

Crane Hook on the Delaware

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by Jeannette Eckman

Crane Hook
on the Delaware

1667 - 1699

An Early Swedish Lutheran Church
and Community

With the Historical Background of the
Delaware River Valley

BY JEANNETTE ECKMAN

Drawings by Walter Stewart

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PREFACE

The purposes of the Delaware Swedish Colonial Society are to commemorate each year on March 29 the landing of the Swedes in 1638 at "The Rocks" now in Fort Christina State Park, Wilmington, Delaware; and to collect, preserve, and publish records, documents and other material relating to the history of this first permanent settlement in the Delaware River Valley.

It is a pleasure to introduce this Crane Hook study which is sponsored by the history committee of the Society.

HAROLD L. SPRINGER, M. D.

President

Delaware Swedish Colonial Society

October 7, 1957

History Committee's note: Dr. Springer is a direct descendant of Charles Springer, the Reader in the Crane Hook Church 1689-1697.

FOREWORD

The Swedes who made the first permanent settlement in the Delaware River Valley at the site of present Wilmington under the government of Sweden, and spread along the west side of the river 1638 to 1655, maintained their culture under the successive sovereignties of The Netherlands and England during the ensuing one hundred years. The heart of this culture was the Swedish Lutheran Church. The earliest of the remaining church buildings is Holy Trinity (Old Swedes) Church, standing near the site where the first settlers stepped ashore at "The Rocks", now in Fort Christina State Park, Wilmington.

Old Swedes was built by the congregation of Crane Hook Church. Their church was a log building erected 1667 in the midst of plantations and woodland south of the Christina River. The members of the congregation lived from Naamans Creek to the Appoquinimink.

Within this extensive parish along some twenty miles of the west side of the river, the area called Crane Hook occupied about a thousand acres. Including part of south Wilmington east of the South Market Street causeway, it extended south toward the Delaware Memorial Bridge.

Today, some woodland, cultivated fields, truck patches, marsh, and other open spaces remain, but most of the area is industrial, business and residence (small homes and federal and other housing developments). Except in land records and among history students the place-name itself has almost disappeared. A marker intended to commemorate the church site is hidden away on commercial property where it marks not the church site but an early family burying ground, a half-mile distant from the churchyard

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

of old Crane Hook Church. This fact was unknown until revealed through research by the author of the chronology incorporated in this volume and mentioned in the acknowledgments.

Though the marks of the earliest cultivation of this soil have largely disappeared along with the wild life, the hay marshes and the forest, knowing the human history made here by these early settlers enriches our thinking of the local past.

History Committee
Delaware Swedish Colonial Society
Jeannette Eckman
H. Clay Reed
Leon deValinger, Jr., Chairman

The foundation of this Crane Hook study is a chronology of documented excerpts from sources pertaining to the Crane Hook region, to land ownership, and to the church and congregation, prepared by Jeremiah Sweeney as part of his work for the Delaware Federal Writers Project, 1938-1940. Without the use of his competent and scholarly work the present expanded study would not have been undertaken.

The contribution of the late Courtland B. Springer and of Mrs. Springer to the discovery, use, and accurate translation of original Swedish documents, and of printed works in Swedish, employed in this study, is their valuable and generous gift toward its preparation.

I have depended also upon the late Horace Burr's translation of the manuscript records — The Church Books — of Holy Trinity (Old Swedes) Church, published by the Historical Society of Delaware in 1890. This work, in spite of some mis-readings of the old-Swedish script and spelling, continues to be for both general reader and student an invaluable source of contemporary information.

The published work of Dr. Amandus Johnson, especially the two volumes of his *Swedish Settlements on the Delaware*, is the indispensable authentic source for Sweden's colonizing efforts on the Delaware and the life of its colonists here under Swedish control.

To Dr. H. Clay Reed, Professor of History at the University of Delaware, and to Hon. Leon deValinger, Jr., State Archivist, associate members of the History Committee of the Delaware Swedish Colonial Society, I am greatly indebted for their constructive editorial criticism; and to Mrs. J. Jesse Selinkoff for similar assistance.

Recognition is owed to the staff of the Historical Society of Delaware for cheerful and tireless assistance in the checking and collating of documentary sources.

Jeannette Eckman

NEW AND OLD CALENDAR DATES AS USED IN THE SEVENTEENTH AND EIGHTEENTH CENTURIES

The Dutch used the Gregorian or New Style calendar (NS), which in the seventeenth century was ten days ahead and in the eighteenth century eleven days ahead of the Julian or Old Style calendar (OS) used by Sweden and England until September, 1752. Before that time ten or eleven days must be added to Swedish and English dates to make them equivalent to those of the Gregorian calendar used by the Dutch and in general use today. This difference was recognized in many documents by giving both dates: May 21/31, 1654; April 30/May 11, 1728.

Another difference between the two calendars was that in the Old Style the year began on March 25. It was often indicated by giving both years for dates between January 1 and March 24 — for example, February 10, 1682/3, and March 24, 1729/30, which was followed by March 25, 1730.

Where only one year or day of the month is given, it is not always clear whether Old Style or New Style is meant.

English Quakers numbered instead of named the months. March was "First Month" and so on through to January, Eleventh Month, and February, Twelfth Month.

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1.

The Peopling of New Sweden

THE fortunes of New Sweden, founded in the Delaware River Valley in 1638, and the opportunity of the Swedes to establish here the Lutheran religion, stemmed directly from the relations of the Dutch to the Delaware and Hudson rivers. Henry Hudson, the discoverer in the service of the Dutch, sailed into Delaware Bay in 1609. Having no small boat to sound before him among the shoals he sailed out and north where he discovered and explored the river later named for him. The cape at the entrance of Delaware Bay was named the next year by Captain Samuel Argall from Virginia in honor of the governor of that colony, Lord De La Warr, and the name Delaware came into use by the English for both river and bay.¹ The Dutch called the Delaware their South River and the Hudson, the North River.

After Hudson's report reached Holland, Dutch adventurers and traders were attracted to the Hudson. While they reaped a harvest of furs from the Indians there and set up a trading station near the future site of Albany² one of them, Captain Cornelis Hendricksen, explored the Delaware in a small yacht, the *Omrust* (*Restless*) that had been built in the Hudson region. In 1616 he described to his government at the Hague the natural splendor and rich resources of the Delaware River Valley, where he traded with the savages for "Sables, Furs, Robes and other skins."³ Five years later the Dutch West India Company

¹ Jameson, *Narratives of New Netherland*, 37, 38; Purchas, *Hakluytus Posthumus*, XIII, 357 ff., XIX, 84; Johnson, *Swedish Settlements on the Delaware*, I, 167.

² O'Callaghan, *History of New Netherland*, I, 70-76; *Documents Relating to The Colonial History of New York*, I, 5-6, 149.

