governor hoped was a permanent act of union with Pennsylvania.

Very little is known about the first legislative election in Delaware. Presumably the freeholders met together at the county seat or a place selected by the sheriff and there in some way, probably not in writing, voted for seven delegates. The sheriff presided at the election and submitted to the governor or assembly the names of the delegates selected. As soon as the first assembly was organized, the returns submitted by the New Castle sheriff were criticized for containing the name of one Abraham Mann. The objection raised against Mann was that he and his supporters "had made some illegal Procedure the Day of Election at Newcastle." After witnesses had been heard on both sides the assembly voted unanimously to expel Mann and to seat John Moll in his place. No other details of the contest are known, but it must have taken a rather clear case of skullduggery at the elections for the assembly to expel Mann by an overwhelming vote, especially when this apparently meant rejecting the returns submitted by Sheriff Cantwell.

After adoption of rules, the assembly considered a petition signed by nineteen freeholders of the Lower Counties asking for the formal incorporation of their area with the province of Pennsylvania. Since the nineteen freeholders seem to have all been delegates to the assembly, it is likely that Penn or his agents encouraged them to present this petition after they arrived at Chester. At any rate, the Act of Union they requested was quickly passed and taken to the governor for his signature.

By this action the Delaware and Pennsylvania counties were merged as far as they could be by action taken in America. Probably it was Penn's aim in this union to make his control of the Lower Counties so firm that any efforts Lord Baltimore should make to annex them—as, for example, by sending in settlers from Maryland, or by winning over the present inhabitants—would be doomed to failure. For this purpose the statute carefully detailed the history of this territory granted by the Duke of York to Penn, relating that the Dutch had bought this land from the Indians and surrendered it, first to "the king's lieutenant governor, Colonel Nicholls" (thus the statute tried to establish a royal and not just a ducal approval of the government of the Lower Counties) and then, after

Dutch reoccupation, "to Sir Edmund Andross, lieutenant governor to the said duke," who has "quietly possessed and enjoyed" it.<sup>81</sup>

Another petition, this one from the Swedes, Finns, and Dutch, led to the preparation, apparently by the governor with the approval of the assembly, of a statute providing for the easy naturalization of all foreign landholders in the province and the Lower Counties. All they needed to do was to record in their county court their promise of allegiance to the king and "lawfull obedience" to the proprietor to enjoy the same privileges as other freemen. The privileges were very real, for before leaving England Penn had prepared a "frame of the government" as a constitution for his colony and also a document he called a "Great Law" that was a series of by-laws forming an idealistic code of government, which the assembly adopted hastily, but with some alterations, in seventy-one articles. In this fashion the government was quickly established, though not till 1683 was Penn's frame to be put into effect with the election of a council, which he meant to join with the governor in preparing legislation, and a larger assembly, which was to approve or reject the bills presented to it.

The government did not work out as Penn had planned it. The assembly, for instance, gradually gained the initiative and became a unicameral legislature, while the council shrank into the status of an appointive advisory body. The idealism of the Great Law which provided for a mild, humane, tolerant government was somewhat tarnished in the years to come as less idealistic men than William Penn wrote the laws and administered the government of this colony. But the spirit of Penn, who was determined, as he wrote in the preamble to his Great Law, to establish a government where "true Christian and Civil Liberty" would be preserved and wherein "God may have his due, Caesar his due, and the people their due," was largely retained in the Lower Counties as in Pennsylvania.

Penn's virtues were not readily perceived by authorities in Maryland. Before he came to America Penn irritated Charles, the third Lord Baltimore, by a letter sent to Augustine Herrman and some other residents of northeastern Maryland in September 1681, advising them to cease paying taxes to Maryland because a boundary adjustment would probably determine their lands to be in Pennsylvania. Early in the summer of 1682 Lord Baltimore sent representatives to New Castle to find its latitude. Their observations suggested that the northern boundary of Maryland, if at the 40<sup>th</sup> parallel, lay at least twenty or thirty miles

Talbot was also instructed to settle as near as possible to the 40<sup>th</sup> parallel and to lay out one thousand acres around Christiana Bridge (now in Delaware, though Lord Baltimore, of course, claimed this as part of Cecil County, Maryland). A fiery, headstrong man, Talbot took control of the upper Christina River watershed in what is now western New Castle County, erecting a small log fort near Christiana on the land of the Widow Ogle, whom he threatened to oust if she did not acknowledge the authority of Lord Baltimore and pay him a quitrent. When the sheriff of New Castle County came to inquire about this small fort, which was garrisoned with four men, Talbot threatened him, as he did a settler named Joseph Bowles near Iron Hill. In June 1684, Talbot rode up to his house, Bowles claimed, and said, "Dam you, you Dogg, whom doe you Seat under here, you dogg! you Seat under noe body; you have noe Warrant from Penn, no my lord; therefore, get you gon, or Else Ile sent you to St. Mury's... You Brazen faced, Impudent Confident Dogg, Ile Sharten Penn's Territories by & by."<sup>86</sup> Other Maryland agents approached settlers in St. Jones and Deal counties, which Penn had officially renamed Kent and Sussex in December 1682, when he had also given the name Lewes (county seat of Sussex in England) to the old town at the Whorekill.

Though opposed to violence, Penn had no intention of giving Delaware up. "Finding this place necessary to my Province," he wrote in July 1683, "I endeavoured to gett it, & have it, & will keep it if I can."<sup>87</sup>

To make good his claims, he sought to settle the land, to enforce the law, and to appeal to higher authority. On his arrival he had urged settlers to present their claims for confirmation, had commissioned his magistrates to authorize surveys of up to three hundred acres for heads of families and one hundred for single persons at a penny an acre quitrent, in money or produce, and had ordered that lands previously granted but not settled in a reasonable time should be declared vacant and available to the first claimant.<sup>88</sup>

When told that a Captain Murphy and other agents of Baltimore were subverting settlers in one of the Lower Counties, Penn directed his magistrates to seize quietly one at a time all those who had cooperated with Baltimore and try to get a jury verdict against them. "Be assured that one judgement of ye jury of that county were worth two of any jury of this Province," he declared.<sup>89</sup> Four members of his council were especially commissioned to go to Kent County and inquire into the degree and nature of disaffection being raised by Baltimore's agents "and

place that was named Cape Henlopen originally. If his southern boundary had been the cape at the mouth of Delaware Bay, to which the name Henlopen had moved, Lewes itself would have been barely within Penn's domains, for the cape was almost directly eastward of the town.

Had this grant been finally legalized, the less extensive March 22 patent would have been surrendered gladly, and the next step would have been a deed from the Duke of York to Penn, repeating the grant the duke made in 1682 when he had no title himself. In this case, much trouble about the status of the Lower Counties could have been saved, and Penn's ownership would have been beyond question.

But apparently Penn had overreached himself. Before the extensive grant of April 1683 received final approval, Lord Baltimore interceded, asking that action on it be postponed till he could return to England to plead his case. When Lord Baltimore returned to England in 1684, Penn felt he had to follow. As the Lords of Trade, who would advise the Crown on this matter, waited, first for Lord Baltimore and then for William Penn, who left America on August 18, settlement of the controversy was postponed through 1684 and into 1685, when, on February 6, Charles II suddenly died and William Penn's friend the Duke of York became King James II.

The situation was now much more favorable to Penn than to Lord Baltimore. In October 1685, the Lords of Trade, impressed by the evidence Penn presented of early Dutch colonization on the Delaware, decided that the Delaware counties, previously settled by a Christian nation, were excluded from the Maryland grant. In November the lords decreed that the boundary between the Lower Counties and Maryland should run up the middle of the peninsula between the Delaware and the Chesapeake from a horizontal line in the latitude of Cape Henlopen on the south to the 40<sup>th</sup> degree at the north. All to the west belonged to Lord Baltimore, all to the east to King James II.

James II, of course, as Duke of York, had already ceded his rights to the Delaware counties to Penn, but when the cession was made he had no title to them; furthermore Penn had never paid the half of all revenue from the lands below the twelve-mile circle that he had been directed to pay annually to the duke. James could now complete the grant by repeating it and waiving the payments if he wished to do so. Probably he did so wish, but his reign was a troubled one. Only when his situation seemed most difficult did he at last attempt to complete his obligation to Penn.

collected on the average property were so small as to discourage collectors.

Penn bought up what Indian claims still existed in Delaware; there were few Indians left here when he came because they had earlier moved up the Delaware valley, away from the settlements, or west into the interior of the peninsula and then north up the Chesapeake Bay and the Susquehanna. Penn's peaceful relations with the Indians of Pennsylvania had their effect on Delaware inasmuch as the settlers in the Lower Counties were long undisturbed by any need to help their neighbors in Indian wars.

Though Philadelphia quickly became the preeminent city on the Delaware, New Castle, the port where ships customarily cleared, shared the increased prosperity. Lying immediately beside the river, it was the natural place for incoming ships to stop for fresh water and supplies and similarly, the most convenient place for last-minute purchases or boardings upon departure. A weekly market, approved by Penn in 1682, improved the attractions of the town to its settlers.

Tobacco, grown in the Delaware counties below New Castle or rolled overland from the Maryland plantations on the Chesapeake, remained, as it was before Penn's arrival, the most profitable local crop and the chief export commodity to England. Debts and other obligations in Kent and Sussex counties were frequently stated in amounts of tobacco. Corn and wheat had a more modest beginning in subsistence agriculture, but a trade developed between the Delaware valley and the West Indies they became the staples of the upper valley and in the next century replaced tobacco in importance.

Surviving rent rolls indicate that in 1689 landholdings were larger in Kent and Sussex than in counties to the north. For example, 55 percent of the landowners in Kent and Sussex owned five hundred acres or more as against 17 percent and 18 percent in two Pennsylvania counties, Chester and Philadelphia. (No comparable statistics are available for New Castle County.\*)

It seems likely that tobacco farming plus the proximity to Maryland produced a larger concentration of Negro slaves in the lower Delaware counties than in New Castle or in Pennsylvania, but statistics to demonstrate this for the seventeenth century are hard to find. On the

---

\* Only one landholder in Kent and Sussex had over 5,000 acres; two more landholders had over 3,000 acres; six had between 2,001 and 3,000 acres; and five between 1,501 and 2,000 acres. On the other hand, seventy-nine landholders in these two counties owned between 251 and 300 acres.

Although it is possible that the tax was collected more efficiently in one county than in another, no complaints on this score are recorded. The farms of Sussex and Kent were probably valued higher than those of Chester and Bucks because the first pair of counties produced tobacco and the latter pair did not.

The first assembly called by Penn, which met in Chester in December 1682, was a special convention to deal with particularly pressing matters, such as giving statutory blessing to Penn's acquisition of the Lower Counties by providing for their union with Pennsylvania. The second assembly, which met in Philadelphia in March 1683, was the first with two houses, as called for in the frame of government Penn had prepared for his colonists. By this document the upper house, or legislative council, should have consisted of seventy-two members, and the lower house, at this first constitutional meeting, of all freemen, and thereafter of not more than two hundred delegates.

Collecting all of the freemen in one assembly was a preposterous notion, as became clear when Penn arrived in America and saw the distances involved. He issued writs for the election of seventy-two representatives (twelve to a county) as the frame called for, but by an agreement apparently entered into with the sheriffs conducting the election in each county three representatives in each delegation were specifically chosen to sit in the council and the other nine in the House of Assembly.

Other provisions in the original frame of government seemed similarly in need of alteration, so the General Assembly\* set up a committee, with members from both houses and every county, that worked out with the governor an acceptable second frame of government. Though this was obviously a matter of great importance, some of the representatives elected from the Lower Counties did not regard it so. Two of them, both Dutchmen from New Castle, were fined for not attending at all; two other delegates from the Lower Counties were fined for missing some sessions.

Perhaps to counter such incipient particularism, the proprietor with some members of his council journeyed in May 1683 to Lewes.<sup>94</sup> If the trip was intended to bolster Penn's support in the southernmost counties, it was a failure. When the assembly met in Philadelphia in the fall of

---

\* The term General Assembly is used hereafter, as is customary in Delaware (and Pennsylvania), to refer to the entire legislature, whether consisting of one or two houses.

Lloyd. On the whole, the Lower Counties may have enjoyed the absence of a strong executive, but they resented judicial neglect. A provincial judge was impeached and removed from office, because, among other reasons, he had refused to go on circuit in the southernmost counties. By 1687 Penn's custom of preparing two commissions for the provincial judges had been abandoned; in this year the assembly protested that none of the provincial judges came from the Lower Counties.

Enforcement of navigation laws was so weak that pirates were said to land at midday in New Castle with assurance of their freedom from arrest.<sup>96</sup> After reports of such conditions reached the Lords of Trade and Plantations in London this committee of the Privy Council asked the Crown for legal proceedings against the proprietary government of the Lower Counties, as well as of several other of the colonies that were not directly under royal control.

In 1688 Penn decided to appoint a single executive as deputy governor and, after Lloyd rejected the appointment, he turned to an acquaintance who happened to be in Boston, a veteran of Cromwell's army named John Blackwell. It was not likely that a soldier from outside the colony would suit the pacifist but contentious Quaker leaders of Pennsylvania. The Lower Counties, on the other hand, were generally sympathetic to Blackwell. War broke out with France and Spain in 1689, and Blackwell sought to establish a militia and erect defenses on the Delaware. The Lower Counties, open to attack by any marauding fleet, were angry at the refusal of the Quaker leadership to support military measures. The Dutch in the Lower Counties seem to have been especially unhappy that the Quaker leaders in Philadelphia were slow to recognize the new Dutch king of England.

The accession of William of Orange, stadholder of the Netherlands, and his wife (and cousin) Mary as the joint monarchs of England in 1689 seriously reversed William Penn's standing at the English court. All friends of the old king were suspect, Penn among them. Arrested in the very month in which James II fled, Penn was quickly released on bail, but he was arrested twice more in the next two years and might have been jailed in 1691 had he not gone into retirement for almost three years. At the end of that time some of his friends gained such influence at the court of William and Mary that he was relieved from fear of further prosecution.

While Penn's influence in America as well as in England was in eclipse, the Lower Counties virtually seceded from Pennsylvania. For the

In England the Lords of Trade had recommended in October 1691 that Penn's colony should be placed under royal government and be united with New York or with Maryland, which had been recently transferred from the Calvert family to the Crown. Time passed before any action on this recommendation was taken, but eventually Benjamin Fletcher, already governor of New York, was given an additional commission as royal governor of Pennsylvania and the Lower Counties.

Arriving in the Delaware valley in April 1693, Fletcher carried instructions that superseded Penn's charter and the frame of government that was dependent on it, and he wasted little time in reorganizing the government. Most of Thomas Lloyd's party was swept out of office, to the delight of the Lower Counties. Markham was appointed lieutenant governor, to be chief executive when Fletcher returned to New York. The elective council was replaced by an appointive body, as in other royal colonies, and to it were named some men from the Lower Counties, including William Clark and John Cann, another of the councillors who had seceded in 1691. Clark and Cann were also named to a new provincial court. The assembly was reorganized, with a new apportionment of seats, three for each county except the two most prosperous, Philadelphia and New Castle, each of them being assigned four seats. The new apportionment, like the old, kept a parity between the representation of the Lower Counties and Pennsylvania.

Fletcher, like Markham, was a member of the Church of England, as were most of the English inhabitants of the Lower Counties, who welcomed him in the hope that he, in contrast to his Quaker predecessors in power, might do something about their defenseless and exposed shoreline. When he met his recast council and assembly, Fletcher demanded that they vote money that he could use on the frontier near Albany, where the French threatened. The assembly tried to bargain with him, but when he threatened to leave in disgust and stated there was no answer but to join this government to New York, they gave in and voted a tax of a penny a pound on assessed property and six shillings ahead on all freemen not housekeepers and without assessed property.

Ten of the twenty assemblymen signed a protest against Fletcher's procedure in demanding funds before he redressed their grievances but only one of them (Samuel Preston, a Quaker in the Sussex delegation) was a representative of the Lower Counties. The other delegates from Delaware apparently were either satisfied with Fletcher's procedures or

## A BRITTLE CONNECTION

The English government exacted certain promises from William Penn before restoring his provinces to him. First, Penn had to recognize the statutes enacted during the administration of the royal governor, Benjamin Fletcher. Second, Penn agreed that until he could come to America himself Fletcher's lieutenant governor, William Markham, would remain in control. Finally, Penn had to pledge fidelity to the new monarchs.

None of these requirements was very difficult for Penn. Markham, after all, was his own cousin; the death of Markham's chief antagonist and rival, Thomas Lloyd, in September 1694, one month after the Crown restored Penn's rights, eased Markham's continuance in office. The Lower Counties were probably distinctly pleased that Markham remained their acting governor, as he had been even before Fletcher's arrival in 1693. They looked upon him as a buffer against the political power of the Quakers, as one who could maintain the brittle connection with Pennsylvania to the satisfaction of the Lower Counties.

Markham's authority, however, was weakened by the appointment of two assistants, and he was obliged to get the advice and consent of at least one of them before taking any action. Since both of these men were Quakers and followers of Thomas Lloyd, it is likely that through them Penn sought to reconcile the Lloyd faction to Markham. Still, the major obstructions to Markham's authority came not from the assistants but from the rise to power in the assembly of David Lloyd, a young lawyer who had come to America in 1686 as Penn's attorney general, had become a Quaker after his arrival, and recently had replaced his kinsman, Thomas Lloyd, as the leader of the Quaker faction in Pennsylvania politics.

Under David Lloyd's leadership a newly elected council and assembly blocked Markham's efforts to raise money for defense, though a watch of two men was established at Cape Henlopen. Most of the politically conscious element in Delaware recognized that they resided on an exposed coast and agreed with Markham in wanting appropriations for defense. However, a few delegates from the Lower Counties were

but the proprietor, by a signed statement, could invalidate the entire document at any time.\*

Though the new frame of government did not please Penn, he took no action to invalidate it. Probably he appreciated the *quid pro quo* Markham extracted from his assembly in 1696 after presenting them with the new frame, for they had then passed a bill Markham and Penn wanted: a property tax of a penny a pound and a capitation tax of six shillings on freemen worth less than seventy-two pounds. This tax was to provide some funds for the assistance of the government, though the assemblymen were careful to make no reference in the law to military needs. By its passage the charges of enemies of proprietary government, such as Governor Nicholson who thought Pennsylvania and the Lower Counties should be placed under royal rule, were temporarily blunted.

The Lower Counties had reservations about government under the new frame of 1696, though it is not clear whether their objections were to the new frame itself or were merely an expression of their distrust of any unified government with Pennsylvania. Griffith Jones, an elected councillor from Kent, clearly was objecting to the new frame in 1697 when he refused to qualify himself under it for membership in the council, declaring that he recognized the validity only of the old frame of 1683. Other delegates from the Lower Counties, however, raised no such objections, and the representatives from Sussex were probably gratified that their request for reestablishment of a watch for enemy-vessels at Cape Henlopen was accepted and that its expense was made a public charge.

In 1698 two of the twelve members of the assembly from the Lower Counties refused to attend, without offering any excuse, and in 1699 the county of New Castle neglected to elect any representatives to either the council or the assembly. Though Markham ordered a new election in New Castle on May 1 and a considerable number of the voters gathered in the town on that day, they "utterlie refused" to choose representatives.<sup>99</sup> To make things worse, three of the eight

---

\* Terms of councilmen were reduced to one year, matching the terms of assemblymen. A voter was required to be at least twenty-one and a resident for two years or more before the election, a provision designed to protect the old inhabitants from a swarm of immigrants. The assembly was strengthened by being given equal authority with the council to introduce legislation, as well as to judge the qualifications of its members and to adjourn to what time it chose until finally dismissed by the governor and council, upon whose summons it could be convened.

capable of maintaining strong points if they were built. And as to a militia, New Castle should have sent delegates to the General Assembly to raise this question in the proper place. Content with the logic of this reply, the council dropped the matter, doing nothing for the defense of the Delaware.

There had, indeed, been a law against pirates passed at the spring 1699 meeting of the General Assembly, but it was too weak to be very effective. In reaction to what they regarded as their abandonment, the residents of New Castle County made no effort to collect the new penny-in-the-pound tax voted by this General Assembly.

Meanwhile, the laxity of the Pennsylvania government was producing a reaction in England more formidable than any that could develop out of the growing dissatisfaction in the Lower Counties. Piracy had become prevalent in American waters after the close of King William's War (called the War of the League of Augsburg in Europe) in 1697, when sailors, grown accustomed to the profits of wartime privateering, continued their raids on merchant vessels under any flag.

Edward Randolph, Surveyor General of the Customs in North America, complained, like Governor Nicholson of Maryland, of the toleration of pirates and of illegal trade in Penn's colonies, particularly of the export of Maryland tobacco through Delaware to Scotland (not united to England until 1707). Nicholson was also distressed because numerous sailors were deserting the Chesapeake Bay tobacco fleet for attractive terms offered by ship captains at Philadelphia and New Castle, who were hiring men, he suspected, for illegal voyages, probably involving piracy. When stationing rangers at the head of Eastern Shore rivers to intercept deserters proved ineffective, Nicholson dispatched an expedition of sixty men overland from the Elk River to New Castle in October 1696 to seize the brigantine of a Captain James Day, who had been recruiting sailors. It was a strange invasion. Sixty armed men marched into New Castle with colors flying and drums beating, terrifying the residents and taking possession of Day's vessel. Apparently the Marylanders also invaded the New Castle taverns, for before the day was over they were helplessly drunk and their commanders were forced to surrender to local authorities. When the Maryland invaders were allowed to march away the next day, eight of their number deserted.

The complaints of Nicholson and Randolph encouraged an inquiry by the House of Lords into Penn's right to govern the Lower Counties. Randolph told a committee of the Lords that Penn held these counties

stationed at the Dover (or St. Jones) River, the center of an illegal trade with Scotland.

A report on the revenue collected from the penny-in-the-pound tax of 1699 showed that New Castle County, which had sent no delegation to the assembly in that year, had also been recalcitrant in taking any steps toward collection of the tax. Yet it was to Penn that New Castle residents and other aggrieved elements in his colonies looked for solution of their ills. To satisfy their complaints, Penn set aside Markham's charter of 1696 and despite the protest of some assemblymen called for the election in March 1700 of three councilmen and six assemblymen in each county, as provided for by the charter of 1683. New Castle and the other Lower Counties chose new delegates as requested, but those chosen in Kent County were apparently miffed by the new trade law or by Brown's expulsion (and his later imprisonment), for they were slow to report for their new duties; consequently no Kent members were in council on April 1 when Penn urged his new councilmen to change any details in the charter that they did not like.

He hoped to confine their dissatisfaction to details, avoiding clashes on major issues of government. "Friends," he pleaded, "away with all parties."<sup>102</sup> But the assemblymen were not satisfied to confine their attention to minor details in a government in which the proprietor and the council, according to Penn's idea, should prepare the laws, and the assembly merely vote its consent to them. From the time of Penn's first assembly, in December 1682, the members had sought an initiative for themselves in lawmaking, and now they again forced Penn's hand, rejecting the old charter and demanding a new one.

A major difficulty, however, was the problem of reconciling the demands of the Pennsylvania delegates with those of their colleagues from the Lower Counties. Pennsylvania, with a greater population, wanted more delegates, but the Lower Counties refused to accept a minority status in the legislature. The one thing both province and territories could agree upon was the surrender of the old charter; they did so formally on June 6, 1700, when two councilmen, one from Pennsylvania and one from the Lower Counties, and two assemblymen, also representing the two sections, delivered the charter into the hands of the proprietor, who made a little speech to the effect that he would govern by royal authority and the Act of Union until a new charter could be adopted.

Lower Counties) could agree that one-third of future assembly sessions should be held in New Castle or elsewhere in Delaware, but no agreement was reached on representation. The Lower Counties insisted on equality, whereas the Pennsylvania delegates were eager to change a system that allowed a mere appendage of the province an equal vote, meaning, in effect, a right to block any legislative measure. To make peace, Penn proposed requiring a two-thirds vote of the Delaware delegates, plus a majority vote of the Pennsylvania delegation, on any matters in which the Lower Counties were "particularly concerned, in Interest or Privilege, distinct from the Province." He added the phrase "*& e converso*," meaning, presumably, that matters particularly concerning the province of Pennsylvania would similarly require a vote of two-thirds of the provincial delegates and only a majority of those from the Lower Counties.<sup>103</sup>

But this would not do, and when the assembly closed its long session on November 27 there was still no agreement on a new frame of government. However, one subject of disagreement between the provincial and the territorial delegates was settled when a new tax levy for support of the government was agreed upon. The territorial delegates objected to as high a tax as the Pennsylvania members wanted, probably because the Lower Counties would benefit less than the province from the sums raised. The compromise agreed upon was to raise a total of £2,000, clear of all expenses of collection, allocating responsibility for the tax to each county, as follows:

	£
Bucks County	225
Philadelphia County	1,025
Chester County	325
New Castle County	180
Kent County	139
Sussex County	106

The proportions for the Lower Counties, where the total obligation was only £425, were obviously different from those employed in the upper counties, an apparent recognition that the proceeds were expected to benefit the province more than the territories. After eighteen years of union, the connection, whether of law, or of interest, or of affection, was a brittle one.

the trouble it could raise for him in his relations with authorities in England—possibly trouble enough to cost him all his American claims.

In England Penn's position was already insecure. A bill reuniting all private colonies to the Crown, the result of Edward Randolph's constant pressure against the chartered and proprietary colonies, had been introduced in the House of Lords. The Treasury was demanding that Penn pay the long-forgotten moiety of all revenue from Kent and Sussex, a sum claimed for the Duke of York in the 1682 deed of feoffment to Penn for the lands below the twelve-mile circle. Penn excused himself, weakly, for never paying a penny on the basis that the bounds of this territory had never been determined, but inasmuch as the duke had become king the claim had been inherited by the Crown, and the Treasury figured the debt to amount to £6,000. Still more seriously, the very origin of Penn's government of the Lower Counties was being challenged, for Edward Randolph argued that Penn had usurped this government on an imaginary title "grounded upon a sham law of his own contriving [the Act of Union] made at Chester by wheedling the credulous inhabitants to entreat him to take them under his protection."<sup>105</sup>

Shortly after the close of the unproductive special assembly session in August 1701, Penn received such troubling reports from friends in England that he decided he must return to defend his rights and prevent the annulment of his charter. Consequently he called for elections to a new assembly which convened in Philadelphia on September 15. "Review again your laws," he told the assemblymen when they were met; "propose new ones that may better your circumstances, and what you do, do it quickly, remembering that parliament sits the end of next month; and that the sooner I am there, the safer, I hope, we shall be here."<sup>106</sup>

The assembly did more and sat longer than Penn wished. He had hoped they would vote the £350 requested by the king for the New York frontier; such an evidence of willingness to support imperial needs would have helped him face his critics in England. But his petulant assemblymen preferred to present Penn within five days with a list of twenty-one requests, largely relating to property. Six of these requests particularly applied to the Lower Counties, including provisions for commons at New Castle and in the marsh lands along the bay and an assurance that the price of lands not yet disposed of would not be raised but would remain at the old rate of a bushel of wheat for each hundred acres.

the remaining two weeks of the fall session of 1761. To gain this much cooperation, Penn promised these delegates they could break away if they wished. On October 27, the next-to-last day of the session, he sent a new charter to be read in the assembly, the fourth and last charter or frame of government that his colonists were to live by. After the reading the assemblymen dispatched William Rodeney and a Pennsylvania delegate to ask Penn to keep his promise by adding some provision for an end to the union of the province and the Lower Counties. Reluctantly Penn provided a codicil as a postscript to the charter, permitting the division he did not wish.\*

If within the next three years, the codicil read, the majority of the elected members of assembly from either the province or the territories should inform Penn that they no longer wished to meet in a joint assembly, he would permit them to meet separately. In that case each Pennsylvania county might elect at least eight assemblymen and the city of Philadelphia two. The Lower Counties might choose to their "distinct Assembly" as many delegates as they wished.

For Penn, this clause was a surrender, an abandonment of his desire to bulwark his claims to the Lower Counties by a tight union between these counties and Pennsylvania. Immediate necessities, however, forced this surrender. The entire proprietorship was in danger from those who, like Randolph and Nicholson, would convert all private colonies into royal territories, directly subject to the English government. The dissenting territorial delegates were largely members of the Church of England and friends or adherents of a Church faction forming in the Delaware valley that sought to weaken or destroy the hegemony of both the Quaker and the proprietary interests. Any sign of discontent could be used against Penn in England.

The charter of 1701, conferring a large measure of autonomy on his colonists and permitting their division into two colonies, was the price Penn reluctantly paid for putting his house in order before he sailed for England on November 1, 1701. With the likelihood before him of losing his American possessions, it was not a time for petty quarrels over the terms of their government.

---

\* At this time Penn also ordered a survey of the northern boundary of the Delaware counties, the twelve-mile circle that separated New Castle from Pennsylvania. Isaac Taylor and Thomas Pierson marked this line between November 26 and December 4, 1701, cutting three notches on each side of the trees along the way.

Pennsylvania assemblymen could pass no legislation. Under the leadership of David Lloyd and his father-in-law, Joseph Growdon, they asked Hamilton to put into effect that proviso of the new charter which enlarged the provincial representation and allowed them to act separately if the territorial delegates withdrew permanently.

Hamilton sought to delay a final schism. There could be no new election under the terms of the charter, he explained, until October 1703. To break the tie with the Lower Counties meant a risk of losing the chief export crop, tobacco, which originated there, for leaving the Lower Counties out of the assembly would strengthen the movement to make a separate royal colony of them. The Pennsylvania assemblymen agreed to adjourn for a month, and Hamilton rushed off writs of election to New Castle, Dover, and Lewes.

When the Assembly reconvened in Philadelphia in November 1702, newly elected representatives from the Lower Counties were in the city. But they would not meet with the Pennsylvanians. The Lower County delegates insisted they were elected under writs issued by the deputy governor; if they met with Pennsylvanians, elected under the charter, they might seem to be approving the charter, and this they were resolved not to do.

This specious reasoning pleased some Pennsylvanians, notably David Lloyd, who looked upon the Lower Counties as a hindrance to Quaker control of legislation, but most of the provincial delegates, eager to free themselves of blame for the separation, were more cooperative than Lloyd and consented to meet with the Delawareans. The latter, however, would not cooperate. They had accepted election and come to Philadelphia—probably only by accepting election could the antiproprietary leaders be sure of maintaining control of the delegation—but eight of them, including the ringleaders from New Castle (the other four territorial delegates were absent because of illness), refused to sit in a joint assembly. As Jasper Yeates, a New Castle delegate, explained frankly, they chose to wait to see what happened in England since affairs relating to them were on the anvil.

To the delight of David Lloyd, the recalcitrance of these eight men made it impossible for the assembly to enact legislation on two matters that Governor Hamilton regarded as pressing: aid for the New York frontier against the French and Indians, and defense of the Delaware by establishment of an effective militia. Both measures were disagreeable to

To replace Hamilton as his deputy, Penn chose a young Welshman, John Evans, who arrived in America early in February 1704, having been properly approved by the Crown after Penn agreed, once again, to concede that in regard to the Lower Counties the royal approval of Evans did not diminish in any manner any rights of the Crown. The new governor quickly sought to heal the schism on the Delaware. To encourage support in the Lower Counties, Evans made new appointments from them to his council, where it was agreed there should be at least one member from each county. His pleas strengthened by popular knowledge that Quarry's efforts to remove the Lower Counties from Penn's jurisdiction had failed, Evans persuaded them to elect delegates to an assembly he scheduled to meet at Philadelphia in April 1704.

When the new representatives went to Philadelphia, however, they found that the Pennsylvania representatives, elected according to a new apportionment in the previous October, claimed to be a complete assembly in themselves. It was the delegates of the Lower Counties who now played suitor and the Pennsylvanians who rejected them. Governor Evans tried his best to bring about a reconciliation, but David Lloyd and the Quaker faction in Pennsylvania presented the new governor with a *fait accompli*. They had their new assembly of eight delegates per county and two from Philadelphia City, and they had no intention of decreasing their numbers or, and here was the rub, of admitting the Lower Counties to equal status, which would mean an opportunity to obstruct all legislation. As Penn had argued, one Pennsylvania county alone (Philadelphia County) had more taxable wealth than all three Lower Counties. This being the case, no popular political faction in Pennsylvania could possibly assent to revival of a situation in which the tail could wag the dog. The only recourse left to the Lower Counties was to go their own way, as they had been threatening to do. After a conference with his chief justice, Governor Evans decided there must be a special election before a separate assembly could be held in the Lower Counties. Although writs were first issued for the election of representatives on May 12, 1704, to attend an assembly on May 22, the election was apparently postponed until October 25, with the first Delaware assembly, consisting of four representatives from each county, meeting in New Castle in November 1704. Governor Evans and at least some of his councillors traveled to the old riverside town and there approved the first two laws enacted for the Delaware colony by its own separate assembly: one confirming all the laws previously enacted by the

port and county town had a moment of grandeur. But it lacked the waterfalls that might have made it the center of a milling industry and it lacked an easy water route to the hinterland which some stream tributary to the Delaware might have afforded. In time Wilmington, "an upstart village on a neighboring creek," gained significance as an economic satellite to Philadelphia and replaced the old river town as the economic center of New Castle County.

## THE REWARDS OF OBSCURITY

Six assemblymen were chosen in May 1705 from each of the three Lower Counties in a special election called by Governor Evans. He was rewarded by prompt passage of a militia act, despite the opposition of four Quaker assemblymen, including Speaker William Clark of Lewes, who died "of a surfeit of cherries" soon after the assembly adjourned.<sup>110</sup> By fall, Penn's American secretary was happy to report that the Lower Counties, though "miserably poor," had the best militia for their number of any place on the continent. "They appear very well affected and easy," he wrote, happy that for the first time in four years they had taxed themselves for the support of the government.<sup>111</sup>

The assembly that gave James Logan so much satisfaction in the fall of 1705 was elected according to the terms of the charter of 1701, which the Lower Counties now acknowledged as the basis of their government. "By this Charter," the Pennsylvania assemblymen had assured them, while rejecting union in 1704, "you ... have the Opportunity of forming yourselves into a distinct Assembly and enjoying the Privileges thereof as well as the Province."<sup>112</sup> In 1705, at last, the Lower Counties accepted their new status, and in the fall of 1706 they capitalized upon it by passing seventy-nine laws, some new, but many of them mere reenactments of statutes passed in the old joint assembly that had represented both province and territories until the schism of 1701.

There was one truly remarkable feature connected with the legislation of the New Castle assembly. Unlike the acts of the old joint assembly, unlike the acts of the newly separate Pennsylvania assembly, the acts of the assembly at New Castle were never subject to review in England. They did, of course, need the approval of the governor, and he was, by his commission, a representative of the Crown as well as of the proprietor in his role in the Lower Counties. But even after receiving the governor's approval, all Pennsylvania statutes, by a provision of Penn's royal grant of the province, had to be submitted within five years to the king in council, and disapproval of a statute at this step nullified it absolutely.

The royal grant, however, was for the province, not the territories, which had gained a share in legislation only when Penn invited them to join the delegates from Pennsylvania in an assembly in 1682.

The bulk of the Quakers remained calm, their leaders reported, despite the mutterings against them. Gradually, Philadelphians began to suspect they were being trifled with. Secretary Logan persuaded four oarsmen to row him down the Delaware till they met a shallop coming upstream and learned there were no enemy ships in the river. By evening Philadelphia was seething with anger at the governor and his New Castle confederates. A local rimester summed up the excitement:

Wise men wonder, good men grieve,  
Knaves invent, and fools believe.<sup>114</sup>

Governor John Evans was young, imprudent, and possibly foolish, but not knavish. His feud with Philadelphia that began with the hoax of May 1706 almost turned into warfare in 1707—if, that is, there could be a war where one side would not bear arms. Disregarding the advice of the governor's council, which was granted no share in legislation, the assembly of the Lower Counties decided in the fall of 1706 to erect a fort at New Castle for protection of the river and to levy a charge of one-half pound of gunpowder per ton on all passing ships on the Delaware except naval vessels and those belonging to a river port, whether in Pennsylvania, Jersey, or the Lower Counties.

Councilmen protested, without success, that Penn's grant to Pennsylvania guaranteed free access to the ocean. To the consternation of his Pennsylvania advisers, Governor Evans hurried the project along by journeying to New York and bringing back a Captain Rednap, a royal engineer, to supervise the fort's construction, and in the spring of 1707 vans ordered the collection of powder money to begin.

A merchant named Richard Hill, son-in-law of Thomas Lloyd and a member of council, determining to test the law, took personal command of a new sloop, the *Philadelphia*, of which he was part owner, on her initial voyage to Barbados. As a ship based on the Delaware, the *Philadelphia* was not obliged to pay duty, but Governor Evans became angry at Hill for declaring that his sloop would not even stop at New Castle to show her papers. The *Philadelphia* did drop anchor north of the fort, and two councilmen, Isaac Norris and Samuel Preston, Quakers and possibly part-owners, went ashore to ask Evans to permit the ship, already cleared for this voyage in Philadelphia, to pass without inspection. Evans refused, whereupon Hill sailed by the fort without

A serious challenge to Penn's title was raised in October 1708 in New Castle, where some assemblymen hoped to enlist the retiring governor as their ally in challenging proprietary claims. Evans was about to marry the daughter of John Moore, the customs collector at Philadelphia, a member of the antiproprietary faction, and bring her to his plantation at Swanhook, outside New Castle. Hoping Evans might want to remain among them, these assemblymen planned to seek his reappointment as a royal governor.

As an entering wedge to a full-scale attack on the proprietorship, the assemblymen asked Evans for a vindication of his powers of government. This was no attack on Evans himself, for everyone knew a new governor was on the way; it was an attempt to probe the weakness of Penn's title. Evans refused to cooperate. He had published his commission on his arrival, he said, and once the proprietor's charter was accepted he had cooperated with the assembly, even though they passed many more laws than he thought necessary for any colony. It was not necessary now to vindicate an authority he was about to give up.

Failing to win Evans's cooperation, nine of the seventeen members of the assembly of the Lower Counties (one seat was vacant) prepared an address to the Board of Trade in England to be delivered personally by Speaker James Coutts. They were defenseless, they said; they lacked power to enact laws; they had had no provincial courts for about seven years, or since their legislative separation from Pennsylvania. These and other complaints were due to their proprietary government, and particularly to the influence of Penn himself and of the Quakers. And all these problems might be cured by a change to a direct royal government either as a separate colony or in connection with an existing royal colony.

This address had no support at all among the Sussex delegates, who were apparently satisfied with their relation to the proprietorship and to Philadelphia and no wish to exchange their Philadelphia connection for an entire dependency on New Castle. It might have been expected from their proximity to the ocean that the inhabitants of Sussex County would have had the most to say about the defenselessness of the colony against maritime raids. Possibly this was of more concern to the merchants of New Castle than to the farmers of Sussex, for the six Sussex County delegates, joined by one ally from Kent and another from New Castle (the latter a Quaker), and with the approval of Governor Evans, withdrew from the assembly and returned to their homes. Their withdrawal

from the tobacco duty, liquor and tavern licenses, fines and forfeitures (including the Crown's third of seizures for unlawful trade), ship registrations and clearances, and the proceeds of property and capitation taxes voted by the assemblies. Nothing was said of land sales because the soil and the government were considered separately. In return for sale of the government, Penn hoped to be able to make good his title to the soil of the Lower Counties, as well as of Pennsylvania.

The English government had paid Penn a substantial installment on the purchase price when suddenly he suffered a stroke that made him unable to consummate the sale. After his major attack, which occurred in October 1712, Penn never recovered sufficiently to attend to business. He was able to get about, to talk with friends and, with guidance, to sign his name to documents, but for the six final years of his life, from 1712 to 1718, it was his wife, Hannah Penn, who gave direction to proprietary affairs. The question of title to the Lower Counties, which might have been settled by the sale of Penn's claim in 1712, was kept alive by the accident of his illness to 1718, and then other problems arose to prevent a conclusive settlement.

One old problem declined in importance, for the Peace of Utrecht in 1713 ended what the colonists called Queen Anne's War and freed the Lower Counties from concern about their defenses against possible French naval attacks. To Governor Gookin the peace brought problems that were more difficult to meet than military assault. Increasingly he spent his days at a farm he had bought near New Castle, but residence in the Lower Counties did not noticeably enlarge his sympathy for the assemblymen who represented these counties. Perhaps some mental illness troubled him, for his political actions became very erratic, "the wildest of any thing that has ever been known this way," according to James Logan.<sup>117</sup> In 1714 Gookin voided the commissions of all the justices of the peace in New Castle County and left the county without any courts for a month. He is said to have sold the office of clerk in Kent to the highest bidder and to have refused to recognize the 1715 election in New Castle when it returned John French, whom he disliked, as sheriff. When the assembly met, it ordered French to take possession of the jail, whereupon Gookin and some associates tried to break down the jail door and forcibly remove French.

Startled assemblymen watched the wild scene until the distraught governor gave up and left town, refusing to sign any bills and offering the assembly, in their words, only "Contemptuous Usage and il

Lower Counties nor any part of America, in that respect being like William Penn when he sought an American province. Just as it was the interest of fellow Quakers that won Penn's attention to America, so it was the interest of fellow Scots in the Delaware valley that led Sutherland to petition King George for a grant to the three Lower Counties on the Delaware.

A kinsman named Kenneth Gordon, of whom little is known, and a well-remembered Anglican missionary of Scottish birth, the Reverend George Ross, rector of Immanuel Church in New Castle, are said to have brought the uncertain status of the Lower Counties to Sutherland's attention. Arrears of over £120,000 were due him from the Crown for his loyalty to the Hanoverian succession in 1715. He cited "his great zeal and activity for the Protestant Succession" in requesting a grant of the Lower Counties which, his petition read, "he is ready to prove do belong to the Crown."<sup>120</sup>

On December 18, 1717, exactly one day after the Prince of Wales approved William Keith's appointment as lieutenant governor of Pennsylvania and the Lower Counties, the king's secretary forwarded Sutherland's petition from Hanover to the Board of Trade with a notation that the king was "inclined to favour his Lordship's request."<sup>121</sup>

News of Sutherland's petition quite naturally upset the Penn interests. They pointed to the development that in thirty-five years had made the lands along the Delaware prosper. Naval stores, iron, and grain were resources that could be produced plentifully in the Penn colonies. The West Indies were already being supplied from there with flour and provision; grain was being sent to Portugal and other parts of Europe. A good market existed for clothing and other English manufactured goods. The production of hemp had begun in the Lower Counties, but Sutherland's petition put a full stop to development. Many of the settlers who had come to enjoy liberty of conscience under a proprietor of their own persuasion would be frightened away if this colony were given to Sutherland. To complete the purchase begun by the late queen would be a different matter, for the profitability of Barbados and other islands under the Crown was well known, as was the dismal condition of Carolina under a proprietorship.

On William Keith's arrival in America in May 1718 he lost little time in rallying local sentiment against the pretensions of Sutherland. To separate the three Lower Counties from "Mr. Penn's proprietary jurisdiction," he wrote to the Board of Trade, would "inevitably ruine the

his improvident oldest son, William Penn Jr., in favor of the children of his second marriage. To further complicate matters, the will set up two groups of trustees, one for the government of his American domains and the other for the management of lands and other property there. Still another interested group were the mortgagees, the men who had earlier taken a mortgage on Penn's property to save him from debtor's prison.

The key to the situation lay in the capable hands of Penn's widow, the former Hannah Callowhill, who was named sole executrix by his will. She had already gained experience in the management of Penn's affairs in the last six years of his life, when he was incapacitated for business. In the eight years of life remaining to her after his death in 1718, even though she was herself an invalid in the last five of these years, she untangled the main knots in the affairs of the estate.

The sale of Penn's rights to government, under way when the will was written in 1712 but then suspended by his illness even though a down payment of £1,000 had been made, was eventually canceled and the down payment restored to the Crown. With the help of the mortgagees Hannah Penn fought successfully against Sutherland's petition for the Lower Counties, reminding the Board of Trade, which was considering the petition, that the inhabitants held their titles from William Penn; a particular point was made that the Naval Store Company of Bristol had recently made a large investment in a hemp plantation in Kent County from which it had so far no return. The rights of these private claimants could not be lightly ignored, and the board therefore recommended that a decision on the validity of Penn's claims to the Lower Counties should be sought in chancery before any consideration was given to Sutherland's petition.

This recommendation effectively pigeonholed the petition, for no legal decision, in chancery or elsewhere, was ever made between the conflicting claims to the Lower Counties of the Penn family and the Crown. Nothing ever came of occasional efforts to revive the claim of John Gordon, the Earl of Sutherland, before his death in 1733. His petition was never forthrightly denied; it was simply ignored.

A court decision did play a part in solving an intra-family dispute about the proprietorship. The only surviving son of Penn's first marriage, William Penn Jr., died two years after his father, in 1720. To settle the validity of Penn's will against claims of the children of William Penn Jr., Hannah Penn went to the Court of Exchequer, which eventually upheld the will in favor of Hannah and her children. By the time of this decision,

and a new criminal code, he demonstrated his concern for the people of the Lower Counties, and he spared no pains to tell them so, while at the same time disclaiming responsibility "for other People's Neglect" of them.<sup>124</sup>

It is difficult to know whether ambition or financial need was the compelling motive behind Keith's increasingly independent course. On almost every visit to New Castle he reminded the assembly of his financial dependence on their generosity, and his popularity was recognized by their response. He did indeed need the appropriations he was voted; with their lands mortgaged and their title threatened the proprietors could hardly do other than leave their deputy at the financial mercy of the colonists. There were a few fixed fees that customarily reverted to the executive, the principal one a fee for licenses of public houses (taverns and inns), but these were insufficient to support any governor, and certainly not enough for a young baronet (which Keith became upon his father's death) who liked to live well but was only gradually paying off the debt he incurred in bringing his wife and children to America.

Though his family lived in Pennsylvania, Keith in 1722 purchased an extensive tract in New Castle County near Iron Hill, calling it Keithsborough and building an iron furnace and forge to utilize the ore that was dug from open pits in the vicinity. His apparent success, political and economic, led Keith to think that the regard of the proprietors and their agents was of little importance to him. For two years, from 1722 to 1724, he did not even correspond with the Penns, yet during this time he constantly sought the attention of the Crown, requesting the guidance of "His Majesty's Orders and Instructions."<sup>125</sup>

Evidently Keith expected the Crown to take over the government of Pennsylvania or at least that of the Lower Counties, and he probably believed that his position was so solid that the proprietary family could not remove him.<sup>126</sup> In 1724, at the height of his popularity, Keith took the most extravagantly independent step of his administration of the Lower Counties when he issued a new charter for the town of New Castle, creating it a city with greatly expanded boundaries (the Christina River on the north and the Appoquinimink on the south), with new courts, distinct from the county courts, new officials, named in the charter, and special representation, independent of its county, in the assembly. To proclaim this remarkable new charter, transforming a town of a thousand people into a city covering forty square miles, the governor and his lady

disclaimer in March 1726. The exchequer suit over the inheritance was not yet settled, but the Penns were united in wishing Keith recalled.

The new governor was Major Patrick Gordon, a loyal Scot and a veteran soldier, but probably no close connection of the other Gordon in this history, the Earl of Sutherland. Formally approved by the king in council on April 18, 1726, Gordon arrived in America on June 22, to the joy of the friends and agents of the Penn family, such as James Logan, who was reinstated as secretary on June 24.

There had been fear Keith would refuse to surrender his post and he may have had some action in mind, at least in the Lower Counties, for he issued writs asking the assembly to meet him at Dover (instead of New Castle). Penn's land agent declared he "believed some extraordinary matters" would be attempted, but this assembly seems never to have met; probably Gordon arrived too soon for Keith's plans to mature.<sup>128</sup>

Keith then busied himself attempting to organize an antiproprietary political party with a popular base. He circulated petitions that had as their purpose, according to Logan, "to wrench the Lower Counties from the Prop[rietary]s, and to divide their Trade from the Prov[ince]."<sup>129</sup> He also offered himself as a candidate for the assembly from New Castle County.

Somewhat surprisingly, however, the people of the Lower Counties rallied round the new governor. Perhaps they were frightened back into the arms of the Penns by news Gordon brought. Not only had the Earl of Sutherland renewed his effort to acquire these counties, but Lord Baltimore too had revived his claim to them. Quite obviously any agitation to separate Delaware from the relatively mild administration of the Penns might play into the hands of another claimant to the proprietorship. It was one thing to complain of the Penns' eagerness for an income from the Delaware counties; it was another matter to supplant the Penns with a Scottish lord who wanted to make a profit, or to fall into the hands of Lord Baltimore and the Marylanders, with whom the residents of the Lower Counties shared a long history of border wars and fracas ranging from Lewes to Ogletown.

Though defeated at the elections in New Castle County, Keith succeeded in gaining a seat from Philadelphia in the Pennsylvania assembly and continued his machinations in both governments. Governor Gordon became so annoyed with Keith that, despite his years—he was sixty-two—he challenged Keith to cross the river into New Jersey to settle their disagreements man to man. No duel occurred, but for more

to regret the concessions he had made, and his commissioners found excuses to delay action.

Meanwhile new outbreaks of violence had occurred on the border. One, for example, involved a man named James Newton who had bought land on the western edge of Kent County. Thinking it was in Maryland, he paid taxes on it there at first, but upon learning it had originally been surveyed, "seated," and assessed for taxes as a part of Kent County on the Delaware, he ceased paying Maryland taxes. He refused repeated demands made on him by the tax collector of Dorchester County, Maryland, whereupon, in 1732, the undersheriff of that county, accompanied by "Ten or a dozen lusty, pirt fellows," burst into his house early one morning and carried him off, heading for Cambridge jail. A Kent County constable learned of the seizure and rallied a number of Newton's neighbors. Setting off after the Maryland posse, they rescued Newton "after a Bloody Battle (but no life lost)," as a contemporary told the tale.<sup>131</sup>

While accounts of such incidents were piling up in the correspondence of the Penns, they were troubled to hear that the Crown was about to offer the Lower Counties to Robert Hunter, a popular veteran of Marlborough's campaigns who was now governor of Jamaica but had formerly been governor of New York and New Jersey. From his term in North America Hunter had a considerable claim against the Crown for money he had advanced to assist German settlers on the Hudson. Possibly there was some basis for the rumor he would be recompensed by a gift of the Lower Counties, but Hunter died in 1734 before any such gift had been made. A more persistent threat to the Penn title came, as in times past, from Lord Baltimore, for this worthy, ignoring his agreement to surrender the Lower Counties, renewed his claim to them in August 1734.

In a petition to the king he argued that the words "*hactenus inculta*" (hitherto unpopulated) in his 1632 grant to Maryland had been interpreted incorrectly in 1685 to deny him his rights to the Lower Counties because of the small and impermanent 1631 Dutch settlement at Lewes. In 1638, he noted, his grant had been judged to include Kent Island despite an earlier settlement there by William Claiborne. The grounds of the 1638 decision were that Claiborne's settlement had no prior right in English law and was not meant to be excluded. Why did not the same reasoning apply to Swanendael?

northward (but not directly north) from the middle point so as to make a tangent with the twelve-mile circle. Local surveyors worked on this line from December 1760 to August 1763, but the difficulty of the work led the proprietors to employ two highly respected English surveyors and scientists, Charles Mason and Jeremiah Dixon, to complete the line.

Soon after their arrival in America in the fall of 1763 Mason and Dixon determined the latitude of the southern edge of Philadelphia, because the Maryland-Pennsylvania boundary was to be drawn exactly fifteen miles south of this latitude. They then moved westward of Philadelphia to the forks of the Brandywine and measured off fifteen miles to the south, which brought them to a spot in the hills of New Castle County, just north of what later came to be known as Milford Cross Roads. Here they erected a post marked "West" to indicate the latitudinal mark from which the northern boundary of Maryland should be drawn.

In June 1764 Mason and Dixon traveled southward to the transpeninsular line, laid out in 1751, and began to survey the west boundary of the Lower Counties, the tangent line. When the tangent point was reached, the surveyors were still several miles below the northern boundary of Maryland, so they continued their survey around the circumference of the circle till they reached a spot exactly north of the tangent point. At this spot (west of Newark) they left the circle and laid out a straight line to the north until they reached the latitude of the post marked West.

After the west line of the Lower Counties was surveyed it still had to be marked with stones that the proprietors sent by water. Every mile on the line was marked by a stone, with a larger stone, called a crown stone, marking five-mile segments. Before the end of 1765 the north-south section of the Mason-Dixon Line (the less famous part of it) was completed, delineating the western boundary of the Lower Counties. By this time Mason and Dixon had already begun the east-west line that was to make their names famous. It was completed in the next two years, but only a small section at its eastern end, between the end of the north-south line and the circumference of the twelve-mile circle, served as any part of the boundary of the Lower Counties. This was the top of the "Wedge," an 800-acre tract of land that was in dispute until the end of the nineteenth century, when it was finally awarded to Delaware. At the request of the commissioners, Mason and Dixon extended their survey all the way across New Castle County to the Delaware River, near

Wilmington, but the survey east of the circumference of the circle was not a part of the boundary and so was not permanently marked.

Their work finished, the English surveyors left America in 1768. The Penns and Lord Baltimore united in petitioning the king for his approval of the boundary, which was given on January 11, 1769. Yet it was not until 1775 that the assembly of the Lower Counties finally incorporated the boundary settlement into the lines of the three Delaware counties. The new boundaries ran close to the previously accepted borders in New Castle County, but to the south the new line was considerably beyond the area over which the Penns had heretofore exercised control.

To Sussex County, in particular, completion of the boundary lines meant a significant addition of territory on the west and the south. For instance, much of John Dagworthy's baronial estate, awarded him by Maryland for his services to this colony in the French and Indian War, turned out to be in Sussex. So did two Anglican chapels—Prince George's at Dagsboro and Christ Church on Broad Creek—which were established as chapels of ease in Maryland parishes. So much territory was added to Sussex County, though a great part of it was but sparsely settled, that there was talk of creating a fourth county, New Sussex, and it did become necessary in time to move the courts from Lewes to a more central location.