³ *Ibid.*, 12-14; Johnson, I, 167-169; Brodhead, *History of the State of New York*, I, 48; O'Callaghan, *History*, I, 72-78.

chartered by the government of the United Netherlands, was given a monopoly of trade and settlement in America. The interest of the company's directors was in quick profits from the Indian trade in furs. Establishing colonies of free citizens formed no part of their plans, but in order to save the cost of transporting supplies from Holland to their trading posts, they decided to farm enough land in New Netherland to provision both posts and trading ships.⁴

Among the early emigrants for this purpose were thirty families of Dutch and Walloons (French-speaking Belgian Protestants) who came on an expedition in the late spring of 1624. Captain Cornelis Jacobson May, the commander, settled most of them on the Hudson. On the Delaware he established four Walloon married couples and eight seamen. Whether Fort Nassau at the future site of Gloucester, New Jersey, was built at that time or somewhat later is not certain.⁵ Both the fort and a trading post at the Falls of the river (near Trenton) lost their settlers in 1626-27 when these men and women were transferred to New Amsterdam (New York) to strengthen that fort community as the capital of New Netherland. Trading on the Delaware was to be "carried on only in yachts in order to save expense."⁶

Although Peter Minuit, the new governor of New Netherland in 1626, seems to have robbed the Delaware Valley of its first settlers, he made it up to this region later, for as will appear he was the strong link in the chain of events that led to the founding of New Sweden. A native of Wesel on the Rhine, born of French Huguenot or Walloon parents, Peter Minuit was associated with the leading French and Dutch families of that cosmopolitan city. Engaged by the West India Company to go to New Netherland as a councilor in 1625, he was chosen the next year as director of the Dutch domain in America.⁷

4 *Van Rensselaer Bowier Manuscripts*, 86-115; Flick, *History of the State of New York*, I, 217-258; Wabeke, *Dutch Emigration to North America*, 23-24; Jameson, 65; Andrews, *Colonial Period of American History*, III, 81; Johnson, I, 170.

5 *Ibid.*: 169-170; Jameson, 75-76, 271, 313; O'Callaghan, *History*, 99-ff.; Andrews, III, 72.

6 *Ibid.*, 74-75; Jameson, 84, 86, 88; Hazard, *Annals of Pennsylvania*, 9; *Documents*, I, 24-25, 27; O'Callaghan, *Documentary History of the State of New York*, III, 50. Capt. May traded in the Delaware in 1620 and a voyage to the river by another trader was authorized within a year or two.—Johnson I, 169.

7 Andrews, III, 74-75; Johnson, II, 684-685; Jameson, 83n.

Wealthy members of that company secured from it in 1629 a charter of "freedoms and exemptions"⁸ under which they could receive large grants of tax-free land with the same powers of government enjoyed by the company, also the title of patroon, if they would establish commercial settlements at their own expense. The company reserved to itself the highly profitable fur trade.

In 1631 Dutch merchant-patrons Samuel Godyn, Samuel Blommaert, and others, settled a whaling colony, Swanendael,⁹ at the present site of Lewes in southern Delaware. Prepared and sent out by the experienced navigator, David Petersen de Vries, the colony flourished until the commissary stupidly antagonized Indians who then fell upon the settlement destroying men, cattle, and buildings before the end of the first year. Again the Delaware River valley from Fort Nassau to the mouth of the bay was left to its teeming wild-life and the few Indians who lived or roamed there.¹⁰

For years after this tragedy only sails of the trading ships indicated the white man's continued interest in the resources of this region. Even Fort Nassau was occasionally deserted.¹¹ Meanwhile the West India Company directors, failing to appreciate their capable and far-sighted governor, recalled Peter Minuit, charging him with favoring the trade of patroons on the Hudson (who wanted some share in the fur traffic) to the disadvantage of the company's profits.¹² Thus unwittingly they provided the instrument for the occupation of their South River by the Swedes.

Back in Holland, Minuit hankered for an opportunity to use his experience as a colonizer in America where he had in his mind's eye the ideal site. Aided by the Dutch merchant, Samuel Blommaert, former patroon of Swanendael who was associated with trade in Swedish copper, Minuit's proposal and his services were accepted by Sweden. By the 1630's Sweden had become a great

8 *Van Rensselaer Bowier Manuscripts*, 136-153 (Dutch text and English translation).

9 This is the seventeenth century spelling, used by De Vries (*Korte Historiæ*), Johan de Laet, Adrian van der Donk on his map of New Netherland, Kiliaen van Rensselaer, and others.

10 *Documents*, II, 50; XII, 16; Johnson, I, 170-171, II, 676; De Vries, *Voyages*, 32-35; Brodhead, I, 206; *Van Rensselaer Bowier Manuscripts*, 154, 155, 238, 241.

11 De Vries, *Voyages*, 35 ff.; Brodhead, I, 166n., 205n.; Johnson, I, 178, 180.

12 *Ibid.*, 93; Brodhead, I, 162 ff., *Documents*, I, 100 ff.

power in Europe through the statesmanship and military prowess of King Gustaf Adolf. When the king died in his successful battle of Lützen in the Protestant cause the country at home was poor from the war drain of money and men. Throughout his reign, however, the king had promoted manufacturing and sought to advance Sweden's foreign trade. Especially he had backed the promotion of the Swedish South Company, a project of William Usselinx for world-wide trade, including America.¹³ After the king's death the program of this company proved too costly to be launched. But the chancellor of Sweden, Count Axel Oxenstierna, supported the smaller New Sweden Company for achieving Peter Minuit's project—the founding of New Sweden in the Delaware River Valley.¹⁴

To direct the company the chancellor appointed the Finnish nobleman, Klas Fleming, who was vice admiral of Sweden's navy. Peter Spiring, a wealthy Dutch merchant in Swedish service, became counsellor; Samuel Blommaert, commercial representative in Holland. Minuit was appointed commander of the first expedition which he and the other appointees prepared with the help of the chancellor.¹⁵

This group had to deal with many obstacles and delays before two ships, the *Kalmar Nyckel* and the smaller *Vogel Grip* set sail for America on the last day of December 1637. Dutch investors including the three in this group supplied half the cost of the expedition. Because Sweden had few trained men to spare and none from her navy had ever crossed the Atlantic, the officers and most of the sailors were Dutch as were probably the majority of the soldiers. This first expedition was intended to establish Sweden's claim by purchase of the land from the Indians and by building a fort to defend it. No families of settlers were brought. The ships arrived at "The Rocks" (site of Fort Christina State Park, Wilmington) about the middle of March and on the twenty-ninth an Indian deed for the west side of the Delaware

13 Ahnlund, *Gustaf Adolph the Great*, *passim*; Grimberg *History of Sweden*, 165-167; Johnson, I, 38-55, 68.

14 *Ibid.*, 87 ff., 93 ff.

15 *Ibid.*, I, 99, 103-108, II, 680-681; Wuorinen, *The Finns on the Delaware*, 38-41.

from Boompjtes Hoeck (Bombay Hook) to the Schuylkill was signed aboard the *Kalmar Nyckel*.¹⁶

After three months of building, exploring, making friends with the Indians and trading with them for beaver, otter and bear skins, Peter Minuit set sail for home by way of the Caribbean. He left a well-established fort with dwelling quarters and a storehouse within the walls, and fields cleared and planted nearby. Fort Christina, named for the young daughter and heir of King Gustaf Adolf, stood on the left bank of the Minquas Kill (Christina River) about two miles in from the Delaware, a tiny incursion of civilization in the great wilderness of the Delaware Valley. Lieutenant Måns Kling was in charge of the soldiers and Minuit's brother-in-law, Hendrick Huygen was responsible for stores and trade.¹⁷

New Sweden was founded; but Minuit, invited to visit a Dutch ship in the harbor of the island of St. Christopher, lost his life when the ship was blown to sea and wrecked in a storm.¹⁸

Peter Hollander Ridder, a Dutchman, for some years an officer in Sweden's navy, was engaged in Minuit's place as commander at Fort Christina where his expedition arrived in April 1640. He remained as governor until the arrival of Johan Printz, the first Swedish director of the colony, in February 1643. Ridder brought the first colonists (no women are mentioned), who irked him by their lack of skill and good sense in the work that had to be done. Aided by the arrival of a ship in 1641 bringing skilled workmen, horses, cattle, sheep, pigs, farm implements and many other supplies, he was able to welcome Governor Printz to a well-developed little settlement in which women had a part. A few wives, daughters and young children had come with the expedition of 1641.¹⁹

Besides many dwellings and other buildings, Ridder had built a windmill and is believed to have built a small log church for the Reverend Reorus Torkillus who had come with him in

16 For an account of the purchase, given in Holland by four officers of the *Key of Kalmar*, see Myers, *Narratives of Early Pennsylvania, West New Jersey and Delaware*, 85-89. A facsimile of the original draft is in Johnson, I, between 184 and 185.