Not until 1775, on the very eve of the Revolution, did the Delaware colony, the Penns' Lower Counties, assume its proper and final geographical proportions. Politically and culturally, however, the colony had reached maturity decades earlier.

The generally happy relations of Governor Gordon with the assemblies that convened in New Castle following Sir William Keith's departure in 1728 suggest that the people of the Lower Counties appreciated their modest prosperity and their large measure of independence under the mild rule of the Penns. Their situation, without a resident governor and court, without the need of submitting their laws to England, was nearly if not entirely unique.

Perhaps it was the very uncertainty of Penn's title to the Lower Counties and the controversy regarding their boundaries that led these counties to cling to their proprietary connection with a warmth markedly different from the discordant relations of the Penns and their deputy governors with the assembly in Pennsylvania. Just as their exposure to naval attacks led people of the Lower Counties to show more sympathy for imperial defense needs than was exhibited in Pennsylvania, so their

vulnerability to border raids from Maryland and to challenges to their land titles because of uncertain boundaries led them to cling more closely to their proprietary connections than they might have done otherwise. It was harder for the Penns to govern the province that was indubitably theirs than the territories where their title was in doubt.

Two of the three Penn brothers came to the Delaware valley in the early 1730s. John, the principal proprietor, hurried back to England in 1735, to defend family interests against Lord Baltimore, but Thomas, the second brother, spent many years in America after his arrival in 1732 and made many visits to Delaware while putting the family's business affairs in order. He might have assumed the governorship upon Patrick Gordon's death in 1736, or even earlier, except that it involved taking an oath, which Penn, as a nominal Quaker, would not do. In later years, he regularly attended the Church of England, like his younger brother Richard, but in the 1730s he was apparently hesitant to take any step that might reduce his influence with the Quakers.

Instead of choosing one of the family to succeed Gordon, the Penns turned to George Thomas, a planter from Antigua in the West Indies, who paid for the privilege of being governor. Because of the controversy in England about the title to the Lower Counties, Thomas's commission was delayed, and in the meantime old James Logan served as acting governor.

Gradually the proprietary connection was becoming increasingly attractive to the people of Delaware. They realized that the Penns were their chief defense in England against the historic encroachments of Marylanders. And though in America they looked chiefly to Philadelphia for a market in peacetime and for succor in time of war, it was the proprietorship that furnished a special connection between these Lower Counties and Pennsylvania; it was this that gave them a claim upon a governor who frequently sought their cooperation in common endeavors and who would never be likely to forget their annual, and voluntary, contribution to his support. The Pennsylvania assembly, on the other hand, was a body from which they had seceded, and which they could never rejoin except in a distinctly subordinate role. For the government of their neighbors in Maryland the assemblymen who met in New Castle had only scorn: we possess, they declared in 1738, "many valuable Liberties and Privileges" which "the Inhabitants of a neighboring Government [they were clearly referring to Maryland] only enjoy in Imagination."<sup>132</sup>

What the residents of the Lower Counties particularly enjoyed was the right to run their own affairs with little if any interference from England. In the mid-eighteenth century few colonies were so independent as these counties; perhaps only Connecticut and Rhode Island, where the people chose their own governors. They owed their good fortune mainly to ignorance of their very existence and to their inconsequence in the grand pattern of an expansive and expanding empire. Even fellow-colonists could overlook their status. For example, when the Albany Plan of Union was drawn up in 1754, the drafting committee declared its intention of including "all the British Dominions on the Continent" but the Delaware counties were not mentioned, being assumed, apparently, to be part of Pennsylvania. (Nova Scotia and Georgia were not mentioned either, but they were then frontier marches, supported by annual parliamentary appropriations.)<sup>133</sup>

In London, however, the Board of Trade was neither wholly ignorant nor completely indifferent to the status of the Lower Counties. In April 1740, they raised questions about these counties with Ferdinand John Paris, the agent of the Pennsylvania government and of the Penns. Why should the Penns be referred to in Pennsylvania laws, they asked, as "true and absolute Proprietors of the three Lower Countys" as well as of Pennsylvania? Did the Penns not sign an acknowledgment, every time a new governor was appointed, that the proprietary appointment must not be considered to prejudice the Crown claim to the Lower Counties? "They desired to know," wrote Paris to Thomas Penn, "how [your title] was writ in the Lower County acts. And to see all those Lower County Laws."

While keeping Penn informed, Paris answered these inquiries as best he could, insisting that the phraseology of the Pennsylvania laws was the work of the Pennsylvania assembly, not of the proprietors, but that the title was no innovation (as the board had implied) but had been used in the time of the founder, William Penn, and without objection. Furthermore, the fact that the Penns waived any prejudice to the Crown claim whenever a new governor was qualified did not mean that they gave up their own claim to the government of the Lower Counties. As to the Lower County laws, Paris was helpless. "I told them I was not Agent," he declared, "nor had no authority from those People, that I did not know that I had ever seen two Acts made by that separate Province."<sup>134</sup>

## THE FOUNDING OF A CITY AND THE PEOPLING OF A COUNTRYSIDE

During the early eighteenth century an agricultural transformation occurred in the counties of Kent and Sussex. The most valuable crop in these counties at the beginning of the century was tobacco; by 1770 cultivation of this crop had been abandoned in the Delaware counties.\*

Perhaps the explanation lies partly in the fact that tobacco is an extractive crop; planted year after year in the same land it is notably hard on the soil. It is probable that after a generation of tobacco growing farmers were discouraged to find their yields decreasing. Yet there remained plenty of land not yet cleared to which they might have turned. A price decline that took place in the eighteenth century must have so decreased the margin of profitability as to cause landowners in Kent and Sussex to turn to other sources of income.

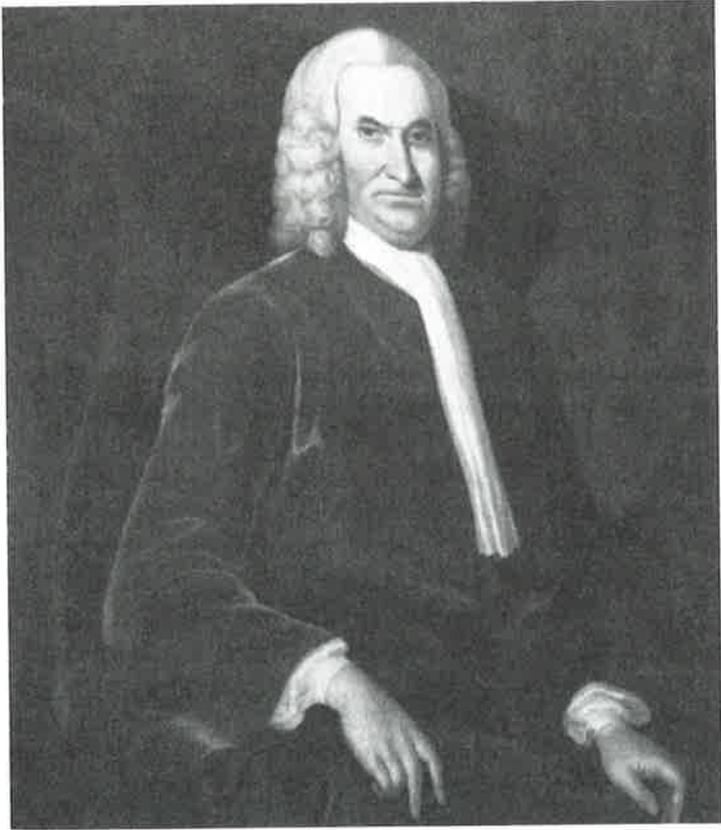
Some landowners were satisfied to take their main profit from the sale of timber, and throughout the eighteenth century a brisk trade took place in boards and shingles and, as cities grew and demand increased, in firewood. But the new agricultural staples from the Lower Counties, the crops that farmers grew for market, increasingly came to be corn and, except in Sussex, wheat.

The availability and attractiveness of land in the Delaware counties is demonstrated by the steady movement into them of farmers from neighboring colonies, especially from the Eastern Shore of Maryland. Very likely the declining profitability of tobacco culture was a strong motive in this migration, which led such notable gentry as the Dickinsons, Chews, Mifflins, Rogers, and Mitchells to move to Kent or Sussex from the Eastern Shore of the Chesapeake.

Besides the push toward migration resulting from the decline of

---

\* Of 29 probate inventories surviving for Kent County in 1774 and published by Alice Hanson Jones in her *American Colonial Wealth*, I (New York, 1977), only one mentions tobacco. The inventory (p. 364), for the estate of James Brown, of Murderkill Hundred, value his "Tobaco in Sheef" at only 20 shillings, whereas his wheat was worth over £40 and his corn £37. In neighboring Queen Annes County, Maryland, tobacco was still a major product in 1774.



Portrait of Samuel Dickinson, by Gustavus Hesselius. Courtesy of the Division of Historical and Cultural Affairs, Dover.

Dickinson Mansion, Jones's Neck, Kent County, built 1740 by Samuel Dickinson. Courtesy of the Division of Historical and Cultural Affairs, Dover.



commercial vitality occurred in its near vicinity in the 1730s. One notable change in that long period took place in 1698, when a new Lutheran church was begun on a knoll just beyond the graveyard that was northwest of the little riverside settlement. On Trinity Sunday, July 4, 1699, the Reverend Erik Bjork, its prime mover, dedicated the new church to the Holy Trinity. An older church across the Christina River at Crane Hook was abandoned, and the center of the religious life of the Swedes in this area was now on the north bank of the river.

West of the hamlet, graveyard, and church stretched only forest, fields, and farmhouses until in the 1730s merchants from Philadelphia began construction of a new village where fast land extended to the high-water mark on the Christina River about a mile upstream from the Swedish settlement. The land that sloped down to the river at this point was bought in 1727 by a Swede named Andrew Justison, whose daughter a year later married an English merchant named Thomas Willing. Justison, like almost all of the Swedes of the Delaware valley in the eighteenth century, was an American by birth and rearing, but the Swedish church and its missionary pastors helped maintain some vestiges of Swedish culture, including the language and religion, which kept the descendants of the New Sweden settlers a distinct ethnic group for more than a century.

Either Justison or Willing or the two men in concert soon divided a portion of Justison's tract into town lots and by 1735 fifteen or twenty houses had been constructed in the development which was then known as Willingtown, including the house of Willing himself, near the foot of King Street. Apparently Willing attracted new settlers by the promise of a market for the prosperous farms along the Christina, by the easy access this river afforded to the wharves of Philadelphia on one hand and to a large hinterland northward in the Brandywine valley, westward up the Christina River, and also by roads and paths into Cecil County, western Chester County, and Lancaster County.

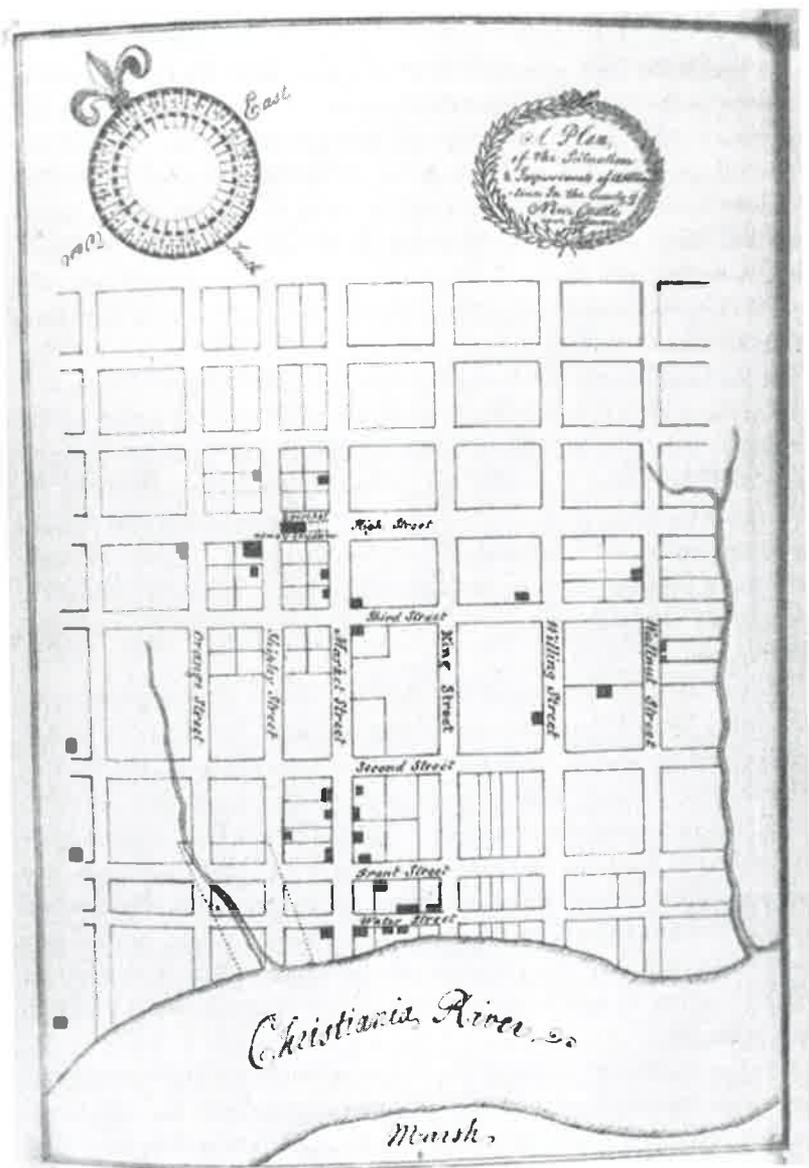
Philadelphia was the major attraction for the products of the farms of all this area, but Willingtown, being west of Philadelphia, was closer to the farmlands stretching out toward the Susquehanna and merchants at Willingtown hoped to make a profit on goods funneled through their hands to the metropolis. Possibly the developers of Willingtown also had some understanding of the economic possibilities of the splendid mill sites nearby along the valley of such tributaries of the Christina as the Red Clay Creek and especially the Brandywine.

them in Chester County. Apparently development of a market town on the Christina met a regional need.

Three years passed before the petition was granted, and in the meantime Willingtown was torn by a quarrel over the market house William Shipley had built in the center of High Street (later Fourth Street), very close to his own home. Some other residents, perhaps earlier purchasers, began to build another market house on Second Street, nearer the Christina River than Shipley's. When Shipley and sixty-three inhabitants of Willingtown "and parts adjacent" sought to stop the new construction by a petition to Penn, they were joined by the pastor and thirty-one members of the congregation of Old Swedes Church. These men declared their satisfaction with Shipley's market house, which stood near the edge of lands belonging to their church. The support the Swedish congregation gave Shipley indicates that the market house quarrel was not simply a squabble between the first settlers (the Willing-Justison group) and the latecomers like Shipley. Willing and Justison were not among the signers of petitions for or against Shipley's market house, but they provided the land for the rival market built at Second and Market streets.

Criticism of Shipley was apparently sufficiently sharp to cause a committee to be formed to collect funds to buy his market house and make it a public enterprise. It is interesting that this committee was composed, designedly, of two men from Willingtown, two from New Castle County, and two from Chester County, demonstrating again the regional interest in the establishment of this market town. However public Shipley's market became and however much it appealed to farmers in the outlying county and in Pennsylvania, it did not satisfy the inhabitants of the lower parts of Willingtown, for they sought to destroy it by cutting down the large white-oak posts at its corners, until its defenders came to the rescue and forcibly restrained the axemen.

A sketch of the community of Willingtown in 1736 shows it extending from the Christina north to what became Seventh Street. Including Shipley's market house, thirty-four houses or "improvements" are noted, grouped in two main clusters, an upper (northern) one near the market house and a lower cluster between Second Street and the river. A division is evident between a riverside village and a town on a hill above it. (The hill, incidentally, was higher then than later; by 1846, for instance, its height was eight or ten feet less than a century earlier.) Probably Shipley's hilltop town was the easier to reach by cart road from



A 1736 plan of Willingtoun (Wilmington) from Benjamin Ferris, *A History of the Original Settlements on the Delaware* (Wilmington, 1846).

The high constable was to preside at the annual town elections, where the right to vote was reserved to freeholders and to other "housekeepers" renting property worth five pounds or more a year and resident in the town for at least twelve months before the election. Town meetings could be called at will by the burgesses, high constable, and assistants to enact ordinances for the government of the borough by majority vote. The borough authorities had, in general, the powers of justices of the peace, subject to the county quarter sessions court. Permission was granted for construction of a borough courthouse, but the burgesses and their assistants met in private houses until 1774. Then a town hall was constructed on the upper floor of the Second Street market house, which was built of brick and was more substantial than Shipley's slightly older market in High Street. In providing quarters for the town government over the market, Wilmingtonians were following the model of Philadelphia, just as they followed that model in the rectangular plan of their city, built back from the banks of a river.

When the first borough elections took place in September 1740, the ascendancy of Shipley and his Quaker friends was further demonstrated, as he was elected chief burgess, the position he already filled by appointment. His votes, however, were only 61, quite reduced from the so-called "majority" of 146 said to have been cast at the town meeting in December 1739 for Shipley's market. Furthermore the highest vote recorded for any candidate is 96, cast for the reelected town clerk and for Thomas West as an assistant. West had previously been second burgess and possibly was not nominated for that office again because if he had won more votes than Shipley, he would have become chief burgess, and it seems likely that West would not have wished to replace Shipley in this position.

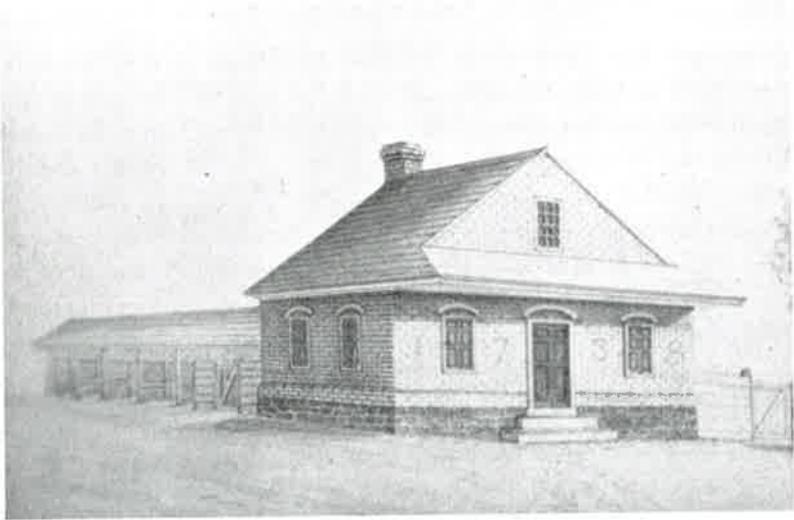
No record is known of votes cast for losing candidates, but since Joseph Way was elected second burgess with only 50 votes it is not likely that the total number of voters was much higher than the 96 who supported Thomas West and the clerk. Apparently, if the figures are correct, there was less interest in this election than in the decision regarding location of the markets and fairs. This supposition seems likely, because feeling on the latter issue had led to violence; once it was settled and the rights of the downtown faction protected by a compromise, town politics became less exciting and the voters turned out less willingly. In future elections, a heated local issue, such as whether the Christina should be bridged at Wilmington (in 1808), would excite

a newer colony, on the other hand, they found themselves welcome. Thereafter a decided majority of the Scotch-Irish headed for ports on the Delaware, primarily Philadelphia, but also New Castle, where their vessels stopped even if but briefly and where thousands of the immigrants from Ulster disembarked. They were often hired or even sold as indentured labor to local planters, with whom they would stay until able to make their way to the cheaper lands in the West.

Here on the Delaware they found an equable climate, orderly government, cheap land, opportunity for advancement, and religious freedom, without the requirement of tithes for any church. The colonies on the Chesapeake or to the south were less attractive because the Episcopal Church of England was established in all of them, as it was also in the southern counties of New York. It is likely that competition with slave labor also reduced the attractiveness of the southern colonies.

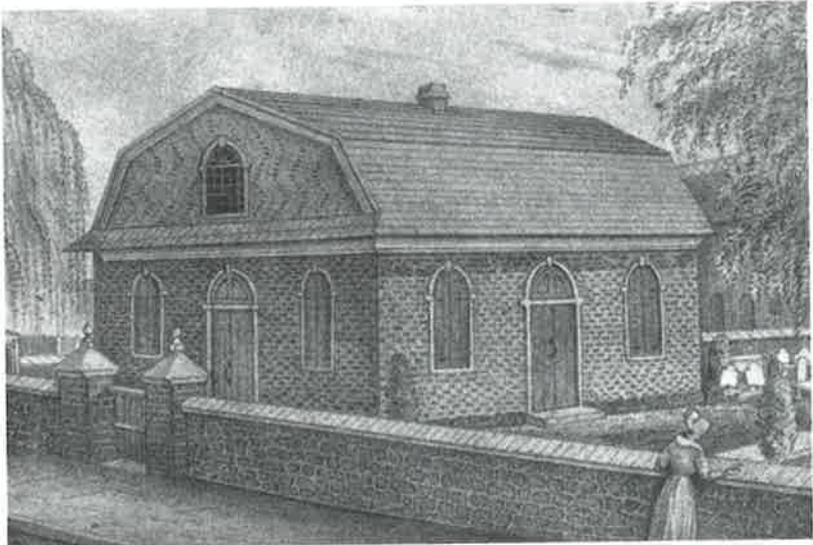
In 1728, 4,500 persons, chiefly Scotch-Irish, are said to have landed in the Lower Counties (a probable exaggeration) and 1,155 Scotch-Irish in Philadelphia. According to advertisements in the Ulster newspapers between 1750 and 1775, 55 percent of the emigrant ships (including those bound to Nova Scotia and Prince Edward Island) sailed for the Delaware, and the number rose to above 60 percent in years of light migration.<sup>137</sup> The traffic between Ulster and the colonies on the Delaware was facilitated by the demand of the Ulster linen industry for American flaxseed, which was mainly exported from Philadelphia and New York.

Some immigrant ships from Ulster made the new port of Wilmington their goal, but most of the Scotch-Irish landing in the Lower Counties disembarked at New Castle, hoping either to make their way west from there or to find employment at once near their landing place. Within a few decades New Castle County had taken on a distinct Scotch-Irish tint, and the Presbyterian churches scattered across that county from New Castle and Wilmington on navigable waters to Lower Brandywine, Red Clay Creek, White Clay Creek, and the Head of Christiana, farther inland, give evidence, especially through the stones in their graveyards, of the diffusion of these settlers. They also became prominent in the central and youngest county, Kent, and, to a lesser degree, in Sussex, where in 1728 the Anglican missionary at Lewes, the Reverend William Becket, testified that "of late years great numbers of Irish (who usually call themselves Scotch Irish) have transported themselves and their families from the North of Ireland into the Province of Pennsylvania and... many families are settled in the County of Sussex."<sup>138</sup>



Original Friends Meeting House, Wilmington. Courtesy of the Historical Society of Delaware, Wilmington.

First Presbyterian Church, Wilmington, at its original location on Market Street. The building has been removed to the Brandywine Park and preserved there with the help of the Colonial Dames. Lithograph by P. S. Duval from a sketch by Benjamin Ferris in the latter's *A History of the Original Settlements on the Delaware* (Wilmington, 1846). These two simple structures represent the two groups (Quaker merchants and Presbyterian immigrants) mainly responsible for the rapid growth of Wilmington in the mid-eighteenth century.





Welsh Tract Baptist Meeting House, at the foot of Iron Hill. Erected in 1746, this building was involved in some of the fighting during the Battle of Cooch's Bridge, September 3, 1777. A number of gravestones are inscribed in Welsh. Courtesy of the Division of Historical and Cultural Affairs, Dover.

## THE REVIVAL OF FAITH AND LEARNING

Like neighboring Pennsylvania, Delaware was one of the few colonies without an established church. By Penn's charter, freedom of worship was granted to every person acknowledging one God, though in practice there was a distinct Protestant bias to the government. The charter permitted only Christians to hold office, and statute law effectively disqualified Roman Catholics by the requirement of an oath denying papal authority.

The Protestant bias in the government of the Lower Counties was a passive matter and the Church of England, the ancestral church of most of the English settlers, had a difficult struggle to maintain its existence. In few places was there a sufficient concentration of worshippers to support a clergyman. Every Anglican minister in the colony was invited to serve more than one congregation, but the distances and the roads made it difficult to be in more than one church on a Sunday. If the minister at Christ Church, Dover, for example, responded favorably to requests that he also officiate in the northern part of Kent County, at Duck Creek, as well as in the wooded south of the county, he could occupy his pulpit in Dover only two Sundays each month.

There were never enough clergymen to satisfy the need. Every one of the Anglican clergy in the Lower Counties was a missionary, sent under the auspices and at the expense of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, the Anglican missionary society. It was difficult, indeed practically impossible, to raise a local clergy in the colony, because a college education was required and for many decades the only Anglican college in America was at Williamsburg, which had little connection with the Delaware valley. Furthermore, an Anglican clergyman had to be ordained by a bishop, and there were no Anglican bishops in America. The absence of a bishop also made it difficult for Americans to be confirmed, and without confirmation there could be few communicants—only those church members who had been confirmed abroad.

Five Anglican clergymen were the largest number in the Lower Counties at any one time, and the consequence was that most of those residents who through family tradition were of Church of England affiliation in practice were unchurched. The few Anglican clergymen

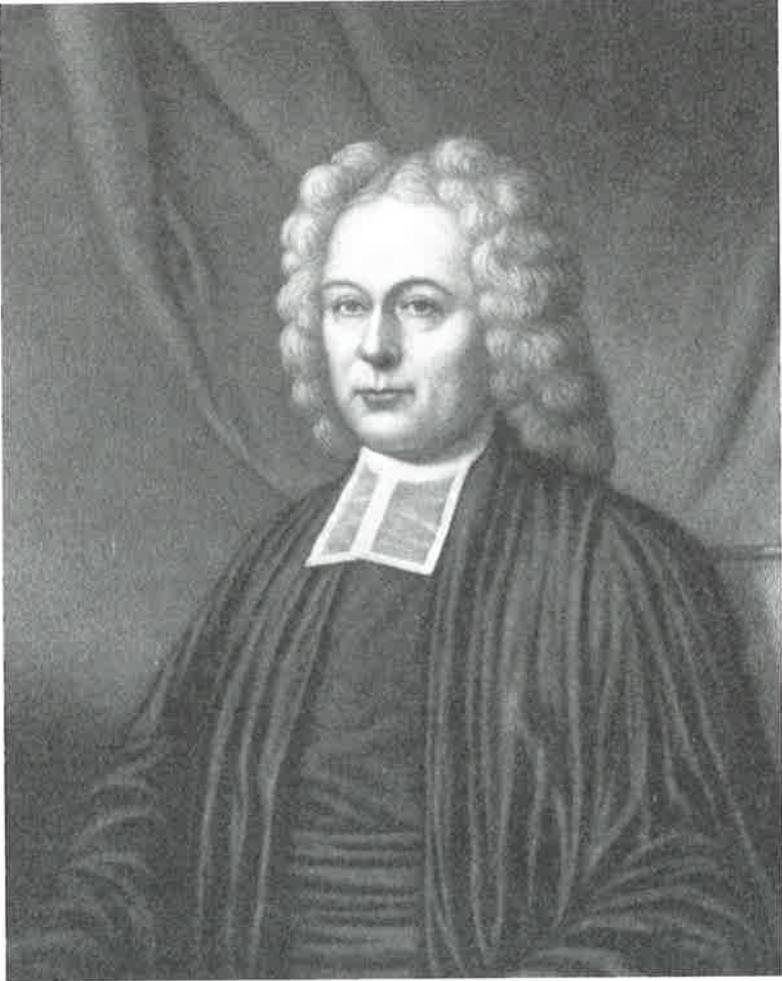
appeal, with little attention to sectarian dogma or denominational distinctions.