17 "The Minquas Kill is the first up the river, and there the Swedes have built Fort Christina. This place is conveniently situated, for large vessels can be right against the bank to load and unload."—*Documents*, I, 291. Johnson, I, 119. Christina came to the throne in 1644.

18 Johnson, I, 117.

19 *Ibid.* I, 127, 197-98, 202-04; II, 691-92.

1640. Torkillus, the first Lutheran pastor to serve in America, was a well-qualified man for his mission. He had left his post as instructor and chaplain at the Gothenburg High School to come to the Delaware. That this pastor's life in his pioneer parish was one of physical as well as spiritual labor, of civil as well as religious responsibility can be read in the sparse items about him. The hard work and prevalent illness of Printz's first year overcame Torkillus who died in September 1643 at the age of thirty-five, leaving at Christina a wife and child.²⁰

New Sweden, by Ridder's purchase of additional land from the Indians, extended from the Falls at Trenton to the sea on the west side of the Delaware and from Raccoon Creek south to Cape May on the New Jersey side. Governor Printz in 1649 acquired the land from Raccoon Creek north to Mantas (Mantua) Creek on that side, a short distance below the Dutch Fort Nassau. In all this territory with its nearly two hundred miles of curving west shore the people of New Sweden in Printz's time occupied only a few small centers on this shore from the north bank of the Christina up to a short distance above the north bank of the Schuylkill, a range of about thirty miles. The largest tract in a list of cultivated sites made by Printz in 1653 was twenty morgen or about forty-two acres. Most of them were eight, ten or twelve morgen.²¹

Under Printz during the period of ten years and eight months from February 1643 to October 1653 the colony developed from its small beginnings and after 1650 declined as support from Sweden failed. The ships that brought Printz carried colonists and supplies. Other ships with supplies and a few colonists arrived in 1644, 1646 and 1648. Although no more supplies or colonists came after 1648 Printz, by good management, by shrewd planning, and by bargaining with Dutch and English merchants made the colony self-supporting agriculturally.²² He increased the cultivated land between the Christina and the Schuylkill, built forts and blockhouses, storehouses, dwellings, barns, and a church at Tinicum (Essington, Pennsylvania) where he made his capital. But the population of New Sweden remained small, perhaps under 400 men, women, and children at its peak. Many settlers

20 *Ibid.*, I, 205-06, 315, 371; II, 697.

21 *Ibid.*, I, 200-02, 337; II, 526-27. The old Dutch *morgen* was about 2.1 acres.

22 Johnson, I, 200, 245, 256, 258-60, 282-84, 317, 328, 344.

died of illness in 1643, a few returned home on the ships, some were killed by Indians and throughout his governorship Printz had fewer than 100 men of an age to bear arms. The condition of the colony was good, he wrote in 1650, but without more colonists and capital it could not grow.²³ About this time a major setback in New Sweden's prosperity was in preparation at New Amsterdam.

Peter Stuyvesant who had protested the occupation of the Dutch South River by the Swedes since he arrived in 1647 as governor of New Netherland, bided his time for action, keeping himself well informed concerning the fortunes of the Swedes. Then taking advantage of the weakness of Printz in men and arms he came to the Delaware with a large force of ships and men in the summer of 1651. At Santhoeck (Sand Point, site of New Castle), six miles down the river from Fort Christina he built and garrisoned a redoubt of logs called Fort Casimir. Near it families of Dutch settlers built their houses. Here all ships coming up the river were forced to stop. By this stratagem which Printz was helpless to prevent the Dutch controlled the trade of the river and possessed the shore from the south bank of the Christina to Bombay Hook—purchased from the Indians who had previously sold it to the Swedes, according to deeds prepared by the white men. In the Indians' understanding they granted only rights to the use of the land.²⁴

The New Sweden Company policy of reserving the fur trade to itself hampered the settlers, because beaver skins were currency with which they could have bought what they wanted from the English and Dutch merchants as the company stores ran low. And when Printz forbade them to have any trade with the well-supplied Dutch at Fort Casimir they took this very ill. Settlers began to desert to Maryland where trade was free. In 1653 twenty-two colonists presented Printz with a signed petition which spelled revolt against his harsh rule unless grievances were redressed.

Enraged, Printz condemned and hanged the leader, Anders

23 A large expedition sent in the ship *Katt* in 1648 was wrecked on the way in the Caribbean where most of its passengers died after great suffering at the hands of the Spaniards.—*ibid.*, I, 269-75. Printz sent Lieutenant Skute and finally his own son Gustaf to Sweden to plead in person for the needed support.—*ibid.*, I, 282, 318 ff., 342 ff.

24 *Documents*, I, 590 ff.; Johnson, I, 334-47; Weslager, "The Indians of Delaware," 42-43.

Jönsson, who had come to the Delaware with him in 1643. More settlers deserted.²⁵ Then in despair Printz sailed for home leaving his son-in-law Johan Papegoja in charge until he could raise adequate reinforcements in Sweden. Twenty colonists left the Delaware with him and others soon deserted to Maryland and Virginia.²⁶

Printz, broadly educated and traveled in Europe and having a distinguished service record in the Thirty Years War, was an able man, vigorous and powerful enough to have staved off even Peter Stuyvesant if he had been given the promised support by the New Sweden Company and had practiced a more liberal policy toward the settlers.²⁷

Religious life on the Delaware was strengthened during the first five years of Printz's time. He brought with him in 1643 the Reverend Johan Campanius Holm, of high rank in his profession. He brought also his own nephew Pastor Israel Holg Fluviander. Fluviander served first at Fort Elfsborg while it was being constructed by Printz on the New Jersey shore (to control the traffic coming up the river), then at Christina. Campanius had been stationed on company land at Upland (Chester). From his home there he served the Tinicum parish. After several years of duty both men wished to return to Sweden. Fluviander made his plans first. Then Campanius in his appeal to his bishop for release wrote that he was unable to endure "the hard labor here," which obliged him, "without any regard to the weather to go from one place to the other to visit the settlers with the Word and the Sacrament." He asked that young men, strong and agile, be sent in his place. His recall came by the ship *Swan* in January 1648, and by this ship arrived the young, strong and agile clergyman to replace him, the Reverend Laurentius Carolus Lokenius, a Swedish educated native of Finland.²⁸ His dramatic activities will be related in succeeding chapters, for Lokenius was a promoter of Crane Hook Church and became its pastor.

While Printz wrestled with the unhappy state of affairs on the Delaware in 1653, a new expedition to meet his needs was

25 Johnson, I, 462-64; *Documents*, I, 590-91.

26 Johnson, I, 466; II, 497.

27 *Ibid.*, II, 688.