He would, moreover, preach almost anywhere that a crowd could be collected—in a field, a public hall, a city square—and on any day in the week. His methods and his message however, won him only a cold response from his fellow Anglican clergymen, such as the Reverend William Becket, of Lewes, who condemned Whitefield for leaving the church building, on a second visit to Lewes, "to go and preach in an open Balcony," as though afraid he had thrown about "hell and damnation, fire and brimstone enough to have burnt a wooden frame." "I conclude," Becket added, "that enthusiasm is a sort of wild fire that leads men into ponds and ditches and for all that the muddy fellows think they are in a good road."<sup>142</sup>

Partly because of the frigid reception the local Anglican clergy gave him, Whitefield had little lasting effect on the Anglican population of the Lower Counties or of neighboring colonies. He did inspire a religious society at Lewes, composed of Anglicans, Presbyterians, and Quakers, which was meeting twice a week in 1740 (it has been called the first Methodist society in America), but his influence in the area was not lasting. Except for the town of Lewes, Whitefield made little effort to reach people in the two southern Delaware counties, where the Anglican population was greatest.

On the other hand Whitefield had considerable influence among the Presbyterians of New Castle County, as well as in neighboring colonies. The beginnings of Presbyterianism in the Lower Counties can be traced to services held by Dutch Reformed ministers at New Castle as early as 1654. A Scotch-Irish immigrant, Francis Makemic, who had settled on the Eastern Shore of Virginia, began the organization of the Calvinists of Dutch, English, and Scottish descent into a presbytery, and when, after his death, the Synod of Philadelphia was established in 1717, one of its four divisions was the presbytery of New Castle, which included all the churches of New Castle County, as well as many to the west and south. Briefly, from 1735 to 1742, and again a few years later, there was also a presbytery of Lewes.

The great Scotch-Irish immigration of the eighteenth century enormously strengthened Presbyterianism, especially in New Castle County, where it became the largest denomination. Many ministers came with the new immigrants, but since the Presbyterians did not require Episcopal ordination and indeed opposed the institution of episcopacy



Reverend George Ross, Scottish-born Anglican rector at New Castle. Engraving by Samuel Sartain from a painting by Gustavus Hesselius. Photocopy made at the Eleutherian Mills Historical Library and used by permission of Immanuel Church, New Castle.

frequently added to their scanty incomes by teaching. Presbyterian ministers, who could expect no help from overseas, usually sought an outside source for funds and often this meant establishing a school of some sort as, for example, the Reverend Matthew Wilson, a graduate of Alison's school and a onetime teacher there, is said to have done at Lewes after filling the pulpit of its Presbyterian church. Wilson also helped support himself by the practice of medicine.

Though the Quakers had no clergy to serve as school teachers, they were assiduous in establishing schools so that their children of both sexes could learn to read plainly, and to write and cipher. They had little interest in any advanced instruction; none of the colonial colleges was founded by Quakers. Their need was to allow their young people opportunity to read the Scriptures and to have the skills essential for a mercantile career. The oldest existing school in Delaware is the Wilmington Friends School, probably founded as early as 1740, but there were once schools at many other sites where the Friends had meetings.

A great part of the people were illiterate, as the number of marks in place of signatures on legal papers attests. The first and second generations of natives in the Lower Counties probably had a higher rate of illiteracy than the immigrants from Europe, where schools were more abundant. But gradually, as the ordinary people improved their economic condition, they saw to it that their children received some elementary education. The heavy Irish immigration promoted the cause of education, for young Irishmen could be hired and boarded around by farmers who collaborated in erecting a schoolhouse in some convenient location. In some cases the schoolteachers were purchased: that is, they were indentured servants whose contract could be bought, probably at New Castle, from a shipmaster who had transported them to America. "Let us go and buy a school master" was said to be a remark heard among Delaware farmers when they saw an immigrant ship coming up the river.<sup>143</sup>

In such circumstances it is not strange that the office of schoolteacher was held in low repute, as a position to be taken only until a better was available. Some teachers proved to be ill fitted for the place; where the chief consideration was the availability of a cheap but literate man there was little concern about his character or his experience.

As population grew, an increasing number of teachers opened schools of their own. Among the most famous was John Filson, who kept an elementary school in Wilmington before the Revolution but had to

a century. A good number of the remaining titles were printed by his former apprentices, including three of his sons. In printing, as in many fields related to literature, the proximity of Philadelphia stifled local initiative in the Lower Counties. Philadelphia newspapers, as their advertisements indicate, were the chief reliance of those residing in New Castle, Kent, and Sussex who felt any need for such a medium of information. The General Assembly of the Lower Counties recognized the local circulation of Philadelphia newspapers by ordering notices to be placed in them.

The most famous literary work by a colonial Delawarean was John Dickinson's *Letters from a Farmer in Pennsylvania to the Inhabitants of the British Colonies*, which were sent anonymously to a Philadelphia newspaper, the *Pennsylvania Chronicle*, in 1767 and 1768 and were reprinted in many other journals from New England to Georgia. Soon the letters reappeared in pamphlet form, including editions published in London, Dublin, and Amsterdam. At the time of writing, Dickinson was a resident of Pennsylvania, but he had retained interests in Delaware and shuttled back and forth between the Lower Counties and Philadelphia. Dickinson won great fame (and an honorary degree from the College of New Jersey) as a result of this work, which was the most popular polemical publication in the colonies until Thomas Paine's *Common Sense* was printed in January 1776. On the other hand, Henry Brooke of Lewes, David French of New Castle, and John Parke of Dover, produced essays and poetry that are remembered only by historians and students of literary curiosities.

Painting had a more notable development than literature in the three Lower Counties, owing to the work of a father and son, Gustavus and John Hesselius, and their connection with Old Swedes (Holy Trinity) Church. Gustavus Hesselius came to America in 1711, when he was twenty-nine, accompanying a brother who had been appointed pastor of Old Swedes. Subsequently the painter made his home primarily in Philadelphia, where he could find patrons, but he painted throughout the area, going as far south as Virginia. His son, John, born in America and baptized at Old Swedes, lived in New Castle for a time and is remembered both for his own work and as the first teacher of Charles Willson Peale. Still a third member of the same family was Adolph Wertmiller, a court painter in Sweden, who came to Delaware near the end of the eighteenth century, married a granddaughter of Gustavus Hesselius, and settled on a farm beside Naaman's Creek.

The first Methodist preacher to come to Delaware (after Whitefield, if he could be considered a Methodist in his American years) was an exotic of his kind. Although most of the preachers were young and peaceful, this man, Captain Thomas Webb, was an old soldier who unbuckled his sword and placed it beside him before beginning to preach. Most of the preachers learned to concentrate on the countryside where plain farmers of English descent, who were out of reach of any settled minister, welcomed their visits, but Captain Webb spent most of his time in Delaware in Wilmington, New Castle, and their environs.

Here the English population was proportionately small and often already attached to a church or a meeting. Later Methodist ministers found success in rural lower Delaware and throughout the Delmarva Peninsula where the English proportion of the population was high and where the African slaves also represented a neglected element in society that welcomed the attention of enthusiastic preachers.

As early as 1770 the printing press of James Adams gave evidence of the effect of the Methodist revival, for in that year Adams reprinted a sermon by Charles Wesley and two others by one of Wesley's friends. The greatest inspiration for Methodism in Delaware came from Francis Asbury, who arrived in America in 1771 and remained on this continent until his death in 1816. Asbury was at first only one of many Methodist preachers sent from England, but the onset of the Revolution caused almost all of the others to return. Asbury remained; however, he objected to state laws requiring all men to take oaths of allegiance, including a pledge to take up arms if called upon, so he spent almost two years in Delaware, where the laws were less severe, though even here he felt it necessary to go into hiding for about five weeks.

Except for this period, Asbury was constantly in motion. A bachelor and homeless, he rode circuit over eastern North America, from Canada to Georgia, covering in his lifetime about 300,000 miles. He found a particularly favorable reception on the Delmarva Peninsula, and especially in Kent County, Delaware, where he had spent twenty months in refuge. Perhaps because he was himself an English tenant farmer's son and had left school when only thirteen, he could approach the ordinary farming folk of Kent and its neighboring counties with sympathy and understanding, and with such success that he is said to have won 1,800 converts during his stay in the Delaware counties.

Here too Asbury and other Methodist preachers met a generally favorable response from Anglicans—even from the clergy, who

formed a larger proportion of the population of Delaware and of the entire Delmarva Peninsula than of any other portion of the United States.

A meeting between Thomas Coke, an emissary newly arrived from John Wesley, and Francis Asbury at Barratt's Chapel in 1784 was a notable event in the history of Methodism. Coke brought Asbury Wesley's recommendation that the American Methodists form their own organization and cut their overseas ties, for Wesley, as a minister of the Church of England, supported the organization of the Christian church on national lines. A conference was quickly called in Baltimore, where the Methodist Episcopal Church was formed. What had begun as a revival movement within the Anglican church emerged as a separate denomination.

Besides the Methodists, another group actively proselytizing in Delaware in the 1770s was the Baptists. In 1779, Francis Asbury, in one of his rare witticisms, noted in his journal: "I found the Baptists were fishing in troubled water (they always are preaching water to people) and are striving to get in all the houses where we preach."<sup>145</sup>

The Welsh Tract Church was the mother church to a number of Baptist congregations in Delaware—at Wilmington, Duck Creek, and Mispillion, for instance. In Sussex County, however, during the years of the Revolution two Baptist preachers from Virginia, Elijah Baker and Philip Hughes, won many converts among the unchurched residents of English descent. One of the most famous of the eighteenth-century American Baptist ministers, the Reverend Morgan Edwards, historian of his church and a founder of Brown University, spent his last years on a Welsh Tract farm. However, before he moved to the Lower Counties he had given up his active life in favor of his writing, and he played no important religious role thereafter. Nor were the Baptists, indeed, ever a major sect in Delaware, perhaps because they never attained an organization as efficient as that of the Methodists.

The Quakers, too, remained small in number, though their mercantile prominence, their entrepreneurial adventurousness, and their developing philanthropic interests allowed them to play a leading part in the economic and, to a lesser degree, the cultural life of the Wilmington area. There were active Quaker meetings in Kent County as well as in New Castle, but only a few Quakers resided in Sussex.

In 1766, John Woolman of New Jersey traveled to meetings on the peninsula and sought, with some success, to rouse Quakers to sensitivity concerning the dangers of ease and luxury and particularly to declare the

St. Xavier's on the Bohemia River in Cecil County and, after 1764, from a mission established at Cordova, in Queen Annes County, by Father Joseph Mosley, also a Jesuit.

In Pennsylvania and Delaware, as in Maryland, Jesuit missionaries often purchased land in the name of one priest and on it erected a small chapel or church. In 1745 a farm near Hazletville, in Murderkill Hundred, Kent County, was registered in the name of Father Thomas Poulton, a Jesuit from the Bohemia station. A chapel and probably a school were erected on the property, which was most likely the first Catholic establishment in Delaware. The Jesuits gave up this property in 1785, concentrating their efforts in the mid-peninsula area on the Cordova mission.

Another early Catholic chapel may have been erected in lower New Castle County, but the permanent base for Catholicism in Delaware was at Coffee Run, near Mount Cuba, in Mill Creek Hundred, northern New Castle County, where services may have been held as early as 1747. In 1772 Cornelis Hollahan, a Catholic farmer, sold a two-hundred-acre farm at this location to Father Matthew Sittensperger, a German Jesuit stationed at St. Xavier's, Bohemia, who was known in America as Father Manners. The purchase was actually made in the name of Father John Lewis, the head of the Jesuits in English America, to avoid any problem from having the land in the name of an alien. A church called St. Mary's was built here, and in time it became the center of an itinerant mission.

The French alliance and the presence of French troops during the Revolutionary War helped give Catholicism increased prestige in this area. The resumption of Irish immigration after the war and the arrival of Catholic refugees from France and especially from the French West Indies in the 1790s significantly increased the number of Catholics in Delaware and occasioned the establishment of Catholic churches in New Castle and Wilmington. The really large growth in the Catholic population, however, did not come until the great migrations of the middle and late nineteenth century.

## THE ECONOMY—OLD PATTERNS AND NEW BEGINNINGS

Slavery reached its apogee and began to decline in the Lower Counties at some time prior to the American Revolution. When the first federal census was taken in 1790 there were 8,887 slaves and 3,899 free blacks in Delaware. Inasmuch as the overwhelming majority of the Africans had been slaves when they entered Delaware it is obvious that a strong manumission movement was under way. The rate at which it was taking place may be estimated from the figures for the first three censuses:

	<i>Free Blacks</i>	<i>Slaves</i>
1790	3,899	8,887
1800	8,268	6,153
1810	13,136	4,177

The 1790s were a period of intense abolitionist enterprise and possibly speeded up a movement that had begun earlier. In the decade between 1810 and 1820 the movement toward liberation came to a temporary halt, but it was resumed in the next decade. By 1840 there were only 2,605 slaves in Delaware, whereas there were then 16,919 free black residents, and by 1860 the number of slaves had declined to 1,798, while the free black population had increased to 19,829.

The accuracy of the statistics in early censuses is suspect, but the general tendency is clear, and one wishes for colonial statistics that would help ascertain when the movement began. Probably the same forces, whether of soil exhaustion or of diminishing demand that caused the decline of tobacco culture in the Lower Counties also decreased the value of blacks as slave labor. The statistics just cited suggest that free black labor had economic value, for the total number of blacks was steadily increasing, even while the number of slaves declined. This may, however, have been a post-Revolutionary development. In the absence of useful statistics, it is impossible to say authoritatively whether the total black population was increasing in the decades prior to the Revolution; yet in view of what is known of the immigration from the Eastern Shore

us in like manner as Negroes have been in some of our neighbouring Governments."<sup>146</sup>

By this date, it is evident that a number of blacks in the Delaware counties had attained freedom, because the laws begin to make specific reference to them. In 1731, for instance, a law required masters manumitting their slaves to assume any cost the county was put to for care of the freed men.

This law suggests that masters were suspected of freeing the aged and the infirm, who were of no value, in order to be absolved of expense for their care. To provide for such cases a law in 1740 required the former master to post a bond of thirty pounds for every slave freed who was infirm or over thirty-five. In 1767 the amount of the bond was doubled, and the requirement was extended to all manumissions, whatever the age and physical condition of the slave being freed. It seems likely, however, that little attention was paid to this requirement of a bond, for in 1787 the requirement was abandoned, the legality of all previous manumissions was recognized, even though a bond may not have been posted, and masters freeing slaves who were in good health and between twenty-one and thirty-five years old were released from any requirement to give security. In practice, distinctions of age and decrepitude were ignored thereafter, and even blacks illegally manumitted were considered free.

Meanwhile many residents of the Lower Counties had become concerned about the morality of slaveholding, and particularly about the buying and selling of slaves, which, together with the obvious horrors of the transatlantic slave trade, aroused sensibilities of the free population sooner than slaveholding itself. In 1767, the Kent County delegates to the General Assembly, with Caesar Rodney taking a leading part, proposed legislation forbidding any further importation of slaves. Their proposal failed, but as the years passed an increasing number of thoughtful people came to support the position taken by Rodney and the Kent delegates of 1767. Some men were moved mainly by religious arguments against slave trading, as well as slaveholding, which were expressed vigorously through these years by leaders of many denominations. Others were moved primarily by the increasing emphasis upon man's natural rights to life and liberty, as well as by other appeals to reason made as part of the increasing struggle against unpopular English laws. Perhaps religious and rational arguments against slavery were increasingly successful in the Lower Counties because the economic need for slave labor was

Virginia, he had moved while young to Kent County, where his father owned almost two thousand acres of land in the vicinity of Camden. When he was a boy of fourteen, working in the field with his father's slaves, one of them asked him whether it was right that they should toil to support him and send him to school and that by and by their children must do the same for his children.

The question disturbed Mifflin. Moved by what Quakers would call an inner light, Mifflin, when the power to take action became his, freed all the slaves within his command and tried to persuade his neighbors to do likewise. In time he became convinced that mere manumission was not enough since he had already unjustly profited from slave labor; thereupon he paid his former slaves for work they had done while in bondage.

His concern on this subject led him to travel widely to Quaker meetings from Rhode Island to North Carolina, conveying his conviction regarding the sinfulness of slaveholding. He was the author, moreover, of many petitions on this subject addressed to state legislatures and to Congress.\*

The Quakers were not the only ones whose religious sensibilities were aroused by the practice of slaveholding in colonial America, though they maintained their antislavery opinions more consistently and over a longer period than other denominations. The early Methodist preachers sent by John Wesley from England also opposed slavery vigorously; the American preachers, however, who succeeded the original missionaries did not all share in this aspect of their zeal.

Richard Bassett, who had inherited a large part of Augustine Herrman's estate called Bohemia Manor and also practiced law in Dover, was an early Methodist convert who freed all of his numerous slaves. After the legislature postponed action on a bill for the gradual abolition of slavery, written by John Dickinson and recommended in a petition signed by more than two hundred Quakers in 1786, Bassett the next year introduced a bill that did succeed in blocking any legal trade in slaves across the narrow borders of Delaware.

This bill, as enacted in 1787, put teeth in the constitutional prohibition on the importation of slaves by providing that any slave brought into Delaware automatically became free, whereas the person

---

\* For his vigorous advocacy of abolition and also of pacifism, Warner Mifflin gained an international reputation before his death in 1798 of the yellow fever (Probably contracted while nursing the sick in Philadelphia).

bringing him across the state line would be fined £20, half of the fine to be awarded to the informer calling the incident to attention. Even more important, the law prohibited the exportation of slaves for sale. A farmer moving out of the state permanently might take his slaves with him, but no longer could a Delawarean sell his slaves to dealers for use in Maryland or elsewhere out of state. The legislature, informed that free blacks as well as slaves had been exported and sold, set the penalty at £100, half to go to the informer.\* This same law promised free blacks the right to hold property and to have legal redress for injuries but specifically denied them the right to vote, hold office, or enjoy the other privileges of a free man.

Abolition continued to be put off, but in 1789 antislavery forces won further concessions from the legislature when they warned that a ship was fitting out at Wilmington to enter the slave trade. It was illegal to prepare ships for this nefarious trade in Pennsylvania, and the legislature quickly nipped in the bud any idea of making Wilmington the homeport of a slaver. The same law also made provision for jury trial for blacks accused of capital offenses.

The act of 1787 that prohibited any trade in slaves across the boundaries of Delaware assured the decline of slaveholding in Delaware, even though Delawareans refused to take the final step of passing an abolition law. As the economic value of Delaware slaves decreased, either from a decline in the productivity of the soil under conditions of intensive farming or for other reasons, a Delaware slaveowner could not sell his slave for the highest price available in America unless willing to take his chances on smuggling a slave out of state illegally.

To prevent and expose any such temptation, as well as for abolitionist purposes generally, Warner Mifflin, Richard Bassett, and others of like mind organized a society in 1788, with headquarters in Dover, the Delaware Society for Promoting the Abolition of Slavery, for Superintending the Cultivation of Young Free Negroes, and for the Relief of Those Who May Be Unlawfully Held in Bondage. Another similar society was organized in Wilmington in 1789, with James A. Bayard, later a distinguished senator, among its members.

One surprising feature in the progress of emancipation in this state is

---

\* The provisions of this law were later strengthened, for example, by a 1793 law providing for the whipping and mutilation (cutting off part of the ears) of anyone kidnapping free blacks. Probably this provision was so savage that it was not properly enforced.

Kent was also a center of early Methodist influence, the site of the first Methodist circuit on the Delmarva Peninsula, the place where Francis Asbury sought refuge during the Revolution. The peculiar mixture of Quaker and Methodist influences in Kent, along with the individual efforts of Mifflin, Dickinson, and Bassett, apparently created an antislavery sentiment that prevailed over geographic and economic conditions. Even on the eve of the Civil War, Kent retained its leadership; the 1860 census showed 203 slaves in Kent County, 254 in New Castle, and 1,341 in Sussex. By that date the number of free blacks exceeded the number of slaves in every Delaware county.

The progress that was possible for a Delaware slave, as well as the handicaps he would face, are illustrated by the career of Richard Allen, who has preserved the account in his autobiography, entitled *The Life, Experience, and Gospel Labors of Richard Allen*.\*

Allen, one of the two or three most distinguished men ever to rise from the bonds of slavery in the Lower Counties, was born to slavery in 1760 in the prominent Chew family of Philadelphia and Kent County. As a boy he was sold, with his mother, to another Delaware planter named Stockley, and this man, for reasons unknown, gave Allen the opportunity to buy his freedom. This was the way in which many slaves won their freedom, but exactly how Allen raised the money is not clear. Some slaves were "rented out": that is, allowed to work for a money wage and to keep part of their earnings. Allen may have raised money in a manner he described, though not necessarily speaking of his own experiences: "The slaves would toil in their little patches many a night until midnight to raise their little truck and sell to get something to support them more than what their masters gave them."<sup>147</sup> It is doubtful, however, that Allen could raise all of the £60 he needed from working a small truck patch late at night. More likely he worked as a slave at tasks he turned to after he became free, when he cut cord wood, labored in a brickyard, carted salt from salt works at Rehoboth, and did days' work of any sort.

As a slave, Allen had been converted by Methodist preachers, and as a free man after moving to Philadelphia he became a leader in the Methodist church. Ordained a deacon by Francis Asbury in 1799, he later led a schism that grew out of racial prejudice and obstruction in the

---

\* This work, not published until 1887, is more readily available in a second edition appearing in 1960.

church. The result of the schism was the establishment of the African Methodist Episcopal Church, in which Allen became a bishop.

A similar schism in Wilmington led a black preacher named Peter Spencer to found another African Methodist church. Spencer's denomination, centered in Delaware, never became as large as Allen's and less is known of Spencer's own background since he left no autobiography. The important point is, however, that the blacks of the Delaware counties were at least as greatly moved by the Methodist revival of the late eighteenth century as were the whites. The Methodist church seems to have provided a means for them to exhibit a degree of both economic and intellectual independence, since they did not remain content to follow white preachers or to worship in edifices built and controlled by whites.

Of course, not all Delaware blacks were Methodists. A notable exception was Absalom Jones, founder of a Protestant Episcopal church for blacks in Philadelphia. Jones was born in Sussex County in 1746. After he moved to Philadelphia he became associated with many fraternal and philanthropic movements there, including a Free African Society, established in 1787, in which he and Allen were leading figures.

The slave was not the only unfree laborer in the Lower Counties, where a substantial part of the working force was made up of indentured servants. Analysis of advertisements for runaways appearing in colonial newspapers between 1728 and 1767 indicates there were more than three times as many white servants as blacks fleeing their masters in Delaware. This does not prove there were three times as many whites as blacks in servitude; it was probably more tempting for whites to run away because they could conceal their identity fairly easily, and for this same reason masters may have felt it necessary to advertise for runaway whites. Over the same years newspaper announcements of captured fugitives being held in jail until claimed also show a majority of whites over blacks—not as large a majority of whites as in the advertisements for runaways, but a significant plurality since it is likely that black runaways were more frequently apprehended than runaway white servants. These statistics suggest that unfree white servants were at least nearly as numerous as black slaves in Delaware in the mid-eighteenth century.\*

Some white servants entered this rank involuntarily, having been transported to the colonies as convicts and then sold to work off sentences imposed on them for crimes committed in England. (American

---

\* For this information on runaways the author is indebted to the late H. Clay Reed, who collected the data, and to Lambert Jackson, who analyzed it.

The indentured servant, during his period of service, was likely to be worked as hard as a slave. He had the great advantage, however, of knowing that his term was of limited duration. Nor was the fact that a man had served out an indenture an impenetrable bar to his later advancement. Many young men of education and ambition found entering indentured service their best means of getting to America. James Annesley, heir to the earldom of Anglesey, served for a time, by a series of misadventures, as an indentured servant in the Lower Counties, and a novel, *The Wandering Heir*, by Charles Reade, was later based on Annesley's experiences.

Besides the unfree labor of slaves and indentured servants, much of the work on farms in the Lower Counties was done by hired hands, black and white, paid before the Revolution about three shillings, nine pence, for a day's work in Kent, though the wage depended on the task. Many farmers rented their lands, some of them on shares. The average farmer probably lived humbly, like William Shurmer, of near Little Creek, in Kent County, who dwelt in 1762 "in a Loansom Cottage, a small Log House that serves for Kitchen, Parlour, Hall & Bed Chamber."<sup>148</sup>

Newspaper advertisements indicate that the average farm in New Castle County, at least from 1728 to 1746, was slightly more than two hundred acres in size. Larger landholdings were common in Kent and Sussex, though only a small part of the total acreage was likely to be cleared—or drained, if near the bay—for farming.

In Sussex County, in 1728, according to the Reverend William Becket, the people lived half a mile to a mile apart, except for the fifty-eight families in Lewes. Their "business" was said to resemble that of English farmers; they commonly raised wheat and rye, plus Indian corn and tobacco, and they kept horses, cows, sheep, and hogs.<sup>149</sup>

Such general farming remained characteristic of the Delaware counties through the time of the Revolution, though tobacco, as has been said, had by then been abandoned. Rye, oats, flax, hay, and garden vegetables, such as potatoes, cabbage, peas, and beans were also grown, as well as orchard crops, though corn and wheat were the staples, the crops most often grown for sale. The wheat of the upper peninsula was of an especially fine quality, often commanding a higher price than other wheat. Sheep and cattle, on the other hand, were small, being allowed to run almost at large in the marshes and forests of Kent and Sussex. The cattle were often driven to New Castle and fattened there—on grass, not grain—for the markets of Wilmington and Philadelphia. For the sheep,

labor." They had time for many social gatherings, "at which... the young people would dance, and the older ones wrestle, run, hop, jump, or throw the disc or play at some rustic and manly exercises. On Christmas Eve there was an universal firing of guns, and traveling round from house to house during the holiday, and indeed all winter there was a continual frolic at one house or another, shooting match, twelfth [night] cakes, etc." With the beginning of war in 1754 prices began to rise, produce became more valuable, and "in a few years the country became engaged in more pursuits and put on quite a new appearance... The old habits and customs gradually wore off... What little remained till then was expelled by the Revolution which ... naturally wrought a far greater change than the former war."<sup>151</sup>

In those times dinner was eaten in the middle of the day and was, even for slaves, a full meal of meat, bread, and vegetables. Meat was also eaten at breakfast, but not at supper, which was the lightest meal. Salt pork and bacon, often boiled, were the commonly used meats in winter, but fresh meat was available in summer and fall and was more often roasted than boiled. Vegetables of all kinds were used, often made into sauces to be served with the meat.