28 *Ibid.*, I, 238, 240, 301, 304, 367-74, II, 678, 681. Finland was a province of Sweden in the seventeenth century and a Swedish-Finn had the same rights and privileges as any other native inhabitant of the kingdom.—Wuorinen, 9.

being prepared in Sweden. He heard of it after he reached Europe. In charge of Johan Rising, appointed to assist Printz, or if Printz had left, to act as governor, a large ship the *Örn* (*Eagle*), carrying 250 colonists and ample supplies arrived in the Delaware in June 1654.²⁹ Governor Rising in violation of his instructions to keep peace with the Dutch, forced the serene little settlement of Fort Casimir to surrender and renamed it Fort Trefaldighet (Trinity) in honor of the day it was captured, Trinity Sunday.³⁰

Rising was a graduate of Upsala University, a student of trade and commerce throughout Europe and although he had observed the colonial policy of Holland, was not alert to political relations between their respective colonies in America. Nor did he know that the little settlement of Fort Casimir was the stalwart Dutch director's pet, conceived of and founded by him.³¹

As he reported immediately to Sweden, Rising found only seventy people in New Sweden but including the few Dutch at Fort Casimir (Trinity) he now had "three hundred and seventy souls." Of the settlers he brought with him many were Finns. Some of the old settlers planned to go home on the *Örn* and efforts to bring back experienced settlers who had deserted to Maryland and Virginia failed. If adequate supplies now came from Sweden future desertions were likely to be few for the Commercial College in Stockholm, recently given charge of the New Sweden Company, had authorized Rising to grant free trade to the settlers along with outright ownership by them and their heirs of their plantations.³²

With Rising came two Lutheran clergymen, Mathias Nertunius whom he stationed at Upland and Peter Hjort whom he assigned to Fort Trinity. Lokenius, lone pastor in New Sweden since the departure of Campanius and Fluviander in 1648, had lived first at Upland but was under some form of arrest at Christina when the *Örn* arrived, charged with mutiny by acting governor Papegoja. He became seriously ill and was finally freed to resume his pastorate for the Christina congregation. With the new ministers

29 Johnson, II, 475, 485-89.

30 *Ibid.*, 581-84, *Documents*, I, 602 ff.

31 Johnson, II, 582, 693-94.

32 Myers, *Narratives*, 149-150; Johnson, II, 489 with note, 514; *Documents*, XII, 73-74.

came the first parish clerk (klockare) of record on the Delaware, Lars Månsson.³³

After the irresponsible gesture with which Rising began his administration on the Delaware he entered upon his duties as colonizer with competence. With the help of a young engineer of noble birth, Per Mårtensson Lindeström, who had come for experience in his profession, Rising allocated land to the new settlers. He wrote to Sweden that he intended to put most of these people between forts Trinity and Christina.³⁴ Within this area, between the Christina and the Batstow Creek, shown on Crane Hook Map I, was the Crane Hook country of marshes, fast land and forest which took its name from the great flocks of cranes, heron and egrets that fed on the marshes.

It would seem from Rising's written intention that the Crane Hook land (as well as Paerd Hook next below and other neighborhoods nearer Fort Trinity) was about to have its first settlers. But this was not to be during the year and four months of Rising's time on the Delaware.

2.

New Sweden Under Rising

ABOUT the time Rising was commissioned in 1653, Queen Christina granted him as much land as he would be able to cultivate with twenty or thirty peasants, ceding it to him with all its dependencies in woods, fields, fisheries, rivers, millsites and all other properties upon land or water, "to enjoy, employ, and keep the same - - - as a perpetual property." This deed of grant, made before it was known in Sweden that Printz had left the Delaware was accompanied by an order to Governor Printz to make the grant effective.¹ Rising's choice after inspecting the land of New Sweden up and down the river was soon made. He described it as located "down at Fort Trefaldighet," extending back along a little stream, a quarter of a Swedish mile up into the country and along the river up to Trane Udden (Crane Hook). His tract would be more than one and a half English miles square according to Rising's description. This would include the present Swanwyck north of New Castle and the Paerd Hook region immediately south of Crane Hook. But as Rising found this first choice too far from Fort Christina for him to oversee it daily, he wrote, before the *Örn* sailed, a request for Timber Island (Vandever Island) across the Brandywine from the fort with half the land north to "Skoldpaddekill," present Shellpot Creek, offering to buy the other half.² In the absence of Printz, his son-in-law, Johan Papegoja, who was acting governor when Rising arrived must have made the legal deed to Rising's first choice of land. Also he gave his approval, probably in the form of a deed, for the substituted site on Timber Island.³

¹ Hazard, *Annals*, 145; Hazard, *Register of Pennsylvania*, IV, 398 (translation of the full text of the grant to him, his wife etc. Rising was not married).

² Johnson, II, 524.

³ *Ibid.*, 519, 524.

³³ Johnson, II, 546-47, 720.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, 477; Myers, *Narratives*, 139.

Governor Rising confiscated to the New Sweden Company the plantations of several Dutch freemen who left New Sweden early in the summer, also tracts of land near Fort Casimer (Trinity) that had been cleared by Dutch soldiers before Rising's arrival. The twenty-two Dutch colonists who took the oath of allegiance to the crown of Sweden were put to work immediately, helping to rebuild that fort under the direction of Peter Linderström as engineer, and Lieutenant Sven Skute. Skute who had been ten years in the service of the company, was now made commander at Fort Trinity. Linderström had charge also of building up Fort Christina and laying out a town to the northwest of it, to be called Christinaham, as the principal town of the colony. He was overseer of construction of new storchouses, barns, and dwellings. Meanwhile Rising continued to live in the best house within the fort. He did not build his two-story dwelling with cellar, orchard and gardens on Timber Island until the winter and early spring.⁴ He had selected new tracts of land to be cultivated for the company and set soldiers and laborers to clear them as soon as the ripened crops of the summer and fall were harvested. One of these was on the south bank of the Christina opposite the fort (later the dwelling plantation of Jean Paul Jacquet), called by Rising "sidoland," the first recorded cultivation in the Crane Hook region.⁵

The heightened activity along the west shore of the Delaware and along the Christina River that summer and autumn must have been an inspiring sight to any true colonizer who happened to sail up-stream in these waters. As for the land, Governor Printz had described it as "a remarkably beautiful country, with all the glories a person can wish for on earth," an opinion coinciding with that of the early explorers.

Captain Cornelis Hendricksen if he now returned to the Delaware could not trade with the Minquas Indians on the river named for them, which had become the Christina. As a Dutchman, permission would have been denied him when he dipped his colors before the guns of Fort Trefaldighet and again at Fort Christina. But as a visitor he would have been welcomed. On a Sunday, he would have seen the good Lutheran people converging toward their little church at Christina (in charge of Pastor Lo-

4 *Ibid.*, 502, 523-24; 585-86, 521 ff., 542, 526.

5 *Ibid.*, 523; Linderström's Map B.

kenius), on foot, on horseback and by canoe and shallop; and up the river others going toward the church at Tinicum (in charge of Pastor Nertunius); at Fort Trinity (Trefaldighet) also, where services were probably in the fort, conducted by Pastor Hjort, who may have been living in one of the best of the confiscated homes of Dutch freemen.

On weekdays the small communities and plantations that at Hendricksen's first venture into the river had been virgin forest, would be lively with sounds and sights of the colonists' occupations: the hammer, the cross-saw, the axe, the calls of men to the oxen at the turn of the furrows, lowing of the cattle, creaking of the windmill near Christina, the shouts of children, the shots of hunters in the distance, and all about the whirl of wings and chorus of bird cries and song.⁶

In spite of expansion and growing prosperity owing to Rising's ability in handling the domestic economy and creating orderly government, he had no power of avoiding hazards and setbacks that resided in the conditions of the colony's existence. One of these was in the making. The next ship to arrive by which Rising hoped to receive a painting for the altar of the Christina church, or that of Tinicum, several bells, many useful colonists and large supplies, was the *Gyllene Haj* (*Golden Shark*). The *Haj* left Sweden April 15, 1654, with Henrick von Elswick, an experienced Stockholm merchant interested in New Sweden, in charge of the expedition. He had been appointed commissary of the colony. The roll-list of colonists is for the most part missing, but there were at least several skilled workers, a sail-maker, a ship carpenter and probably other skills among some of the families on this ship, who for lack of room had been left behind when Rising's ship sailed in February. Also on this voyage was Lieutenant Sven Höök who had applied to come to New Sweden in 1653 and now had his appointment. There had been difficulty finding a satisfactory mate for the *Gyllene Haj* and the one employed either by carelessness or malicious intent passed the Delaware Bay and on September 12 sailed the ship into the Raritan Kill below New Amsterdam.⁷ When news of the Swedish ship reached Director Peter Stuyvesant he put the vessel under arrest—a small but sweet revenge against Rising who was holding Fort Casimir—and per-

6 Johnson, I, 307. For similar activity after arrival of Printz, see *ibid.*, 308.

7 Myers, *Narrative*, 150; Johnson, II, 588-90; 490-96.

suaded most of the colonists including the ship carpenter to settle at New Amsterdam. Hendrick von Elswick was unable to move Stuyvesant to release the ship or come to satisfactory terms about the cargo. After long effort he came down to New Sweden overland with Lieutenant Sven Höök, a servant, a secretary, and a soldier, and began his work for the colony. Although Rising wrote to Sweden at the time, that the loss of the *Huj* was a "special injury," "a blow not easily repaired," and in his next report emphasized the "weak condition" of the colony and the need of immediate relief, his resources in men and means enabled him to go ahead with the development of the colony through the fall and winter.⁸

By spring 1655, however, when aid from home was still lacking, supplies were very short. Rising was able to buy at high prices from English and Dutch merchants who came to the river, butter, meats, bread, wheat, clothing and a few other items. On June 14, he wrote that the colony was "in fairly good condition," but that provisions, cloth and other supplies were sorely needed. Without assistance from Sweden and new supplies to cheer the people, many would desert. Some already had.⁹ The Hollanders who took the oath, he reported, had gone off to Manhattan two or three weeks ago. Although affairs were less serious than in Governor Printz's last year, the colonists were now used to better conditions. Short rations and worn-out clothing were no help to the morale of soldiers and servants, nor to the freemen who were better off and some of them prosperous. The amount of goods that could be bought from the Dutch and English merchants was so far short of the need that in August Elswick wrote saying linen was so scarce that some of the soldiers were going without shirts.¹⁰

At the end of that same month, Peter Stuyvesant arrived in the Delaware with his large force of ships and men and on September 14/24, 1655, New Sweden was in the possession of the Dutch. Rising had been forewarned by Indians that Stuyvesant was preparing an expedition to the Delaware. It was clear to him

8 *Ibid.*, 525-26.

9 Myers, *Narratives*, 163-64; Johnson, II, 530-31.

10 *Ibid.*, 533. The company provided maintenance for officers, soldiers, and servants in addition to their salaries and wages, which were held back. Against this reserve they could buy additional food and supplies. Freemen to give them a start—were aided with maintenance, farm equipment and stock on easy terms for repayment to the company,—*ibid.*, II, 505-07.

that the Dutch director would retrieve Fort Casimir if he could, so Rising prepared to defend it, had the fort strengthened, and sent his best men and soldiers there with a large supply of ammunition. That Stuyvesant meant to take the whole river from the Swedes, Rising could not believe. Only when the Dutch seemed to be winning at Fort Casimir did he sense the full danger.¹¹

With thirty-five colonists, mostly officers and soldiers, and several of their wives, Rising went aboard the Dutch warship *De Waegb*, October 1/11, on the first lap of his return to Sweden. In the party were the two clergymen, Hjort and Nertunius.¹² Domine Laurentius Carolus Lokenius can be imagined standing on the shore before Fort Christina, his hand raised in blessing for safe journey, once more the lone Lutheran pastor on the river.

Fortunately, Governor Rising had spared no effort in reporting to Sweden and recording in his diary and journals, the events, affairs and conditions on the Delaware. And supplementing Rising's *Relations* and *Journals* is the work of his fortification engineer, Peter Lindeström, who wrote the first geography of the Delaware River Valley and illustrated it with maps and charts.¹³

Lindeström with the help of the Dutch surveyor Andries Hudde, and the support of Rising charted the river and shores of the Delaware Valley. The result was a "Map of New Sweden or the Swede's River" published in his *Geographia Americae* as Map A, together with his Map B more intimately valuable as picturing New Sweden at the end of Swedish control. The latter is reproduced as the frontispiece of this Crane Hook study.¹⁴

On Map B the symbols for dwellings and other buildings, evidently include those of families on company land as well as freemen on their individual plantations at sites known to have been occupied in Printz's time. Added by Lindeström is the fort community Trefaldighet (Casimir), with its houses on the Strand; also Rising's new cultivated lands and his placing of colonists, June 1654 to September 1655. It will be noticed that the Crane

11 *Ibid.*, 596 ff.

12 *Ibid.*, 614-15, 724.

13 *Ibid.*, 553-57.

14 Andries Hudde was the ablest Dutch representative on the Delaware, first at Fort Nassau as chief civilian officer and then as secretary and surveyor at Fort Casimir. To insure him a salary Stuyvesant gave him permission to serve as surveyor for the Swedes. *Documents*, XII, 25 ff., 83; Myers, *Narratives*, 138n.; Johnson, II, opposite 514, 555.

Hook region is still without homesteads. Just north of it on the south bank of the Christina River opposite the fort are symbols on the "sidoland," where Rising had some freemen clear about 50 acres and sow it with wheat giving them one third of the crop for their labor. South from the still wild land of Crane Hook are homesteads at Strand Wijk (Second Hook) on land first chosen by Rising for his perpetual grant but traded immediately for Timber Island. Next south, Lindeström's "New Cleared Lands" may represent the cleared tracts confiscated from Dutch soldiers. Along the riverside of that area (First Hook) may have been the confiscated plantations of several Dutch freemen, including that of Alexander Boyer, who was in possession of his plantation there immediately after the Dutch took control again in 1655.¹⁵

No name is given on this map for the south bank of the Christina opposite the fort, but it is called "Tennakoncks-landet" on the Lindeström map of Stuyvesant's siege of that fort in September 1655. This was the later site of Vice Director Jacquet's plantation and of Mons Paulson's Island, last land in the Crane Hook marsh. The meaning of Tennakoncks (landet is Swedish for the land) is regarded by Dunlap and Weslager as one of the variations of Matennakonck, meaning at the islands, which would apply to the whole Crane Hook area as previously described: tracts of fast land mostly surrounded by marsh.¹⁶

No Indian name for Crane Hook is of record. Indians had made camps within the general area of Crane Hook at some time before white settlement of the Delaware, but no prehistoric permanent village had been established here or elsewhere in the region. This is the conclusion of the Archaeological Society of Delaware from careful excavation of numerous New Castle County sites, including one on Crane Hook (1939-40) south of the Wilmington Marine Terminal. On Map B, "Koaiska," properly spelled Kojijaka, meaning pine tree place, appears beside the Swedish translation of it, Furu Udden, near the Crane Hook region south of the Christina. Furu Udden proved to be not here, but further up the river in the location of present Minquadale, as determined by eight Dutch grants for tracts in the area. In the English confirmation of these grants, Furu Udden had become

15 *Ibid.*, 523-24; *Original Land Titles*, 6.