Wealthy people made their bread of wheat, but the poor ate corn bread. Whereas in mid-century coffee and tea were seldom used, by 1788 customs had changed so much that a distinguished but censorious physician, James Tilton, could write: "There is . . . an excessive use of tea and coffee in this state. Every housekeeper that can afford it breakfasts upon one or the other; and the genteel people generally indulge in the parade of tea in the afternoon."<sup>152</sup>

The genteel people would mean the large landholders, the wealthiest merchants, and some of their friends in the professional classes, especially the Anglican clergy. In Delaware, however, there was only a slight distinction between these folk and the more numerous yeomen farmers who tilled their own soil. Both groups lived relatively simple lives, and the richest family, the Dickinsons, dwelt in a house that does not seem grand when compared to the homes of Virginia's tidewater aristocrats." There is nothing of the Virginia character among our people," wrote a politician, in playing down any elements of aristocracy, and though his statement was didactic in purpose, it was basically true.<sup>153</sup>

Waterways were the key to the commerce of colonial Delaware. Such roads as existed were generally in poor condition and led only to landings where produce could be put on board vessels for easier and

however, the larger part of the overseas trade from the Lower Counties was conducted indirectly, via Philadelphia.

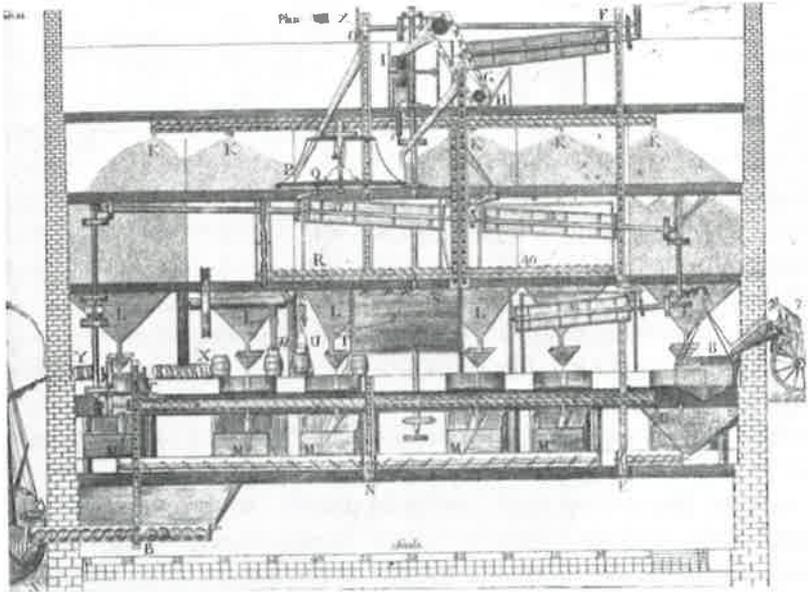
The importance of water-borne traffic to the Lower Counties encouraged the early development of a shipbuilding industry. Some shipbuilding was carried on along almost every navigable stream, on the Broadkill and the Mispillion as well as on the Christina. Though the foundation of an enterprise which eventually would gain for the Delaware valley a reputation as the American Clyde, it was on a very small scale in the eighteenth century, as indeed was almost all of the manufacturing carried on in the Delaware counties.

The production of iron had been undertaken in Governor Keith's day, based on ore deposits at Iron Hill. Keith's furnace was abandoned before the Revolution, but Sussex County, utilizing bog iron deposits, developed a small iron industry after Jonathan Vaughn and some partners from Pennsylvania constructed the Deep Creek Furnace and the Nanticoke Forge (at Middleford) about 1763.

The most important manufacturing in the Lower Counties, as in the other colonies, was undoubtedly domestic manufacturing, the processing of food (preserving, smoking, etc.) and the production of clothes, gear, and implements carried on within every rural family. But the branch of manufacturing with most significance for the future was the milling industry, centered in the grist mills along the Brandywine.

Mills for the grinding of grain were built even in the Swedish period and proliferated with the expansion of population, as the names of Milton, Milford, Millville, Milltown, and Mill Creek attest. The first mills were small affairs, operated by one miller, aided by his family, grinding a farmer's corn or wheat or barley for a fee. Though such custom mills continued in use into the twentieth century, the significant development was the appearance of merchant mills—larger enterprises operated by a merchant miller who bought the farmer's grain and sold the flour, sometimes owning the vessels that brought the grain to his mill and took the flour to a market.

The most important merchant mills were constructed on the Brandywine, at the head of navigation on that stream. Here by 1788, according to Dr. James Tilton, it was "the prevailing opinion... that we have the largest and most perfect manufacture of flour within a like space of ground known in the world."<sup>154</sup> Tilton meant his comment to apply to the state of Delaware as a whole as well as to the Brandywine mills in particular, but the Brandywine mills were considered preeminent.



Sketch from Oliver Evans, *The Young Mill-Wright & Miller's Guide* (Philadelphia, 1795) demonstrating the automatic milling machinery Evans invented to move flour from a farmer's cart through the mill and into the hold of a vessel. Such machinery was employed at the Brandywine mills. Courtesy of the Eleutherian Mills Historical Library, Greenville.

## THE ANGLO-FRENCH WARS

The outbreak of war between Great Britain and Spain in 1739 had only a modest effect on the quiet tenor of life in the Delaware counties. The clearing of fields, construction of roads, embankment of streams, draining of marshes, location of mill sites went on quietly, in war as in peace. Thinking men, however—and members of the assembly were necessarily thoughtful about these matters—realized that the long low coastline of Delaware left it open to maritime aggression at any moment. The defense of their plantations against a foreign fleet or even a privateering vessel was more than they themselves could supply. Their reliance had to be upon outside assistance.

By the circumstances of the case this small colony was driven to respect its proprietary connections at the very time its neighboring province of Pennsylvania was stirred by an effort to break this somewhat medieval bond to a profiteering family. Pennsylvanians, made self-confident by the increasing wealth and power of their prosperous commonwealth, might think of cutting their connection with the Penn family and establishing their ties directly with the Crown and with Parliament, with whom they came to believe their own appointed agent could represent them better, and less selfishly, than the Penns.

But their own good sense led men in the Lower Counties to be less confident about upsetting the proprietary apple cart. In 1726, at a time when Hannah Penn was struggling to retain her family's inheritance in Delaware, James Logan complained to her of mistakes that had been made: "In taking a Title at first to those Counties that was not legal and then not perfecting it while practicable. In not fixing the line with the L. Baltimore when it might easily be done and in heaping things called Privileges on a People who neither know how to use them, nor how to be grateful for them."<sup>156</sup> But soon after Logan surrendered to George Thomas the governorship he had filled temporarily from 1736 to 1738, the Delaware counties became notable for the support they gave the new governor.

Not immediately, for at the beginning of Thomas's administration a number of more or less minor difficulties marred relations between the governor and the assembly. For instance, in April 1739, he complained that the Delaware assemblymen were passing bills faster than he could



The Cape Henlopen Lighthouse, from a lithograph based on a sketch by J. Queen. Built at the expense of Philadelphia merchants in 1767, the interior was burned by the British during the Revolution but restored immediately afterwards, in 1784. Undermined as the coastline gradually receded, the lighthouse was finally toppled by encroaching waves in 1926. Courtesy of the Division of Historical and Cultural Affairs, Dover.

argue that the best way of discharging these bills was to follow the method the assemblymen had already prescribed.

The Delaware counties had first issued paper money in April 1723 at the instance of Sir William Keith, who had approved Pennsylvania's first issue a month earlier and was quick to recognize the utility of providing a medium of trade in these colonies. The problem here was that they were constantly short of money, which was drained from them by England because of their continuing need of English imports, such as textiles and other manufactured goods. The first paper money emission amounted to £5,000, which was quickly raised to £11,000 before the year was out.

The bills proved to be very popular, as Keith correctly figured they would be, and also safe, as Keith hoped, though his record as a debtor makes the fiscal soundness of his measures more surprising than their popularity. Printed by order of the assembly, the bills were turned over to trustees of loan offices established in each of the three county seats. These trustees put the bills in circulation by lending them in sums of £12 to £60 to borrowers who would mortgage their real estate in return. The mortgage contracts called for repayment in eight years in equal annual installments, plus interest at 5 percent. More than the convenience of a medium of exchange was provided; the interest money, as Keith undoubtedly realized, became, with an excise tax on liquor sales, the main basis of colonial finances, including the source of the annual appropriation made to the governor.

It is no wonder that paper money bills had a certain popularity with colonial governors, despite the fear in England that this increase in the money supply would cheapen payments by American debtors to English creditors. In fact, these paper money emissions operated as a "land bank," for borrowers put up their land as security, appraised very conservatively at about 50 percent or less of market value, and received the new bills as a loan. In the absence of any private commercial banks, the government was providing a genuine and a popular service, and it was making a profit. By 1729, when the imminent retirement of the first bills led to a new emission, there had been only two foreclosures, both of small plantations.

At this time Patrick Gordon was governor and, under pressure from the proprietors, he was reluctant to permit new emissions. Paper money, however, had become so popular that he could not withstand the demand for it. An emission of £12,000 was voted, with the period of repayment

extended from eight to sixteen years. In just five years, however, in 1734, there was successful pressure for a further emission of £12,000, and then in another five years, in 1739, Governor Thomas was persuaded to agree to a £6,000 emission, which was originally intended only to replace bills that were ragged and torn. The allocation of the bills authorized in 1739 (£2,400 to New Castle County, £2,000 to Kent, and £1,600 to Sussex) indicates the relative activity of the economy and is similar to the allocation in 1729, the only other such detail surviving.

The original intent of using the new bills only to replace defaced old ones was departed from in a way the governor could hardly complain about in 1740, when £1,000 in these new bills was allocated for the use of the king in supplying the troops raised for the Spanish campaign. Thereafter frequent emissions were voted—in 1743, 1746, and 1753, for instance—but especially in war years. The small £3,000 issue authorized in 1753 was the only one in peacetime, whereas once the French and Indian War began there were numerous emissions—£2,000 in 1756, £12,000 in 1758, £27,000 in 1759, £4,000 in 1760—and then none until the beginning of the American Revolution.

Until the Revolution, when the Continental Congress destroyed the value of paper money by its large and unsecured emissions, the people of the Lower Counties were very happy with their paper money. Supported by statutes which required its acceptance as legal tender within the Delaware counties and supported also by the willingness of Philadelphia merchants to accept it, the Delaware currency maintained a good reputation and an approximate equality with the paper money of Pennsylvania and New Jersey.\* The new emissions were not, of course, completely in addition to earlier emissions; in part, they merely replaced bills paid in and destroyed as borrowers settled their accounts. The amount in circulation grew fairly steadily, particularly in wartime, but the population was also increasing and commercial life was growing at an even faster rate than the population.

Though the utility of the bills as a circulating medium was their chief justification, their value to the government was by no means inconsiderable as a source of support both for the ordinary expenses of peacetime and for extraordinary expenditures in time of war. English

---

\* The local money had, however, depreciated in comparison with English money. In 1774 the exchange rate was 174 pounds of Delaware, Pennsylvania, or New Jersey money for 100 pounds sterling.



The Ridgely House on the Green, Dover. The first section was built in 1728 by Thomas Parke, father of the poet John Parke. Acquired in 1764 by Dr. Charles G. Ridgely, it is occupied by his descendants today. Courtesy of the Division of Historical and Cultural Affairs, Dover.

In May 1747, a year before the war ended, Governor Thomas announced his resignation and imminent departure for England. At the same time he also announced the death, in October 1746, of the principal proprietor, John Penn, the bachelor eldest son of Hannah and William Penn. John Penn had willed his half share of the proprietorship to his next brother, Thomas, who already had a quarter share and therefore now became the principal proprietor, sharing the title with his younger brother Richard, who held the remaining quarter share.

Thomas Penn was well acquainted with the colonies on the Delaware, where he had lived from 1732 to 1741, and being a man of good business habits he was able to utilize the peaceful interlude that began in 1748 to continue the process, begun in the time of his mother, of converting the proprietary claims into a very profitable investment. Despite his best efforts, quitrents were never very successfully collected, least of all in the Lower Counties, but the Land Office in Philadelphia, which served both Pennsylvania and the Lower Counties, did a thriving business.

From the secretary of the Land Office, normally also the provincial secretary, a warrant had first to be secured by anyone desiring to establish title to a tract of new land. The warrant was an order for a survey, which could be made by the surveyor general or, more likely, by a deputy. In general the applicant could pick out any parcel of unsurveyed land he pleased, of any shape, as long as Indian title had been cleared and no prior survey and title had been taken to it. He was expected to choose a moderate quantity, which in most cases meant two hundred or three hundred acres, and when he paid for the land a patent was issued which was his deed or title.

The price of the land varied. By the end of King George's War the price had risen from £5 per hundred acres in 1713 to £15, 10 shillings. This high price seems to have driven some settlers from the Penn colonies to Virginia and the Carolinas, so the price was gradually lowered, first to £10 per hundred acres and then to £5. Sale was also made with the understanding that a quitrent was due, varying from a half penny per acre in 1755 to a penny per acre in 1765, but in the Lower Counties this proved very difficult to collect.

When George Thomas resigned the governorship, his place was temporarily filled by the president of the council, Anthony Palmer, who was, like Thomas, originally from the West Indies. King George's War had ended before November 1748 when the new governor, James

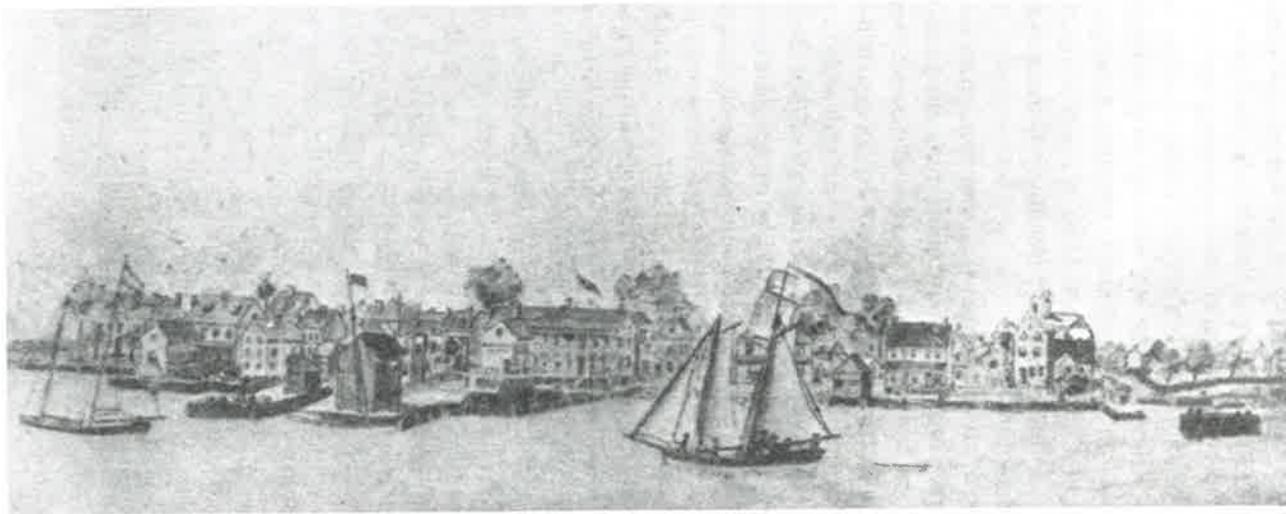
position in the fall of 1754, Morris hoped that as a rich, handsome, sociable bachelor he would be able to enjoy the prestige involved in being governor of two colonies. But his timing was unfortunate. The quarrels that had erupted between Hamilton and the Pennsylvania assembly were not to be brushed aside lightly. Instead, the outbreak of a new war intensified old disputes and raised new issues.

The new conflict was the French and Indian War, which erupted in the forests of western Pennsylvania in the year 1754, two years before it developed into a worldwide struggle called the Seven Years War that lasted until 1763. For the Delaware counties this meant another time when fear of naval attack encouraged a desire for a close relationship with the empire and a willingness to make some sacrifices, in men and money, for imperial war needs. The contrast was striking between the assembly at New Castle, dominated by members of the Church of England, willing to support the war effort and generally friendly to proprietors who were seeking to settle their boundaries, and the assembly at Philadelphia, dominated by Quakers, on principal opposed to all military endeavors and further annoyed by the efforts of the proprietors to control the governor and through him to prevent taxation of proprietary estates.

This latter issue seems never to have arisen in the Delaware counties, apparently because they had no proprietary estates of any significance. Unsurveyed land belonged to the proprietors, but apparently it was not rated for purposes of taxation. The area of the Delaware counties was so small comparatively that there were no rich wildernesses into which settlers were eager to push. The lands that were unsurveyed were generally lands thought to be of little value, relatively infertile or inaccessible.

There were also properties of uncertain status lying on the western fringe of the Delaware counties or at their southern verge, lands that might belong to Calverts or to Penns, as no one could be sure until the boundary was finally drawn and adopted, which was not until 1775.

In these circumstances, Robert Hunter Morris, who found himself in an unhappy situation in Pennsylvania, was able to get along in a relatively smooth manner with the assembly in the Lower Counties. In 1754 the Delaware assembly appropriated £1,000 to the king's use; in 1755 it made a second appropriation, this time of £2, 000 to the Crown, and sent provisions to the army that was marching across the Appalachians under General Edward Braddock, The militia law, which



The New Castle waterfront. From a watercolor by Yves le Blanc, painted July 4, 1797. Formerly in the possession of the Hon. Richard S. Rodney. Used by permission.

(which we esteem no small part of our Happiness) and will ever assert & support that Independency."<sup>166</sup>

In due time the London Chronicle published this declaration by the Lower Counties assembly, which included a summary of their measures in support of the war. Benjamin Franklin, who was in England, observing that no proceedings of this assembly had ever been printed in London before, was sure he knew who was responsible for this innovation. "It is plainly done by the Proprietary Tools," he wrote, "to continue the Prejudices against the Province."<sup>167</sup>

The same assembly that boasted of its independence renewed the militia act in the fall of 1757, this time for the duration of the war, and voted £4,000 for His Majesty's use from a new paper money issue of £20,000. Since the Delaware counties were not attacked by an alien army, the organized militia was never called into combat, but in 1758 three companies, of approximately a hundred men each, were raised and sent to Carlisle, Pennsylvania, to join the army which was advancing on Fort Duquesne under General John Forbes. These soldiers helped construct a road over which the army advanced, occupying its objective in the fall of the year without a battle, as the outnumbered French withdrew.

Statistics that survive for two of the companies from the Lower Counties show that the average soldier was between twenty-four and twenty-five years old, with the ages ranging from fifteen to thirty-five. Most of the men were foreign born, and of this group the overwhelming majority was Irish. The greater part of the Irish, as far as can be determined, came from Ulster and were undoubtedly Scotch-Irish, as their names, as well as their county origins, indicate. A breakdown of the origin of these troops follows:

American born	92
Lower Counties	34
Pennsylvania	9
New Jersey	3
New York	2
New England	2
Maryland	36
Virginia	3
America, but no indication of colony or area	3

than immigrants (six), and included more natives of Sussex County than of any other place, as this list demonstrates.

<i>Place of birth</i>	
Sussex County	22
Kent County	3
New Castle County	<u>0</u>
Total, Lower Counties	25
Maryland	
Virginia	16
Other American colonies	5
Ireland	4
England	4
Holland	1

The average age in this company was lower than the average in a company intended to serve with a Pennsylvania regiment and raised at about the same time by Captain James Armstrong in New Castle County (22.7 as against 25.9). The difference is particularly striking in the number of those thirty or older; there were four in Wright's company and eighteen in Armstrong's. It seems likely that immigrants joined the army at a higher age than native Americans, probably because they were more footloose and perhaps because they were insecure and needed the support, economic or social, that the army might give them. Of the eighteen over-age soldiers (over twenty-nine, that is) in Armstrong's company all but two were born abroad; the oldest was forty-three-year-old Arthur Simpson, born in County Tyrone, Ireland, who listed himself as a schoolmaster. Half of the four over-age soldiers in Wright's company were born abroad.

Besides raising troops for frontier service in 1758 and 1759, the Lower Counties made further appropriations for defense and suffered continued interference with their trade from a renewed embargo and from the havoc created by the appearance of a French frigate off Cape Henlopen. Defenses along the river, especially at New Castle, were strengthened, and Pennsylvania sent an armed vessel into the bay to patrol the shipping lanes.

Governor Denny, caught between obeying his instructions from the proprietors and securing needed legislation from the assemblies to provide troops and supplies for the war effort, took the course that might have been expected of a soldier. He decided that the needs of imperial

## THE EVE OF THE REVOLUTION

No peculiar causes, no special or unusual complaints moved the people of Delaware to rebellion against their king. Their situation was anomalous and their colony did not even have a proper name, neither "The Territories of Pennsylvania" nor the "Three Lower Counties on the Delaware" being authoritatively established (to paraphrase Judge Richard S. Rodney,\* the leading student of these matters). Their great fear was of losing their identity, of forfeiting the large measure of independence they had attained under the proprietors and the Crown.

In general the people of Delaware shared—or at least some of their leaders did—in the complaints common in neighboring colonies. The passage of time, the succession of one generation after another on American soil, far removed from England, had created a separate people in more than a geographic sense. The ideas and beliefs that moved colonists elsewhere became familiar to leading Delawareans, filtered for them through Philadelphia, with which city they had almost constant intercourse. Suspicions of ministerial corruption and parliamentary tyranny, grievances raised by English commercial and economic policies were quickly transferred to Delaware by way of the wharves and ships, the offices, the counting houses, and the printing presses of Philadelphia.

The importance of Philadelphia to the Lower Counties can hardly be overemphasized. The people of New Castle, Kent, and Sussex sent their goods to market in Philadelphia and their sons to school or to apprenticeships there; they read Philadelphia newspapers; on at least one occasion the assembly of the Lower Counties in ordering notices to be posted at certain specified strategic locations included "the Coffee-House in Philadelphia" among them.<sup>169</sup>

Philadelphia was also the seat of the governor (strictly speaking, the deputy governor) and his council. The latter body had little to do with the Lower Counties by the mid-eighteenth century. A few of the councilmen, such as Benjamin Chew and William Till, had property or positions in the Lower Counties, but except for such men the council seldom came to Delaware. The council did share with the governor in the commissioning

---

\* See his "Early Relations of Pennsylvania and Delaware," reprinted in *Collected Essays of Judge Richard S. Rodney on Early Delaware* (Wilmington, 1975), p. 53.

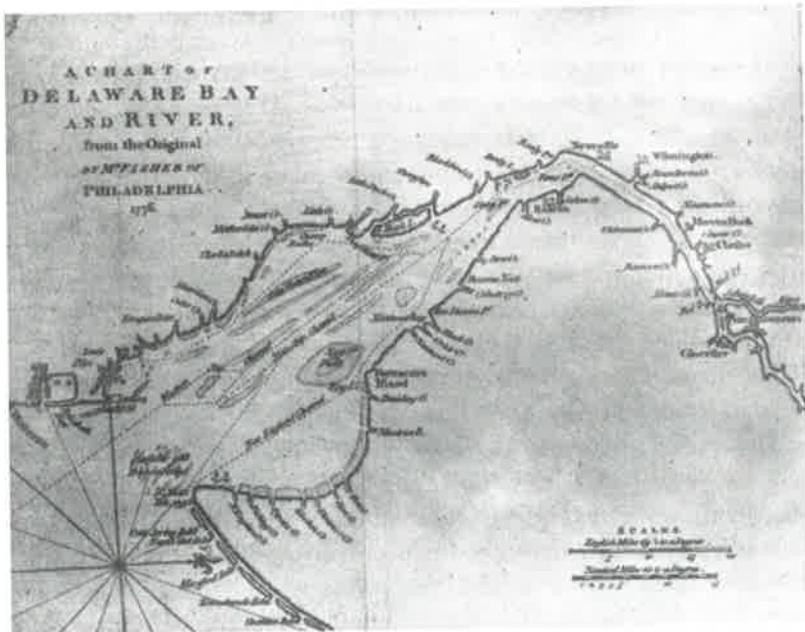


Chart of Delaware Bay and River by Joshua Fisher (1776 edition). Note the position of Cape Henlopen, as agreed to in the boundary settlement of 1732. Courtesy of the Delaware Division of Historical and Cultural Affairs, Dover.

capacities. Appeal from these courts lay to a Supreme Court of four judges (three before 1760), who could not serve in lower courts. Two of the judges of the Supreme Court constituted a quorum, and they met twice a year in each county. Appeal was possible from the Supreme Court to the Privy Council in England, and though this was rarely done, probably because of the expense, such an appeal is known to have been taken by David Finney and members of his family in 1774. Whether it was tried in England is not known, but the fact that Finney was a lawyer himself undoubtedly encouraged him to initiate the appeal.

The most important political force in the Lower Counties was not the Crown, not the proprietors, not the governor, but the unicameral assembly which met in New Castle annually on October 20 and very often again in the spring. Each fall eighteen assemblymen, six from each county, selected a speaker from their own ranks. Though the speaker's powers were few, he was, in the absence of any higher ranking official, the first citizen in the colony. Andrew Hamilton, John and David French, Thomas Noxon, Ryves Holt, Benjamin Chew, Jacob Kollock, John Vining, Thomas McKean, and Caesar Rodney were among those who gained distinction from occupying this position.

The members were elected annually on October 1, when the qualified voters of each county assembled at the county courthouse to cast a ballot, written but not secret, for six representatives at large in each county as well as for two candidates each for sheriff and for coroner. Theoretically the governor selected a sheriff and a coroner from the two leading candidates in the poll (this was supposedly a double nomination rather than an election) but the governor seems to have customarily chosen the leading candidate for each post.

The election of assemblymen, however, was final and not reported to the governor. Only the assembly itself received an official report on the election of its members. At that election the sheriff presided in each county (or, in his absence, the coroner), assisted by an election inspector representing each hundred.

A qualified elector had to be at least twenty-one and to have resided in the Lower Counties at least two years; he was also required to own fifty acres of land of which twelve acres were cleared or to have other property worth £40. Everyone qualified was required to vote, unless sick, on penalty of a twenty-shilling fine, and the polls were kept open until everyone had a chance to cast his vote.

hundred chose an inspector after they arrived at the county seat on election day. Probably the number of voters was becoming so large that choice of an inspector beforehand was advisable so he could prepare himself to be an arbiter if questions arose about the qualification of voters from his hundred.

The assessor was a member of the county levy court, the body that each year decided how much money had to be raised by the county property tax and exactly what tax rate (how many pennies on a pound of assessed property) was needed to raise this much money. The levy court consisted of the justices of the peace, at least eight members of the grand jury, and the assessors. Since none of these officials except the assessors (and they only after 1766) was elected, there were complaints that men should have a more direct voice in choosing those who taxed them. Governor Richard Penn in 1773 attempted to rebut this complaint by arguing that the grand jurors were indirectly chosen by the people, since the sheriff, who named them, was an elected official. In answer, the assembly, led by Speaker Thomas McKean, cited the fact that levy court commissioners, as well as assessors, had long been elected annually in Pennsylvania. It was not right, they argued, that the grand jurors, being named by the sheriff, should then sit in judgment on his accounts. And as to the justices of the peace, it was "unconstitutional and unsafe" that these magistrates appointed by the governor should have any power of setting taxes. Furthermore, "their power in these Counties being much greater than that of the Justices of the Peace in England, or any other of His Majesty's Dominions," they overawed the grand jurors and the assessors, who, for fear of giving offense, agreed too easily to any proposal made in the levy courts by the justices.<sup>173</sup>

Despite the argument of the assembly, Governor Penn persisted in rejecting this bill, which had been requested for several years. Not until well after the Revolution did the levy courts of the Delaware counties become wholly elective.

Before the peaceful course of life in the Lower Counties was suddenly interrupted in 1765 by news of the Stamp Act, an effort by Parliament to raise a revenue in America, the antiproprietary party in Pennsylvania, led by Benjamin Franklin and Joseph Galloway, had been bitterly disappointed not to find support in the Lower Counties for their petition asking the Crown to take over the government from the proprietors. Franklin sought to weaken the Penns' claim to Delaware by

board again protested reference in Pennsylvania laws to the Penns as "true and absolute proprietaries of the province of Pennsylvania and of the Counties of New Castle, Kent and Sussex on Delaware." This was "highly improper and unwarrantable," the board declared, insofar as it related to the Delaware counties.<sup>176</sup> The board, of course, could not protest a similar phrase that was used in the laws of the Lower Counties because it did not see these laws.

But even the assemblymen sometimes forgot that this was so. "Your Majesty has a Negative upon our laws," declared the assembly in 1768 when petitioning the king against taxes recently imposed by Parliament.<sup>177</sup> They were wrong. His Majesty had no such negative, except perhaps in theory. He could indeed dismiss the governor, but he never did. After all, the king's advisers on the Board of Trade and the Privy Council rarely saw any documents pertaining to the affairs of the Lower Counties, and out of sight, out of mind, is a true description of the situation.

In 1765, however, according to George Read, "The scene in America... greatly changed... Political disputes were [formerly] confined to parties formed in the respective colonies. They are now all resolved into one, and that with the mother country. The stamp-act... hath raised such a ferment among us... that I know not when it will subside."<sup>178</sup>

The reaction in the Delaware counties to the Stamp Act was so carefully concerted, so obviously the work of a few men, that it can be viewed only as part of a continental movement to thwart this extension of the parliamentary taxing power. Though the call that moved Delawareans to action came from Massachusetts—a summons to send delegates to a Congress in New York—the action that it provoked in the Lower Counties was probably affected more directly by Philadelphians, for example, by John Dickinson, who had moved to Pennsylvania and steadily gained influence there. Dickinson did not get along with Benjamin Chew and so was not immediately identified with the proprietary party, but in 1764 he had won attention by publishing *A Speech on a Petition for a Change of Government of the Colony of Pennsylvania*, in which he argued that the proprietary government, whatever its failings, was a useful buffer between the colony and the leadership of the English Parliament.

It was that leadership which was responsible for the Stamp Act. Therefore the proprietary party was quite sympathetic to the movement



John Dickinson. Engraving by B. Prévost after a drawing by Pierre Eugène du Simitière. Courtesy of the Division of Historical and Cultural Affairs, Dover.



Thomas McKean. Engraving by T. B. Welch after a painting by Gilbert Stuart. Courtesy of the Historical Society of Delaware, Wilmington.

the assembly in Pennsylvania, his political activities were chiefly in that province. In the late fall of 1767 he began publishing in a Philadelphia newspaper his *Letters from a Farmer in Pennsylvania to the Inhabitants of the British Colonies*, a vigorous attack on the Townshend duties. Though these letters first appeared anonymously, their authorship was soon an open secret. Attorney General Read's participation in the struggle to have the Townshend Acts repealed becomes clear in the light of this friendship. However, even Franklin and many of his antiproprietary allies abandoned their quiet acceptance of the Townshend duties after August 1768, when the British secretary of state for the colonies told Franklin there was no prospect of royal government for Pennsylvania (or the Lower Counties).

However little influence this party had in the Lower Counties, the influence of Philadelphia opinion was very great, and the growing opposition to the Townshend duties led the assembly that met in New Castle in October 1768 to reestablish a committee of correspondence. It consisted of McKean, Rodney, and Read, who had formed a similar committee in 1766 to thank the king for repeal of the Stamp Act. Now they were instructed to prepare a petition to the king, proposed by McKean, protesting parliamentary legislation depriving them of their right of taxing themselves through their own assembly—meaning, of course, the Townshend Acts—and also lamenting the outcome of a controversy between the New York assembly and the Crown that had led to a suspension of the former body. Besides passing a resolution expressing its feelings, the New Castle assembly empowered its speaker to respond favorably to the speaker of the Virginia House of Burgesses, which had proposed a cooperative effort to secure repeal of the Townshend Acts.

Instead of a congress, the unhappy colonists in this case resorted to a boycott of British goods, but the people of the Delaware counties were slow to join this movement, which was adopted in the main American ports at an unsteady pace. After an agreement to exclude most British goods was finally adopted by the merchants of Philadelphia, those of northern New Castle County towns and villages, including Wilmington, New Castle, Christiana, Newark, Newport, and Hamburg Landing agreed to abide by it. Apparently merchants of the upper Chesapeake Bay adopted a less inclusive boycott, for George Read appealed to the people of lower New Castle County to hold to the Philadelphia agreement instead of departing from their usual avenues of trade to turn to the

Chesapeake. This they could easily do by utilizing the old route linking the Appoquinimink to the Bohemia.

The close proximity of Chesapeake Bay to the Delaware River was, indeed, at this very time the subject of an investigation that was eventually to have memorable consequences. With the particular encouragement of a Philadelphia merchant named Thomas Gilpin, who owned property on the Brandywine, on the Susquehanna, and on the Chester River, in Maryland, a group of Philadelphians of varied intellectual interests who had organized themselves as the American Philosophical Society for Promoting Useful Knowledge, undertook surveys of possible routes for a canal across New Castle County to the Chesapeake. Besides the Appoquinimink-Bohemia route, they considered other routes, including one linking Duck Creek (on the boundary of New Castle and Kent) with the Chester River, and another connecting the Christina River with the Elk. Decades passed, of course, before construction began, but these surveys of 1769 and 1770 are a reminder of the easy connection with the Chesapeake Bay that caused George Read concern.

Read's proposals, to abide by the Philadelphia non-importation agreement, were adopted in August 1769 but apparently were not altogether respected, for in the spring of 1770 a system of inspection was inaugurated to enforce the agreement. In each of several New Castle County towns a committee of inspection was established to keep watch on all goods traded and to report to a larger committee whenever it had information that boycotted articles were being sold.

In 1769 the assembly, stimulated to action by reception of a set of resolutions adopted by the Virginia burgesses, declared once again that the sole right of taxation was vested in them, with the consent of a governor approved by the king and holding office at the king's pleasure. They also denounced the idea of moving anyone overseas for trial (as the customs officials threatened to do in smuggling cases) because thereby the defendant lost his privilege of trial by a jury drawn from his neighborhood—from which, of course, it was difficult to get a conviction—as well as the likelihood of any success in summoning defense witnesses. And once again they petitioned the king for a redress of their grievances.

Some of the grievances were quickly redressed, as Parliament in 1770 repealed the duties imposed by the Townshend Acts, except for the tax on tea. It seemed such a minor point that the boycott movement

expected to free them from taxes they regarded as enormous. No public debts have been created recently, no buildings constructed, no extensive repairs made, yet taxes are rising, read a petition from Kent County. A petition from Sussex argued that the levying of county taxes by a board dominated by appointed officials, the justices of the peace, "is the corrupt fountain from whence this Current of oppression flows."<sup>182</sup>

Possibly Richard Penn, if his term had continued, would have run into increasing trouble with the assembly of the Lower Counties. When John Penn returned to the governorship in the fall of 1773 the assemblymen declared they felt "a particular satisfaction in being governed Personally by one of our Proprietors, whose true interests and that of our Constituents are so intimately Connected."<sup>183</sup> They were referring to the fact that John Penn had inherited his father's one-fourth interest in the proprietorship, and they apparently looked to him as a buffer against a ministry and Parliament whose acts they resented.

Through these years a notable development in the assembly was the emergence of a Presbyterian party. Thomas McKean, John Haslet, and such allies as William Killen and John McKinly were frequently found voting together and in a minority. They represented an emerging force, the voice of the new immigrant element in the Delaware counties, especially in New Castle and Kent, but their importance lay in the future when they gained allies among older elements in pressing a vigorous anti-English policy.

In the less than three years of proprietary rule that remained after John Penn's return in 1773 there was no major quarrel between the governor and the assembly. The governor did reject one measure—the bill, passed by the assembly in 1775, to forbid further importation of slaves—but a major achievement of his term was a measure on which Penn and the assemblymen were in complete agreement. This was the extension of the boundaries of the colony and the individual counties to the new lines established by the surveys between 1750 (the beginning of the transpeninsular survey) and 1768 (the end of the Mason-Dixon survey).

On April 8, 1775, Governor Penn issued his final proclamation (there had been a preliminary proclamation in 1774, afterward withdrawn) of the extension of the authority of the government of the Lower Counties, as well as that of Pennsylvania, to the new boundary lines. On September 2 he approved an act of the assembly of the Lower Counties

## INDEPENDENCE AND UNION

The Delaware counties were eager to be represented at the Congress called to meet in Philadelphia in the fall of 1774 to protest the coercive measures adopted by Parliament after the Boston Tea Party. Carefully coordinated mass meetings were held in each county. At these meetings speakers condemned British acts, called for a collection to aid the people in Boston who were impoverished by the closing of their port, recommended the establishment of county committees of correspondence, and urged the speaker of the assembly, Caesar Rodney, to convene the members quickly so they could choose delegates to Congress.

Why it was not enough to have the assemblymen in each county agree on delegates, as they had done in 1765, is not clear. Perhaps the unanimity that existed in 1765 was lacking. Or perhaps there were objections to the sort of delegation such a method of selection was likely to produce. In 1765 one member had been chosen from each county, and if the county representatives met separately to agree to a ticket, it would be unwise to propose a ticket on which any one of the counties was not represented.

It is not possible to know with certainty who was directing these events, but it seems likely that the leadership came mainly from northern Delaware. New Castle County was more prosperous than Kent, which in turn was more prosperous than Sussex, and New Castle therefore had a greater number of lawyers and men of affairs to take a position of leadership. By its geography and by its commercial activities New Castle was closer than Kent and Sussex to neighboring colonies; it contained the main ports of the Delaware colony, the largest towns, the most prosperous mills, and it was on the main route by land from Virginia and Maryland to Philadelphia and the North. News came here more rapidly than to Kent or Sussex. The electric spark of dissidence that ran through the colonies in 1774 touched New Castle very quickly.

The men most responsible for coordinating affairs in Delaware in 1774 were probably members of a committee of correspondence established by the assembly in October 1773, in emulation of a similar committee setup in Virginia. The assembly appointed five men to this committee: Thomas Robinson, of Sussex County; Caesar Rodney, of

speaker, now practicing law in two colonies and serving simultaneously as a stimulant to intercolonial cooperation.

Read and Rodney were almost as much at home in Philadelphia as McKean. Rodney had gone to school there and Read had clerked in a Philadelphia law office. They were both on friendly terms with Governor John Penn, his brother the former governor, and members of their circle. Rodney thought Richard Penn "a great friend to the Cause of Liberty," playing host each day to some of the delegates to Congress; Governor John Penn, as Rodney wrote, "wishes his Station would admit of his acting the same part."<sup>184</sup>

One of the ways in which the Penns had kept the friendship of Delaware assemblymen was by accepting their recommendations when important appointments were to be made. In the fall of 1774, during the sessions of the First Continental Congress, this practice was continued, for when Read announced his resignation of the post of attorney general, Governor Penn accepted Speaker Rodney's nomination of Jacob Moore, of Sussex County, to the place. Even at this late hour the relations between the Delaware counties and the proprietors were harmonious.

In March 1775, the three Delaware delegates reported to the assembly at New Castle, of which all three were members, on the actions taken by the Continental Congress in the previous fall. These were, primarily, the adoption of (1) petitions to England protesting the legislation passed by Parliament in retaliation for the Boston Tea Party, and (2) an agreement (called the Association) to boycott English goods. The assembly approved the report and reelected the three men to a Second Continental Congress that was scheduled to meet in May. At the same time the delegates were instructed to seek reestablishment of relations with Great Britain on a constitutional basis, to avoid anything disrespectful to the king, and to insist on an equal voice for their colony in all decisions. The last point was of very great importance to the Delaware counties, which were forced to move as rapidly as their neighbors in order to maintain their identity and independence.

Before the Second Continental Congress met, fighting had begun in April 1775 at Lexington and Concord, and the war was under way. In the Delaware counties militia regiments began to be organized, and the Delaware congressmen joined their colleagues in voting to adopt the troops surrounding Boston as a continental army. When a new assembly convened, it reelected the three delegates, approving their support of

After a year of war, many colonists were ready in the spring of 1776 to make the break with Britain complete. In May Congress had asked the colonies to suppress all English authority in their governments and, if they needed to do so, to establish new governments independent enough to deal with the critical affairs at hand. This was practically a demand for colonial independence, and on June 7 Richard Henry Lee called on Congress to be more explicit by declaring that "these United Colonies are, and of right ought to be free and independent states." Lee's demand was a bit premature, since several delegations to Congress, like the delegation from Delaware, were instructed to seek reconciliation; therefore debate on this resolution was postponed to July 1, to allow time for instructions to be changed.

These actions in Congress caused considerable reaction in Delaware. The argument was made that the Lower Counties were practically independent, that no change in their government was necessary. On the other hand the governor did represent the king as well as the proprietor, and however little time he spent in Delaware and however much he listened to the wishes of the assembly, he did have important powers of appointment and he did have an absolute veto on legislation, a veto the Penns had used as recently as 1775, in the case of the bill banning the importation of slaves.

On June 15, 1776, the assembly at New Castle, with Caesar Rodney presiding, took decisive action. A day earlier it had heard Thomas McKean explain the actions of Congress; now it voted to sever all relations between the Delaware government and the Crown. All officials would continue their duties in the name of the three counties until a new frame of government could be prepared. New instructions were given the delegates to Congress who were not told how to vote on Lee's resolution for independence but were freed of any requirement to seek reconciliation.

In essence, the Delaware counties had taken their stand with Congress and against the king. There was, indeed, very little independence that they had to gain by this action, perhaps not enough to be persuasive of itself. But their small size made it necessary that they move along at the pace of their neighbors, particularly if they wished—and on this they continued to insist—that their delegates have equal standing with those of other colonies.

The Lower Counties did not dare to lag behind. The same factors that made them support the British Crown when it called on them to

contribute men or money to the wars with the French, the same factors that made them loyal to a proprietary government that defended their boundary against the claims of Maryland now determined the choice the Delaware counties had to make. They were too small, too dependent on their neighbors to make any other.

Still, when Congress, in committee of the whole, voted on Lee's resolution for independence on July 1, the Delaware response was indecisive. Two Delaware delegates were present—Thomas McKean, who supported the resolution with enthusiasm, and George Read, who voted in the negative. The vote followed a debate of the issues in which the principal antagonists were John Adams, lengthily and vigorously arguing for independence, and John Dickinson. Dickinson was no loyalist and no pacifist; he held at that time a commission in a Pennsylvania regiment with which he saw service. Later, when Delaware was invaded, he turned out voluntarily with the Delaware militia. But now, as a Pennsylvania delegate, he counseled delay in any decision that would make a long war inevitable. His arguments affected George Read, or perhaps it was their long friendship, begun when they were law students together.

Lee's resolution was sure to carry by a majority vote of the states, the members being polled individually but only the vote by delegation counting—a procedure that Delaware and the other small states had insisted on throughout the history of the Continental Congress. But a mere majority vote was not enough; it would have the appearance of weakness. Therefore, after only nine of the thirteen states had supported the resolution in committee, a final decision was postponed overnight, till July 2, while an effort was made to get a unanimous vote of the states.

McKean meanwhile had sent an express for Caesar Rodney, the third member of the Delaware delegation. Rodney, as speaker, had been tied up at the assembly meeting in New Castle, and when it was over he had led the Kent County militia into Sussex, where a large band of loyalists had gathered, possibly as many as fifteen hundred. The loyalists had been persuaded to disperse and Rodney had returned to his home in Jones's Neck when he received McKean's summons.

There was no question as to how Rodney felt about independence. "The Continuing to Swear Allegiance to the power that is Cutting our throats... is Certainly absurd," he had told John Haslet in May.<sup>186</sup> On hearing from McKean that his voice was needed to cast Delaware's vote

unsuccessfully, for Congress in 1807) meant that he remained somewhat out of step with the Federalism of Delaware.

Dickinson's friend George Read more closely represented the sentiment of his colony. Though slow to cut the ancient bond to England, Read's decision to sign the declaration exhibits the attitude of the Delawarean, reluctant to break with old connections, which had left the Lower Counties an enviable degree of independence with security, yet unwilling to lag behind the neighboring colonies when a new connection was being made.

Soon after the decision for independence, the assemblymen, at Rodney's call, ordered the election of a constitutional convention, to meet in New Castle in August. The presiding officer and dominant figure in the convention was not Caesar Rodney, who was defeated in the special Kent election, but the moderate George Read, though the irrepressible Thomas McKean was also active in its deliberations. The document the convention drafted, the first state constitution in the union that was written by a body elected specifically for this purpose, was, as might have been expected, no great departure from the frame of government the Lower Counties had enjoyed for seventy years.<sup>187</sup>

The notable change was that the power of the legislature was enhanced and that of the governor diminished. The legislature was made bicameral, a somewhat conservative step that put Delaware in tune with the other states. The office of governor, the one foreign and autocratic element in the colonial politics of the Lower Counties, was abolished. In its place a new office was created, that of a president and commander in chief who was a creature of the legislature, elected by it to a three-year term, without any veto power (thus disposing of that check on the legislature) and dependent, in those few important decisions that were left to him, on the approval of a four-man Privy Council that was also chosen by the legislature. In calling up the militia, for example, in convening the legislature in special session, or in laying an embargo on exports, the approval of a majority of the Privy Council was required. Nor was this weak executive allowed any but a circumscribed voice in important appointments. He had no vote at all in the choice of military officers; and in naming the important judges he had but one vote, like a legislator, except in case of a tie. In the choice of justices of the peace he was given the power with approval of his Privy Council to choose from a double number nominated by the lower house of the assembly.

William Maxwell, was merely to harass the main body of the British and make their advance difficult. At the end of the engagement, however, the British camped in the area for three days, bringing up supplies from their landing place, and then struck off north to Kennett Square, in Pennsylvania, instead of northeastward to Wilmington.

When Washington moved his army to contest the British advance, the Battle of the Brandywine resulted, fought around Chadds Ford and Birmingham Meeting, on September 11. The British victory was complete. On the night after the battle they seized Wilmington, capturing the first president of the Delaware State, John McKinly, as well as the state treasury, seals, and records of many sorts that had been stored on a vessel in the Christina for safekeeping.

For five weeks, until October 16, 1777, some British troops occupied Wilmington while the main part of Howe's army seized Philadelphia and began operations against fortifications the Americans had erected on the river north of Chester. Meanwhile the British kept a number of their sick and wounded at Wilmington, where they were guarded by a force made up of a Highland regiment and some German mercenaries. On October 16 these troops marched off to Philadelphia, while the wounded were carried away on vessels. The British fleet did not gain access to Philadelphia until mid-November, when the river fortifications were finally abandoned after a long, courageous defense.

With the British fleet in complete control of the river, the threat of possible British landings daily menaced the Delaware counties, where only men of courage and strong feelings could keep the rebellion alive. In March 1778, the assembly, meeting in Dover because New Castle, beside the river, was dangerously exposed, chose Caesar Rodney as president, by twenty out of twenty-four votes, to succeed the captured McKinly. Rodney and McKean were reelected to the congressional delegation, though Rodney was too busy with affairs in Delaware to take time to go to Congress.

From October 1777 to June 1778, small parties of the British frequently landed at New Castle or Port Penn, and many farmers proved willing to sell the enemy any supplies they wanted. Washington sent troops to occupy Wilmington so the British could not use it as a base for raids, and he gave serious consideration to making it his winter headquarters before he decided upon Valley Forge. Delaware militia under Charles Pope attacked and captured near Kenton, in western Kent County, the fortified headquarters of a band of loyalists commanded by



Thomas Robinson, of Sussex County, the most prominent Delaware loyalist. A refugee, he returned after the Revolution. Artist unknown. Photocopy from the Historical Society of Delaware, used by permission of Mrs. Thomas Robinson, Sr., Georgetown.



Mary Vining (1756–1821), daughter of John Vining, chief justice and speaker of the assembly, was the reigning belle of Delaware in the Revolutionary era. Her popularity is suggested by the existence of this pencil sketch by Major John André of the British army, and by her later courtship by General Anthony Wayne of the American army. Photocopy from the Historical Society of Delaware, Wilmington, used by permission of the Ridgely family, Dover.

Philadelphia, where the Constitution was written; the delegates could return home and begin organizing sentiment for ratification long before the Continental Congress, now meeting in New York, forwarded an official copy of the new document. Pennsylvania and New Jersey, possessing similar geographic advantages, were the second and third states to ratify, and Pennsylvania could have been the first had its convention, which met on November 21, not become involved in a lengthy debate.

What the Delaware convention did from its convening on December 3 until its action and adjournment on December 7 is not wholly known. No hint of a debate on the merits of the Constitution has survived. There was no vocal opposition to the document and probably the convention might have ratified even faster than it did had there not been an election dispute in Sussex County to consider. Unsuccessful candidates in Sussex complained of irregularities in the elections there. They explained, however, that they wished only to register their complaint; they did not ask the convention to take any action because they did not want to delay its proceedings. All of the candidates in Sussex, the victorious and the defeated, were agreed in their support of the Constitution.

So it was throughout Delaware. As in New Jersey, the third state to ratify, all thoughtful people seemed to be of one mind. The great compromise gave these small states the best agreement they could possibly hope for to assure them some guarantee of continued independence of action while attaining membership in the strong union that their future prosperity and indeed their safety demanded.

## CHAPTER 1

<sup>1</sup> Robert M. Lunny, ed., *Juet's Journal*, Collections of the New Jersey Historical Society, vol. 12 (Newark, NJ, 1959), p. 25.

<sup>2</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>3</sup> From David de Vries, as quoted in Albert Cook Myers, ed., *Narratives of Early Pennsylvania, West New Jersey, and Delaware, 1630-1707* (New York, 1912), p. 25.

<sup>4</sup> Thomas J. Condon, *New York Beginnings: the Commercial Origins of New Netherland* (New York, 1968), p.98; C.A. Weslager, with A. R. Dunlap, *Dutch Explorers, Traders, , and Settlers in the Delaware Valley, 1609-1664* (Philadelphia, 1961) p. 91.

<sup>5</sup> Myers, *Narratives*, p. 8.

<sup>6</sup> K. Van Rensselear to J. de Laet, Feb. 14, 1641, in A.J.F. Van Laer, ed., *Van Rensselaer Bowier Manuscripts* (Albany, 1908), p. 528.

<sup>7</sup> George Masselman, *The Cradle of Colonialism* (New Haven, 1963), p. 18; John H. Wourinen, *The Finns on the Delaware, 1638-1655* (New York), p. 25

<sup>8</sup> J. Franklin Jameson, *William Usselinx* (New York, 1887), p. 90ff.

<sup>9</sup> Amandus Johnson, *The Swedish Settlements on the Delaware, 1638-1664* (New York, 1911), I, 106, 109.

<sup>10</sup> Johnson, *Swedish Settlements*, I, 116.

<sup>11</sup> *ibid.*, 82n.

<sup>12</sup> *ibid.*, 198

<sup>13</sup> *ibid.*, 689

<sup>14</sup> Amandus Johnson, *The Instruction of Johann Printz* (Philadelphia, 1930)

## CHAPTER 2

<sup>15</sup> Printz, "Relation to the Noble West India Company," in Johnson, *Instruction*, 117.

<sup>16</sup> *Documents Relative to the Colonial History of the State of New York* (1856-1887), XII, 48 (Henceforth referred to simply as *Documents*); Johnson, *Swedish Settlements*, I, 427, 432,434.

<sup>17</sup> Simon Hart, in *De Halve Maen* (April 1971), p. 15, and (July 1971), p. 7.

<sup>18</sup> *Documents*, XII, 233,271.

<sup>19</sup> *ibid.*, 247; Christopher L. Ward, *The Dutch and Swedes on the Delaware, 1609-1664* (Philadelphia, 1930), 244.

<sup>20</sup> *Documents*, I, 609

<sup>21</sup> *ibid.*, 612-613; Simon Hart, "The City-Colony of New Amstel on the Delaware," *De Halve Maen*, vol. 39 (January 1965), p. 5.

<sup>22</sup> *Documents*, I, 612-613; Hart, *op. cit.*, 6.

<sup>23</sup> *Documents*, I, 614.

<sup>24</sup> *ibid.*, 630-636.

---

<sup>54</sup> *ibid.*, III, 71, 73.

<sup>55</sup> *ibid.*, 73.

<sup>56</sup> *ibid.*, XII, 457.

<sup>57</sup> *ibid.*, III, 345-346.

<sup>58</sup> *ibid.*, 346.

<sup>59</sup> *ibid.*, 72.

<sup>60</sup> *ibid.*, 109.

<sup>61</sup> *ibid.*, 105, 113-114.

<sup>62</sup> *ibid.*, XII, 457-458.

<sup>63</sup> I.N.P. Stokes, *Iconography of Manhattan Island* (New York, 1895-1928), VI, 19; O'Callaghan, *History of New Netherland*, II, 554.

<sup>64</sup> *Pennsylvania Archives*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ser., V, 565.

<sup>65</sup> *Documents*, XII, 463-472.

<sup>66</sup> Victor Paltsits, ed., *Minutes of the Executive Council of the Province of New York* (Albany, 1910), II, 682.

<sup>67</sup> *ibid.*, I, 125.

<sup>68</sup> *Archives of Maryland*, V, 27-28.

<sup>69</sup> H. Clay Reed, "The Early New Castle Court," *Delaware History*, IV (1951), 240n.

<sup>70</sup> *Documents*, III, 216.

<sup>71</sup> *ibid.*, 230, 235.

<sup>72</sup> *ibid.*, 237, 239, 247.

<sup>73</sup> *Archives of Maryland*, XV, 153-154.

#### CHAPTER 4

<sup>74</sup> *Pennsylvania Archives*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ser. XVI, 348.

<sup>75</sup> *ibid.*, 351-352.

<sup>76</sup> E.B. O'Callaghan, ed., *Documentary History of the State of New York* (Albany, 1849-51), I, 153-164.

<sup>77</sup> Richard S. Rodney, "Early Relavations of Delaware and Pennsylvania," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* (hereafter *PMBH*), LIV (1930), 213-214. (Cf. *The Collected Essays of Richard of Richard S. Rodney on Early Delaware*, ed. By George H. Gibson (Wilmington, 1975), 53ff.)

<sup>78</sup> *ibid.*, 222.

<sup>79</sup> Benjamin Nead, "Historical Notes," in *Charter to William Penn, and Laws of the Province of Pennsylvania* (Harrisburg, 1879), 472-473.