16 Lindeström, opposite 268; Dunlap and Weslager, 42.

"Frye Hook or neck." A later modification was Fern Hook, a name retained by a small community on the farther edge of Minquadale.¹⁷

The closest neighboring community to Crane Hook, according to Lindeström's Map B, is Salunge, northwest of the Strand Wijk area. For this name authorities on Delaware place-names have not found an origin or meaning. The name appears in the list of colonists on the Delaware in 1654, assembled by Amandus Johnson from original European sources, as "Anders i Salungen, freeman," which could be translated "Anders at Salungen" or "at the Salunge's" or it could be "of or among the Salunge's." The name appears again about 1676 in a "census of responsible housekeepers and their families" near the Schuylkill, as Anders Salloon and Bent Salloon, the spelling by the English constable being according to sound; these names are listed in the 1677 Upland tax list as Benck and Andries Saling. A later appearance of the same name is in Charles Springer's list on the Delaware in 1693. Springer knew how to spell it: "Paul Sahlunge, 3 in family." Insertion of the h after a long vowel was characteristic of the period and survives in such surnames as Johnson, Sahlin, and others. In Lindeström's description of the land between Christina and Sandhook, it was "here and there settled by Finns." Anders may have been a Finn and if the exact location of his tract was between that given it on Map A and that on Map B, he could have been the first planter on Crane Hook. The other Finns mentioned by Lindeström were probably settlers at Furu Udden and Strand Wijk, where symbols for dwellings are shown.¹⁸

When Swedish rule on the Delaware ended in September 1655, Crane Hook, for lack of evidence to the contrary, was still a wildlife preserve.

17 Weslager and Swientochowski, "Excavations at Crane Hook Site," *Archaeological Society, Bulletin*, III, No. 5, 1942, 2-17; Dunlap and Weslager, 22; *Original Land Titles*, 136-38. Changes in the spelling of Furu Udden by Dutch and English clerks are traced in a footnote on Fern Hook by Courtland B. and Ruth L. Springer, *Delaware History*, VI, 242-43.

18 Dunlap and Weslager, 36; Johnson, II, 717; *Documents*, XII, 648; *Upland Court Records*, 79; Lindeström, xi; Johnson, I, 24; Lindeström, 173.

New Sweden Colonists Under the Dutch

BY the terms of surrender, all the people under Rising, who of their own free will took the oath of allegiance to the Dutch government, the West India Company and to the director-general and council of New Netherland, were to remain as freemen on the South River and gain their livelihood as good and free inhabitants. Further, they were to have a pastor of their own faith and language.¹

Most of the colonists, the two lieutenants, Elias Gyllengren and Sven Skute, remained on the Delaware; also Gregorius Van Dyke of long experience here with Printz and Rising. The person to teach the Lutheran faith, was, of course, Lokenius. No complete list of New Sweden colonists who signed allegiance to the Dutch is of record, but 230 individuals and heads of families including several widows are known to have been in New Sweden in Rising's time and one hundred more came on the belated *Mercurius* in 1656. Some who had come on the *Gyllene Haj* and were settled at New Amsterdam are believed to have joined their countrymen on the Delaware after 1655.²

All colonists had their houses and plantations confirmed to them and grants were made to those who had none. The latter were mostly the soldiers and the servants who had worked on New Sweden Company land. Each owner was free to buy and sell property and the buyers received confirming patents from Stuyvesant. He made some verbal grants on the spot in Sep-

1 *Documents*, I, 607-09; XII, 104-06.

2 Johnson, 716-726.

tember 1655 and confirmed them later by patents from New Amsterdam.³

Under the Dutch West India Company, Fort Casimir was made the capital on the river. A provisional military commander, Dirck Smith, was in charge until December 18, 1655, when Stuyvesant's appointed vice-director, Jean Paul Jacquet,⁴ arrived at Fort Casimir. Jacquet governed with a council consisting of a commis, Elmerhuysen Cleyn, and the secretary and surveyor, Andries Hudde, assisted by two citizens or two sergeants, depending upon the nature of the questions or court cases to be determined. Minutes of the Council for January 19, 1656 record:

There appear at the meeting of Council the free Swedes, who live upon the second point above Fort Casimir and request that they may remain on the land and that they are not willing to change their place of inhabitation nor build in the village which is to be established, but they adhere to the promise made to them by the Honorable Peter Stuyvesant, that they should resolve what to do after the expiration of a period of one year and 6 weeks granted them at the capitulation.

This the court agreed to but warned that they would have to remove at the expiration of that time unless they were willing to live in the village. The expiration date November 1, 1656, for the free Swedes to join in a village or remove, came and went without record of any village being formed then or later. In June, 1657 Director General Stuyvesant ordered the former New Sweden colonists to form villages in places north of the Christina: "Upland, Passayonck, Finland, Kinghsessing or Verdrietige Hook (Edge Moor)." For any other site than those mentioned they must give notice.⁵ Since September 1655, Stuyvesant had given patents for town lots at Fort Casimir and plantations in that neighborhood to Dutch, Finns, Swedes, English, and settlers of other racial origin who took the oath of allegiance to the Dutch. So far as records show only the settlers at the Fort Casimir site

3 Dunlap, "Dutch and Swedish Land Records Relating to Delaware", *Delaware History*, VI, 25-52; *Documents*, XII, 168; *Original Land Titles in Delaware*, 15-16 and *passim*; John Schaggen was granted title to land on the "first hook" above Fort Casimir by Stuyvesant in person in September, 1655, which land Vice-Director Jacquet claimed for himself in 1656. Stuyvesant upheld Schaggen, confirming his verbal title by an official grant.

4 *Pennsylvania Archives*, 2nd ser. VII, 524; Johnson, II, 658. Jacquet took the oath of office Dec. 8, 1655, and arrived on the Delaware Dec. 18 (N.S.). *Jacquet* is so spelled in Jean Paul's signature and in the early documents.

5 *Documents*, XII, 114-15, 139, 190-91.

were interested in living close together. Among those in the town were traders, carpenters, boatmen, laborers, clerks, store and tavern keepers, and employees of the government. A few plantation owners had town lots as well, but most of them lived on their farms.

When on March 14, 1656, the Swedish ship *Mercurius* arrived at Fort Casimir with colonists and supplies for New Sweden, having left Sweden on November 25, before news of the Dutch triumph on the Delaware had reached that country, the Lutheran population was increased by about 100 persons who were settled in the Tinicum parish. Ninety-two of these were Finns, men, women and children. (Thirty-two were twelve years and younger.) In charge of the *Mercurius* was Minit's brother-in-law, Hendrick Huygen, who remained on the Delaware and served the colony under the Dutch.⁷

In the first reference to Pastor Lokenius after New Sweden came under Dutch rule, he appears in the minutes of Vice-Director Jacquet's court as "Mr. Laers, preacher and ecclesiastical deputy in matrimonial cases." (In relation to Lutherans). The court considered information he presented about Nils Larsen, who was betrothed, but suffered from a declaration against him by a New Amsterdam woman of ill-repute. The court considered her testimony of little account.

Also in Jacquet's court on August 14, 1656, is the first record connecting the vice-director with the land on the south bank of the Christina making him a close neighbor to the Crane Hook site:

The aforesaid Vice-Director made a contract with pouwell Jansen (Paul Johnson) for the land on the S. W. Side of Christina Kil, sloping toward the fort, for one-half of the crop according to the contract made. And whereas he, Pouwell Jansen, has sowed upon the land of his Honor, the affiant, etc.⁸

Whether this was land given him by virtue of his office or was West India Company land cultivated by the vice-director is not clear, but the Amsterdam directors of the City's Colony on April 22, 1659, approved a grant that had been made to him at the same site "in lieu of certain 41 morgens which he surrendered

6 *Original Land Titles*, 6-16; *Documents*, XII, 177-183; 134 ff.; Acrelius, 90-95.

7 *Documents*, XII, 120 ff.; Johnson, II, 634, 659-662.