<sup>80</sup> *Documents*, XII, 669.

<sup>81</sup> Hazard, *Annals of Pennsylvania*, 611-614.

<sup>82</sup> *Archives of Maryland*, XVII, 474.

<sup>83</sup> *Calendar of State Papers, Colonial Series, America and West Indies*, XI, 468. (Hereafter CSP)

<sup>84</sup> *Archives of Maryland*, V, 379-380.

<sup>85</sup> *ibid.*, XVII, 222.

- <sup>116</sup> *ibid.*, II, 21; *Colonial Records*, II, 452.
- <sup>117</sup> Logan to Hannah Penn, Oct. 4, 1714, *Pennsylvania Archives*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ser., VII, 49.
- <sup>118</sup> Address to Assembly of Penn, Oct. 18, 1716, *Hazard's Register of Pennsylvania*, III (March 14, 1829), 162; also in *Miscellaneous Papers, Three Lower Counties*, Historical Society of Pennsylvania, p. 137.
- <sup>119</sup> *CSP*, XXIX (1716-17), 188.
- <sup>120</sup> *ibid.*, 233.
- <sup>121</sup> *ibid.*
- <sup>122</sup> *PMHB*, XXIII (1899), 488.
- <sup>123</sup> *ibid.*, 496-497; *CSP*, XXX (1718), 333-334.
- <sup>124</sup> *American Weekly Mercury*, Oct. 27, 1720.
- <sup>125</sup> *CSP*, XXXIII (1722-23), 338.
- <sup>126</sup> Richard S. Rodney, "Delaware under Governor Keith, 1717-1726" *Delaware History*, III (1948), 19; also in Rodney, *Collected Essays*, 161ff.
- <sup>127</sup> *PMBH*, XXXIX (1915), 212.
- <sup>128</sup> James Steel to Robert Shankland, June 11, 1726, *Pennsylvania Archives*, 1<sup>st</sup> ser., I, 187.
- <sup>129</sup> Logan to H. Taylor, Aug. 22, 1726, *ibid.*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ser., VII, 97.
- <sup>130</sup> Cf. John, Thomas, and Richard Penn to James Logan, Jan. 20, 1732, *Thomas Penn Papers*, Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Letterbook No. 1 (microfilm ed.), p. 48; John Penn to Isaac Norris, May 1, 1732, *ibid.*, p. 53.
- <sup>131</sup> Benjamin Shurmer to Robert Charles, Jan. 1, 1733, *Pennsylvania Archives*, 1<sup>st</sup> ser., I, 370-372.
- <sup>132</sup> *Pennsylvania Gazette*, Nov. 2-9, 1738.
- <sup>133</sup> *Papers of Benjamin Franklin*, ed. By Leonard Larabee, V, 361, 376.
- <sup>134</sup> F.J. Paris to Thomas Penn, Apr. 30, 1740, *Thomas Penn Papers* (microfilm), reel 5.

## CHAPTER 7

- <sup>135</sup> Benjamin Ferris, *A History of the Original Settlements on the Delaware* (Wilmington, 1846), 222.
- <sup>136</sup> *ibid.*, 206.
- <sup>137</sup> R.J. Dickson, *Ulster Emigration to Colonial America, 1718-1775*. (London, 1966), 224-225.
- <sup>138</sup> C.H.B. Turner, *Some Records of Sussex County, Delaware* (Philadelphia, 1909), 224.
- <sup>139</sup> Israel Acrelius, *A History of New Sweden (Memoirs of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, XI)* (Philadelphia, 1874), 310.

## CHAPTER 8

- <sup>140</sup> *George Whitefield's Journals (17-37-1741)* (reprint, Gainesville, FL., 1969), 336.
- <sup>141</sup> *ibid.*, 360.

---

<sup>170</sup> *Colonial Records*, IX, 167.

<sup>171</sup> Quoted in Joan de Lourdes Leonard, "the Organization and Procedure of the Pennsylvania Assembly, 1682-1776," *PMHB*, LXXII (1948), 406n.

<sup>172</sup> Perry, *Historical Collections*, V, 123.

<sup>173</sup> *Colonial Records*, X, 82-84.

<sup>174</sup> *Papers of Franklin*, XI, 466.

<sup>175</sup> *ibid.*, 465n.

<sup>176</sup> *Acts of the Privy Council (Colonial)*, V, 302.

<sup>177</sup> *Votes and Proceedings*, p. 166 (Oct. 27, 1768).

<sup>178</sup> William T. Read, *Life and Correspondence of George Read* (Philadelphia, 1870), 29-30.

<sup>179</sup> *Delaware History*, XII (1966), 57-58.

<sup>180</sup> G. E. Hastings, *Life and Works of Francis Hopkinson* (Chicago, 1926), 128.

<sup>181</sup> William Franklin to Benjamin Franklin, June 10, 1767, *Papers of Franklin*, XIV, 178.

<sup>182</sup> Manuscript petition in Delaware State Archives (Hall of Records, Dover).

<sup>183</sup> *Colonial Records*, X, 107.

## CHAPTER 12

<sup>184</sup> Letters to and from Caesar Rodney, ed. By George H. Ryden (Philadelphia, 1933), 52.

<sup>185</sup> Quoted in Harold B. Hancock, *The Loyalists of Revolutionary Delaware* (Newark, 1977), 23.

<sup>186</sup> *Letters to and From Rodney*, 80.

<sup>187</sup> Haslet to Rodney, Nov. 19, 1776, typed copy from Sparks Mss. in Haslet Papers, Historical Society of Delaware (Wilmington).

<sup>188</sup> Minutes of Council of the Delaware State, 1776 to 1792 (Dover, 1886), p. 1035ff.

Geography and history combined to produce the anomaly of an overlooked colony that became the First State. A Swedish settlement, a Dutch and then an English conquest, made the lands on the west side of the lower Delaware an adjunct first of New York and then of Pennsylvania. A weakness in William Penn's title to the Lower Counties gave the colony an excuse to claim special treatment, but it was not the title so much as their prior settlement and the different composition of their population that led Delawareans to insist on a separate legislature so that they would not be subordinate to Quakers and other newcomers in Pennsylvania.

William Penn surrendered to the demands of his colonists in this respect as in others in 1701 because he was rushing home to England and seemed likely to lose his American properties altogether. It would be easier to plead his case in London if his colonies were calm and orderly than if they were bombarding British authorities with protests against his rule. He was unhappy about the separation of Delaware, but the leaders of the majority party in Pennsylvania were delighted, more so at first than those in the Lower Counties. Separation destroyed the negative the Lower Counties held over legislation by reason of their equal numerical power in the assembly.

Once their legislative independence from Pennsylvania was achieved, the stability of the Delaware counties was rocked by the erratic behavior of three governors—the boyish John Evans, the mad Charles Gookin, and the artful William Keith—whose administrations coincided with a series of challenges in England to the status of the proprietorship. These challenges arose from Penn's financial misfortunes and long illness and from complications concerning the inheritance of his American estate.

When the skill and wisdom of his widow finally paved the way for her three sons to enjoy their inheritance (at the same time that the Board of Trade lost its interest and its vigor), they found in the Lower Counties a cooperative assembly, because here the proprietors had retained very little power but yet were looked to as the best reliance the people had against what they regarded as the extravagant claims of Maryland. The authority of the proprietors, exercised through their deputy governor, fell so lightly upon the Delaware counties that they utterly rejected the decision of the Pennsylvania assembly to ask for a royal government.

# BIBLIOGRAPHY

## BIBLIOGRAPHIES, LISTS, ILLUSTRATIVE MATERIALS

Fortunately an excellent bibliography exists to help readers find their way to printed Delawareana. It is entitled *A Bibliography of Delaware through 1960* and was compiled by H. Clay Reed and Marion Bjornson Reed (Newark, 1966). Readers should take note that the index does not include the names of authors who have no Delaware connections themselves, but it is otherwise helpful, as is the table of contents. A supplemental *Bibliography of Delaware, 1960-1974* (Newark, 1976) was compiled by members of the reference department of the Hugh M. Morris Library at the University of Delaware and includes unpublished theses and dissertations, as well as a few printed items, of earlier date than the title indicates. *Delaware History* magazine runs a current bibliography approximately every two years; the latest installment, by Elizabeth E. Moyne, appeared in Volume 17, No. 4 (Fall-Winter, 1977), 295-308.

Arthur R. Dunlap published "A Checklist of Seventeenth-Century Maps Relating to Delaware" in *Delaware Notes*, 18: 63-76 (1945) and also a short article on "Names for Delaware" in *Names*, 3: 230-235 (1950). Harald Köhlin, "First Maps of Delaware, a Swedish Colony in North America," in *Imago Mundi*, 5: 78-80 (1948), is a well-illustrated article on pertinent Swedish maps. No list of eighteenth-century maps has appeared, though there is a good study by Lawrence Wroth of "Joshua Fisher's Chart of Delaware Bay and River" in the *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* (hereafter PMHB), 74: 90-109 (1950), and Pearl G. Herlihy has recently published a brief account of "The Evolution of Delaware Cartography to 1800—Early Maps," in *The Transactions of the Delaware Academy of Science*, 6: 163-188 (1975). L. W. Heck, et al., *Delaware Place Names (Geological Survey Bulletin 1245)* (Washington, 1966), is primarily a gazetteer, unlike the historical studies of names by A. R. Dunlap that are mentioned below (pp. 267-68).

There was no printing in Delaware until late in the colonial period. Once printing began, however, there is an excellent scholarly listing of the products of the press, *Printing in Delaware, 1761-1800*: by Evald Rink (Greenville, 1969). Betty Harrington Macdonald, *Historic Landmarks of Delaware and the Eastern Shore* (Wilmington 1963;

Wilson, *Forgotten Heroes of Delaware* (Cambridge, Mass., 1969), contains short biographical sketches from all periods. Francis Vincent, *A History of... Delaware... with a Description of Its Geography and Geology* (Philadelphia, 1870), goes only to 1664; though it is labeled volume I there was no second volume because the author became discouraged. Benjamin Ferris, *A History of the Original Settlements on the Delaware* (Wilmington, 1846), carries its narrative only to the time of William Penn but devotes additional chapters to the ecclesiastical affairs of the Swedes and to the history of Wilmington. *The Delaware Colony* (New York, 1970), by H. Clay Reed, is directed at an adolescent audience but is nevertheless, in style and content, an excellent book for adults, too.

Of the long, comprehensive histories of all the colonies, the most dependable, by far, in terms of its references to Delaware is Charles M. Andrews, *The Colonial Period of American History* (4 vols., New Haven, 1934-1938). By contrast, references to Delaware in Herbert L. Osgood's *The American Colonies in the Seventeenth Century* (3 vols., New York, 1904-1907) and *The American Colonies in the Eighteenth Century* (4 vols., New York, 1924-1925) are frequently inaccurate.

## THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

### *Indians and Prehistory*

Clinton A. Weslager's *The Delaware Indians: a History* (New Brunswick, 1972) is the culminating study of years that the author has devoted to this subject. Other studies on similar subjects by Weslager include his *Red Men on the Brandywine* (Wilmington, 1953); *The Nanticoke Indians* (Harrisburg, 1948); "The Indians of the Eastern Shore of Maryland and Virginia," in Charles B. Clark, ed., *The Eastern Shore of Maryland and Virginia*, I (New York, 1950); and "The Indians of Delaware," in H. Clay Reed, *Delaware, A History of the First State*, 1: 31-62. Weslager's brief article "Who Survived the Indian Massacre at Swanendael?" in *de Halve Maen*, 40: 9-10 (1965) is notable. Weslager and Arthur R. Dunlap are co-authors of *Indian Place-Names in Delaware* (Wilmington, 1950). Other interesting publications on the Indians include William B. Matye, *Indian Towns of the Southeastern Part of Sussex County, Delaware* (Wilmington, 1940, reprinted from volume 3 of the *Bulletin* of the Archaeological Society of Delaware), Albert Cook Myers, ed., *William Penn, His Own Account of the Lenni Lenape or*

work on the Swedes is Jehu Curtis Clay, *Annals of the Swedes on the Delaware* (2<sup>nd</sup> edition, enlarged, Philadelphia, 1858).

The Finns, who accompanied the Swedes to the New World, are discussed in Evert A. Louhi, *The Delaware Finns* (New York, 1925) and in John H. Wuorinen, *The Finns on the Delaware, 1638-1655* (New York, 1938), as well as in the article "The Finnish Language on the Delaware," by Arthur R. Dunlap and Ernest J. Moyne, in *American Speech*, 27:81-90 (1952). Other good articles or booklets on New Sweden include Clinton A. Weslager, "Log Structures in New Sweden during the Seventeenth Century," *Delaware History*, 5: 77-95 (1952); Evelyn Page, "The First Frontier-the Swedes and the Dutch," *Pennsylvania History*, 15: 276-304 (1948); Arthur R. Dunlap, *Dutch and Swedish Place Names in Delaware* (Newark, 1956); and Arthur R. Dunlap, "Dutch and Swedish Land Records Relating to Delaware-Some New Documents and a Checklist," *Delaware History*, 6: 25-52 (1954). Harold R. Shurtleff, *The Log Cabin Myth* (Cambridge, Mass., 1939), discusses Swedish building methods, as does Clinton A. Weslager, *The Log Cabin in America* (New Brunswick, 1969) with more detail on the Delaware area. Nathaniel C. Hale, *Pelts and Palisades* (Richmond, 1959), is a popular account of the early fur trade.

### *The Dutch Period*

Christopher Ward, *The Dutch and Swedes on the Delaware, 1609-1664* (Philadelphia, 1930), is a lively account of European settlement in the pre-English period; Ward's *New Sweden on the Delaware* (Philadelphia, 1938) is an extract from the larger work. Clinton A. Weslager with Arthur R. Dunlap, *Dutch Explorers, Traders, and Settlers in the Delaware Valley, 1609-1664* (Philadelphia, 1961), and Jeannette Eckman, "Life among the Early Dutch at New Castle," *DelawareHistory*, 4:246-302(1951) are valuable studies based on research in primary sources, as is Simon Hart, "The City-Colony of New Amstel on the Delaware," *de Haim Maen*, vols. 39 and 40, *passim* (1965). J. Franklin Jameson wrote a biography of the Dutch forefather of the Delaware settlements, *Willem Usselinx* (New York, 1887), while one of the organizers of the first settlement, David de Vries, left an autobiography, printed in the Netherlands in 1655 and 1911, which was translated by Henry C. Murphy and published in New York in 1853 (and again in the Collections of the New York Historical Society, 2d set., 3, pt. 1: 1-136,

Curtis and Charles Lee Reese Jr., in *Old Swedes Church, Wilmington, Delaware, 1698-1938* (Wilmington, 1938); also available in print are *The Record of Holy Trinity (Old Swedes) Church... from 1697... to 1810*, translated by Horace Burr (Wilmington, 1890).

### *The English*

Albert Cook Myers, ed., *Narratives of Early Pennsylvania, West New Jersey and Delaware, 1630-1707* (New York, 1912) is a good collection of early accounts. Clinton A. Weslager, *The English on the Delaware, 1610-1682* (New Brunswick, 1967), explores the pre-Penn period, while *Delaware's Forgotten River; the Story of the Christina* (Wilmington, 1947), by the same author, covers a long expanse of time. Bartlett B. James and J. Franklin Jameson, eds., *Journal of Jasper Danckaerts, 1679-1680* (New York, 1913), includes a description of Delaware by a Flemish missionary. Leon de Valinger Jr., "The Burning of the Whorekill, 1673," *PMHB*, 74: 473-487 (1950), is very interesting, as is Dan Terrell, *Eight Flags over Lewes, 1609-1715* (Rehoboth Beach, 1975).

The great English compilation of source materials for this and later periods is the *Calendar of State Papers, Colonial Series, America and West India*, ed. by W. N. Sainsbury and others (44 vols. to date, London, 1860-1969). Closer to home, there is Delaware material, particularly regarding claims to the Delaware counties, in the *Archives of Maryland* (72 vols. to date, Baltimore, 1883-1972). *Pennsylvania Archives*, 2d sec., vol. 5 (Harrisburg, 1877) comprises *Papers Relating to the Colonies on the Delaware, 1614-1682*. A valuable work, combining documents and a historical narrative by Benjamin Nead, is the awkwardly entitled *Charter to William Penn, and Laws of the Province of Pennsylvania, Passed between 1682 and 1700, Preceded by the Duke of York's Laws, in Force from the Year 1676 to the Year 1682*, ed. by Staughton George, et al. (Harrisburg, 1879). Land records are published in *Original Land Titles in Delaware Commonly Known as the Duke of York Record..., 1646 to 1679* (Wilmington, 1903), and in *Walter Wharton's Land Survey Register, 1675 - 1679*, ed. by Albert Cook Myers (Wilmington, 1955).

The leading student of local court records was H. Clay Reed, who discussed them in "The Court Records of the Delaware Valley," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3d set., 4:192-202 (1947), and in "The Early New Castle Court," *Delaware History*, 4: 227-245 (1951), as well as in his

*Lawmaker* (Seattle, 1959), and Michael G. Hall, *Edward Randolph and the American Colonies, 1676-1703* (Chapel Hill, 1960). Sister Joan de Lourdes Leonard's study of "The Organization and Procedure of the Pennsylvania Assembly, 1682-1776," *PMHB*, 72: 215-239, 376-412 (1948), is partially applicable to Delaware.

The writings of the leading student of Delaware as an English colony have recently been republished (with a few sketches not printed previously) as *The Collected Essays of Richard S. Rodney on Early Delaware*, ed. by George H. Gibson (Wilmington, 1975). These essays include papers on the legislative separation from Pennsylvania, the Keith governorship, and the end of the Penn claims to Delaware, as well as biographical, ecclesiastical, and other studies. On the first of these subjects, the separation, another good essay is "The Conflict between the Three Lower Counties on the Delaware and the Province of Pennsylvania, 1682-1704," by Robert W. Johannsen, in *Delaware History*, 5:96-132 (1952). Gary B. Nash's article on "Governor Francis Nicholson and the New Castle Expedition of 1696," *Delaware History*, 11: 229-239 (1965), applies to the same period.

## THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY *The Pennsylvania Connection*

Edward Armstrong, ed., *Correspondence between William Penn and James Logan* (2 vols., Philadelphia, 1870-1872), and a further selection of Logan letters in *PMHB*, 33: 347-352 (1909) and 35: 264-275 (1911), are useful, as are the Penn letters printed in Samuel M. Janney, *The Life of William Penn* (Philadelphia, 1852). William Stevens Perry, ed., *Historical Collections Relating to the American Colonial Church* (5 vols. in 4, Hartford, (1870-1878) includes much information about colonial Delaware through the letters of Anglican clergymen to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. Volume 5 pertains directly to Delaware, but Volume 2, nominally consisting of Pennsylvania correspondence, and Volume 4, Maryland correspondence, also include Delaware material. An Episcopal minister, C. H. B. Turner, assembled two collections of Sussex County documents which pertain, in part, to the colonial period; these are entitled *Some Records of Sussex County* (Philadelphia, 1909) and *Rodney's Diary and Other Delaware Records* (Philadelphia, 1911).

eighteenth-century material, which is accompanied by long introductory essays. Some of these letters also appeared in Mabel Lloyd Ridgely, *The Ridgelys of Delaware and Their Circle* (Portland, Me., 1949).

*The Lower Counties and Their Boundary*

Harold B. Hancock, ed., "Fare Weather and Good Health... The Journal of Caesar Rodney, 1727-1729," *Delaware History*, 10: 33-70 (1962), is a diary kept by the father of Caesar Rodney the Signer. "The Journal of Andreas Hesselius, 1711-1724," translated by Amandus Johnson, with notes by Frank Morton Jones, *Delaware History*, 2: 61-118, (1947), is the record of a Swedish pastor particularly interested in natural history. "Wertmüller's Diary: The Transformation of Artist into Farmer," ed by Franklin D. Scott in the *Swedish Pioneer Historical Quarterly* (April 1945), is by an immigrant painter who married into the talented Hesselius family. Still another account of eighteenth-century Delaware (as well as of a larger area) by a Scandinavian is *Peter Kalm's Travels in North America*, ed. by Adolph B. Benson (2 vols., New York, 1937). In contrast, the *Journal of Benjamin Mifflin*, ed. by Victor H. Paltsits (New York, 1935), is a Quaker travel journal reprinted from the New York Public Library *Bulletin* for June 1935; Mifflin's "Journal of a Journey from Philada. to the Cedar Swamps and Back, 1764," is in *PMHB*, 52: 130-140 (1928).

A fairly voluminous literature concerns the Delaware-Maryland boundary, beginning with the journal of one of the surveyors of the Transpeninsular Line, printed as John W. Jordan, "Penn versus Baltimore: Journal of John Watson, Assistant Surveyor to the Commissioners of the Province of Pennsylvania, 1750," *PMHB*, 38: 385-406 (1914). Recently A. Hughlett Mason transcribed *The Journal of Charles Mason and Jeremiah Dixon* for publication as Volume 76 of the *Memoirs of the American Philosophical Society* (Philadelphia, 1969). Dudley Lunt, *The Bounds of Delaware* (Wilmington, 1947), is a short history of all the boundaries, while William H. Bayliff, *The Maryland-Pennsylvania and the Maryland-Delaware Boundaries* (revised, Annapolis, 1959), confines its attention to the most famous. Thomas D. Cope, "Mason and Dixon-English Men of Science," *Delaware Notes*, 22: 13-32 (1949), and Nicholas B. Wainwright, "Tale of a Runaway Cape: The Penn-Baltimore Agreement of 1732," *PMHB*, 88: 251-293 (1963), are articles of particular interest. Massive documentation produced by the

with Brandywine and Wilmington respectively. Jonathan L. Fairbanks, "The House of Thomas Shipley, Miller at the Tide, on the Brandywine Creek," *Winterthur Portfolio*, 2: 142-159 (1965), is an excellent study emphasizing domestic architecture and interior design. Clinton A. Weslager, "Watermills, Windmills, Horsemills—and a Tidemill: Early Colonial Grain Mills in Delaware," *Delaware History*, 14: 52-60 (1970), is a short article covering a long period.

The best survey of Delaware agriculture in the eighteenth century is "James Tilton's Notes on the Agriculture of Delaware in 1788," ed. by R. O. Bausman and John A. Munroe, *Agricultural History*, 20: 176-187 (1946). James B. Jackson, "History of a Prominent Kent County Farm," *Delaware Conservationist*, 18: 4-10 (1974), is the story of an estate called Kingston-on-Hull. John H. Powell, *The House on Jones Neck* (1955), is a well-written short account of the nearby Dickinson property. John A. H. Sweeney, *Grandeur on the Appoquinimink* (Newark, 1959) provides full and accurate information regarding a tanner's construction of a notable house at Odessa. Very interesting material from 1774 Kent County probate records has been published by Alice Hanson Jones in her *American Colonial Wealth: Documents and Methods* (3 vols., New York, 1977) and in her earlier study, "Wealth Estimates for the American Middle Colonies, 1774," in *Economic Development and Cultural Change*, vol. 18, No. 2, part 2 (1970).

Ralph D. Gray, *The Nation's Waterway: A History of the Chesapeake and Delaware Canal, 1769-1965* (Urbana, Ill., 1967), is authoritative; Gray's previous study of "The Early History of the Chesapeake and Delaware Canal" appeared in *Delaware History*, 8 and 9: *passim* (1959-1960). Joshua Gilpin, *Memoir on the Rise, Progress and Present State of the Chesapeake and Delaware Canal* (Wilmington, 1821), is a classic by the son of the waterway's progenitor. David B. Tyler, *The Bay & River Delaware* (Cambridge, Md., 1955) is a popular, pictorial history of maritime affairs, while his "Shipbuilding in Delaware," *Delaware History*, 7: 207-216 (1957), is more scholarly. A genealogy by Baldwin Maull, John Maull (1714-1753), of Lewes, Delaware (New York, 1941), contains information about some early pilots. James M. Tunnell Jr., "The Salt Business in Early Sussex County," *Delaware History*, 4: 48-59 (1950), tells of an industry that depended on the sea. John C. Kraft and Robert L. Caulk, *The Evolution of Lewes Harbor* (Newark, 1972), is a fascinating geological study.

G. Caldwell, *The Penitentiary Movement in Delaware, 1776 to 1829* (Wilmington, 1946), stands alone in its field. Matthew Wilson wrote a "History of Malignant Fever in Sussex County" which appeared in the *Pennsylvania Magazine*, 1: 165-178 (1775), and James Tilton wrote about Delaware in William Currie's *Historical Account of the Climates and Diseases of the United States* (Philadelphia, 1792), 207-221. Alfred R. Shands Jr., "James Tilton, M.D., Delaware's Greatest Physician, 1745-1822," *Delaware Medical Journal*, 46: 24-32 (1974), is the latest of several short descriptions of Tilton. Several amateur scientists and inventors are discussed in Whitfield J. Bell Jr., "Patriot-Improvers: Some Early Delaware Members of the American Philosophical Society," *Delaware History*, 11: 195-207 (1965). An excellent short essay, with particular attention to science, is Harold B. Hancock, "The Sense of the Times: Colonial Delaware," in *Transactions of the Delaware Academy of Science*, 6: 143-162 (1975).

### *Religious Denominations and Ethnic Minorities*

Nelson W. Rightmyer, *The Anglican Church in Delaware* (Philadelphia, 1947), is the best book on any one religious denomination in colonial Delaware. Besides the already cited collections of William Stevens Perry (P. 27 1) and the writings of Richard S. Rodney (P.270) two short works of interest to students of Anglican history are Nelson Rightmyer's "Swedish-English Relations in Northern Delaware," *Church History*, 15: 101-115 (1946), and M. Catherine Downing, *Sydenham Thorne: Clergyman and Founder* (Milford, Del., 1974). The book *Friends in Wilmington* (Wilmington, 1938) contains several very interesting articles on early Quakers. Jonathan L. Fairbanks published an article with the same title in *Quaker History*, 5 8: 31-40 (1969). Kenneth L. Carroll, Joseph Nichols and the *Nicholites: A Look at the "New Quakers" of Maryland, Delaware, North and South Carolina* (Easton, Md., 1962) sums up work that Carroll had been publishing on this sect for a decade; a particularly pertinent article is his "Joseph Nichols, of Delaware: An Eighteenth-Century Religious Leader," *Delaware History*, 7: 37-48 (1956).

John W. Christie's chapter on "Presbyterianism in Delaware," in H. Clay Reed, *Delaware, A History of the First State*, 2: 645-658, is by an acknowledged authority. A more recent work is James H. Lappen, *Presbyterians on Delmarva: The History of the New Castle Presbytery*

conditions appear in John A. Munroe, "The Negro in Delaware," *South Atlantic Quarterly*, 56: 428-444 (1957), and H. Clay Reed, "The Negro in Delaware: Legal Status," in his *Delaware, A History of the First State*, 2: 571-5 80, but for the most part a student must rely on general works until the completion of a study under way by Elizabeth E. Moyne at the Johns Hopkins University and the publication of readings on blacks in Delaware being compiled for the University of Delaware Press by Harold B. Hancock and James Newton. Elizabeth Donnan, ed., *Documents Illustrative of the History of the Slave Trade to America* (4 vols., Washington, 1930-1935), and W. E. B. Du Bois, *Suppression of the African Slave Trade* (New York, 1904), contain specific references to Delaware. Darold D. Wax, "Quaker Merchants and the Slave Trade in Colonial Pennsylvania," *PMHB*, 86: 144-159 (1962) does not specifically refer to Delaware but it is pertinent nonetheless.

The most useful recent works on the Scotch-Irish are James G. Leyburn, *The Scotch-Irish: A Social History* (Chapel Hill, 1962), and R. J. Dickson, *Ulster Emigration to Colonial America, 1718-1775* (London, 1966). Writings on Presbyterians in Delaware necessarily deal with this group, but not all Presbyterians were Scotch-Irish; see, for example, Henry G. Welbon, *A History of Pencader Presbyterian Church* (Welsh in origin) (Wilmington, 1936). The beginnings of local chapters of an old fraternal organization are related in Charles E. Green, *History of the M. W. Grand Lodge of Ancient, Free and Accepted Masons of Delaware* (Wilmington, 1956).

### *Biography and Government*

There is a dearth of biographical studies of Delawareans of the late colonial and pre-Revolutionary periods. Among the few available, including sketches in Richard S. Rodney's *Collected Essays* (cited on P. 270), are Daniel F. Wolcott, "Ryves Holt, of Lewes, Delaware, 1696-1763," *Delaware History*, 8: 3-50 (1958); J. Bennett Hill, "The Simon Kollocks of Sussex in the Eighteenth Century," *Delaware History*, 9: 51-65 (1960); and Foster Nix, "Andrew Hamilton Is Early Years in the American Colonies," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3d set., 21: 390-407 (1964). Burton A. Konkle's *Benjamin Chew, 1722-1810* (Philadelphia, 1932) and his *Life of Andrew Hamilton, 1676-1741* (Philadelphia, 1941) are disappointingly thin in reference to the Delaware aspects of the careers of these two men.

Waterston, Churches in Delaware during the Revolution (Wilmington, 1925). John A. Munroe, "Reflections on Delaware and the American Revolution," *Delaware History*, 17: 1-11(1976), is an essay on factors underlying some of the actions taken by Delawareans in this period. Charles E. Green, *Delaware Heritage: The Story of the Diamond State in the Revolution* (Wilmington, 1975), and Charles J. Truitt, *Breadbasket of the Revolution: Delmarva in the War for Independence* (Salisbury, - Md., 1975), cover ground familiar to scholars.

### *Printed Contemporary Materials*

The leading contemporary history of Delaware politics is a partisan tract by James Tilton under the pen name of Timoleon, republished as *Timoleon's Biographical History of Dionysius, Tyrant of Delaware*, John A. Munroe, ed. (Newark, 1958), reprinted with an index from *Delaware Notes*, 31 (1958). Important official records in print include the Minutes of the Council of the Delaware State, 1776 to 1792 (Dover, 1886); *Proceedings of the [Constitutional] Connection of the Delaware State... , 1776* (Wilmington, 1927); Leon deValinger, Jr., ed., "Minutes of the Delaware Council of Safety," *Delaware History*, 1:55-78 (1946); and *Delaware Archives* (5 vols., Wilmington, 1911-1916), consisting of military and naval records going back to colonial wars. Harold B. Hancock has published a selection of "Revolutionary War Period Material in the Hall of Records, 1775-1787," in *Delaware History*, 17: 54-85 (1976). Delaware state constitutions and colonial charters may be examined in Francis N. Thorpe, ed., *Federal and State Constitutions, Colonial Charters, and Other Organic Laws*, Vol. I (Washington, 1909). *Laws of the State of Delaware*, ed. by George Read (2 vols., New Castle, 1797), already mentioned, cover this period.

A great collection of primary material of a personal nature appears in *Letters to and from Caesar Rodney, 1756-1784*, ed. by George H. Ryden (Philadelphia, 1933), which should be supplemented by Rodney letters edited by Leon de Valinger Jr., and Harold B. Hancock that were published in *Delaware History*, 1: 99-110 (1946), 3: 105-115 (1948), and 12: 54-76 and 147-168 (1966). Letters of Thomas Rodney, younger brother of Caesar, appear in *PMHB*, ed. by Simon Gratz, 43-45, *passim* (1919-1921) and a *Diary of Thomas Rodney, 1776-1777*, was published in the *Papers of the Historical Society of Delaware*, No. 8 (Wilmington, 1888). *The Political Writings of John Dickinson* were collected by the

storehouse of information; though it traces McKean's life only to 1780 it covers the years when he was most active in Delaware. Several good essays on McKean have been published recently by G. S. Rowe: "A Valuable Acquisition in Congress: Thomas McKean, Delegate from Delaware to the Continental Congress, 1774-1783," *Pennsylvania History*, 38: 225-264 (1971); "Thomas McKean and the Coming of the Revolution," *PMHB*, 96: 3-47 (1972); and "The Legal Career of Thomas McKean, 1750-1775," *Delaware History*, 16: 22-46 (1974). There is a brief ketch of Caesar Rodney by George H. Ryden in the latter's collection of Rodney letters, already cited in the previous section. A booklet by William P. Frank, *Caesar Rodney, Patriot* (Wilmington, 1975) incorporates the latest information. *Thomas Rodney, Revolutionary and Builder of the West* (Durham, 1953), is a brief biography by William B. Hamilton that also appears in his *Anglo-American Law on the Frontier of the same date*.

John Dickinson so far lacks an adequate biography, for Charles J. Stillé, *Life and Times of John Dickinson* (Philadelphia, 1891), is unsatisfactory. John H. Powell, who never published his Iowa doctoral dissertation on the young Dickinson, wrote several excellent articles on this statesman, including his "Speech of John Dickinson Opposing the Declaration of Independence, 1 July, 1776," *PMHB*, 65: 458-481 (1941); and "John Dickinson, President of the Delaware State, 1781-1782," *Delaware History*, 1: 1-54, 11 1- 134 (1936). Other useful articles include James M. Tunnell Jr., "John Dickinson and the Federal Constitution," *Delaware History*, 6: 288-293 (195 5); Frederick B. Tolies, "John Dickinson and the Quakers," in "*John and Mary's College*", the *Boyd Lee Spahr Lectures at Dickinson College* (Westfield, N. J., 1956), 67-88; Richard M. Gummere, "John Dickinson, the Classical Penman of the Revolution," *Classical Journal*, 52: 81-88(1960); David L. Jacobson, "John Dickinson Fights against Royal Government, 1764," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3d set., 19: 64-85 (1962); Edwin Wolf II, "The Authorship of the 1774 Address to the King Restudied," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3d set., 22:1-36 (1965); and Milton E. Flower, "John Dickinson, Delawarean," *Delaware History*, 17: 12-25 (1976). David L. Jacobson, *John Dickinson and the Revolution in Pennsylvania, 1764-1776* (Berkeley, 1965), like some of the articles listed above, shows little interest in Dickinson's Delaware connections. A book-length study of Dickinson by Milton E. Flower is expected to be published soon.

- abolition, 180-181, 183  
 Acrelius, Israel, 160  
 Act of Union, 81, 103-104, 107-108, 117  
 Adams, James, 168, 171  
 Adams, John, 235  
 African Methodist Episcopal Church, 187  
 Africans. See blacks  
 Albany Plan of Union, 141  
 Alison, Francis, 164, 227  
 Allen, Richard, 185  
 Allen, William, 221  
 Alrichs, Jacob, 41-52  
 Alrichs, Peter, 52, 58, 60, 67  
 Alrichs, Wessell, 170  
 Altena, 41, 43, 45-49, 51, 53  
   *See also* Christinahamn; Fort Christina; Wilmington  
 American Philosophical Society for Promoting Useful Knowledge, 232  
 Amsterdam, 1, 4-7, 9-12, 16, 18  
   establishes colony on Delaware, 28-65  
 Amsterdam chamber of West India Company, 41-42, 56  
 Andrews, John, 168  
 Andros, Edmund, 67, 83  
   establishes a council, 68-82  
 Anglicization, 61-62, 67, 159  
 Anglo-Dutch wars, 32, 61, 65, 67, 75  
 Annapolis Convention, 251  
 Anne (Queen of England), 110, 124  
 Annesley, James, 189  
 Appoquinimink Creek, 3, 47, 49, 80, 129, 232  
 Argall, Samuel, 3  
 Armstrong, James, 216  
 artists and artisans  
   cabinetmakers, 170  
   painters, 170, 229  
   silversmiths, 170, 196  
 Asbury, Francis, 171, 173, 185  
 Assawoman Inlet, 92  
 assembly, 86-88, 97-98, 100-102, 111-14, 119, 121  
   after separation from Pennsylvania, 122, 125, 127, 129-31, 132, 134, 139-40, 146-49, 180, 190, 193, 199-202, 209, 213-19, 223-27, 226-31, 230, 232, 235-37, 239-43, 244-50, 263  
   under the 1776 constitution, 257, 259-63, 267  
 assessor, 221-223  
 Avery, John, 102  
 Baker, Elijah, 173  
 Baptists, 158, 173  
 Barbados, 64, 119, 125, 177  
 Barratt's Chapel, 172  
 Bassett, Richard, 181, 183, 251  
 Bayard, James A., 183  
 Beard, Duncan, 170  
 Becket, William, 155, 163, 189  
 Bedford, Gunning Jr., 251  
 Beeckman, William, 43  
 Bell, John, 170  
 Billop, Christopher, 70  
 Binckes, Jacob, 65  
 Bjork, Erik, 147  
 Black Camp, 247  
 blacks, 162, 176-179, 183-188  
   *See also* slaves; slave trade  
 Blackwell, John, 93  
 Blommaert, Samuel, 6, 12  
 blue hen's chickens, 248

- Choptank River, 147
- Christ Church (Broad Creek), 137
- Christ Church (Dover), 161
- Christiana (also known as  
Christiana Bridge), 85-86, 168,  
207, 246
- Christina (Queen of Sweden), 12
- Christinahamn, 31, 35
- Christina River, 3, 15, 17, 31, 33,  
39, 41, 66, 85, 129, 147, 149,  
192, 232
- Church of England, 92, 95, 109,  
139, 154-155, 161, 168, 172-  
73, 221
- City Colony, 41-45, 53-54, 58  
*See also* New Amstel
- Claiborne, William, 133
- Clark, William, 94-95, 104, 127
- Clerk County, 123
- climate, 39, 155, 180, 184
- Clow, Cheney, 247
- Coffee Run, 175
- Coke, Thomas, 173
- Collier, John, 68, 73
- Colve, Anthony, 65, 67
- committees of correspondence,  
236-237, 239
- committees of inspection, 239
- Company Colony, 41, 43  
*See also* Dutch West India  
Company; New Netherland
- Compton, Spencer (Earl of  
Wilmington), 152
- constables, 62, 70, 133, 152-153,  
213
- Constitutional Convention (federal,  
1787), 251
- Constitutional Convention (state,  
1776), 244
- Continental Congress, 204, 237-  
239, 242, 252
- convicts, 187-189
- Cooch's Bridge, 245
- Cordova (MD), 175
- coroner, 219
- council, 18, 61, 72, 83, 92
- Council of Safety, 239
- country party, 223
- courts, 23, 31, 60, 62, 70, 72-73,  
88, 121, 123, 129-131, 137,  
224  
*See also* justices of the peace;  
levy court; Supreme Court
- Coutts, Hercules, 178
- Coutts, James, 121, 178
- Crane Hook, 147
- Curacao, 43, 51
- custom duties, 70  
collector of, 70
- Dagworthy, John, 137
- Day, James, 101
- Deal (or New Deal), 72
- Deep Creek Furnace, 193
- defenses, absence of, 57
- Delaware  
Articles of Confederation, 249  
background of rebellion, 218,  
237, 246  
Coercive Acts, reaction to, 236  
colonial government, 221  
description, 1-3  
discovery and exploration, 4-  
24  
Dutch control, 25-35, 37-40,  
42  
Dutch settlement, 38, 46, 66,  
133  
Federal Constitution, 251  
government under 1776  
constitution, 249-252  
independence, 249-253  
invasion of, 245-245  
literature and art, 169-171  
religious life, 161-163  
schools, 164-168

- builds fort at New Castle, 118-119  
 false warning, 117-118  
 Governor, 114  
 replaced, 119-122  
 Evans, Oliver, 194  
 Evans, Thomas, 164  
 Evertsen, Cornelis Jr., 65  
 Ewing, John, 166
- Fabritius, Jacob, 68  
 fairs, 152-153  
 farm crops,  
   corn and wheat, 89, 143, 189, 193  
   flaxseed, 154  
   fruit, 52, 192  
   hemp, 125, 127  
 farming, 189-190  
 Fendall, Josias, 45, 47  
 Fenwick, John, 73, 75  
 Fenwick Island, 86, 132-133  
 Filson, John, 167  
 Finney, David, 222, 227  
 Finns, 18-19, 22, 37, 39, 60, 62, 65-66, 83-84  
 fishing, 173  
 Fleming, Klas, 12-13, 18  
 Fletcher, Benjamin, 95, 97, 104  
 food and drink, 190-191  
 Forbes, John, 214  
 Fort Casimir (Fort Trinity), 27-31, 33, 35-37, 39-40  
 Fort Christina, 15-17, 19, 21, 23, 25-27, 31, 33-36, 41, 44  
 Fort Elfsborg, 21, 30, 73  
 Fort Nassau, 4-5, 15, 21, 27, 73  
 Fort Orange (Albany), 5, 56  
 Fort Trinity.  
   *See* Fort Casimir  
 Franklin, Benjamin, 200, 214, 224, 229
- Frederica, 172  
 Free African Society (of Philadelphia), 187  
 French, 26, 37, 95-96, 106, 111, 122-123, 137, 175, 211, 242  
 French, David, 168, 200, 222  
 French, John, 117, 119, 123, 132  
 French and Indian War, 137, 190, 204, 210  
 fur trade, 5, 7, 15-16, 25, 27
- Galloway, Joseph, 224-225  
 general assembly. *See* assembly  
 George I (King of England), 124  
 George II (King of England), 124  
 Germans, 37, 133, 155, 158, 178, 188  
 Gilpin, Thomas, 232  
 Girelius, Lawrence, 166  
 Glasgow, 158, 164, 245  
 Godyn (Godin, Godijn), Samuel, 6-7, 10, 13, 27, 39  
 Gookin, Charles, 120, 122-124, 126  
 Gordon, John (16th Earl of Sutherland), 124, 127  
 Gordon, Kenneth, 125  
 Gordon, Patrick, 131, 139, 150, 203  
 Gothenburg, 11, 13, 16-17, 35, 37  
 grand jury, 224, 227  
 Growdon, Joseph, 111  
 Gustavus Adolphus (King of Sweden), 11-12
- Hall, David, 229  
 Haslet, John, 215, 234, 239, 242, 245  
 Hazletville, 175  
 Head of Christiana, 155  
 Hendricksen, Cornelis, 4  
 Herman, Ephraim, 28  
 Herrman, Augustine, 46, 61, 83, 181

- Kollock, Jacob Sr., 222, 227, 237  
 Kollock, Jacob Jr., 205, 229
- Lamberton, George, 26  
 land distribution, 40, 62, 68, 85, 89,  
 108, 208-211  
 Land Office, 114, 208  
 Latimer, Henry, 168  
 laws  
   Duke of York's, 61-62, 68  
   importation of convicts, 186-  
   187  
   multiplicity of, 116, 121, 197  
   nontransmittal of, 141, 197-  
   198, 213-214, 225  
   printing of, 197-198, 208  
   slaves and free blacks, 178-  
   179, 209  
 lawyers, 79, 168, 198, 234  
 Lea, Thomas, 194  
 Levis, Elizabeth. *See* Shipley,  
 Elizabeth Levis  
 Levis, Samuel, 148  
 levy court, 224, 233  
 Lewes, 65, 85-87, 91, 100, 108,  
 111, 116-117, 122, 131, 133,  
 137, 155, 162-163, 167-169,  
 189, 192, 200, 204, 207,  
 227, 229, 237  
   Dutch settlement at, 5, 43, 51,  
   134  
   raids on, 66, 100, 122  
   watch at, 199, 205-207  
   Whitefield at, 161-162, 170  
   *See also* Deal; Swanendael;  
   Whorekill  
 Lewes commons, 108, 168  
 Lewes Creek, 7, 44  
 Lewes presbytery, 163  
 Lewin, John, 78  
 Lewis, John, 175  
 Liston, Edward, 207  
 literature, 168
- Little Creek, 189  
 little elections, 223  
 livestock, 19, 22, 31, 40  
 Lloyd, David, 97, 102, 111, 113  
 Lloyd, Thomas, 92, 94-95, 97, 119  
 loan offices, 201  
 Lock, Lars Karlsson, 23  
 Logan, James, 114, 116-117, 123-  
 124, 128, 131, 139, 150, 197  
 log construction, 22, 85, 189  
 Lords of Trade and Plantations,  
   The, 76, 93  
 Lovelace, Francis, 61  
 Lower Brandywine, 155  
 Lower Counties  
   assemblymen, absenteeism of,  
   91-92  
   economy, 122, 124, 142-144  
   under Markham's charter, 97-  
   101, 104  
   Penn's title questioned, 102,  
   104, 110-113, 121-122, 126-  
   127, 149-151  
   population increase in, 143-  
   145, 160  
   royal government, 94-96  
   separation from Pennsylvania,  
   103-112  
   under 1701 charter, 116-120  
   union, opposition to, 93-94  
   *See also* Delaware  
 Lower Pennsylvania, 88  
 loyalists, 242-243, 247  
 lumber, *See* wood  
 Lutherans, 17, 19, 23, 49, 68, 148,  
 160, 166
- McClughan, John, 214  
 McDowell, Alexander, 164  
 McKean, Thomas, 220, 224, 227-  
 228, 234, 237, 242-244  
 McKinly, John, 154, 234, 237, 246  
 McLane, Allen, 239, 243

- Newark Academy, 169
- New Castle, 28, 41, 61, 63-67, 69-73, 75-85, 88-94, 97-107, 110, 112-124, 127-130, 132, 135, 137, 144, 152, 156, 158, 160-62, 165-69, 171-75, 181-82, 185-87, 189, 197, 200, 203, 206-09, 211, 212-215, 218, 221-223, 225  
 assembly at, 94, 117, 128, 188, 216, 218, 224, 237  
 relations with governor,  
 religion, 49  
 shipping, 21  
 in wartime, 203-204  
*See also* assembly; Fort Casimir; New Amstel
- New Castle commons, 108
- New Castle County, 15, 85, 89, 90, 98, 101-03, 105, 122-23, 129, 131, 135, 137, 146, 149, 155, 158, 160, 162-64, 175, 190-191, 205, 217, 231, 233, 238
- New Castle presbytery, 163
- New England, 4, 26, 40, 55-56, 59, 60, 70, 72, 148, 154, 169, 215, 210
- New Haven colony, 55
- New Jersey, 25, 27, 37, 41, 45-46, 59, 60, 65, 68, 73-75, 77, 110, 118, 120, 131, 166, 169, 173, 205, 210, 214-215, 246, 250, 253
- New London (PA), 164
- New Netherland, 4-7, 13, 16, 26, 36-37, 39, 42, 46-47, 50, 55-56, 61, 65, 67, 77, 255-257  
*See also* City Colony;  
 Company Colony; Dutch West India Company
- Newport, 193, 195, 231
- New Sussex, 137
- New Sweden, 1, 12,-13, 16-19, 21, 23-37, 39, 77, 147, 259  
 expeditions to,  
 fall of,  
 foundations,  
 under Printz,  
 under Rising,  
*See also* Swedes
- New Sweden Company, 12-13, 17-18, 21, 25, 28, 35  
*See also* New Sweden
- Newton, James, 133
- New York, 1, 25, 32, 45, 56, 57, 59, 61, 64-68, 70-73, 76-78, 80-81, 86, 95-96, 104, 106-107, 111, 119, 120, 133, 155, 193, 210, 212, 215, 227-228, 231, 244, 246, 253
- Nicholites, 174
- Nichols, Joseph, 174
- Nicholson, Francis, 98
- Nicolls, Richard, 55, 61, 73
- Norris, Isaac, 106, 119, 258,-259
- Noxon, Benjamin, 216
- Noxon, Thomas, 223
- Nys, Johannes (de), 170
- Odessa (Cantwell's Bridge), 170, 174, 193, 197
- Ogle, John, 68
- Ogle, Widow, 85
- Old Man's Road, 47
- Old Swedes (Holy Trinity) Church, 69, 149, 160, 147, 169
- Outhout, Fop, 73
- Oxenstierna, Count Axel, 12
- Oxenstierna, Eric, 28
- Palmer, Anthony, 209
- Papegoya, Johan, 30
- paper money, 128, 202-205, 210, 215, 226, 248
- Paradise Point, 15

- Prince George's Chapel  
(Dagsboro), 137
- printing, 168-69, 171, 219
- Printz, Gustaf (son of Johan), 28
- Printz, Johan, 18-20, 24, 31
- Privy Council, 92-93, 96, 102, 134,  
150, 152, 202, 223, 227, 245,  
261
- proprietors. *See individual Penn  
entries*
- provincial court. *See Supreme  
Court*
- Quakers (Society of Friends), 73,  
75, 77, 92, 96-98, 106, 110,  
112, 114, 119, 121, 125,  
139, 163, 167, 173-74, 179,  
182, 185, 200, 211, 214,  
222, 258
- in the Lower Counties, 98,  
106, 110, 112, 114, 200
- and slavery, 174, 179, 182
- Quarryville Creek, 72
- Quary, Robert, 102, 110
- Queen Anne's County (MD), 123
- Queen Anne's War. *See under wars  
with France*
- quitrents, 207
- Randolph, Edward, 101, 107
- Read, George, 227, 230-33, 238,  
243-46, 252, 261
- Reade, Charles, 190
- Red Clay Creek, 147, 155, 197
- Rednap, Captain, 119
- Reedy Island, 2, 189
- Rehoboth Bay, 191
- Religion,  
*see also names of individual  
denominations*
- Ridder, Peter Hollander, 16
- Rising, Johan Classon, 28
- roads, 57, 68, 70, 135, 147, 161,  
164, 174, 192, 193, 199, 210,  
240
- Robinson, Thomas, 237, 248-49
- Rockland, 197
- Rock Presbyterian Church (Cecil  
County, Md.), 164
- Rocks, The (on the Christina), 14,  
206
- Rodney, William, 109, 114
- Rodney, Caesar, 221
- and independence, 241
- and preliminaries of  
revolution, 1126-235
- as president of the Delaware  
State, 114
- Rodney, Thomas, 242
- Roman Catholics, 161, 174
- Ross, George, 125
- Ross, John, 228
- St. Jones River, 71, 144
- St. Mary's Catholic Church (Coffee  
Run), 175
- St. Peter's Church (Lewes), 162
- St. Xavier's (Bohemia River, MD),  
175
- Salem (NJ), 73
- Salem River (NJ), 25-26, 73, 120
- salt works, 185
- Sandhook, 27, 28
- See also Fort Casimir; New  
Amstel*
- Sassafras River (MD), 2
- Scandinavians, 37
- schepens (magistrates), 42, 46-47
- schout, 50, 60-62, 67-68
- Schuylkill River (PA), 15, 21, 27,  
78, 86, 189
- Scotch-Irish, 154-56, 158, 160,  
163, 168, 206, 215,-16, 228,  
248
- immigration of, 154-155, 163  
and leadership, 156

- Tennent, Charles, 134  
 Tennent, William, 164  
 Thomas, George, 139, 150, 178, 188, 197-98, 207  
 Till, William, 217,  
 Tilton, James, 191, 193  
 Tinicum Island (PA), 21  
 tobacco, 9, 16, 18, 21, 28, 40, 49, 52, 70, 78, 89, 90-91, 111, 122-23, 143  
     decline in cultivation of, 143-44  
     illegal trade in, 60, 98, 101  
 Torkillus, Reorus, 17  
 Townshend Acts, 228-31
- United New Netherland Company, 4  
 Upland. *See* Chester  
 Usselinx, William, 11-12, 17  
 Utie, Nathaniel, 45
- Van Rensselaer, Kiliaen, 6, 13  
 Van Sweeringen, Gerrit, 50, 58, 60  
 Van Twiller, Wouter, 10  
 Varnum, Daniel, 238  
 Vaughan, Joseph, 248  
 Vaughn, Jonathan, 193  
 Verrazzano, Giovanni da, 1  
 Vining, John, 221  
 Virginia, 3, 7, 25-26, 43-44, 52, 56, 65, 70, 72, 100, 130, 146, 163, 169, 173, 181, 191, 207, 213, 215, 229, 235, 248  
 Visscher, Nicholas, 86  
 voting. *See* elections; suffrage  
 Vries, David de. *See* De Vries, David, 6-7, 9-10
- Waldron, Resolved, 46  
 Walker, George, 228  
 Walloon colony, 4-6, 13, 19  
 Warner, Joseph, 170
- wars with France, 101, 103, 206-07  
     King George's, 206-07  
     King William's, 101  
     Queen Anne's, 123  
     *See also* French and Indian War  
 watch and ward, 70  
     *See also* Lewes, watch at  
 Watson, John, 134  
 Wax, Darold D., 178  
 Way, Joseph, 153  
 wealth, 5, 50, 55, 60, 90, 113, 144, 184, 191, 197, 208, 212, 238, 143, 146  
 Webb, Thomas, 171  
 Wedge, The, 121, 135  
 weights and measures, 71, 201  
 Welius, Everadus, 49  
 Welsh, 92, 113, 158-59, 164, 173  
 Welsh Tract, 158-59, 173  
 Welsh Tract (Baptist) Church, 159, 173  
 Werden, Sir John, 76  
 Wertmiller, Adolph, 169  
 Wesley, Charles, 162, 171  
 Wesley, John, 170, 172-73, 181  
 West, Thomas (Baron De La Warr), 3  
 West, Thomas (of Wilmington), 152-53  
 West India Company. *See* Dutch West India Company  
 West India trade, 192  
 West Indies, 7, 10, 15, 26, 65, 89, 125, 139, 144, 166, 175, 178, 207  
     immigration from, 139, 175, 178  
     trade with, 7, 10, 15, 89, 125, 144, 192  
 whale oil, 6-7, 9  
 Wharton, Samuel, 67  
 Wharton, Walter, 166

---

---

This volume will long stand as the authoritative work on this epoch of Delaware history.

—Leon de Valinger Jr.  
*Former State Archivist and State Historian of Delaware*

Delawareans and colonial historians everywhere will be forever indebted to the author for sharing his superb knowledge of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. It (this volume) assumes its place immediately as the standard history of the colonial period in Delaware.

—Harold Hancock  
*Former Chairman,  
Department of History and Political Science,  
Otterbein College*

Told in a knowledgeable, highly readable way, it is a “must” for anyone interested in American Colonial History.

—C. A. Weslager  
*Delaware historian and author*

...clearly the best study ever written about colonial Delaware.

—James Morton Smith  
*Former Director,  
Winterthur Museum*

This is the first complete history of colonial Delaware... traced with literary skill and thorough scholarship...

—Walter Heacock  
*Former General Director  
Hagley Museum and Library*

---

---