8 *Documents*, XII, 150-51.

to the City." Jacquet later acquired an adjoining 200 acres of land, "stretching from the neck of land where ye sd Jean Paul Jacques (Jacquet) now lives." So reads the English confirmation, March 26, 1669,⁹ for the property on the south bank of the Christina where he continued to live to the end of his life in 1685.¹⁰

Later in 1656, the West India Company made a final contract with the City of Amsterdam, through the magistrates or burgo-masters of that city to convey to them for a large sum of money Fort Casimir and the South River territory from the Christina to Boomtjes Hoeck (Bombey Hook at the mouth of the Delaware). The company retained control of the rest of the river and of the customs. The conveyance was made by Stuyvesant for the Company to Director Jacob Alrichs for the City, at New Amsterdam, April 12, 1657, and on April 25, a ship, carrying Director Alrichs, his officers and colonists disembarked 128 persons at Fort Casimir which was renamed New Amstel. A company of soldiers traveling overland followed.¹¹ As territory north of the Christina remained in the possession of the West India Company, Fort Christina was renamed Fort Altena.

The population of the City of Amsterdam's territory before these new colonists arrived is not record, but on the preceding January 10, "The whole community assembled" (all the freemen or taxables) at Fort Casimir at the call of Vice-Director Jacquet when thirty-two men subscribed to an ordinance fixing the price of furs. Of these, twenty wrote their names and twelve made their marks.

Evert Pietersen, the Dutch schoolmaster, who came to New Amstel with Jacob Alrichs, wrote home on August 10:

We arrived here at the South river, on the 25th of April, and found 20 families, mostly Swedes, not more than 5 or 6 families belonging

9 *Ibid.*, II, 62; *Original Land Titles*, 158.

10 Jean Paul Jacquet petitions to be discharged from the trouble of keeping a ferry over Christina Creek, Jan. 20/30, 1684.—*New Castle Court Records*, II, 94. A resurvey of "his plantation whereon he now liveth on the south side of Christina Creek" was made for him by warrant dated Feb. 24, 1685 (N.S.).—*Book of Surveys* (Penn), New Castle County, 325-26. On July 20/30, 1685, the sons of Jean Paul Jacquet, "deceased," petition that no persons but themselves keep the ferry.—*New Castle Records*, II, 210-11. On the old calendar date, October 24, 1685, Jacquet's last will was proved in court.—*Ibid.*, II, 112. No copy survives among the will records.

11 *Andrews*, III, 62; *Documents*, I, 642; II, 10, 11; III, 344; XII, 131-36, 163, 166.

to our nation . . . I already begin to teach school and have 25 children.

Of the immediate New Amstel town community, Director Alrichs had reported on May 25:

The colonists, free mechanics, civil servants, with the freemen who were here before our arrival, and some few who have come and settled here since, may amount, altogether, to about sixty men capable of bearing arms.

In a letter written about August first, Alrichs mentioned "five and twenty men" sent to garrison Fort Altena, the former Fort Christina. He was disturbed that the food on hand for those provided for by the company: soldiers, laborers, new colonists during their first year, had to be distributed to "about 160 souls, among whom are many women."¹² In addition would be the traders and planters and the laborers employed by the colonists. These numbers given by Alrichs overlap and are incomplete, but on August 1, 1657, there must have been close to 300 men, women and children in the City's colony. Swedish colonists formed an important section of this population. They served as soldiers¹³ and their cultivated tracts added to the food supply. Some living south of New Amstel extended the Lutheran parish of Pastor Lokenius, though not the area of Lutheran public worship.

Above the Christina River in the summer of 1657, population can be roughly estimated from the lists previously noted for 1654-55, minus those who left with Rising but with the addition of settlers from New Amsterdam and those on the *Mercurius*. This gives a possible 270 adult males. Assuming that two-thirds of them were married averaging three per family the number of people would be 540 and could have been more.

To the estimated under 300 souls in the City's Colony in early August, 1657, a large addition arrived on the twenty-first in the ship *De Waegh*, "about 300 colonists including farmers, free tradesmen, many families and women." On this expedition came the first Dutch Reformed minister assigned to the Delaware, the Reverend Everardus Welius. On September 27, the following year, the ship *De Vergulde Meulen* (*Gilded Mill*) arrived at

¹² *Ibid.*, II, 157-58, 17, 16; XII, 188-89.

¹³ *Pennsylvania Archives*, 2d ser, V, 314-15. Governor Jacob Alrichs in a letter to Governor Fendall of Maryland, June 25, 1659, mentions among soldiers deserted to that colony: "Cornelis Jurriacnsen of Winserecin Sweden" and "Hans Roloff of Stockholm."

New Amstel from Amsterdam bringing about 100 people. This ship brought no food to tide the new colonists over the winter and arrived at a time when excessive rain and flood had ruined the crops, some north of the Christina as well as almost total ruin below. Illness of a virulent kind was epidemic in the summer and fall of 1658 causing many deaths in the New Amstel region: the miller, the surgeon, many other useful citizens and many young children.¹⁴

In the spring of that year Director General Stuyvesant had visited the Delaware to investigate smuggling rumors and the reason for requests of some residents of the New Amstel colony to move into the West India Company's jurisdiction above the Christina. The "arrangements" made by Stuyvesant upon his arrival here confirmed the Swedes in their privilege of self-government, under regulations made by himself and his council at New Amsterdam. The Swedish headquarters was to continue at Tinicum Island, where he confirmed their chosen magistrates and granted the request of the people not to be obligated to take sides if any trouble should arise between the crown of Sweden and the Dutch government. Stuyvesant addressed "the Swedish nation" as:

our good and faithful subjects, to whom we hereby assure and promise our favor and all possible assistance, as if they were our own nation, pursuant to the oath, made before or still to be taken by those who may not have taken it.

At Altena, the former Fort Christina, Stuyvesant had streets laid out west of the fort, no doubt with appreciation of the value previously recognized by Rising and Lindeström, of having here "a staple town" to strengthen Altena as the capital of the West India Company's holdings on the Delaware. Also, he arranged for the strengthening of the fort and garrison. At New Amstel he found that colonists and tradespeople had been bringing in goods in ships of the Amsterdam directors without paying the duty to the West India Company that was part of the contract between the company and the Amsterdam directors of the City's Colony. Stuyvesant braced the morale of the discouraged Director Alrichs and returned to New Amsterdam.

A letter from the directors of the West India Company of May 20, 1658 had authorized Stuyvesant and his Council to appoint a capable person to live on the South River to have

¹⁴ *Documents*, II, 4, 20, 68; XII, 183, 194; 227, 231; II, 50, 70.

charge of customs and other interests of the West India Company there under Stuyvesant. William Beeckman, in whose "ability, piety and experience" Director Stuyvesant and the Council had good reason to trust, was commissioned as commissary and vice-director "to attend to the safety of the country, fort, military and freemen," to keep good order, to administer law and justice to citizens and soldiers to the best of his knowledge. He was to live at Altena but have a house at New Amstel for his office and accommodation when on duty there as customs officer.¹⁵

William Beeckman was the ablest and most intelligently conscientious of the Dutch administrators on the Delaware.¹⁶ From his detailed accounts in letters to Stuyvesant we learn most of what is known of the lives of the Swedes and Finns within his jurisdiction. These letters present also a running account of the affairs of the City's Colony south of the Christina and therefore a picture of the conditions under which the former subjects of Sweden in that territory lived from the autumn of 1658 until the end of the Dutch period. From Beeckman we have information concerning the first colonists in the Crane Hook area.

First Settlers in the Crane Hook Region

In a letter to Director General Stuyvesant dated "Fort Altena 25th Jany 1660," Vice Director Beeckman says:

Same farmers arrived here with the ship *de vergulde Meulen* and have settled as a village here opposite our Fort. They complained to me lately, that they had no more victuals, as they harvested little from their land last summer, they had received their seed-corn from Mr. Alrichs very late, which was English corn and ripened late; therefore it was frozen on the field, so that they have little or no provisions nor can they get any from Mr. d'Hinojossa; notwithstanding he let the people come to New Amstel 4 or 5 times under promise of assistance and he gave them, who count 7 or 8 families, each $\frac{1}{4}$ maize, adding thereto that he did this from his private (store). These

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, XII, 209-10, 211-14, 219-20; Johnson, II, 664. The officers were: sheriff, Gregorius Van Dyke; captain, Sven Skute, lieutenant, Anders Dalbo; ensign, Jacob Swenson; magistrates, Olaf Stille, Matts Hanson, Peter Rambo, Peter Cock.

¹⁶ William Wilhelms) Beeckman, born at Hasselt, Overijssel, The Netherlands, Sept. 21, 1607, seventh child of a distinguished Dutch family, arrived at New Amsterdam with Peter Stuyvesant, May 27, 1647. At Albany he married Catalina de Boogh, daughter of the prosperous colonist, Henry de Boogh.—Aitken, *Distinguished Families in America Descended from Wilhelms) Beekman* (sic) and Jan Thomasse Van Dyke.

farmers have got a good deal of winter grain into the soil: yet some say, that if they cannot get assistance, they will have to leave, before the new corn ripens, for they have sold their remaining clothes for eatables last winter.¹⁷

Nothing further is written of the farmers, but Stuyvesant having having received Beeckman's account of their distress, would not miss the opportunity to offer good farmers excellent terms at New Amsterdam. His hospitality to colonists who wished to leave the New Amstel jurisdiction seemed likely to make trouble between the Company's directors and the Amsterdam Burgomasters. The latter made several complaints to the directors of the West India Company that Stuyvesant enticed away the best and ablest of the farmers in the City's Colony.

That these farmers were Dutch or natives of provinces immediately adjoining The Netherlands can be assumed since there is no evidence that the Burgomasters of Amsterdam sent to their colony during Jacob Alrichs' time any Swedes or Finns. It was not until Alrichs' successor, Alexander D'Hinojossa, was in charge of the City's Colony that Swedes and Finns were sought in Europe for transporting there.¹⁸

The former West India Company's vice-director, Jean Paul Jacquet, being in possession of the fast land on the south bank of the Christina opposite the fort, the next suitable site for seven or eight plantations "opposite the fort" was either on land between Jacquet and Crane Hook (see the Pieter Classen tract on Crane Hook Map I), or on what became within a few years the 784 acre Crane Hook grant to Swedes and Finns. Pieter Claessen, Dutch farmer from Holstein, where many farmers from the east provinces of The Netherlands had been welcomed to reclaim war-devastated German lowlands, emigrated to New Netherland with wife and two children in 1658. It is easy to believe that he was one of the Dutch farmers described by Beeckman, for he had 100 acres adjoining Jacquet when the English came, which was confirmed to him by Governor Lovelace. As a Lutheran he was to become a member of Crane Hook congregation and then of Holy Trinity (Old Swedes).

¹⁷ The ship arrived at New Amstel, Sept. 27, 1658.—*Documents*, II, 50, 68, 70; XII, 231, 292-93. "Corn" as used here means grain: wheat, barley, rye, oats, not Indian corn (maize).

¹⁸ *Documents*, XII, 421, 444, II, 212.

In a census list more than a decade later, the Claessen tract is in a community called Mill Drope and the "responsible house-keepers" there are Peter, John, and William Clauson. "John Tison" listed after Peter in the printed copy is obviously an error for "John his son." Dunlap gives as the origin of Drope, the Dutch word *dorp* meaning village, thus completing the evidence as to the site of the village of Dutch farmers, settled 1658.¹⁹

Whether the Dutch farmers had individual tracts to cultivate or used the land in common is not known. The people of Crane Hook were said to have received their land from the Dutch in one tract. Before the building of Crane Hook Church, however, the land had been divided into typical Dutch grants as deeds and court records show, eight of them, 18 rods wide facing the river with a larger tract at each end (Crane Hook Map I), each plantation having in front of it a stretch of marsh of the same width extending to the water's edge. Each of these plots or plantations, called "home lots" extended 150 rods west to the border of a large tract of forest or woodland, which was held in common by the home lot owners. This arrangement repeated that previously mentioned at "Fyre Hook" (Furu Udden), a typical land grant method in the Dutch period, reproducing the neat patterns of small farm communities in Holland. English confirmations of the Fyre Hook tracts are identical patents to the eight owners by name, followed by a separatae patent naming all the owners of the individual plots and granting them an adjoining tract of meadow ground "not mentioned in their several patents," to be held "in common."²⁰ Similar confirming patents for the Crane Hook owners except for Simon Jansen are missing, but the information concerning those plots is supplied by other documents to be cited later.

During 1659, the last year of Director Jacob Alrichs' time, deaths from epidemic disease, desertions to Maryland and Virginia (in panic because of the death-dealing illness, also because

19 Wabeke, *Dutch Emigration to North America*, 16; O'Callaghan, *Documentary History*, III, 33; *Original Land Titles*, 143, 158; *Documents*, XII, 529, 648; Dunlap, *Dutch and Swedish Place-names*, 40-41.

20 *Documents*, XII, 645; *Original Land Titles*, 136-138. Confirmations of Dutch patents by English governors at "Crane Hook," "Second Hook" (Swanwick), "Wild Hook on Skillpaets Kill," near the former Fort Christina and at Crane Hook are for tracts of 25 rods, or more, or less, by 600 rods deep. — *Ibid.*, 134, 135, 156, 157, 159. Among the Dutch grants published in translation by Dunlap, is a grant by Dutch Director Alexander D'Hinojossa to Andries Matysen, Sept. 20, 1664, for a tract at Second Hook measuring 29 by 600 rods.

of threatened attack by the English, along with the too strict regime of Alrichs), greatly reduced the population south of the Christina. In September of that year, Director General Stuyvesant reported to the West India Company directors that Director Jacob Alrichs had hardly thirty families remaining in the City's Colony and only twenty-five of the original fifty soldiers. Cases of the epidemic disease at New Amstel—which from the descriptions by Alrichs resembled the so-called "flu" that caused many deaths in eastern U.S. cities during World War I—were spread throughout the Delaware area. Few deaths are mentioned north of the Christina. On January 14, 1660, Vice-Director Beeckman could write: "All our people are now well," but he reported new cases of illness from time to time. In September of that year, Captain Jacob Jansen Huys, Dutch skipper of the galiot, *New Amstel*, which belonged to the City's Colony and had plied between New Amstel and Manhattan since August 1657, wrote concerning that colony: "Were there a tolerably healthy population and a reasonable harvest, and a parcel of good farmers, it would still prosper, and the people who remain would again begin to pluck up courage."²¹

As early as March 1660, the erratic and generally untrustworthy Alexander D'Hinojossa, who, by Jacob Alrichs' will, became provisional director of the City's Colony following the latter's death December 30, 1659,²² had made his first bid to Swedes and Finns up the river to come into the City's Colony. On January 15, Beeckman wrote Stuyvesant: "I learned lately, that about 20 families of Fins and Swedes intend to go and live in the Colony this spring, which the Sheriff (Gregorius Van Dyck) and Commissary (Henrick Huygen) have requested me to prevent." The willingness of the up-river "Swedes and Finns" to move into that desperately unfortunate colony suggests that very attractive terms were being offered by the provisional director.

On April 28, 1660, Beeckman wrote: "That they [the families of Swedish and Finnish farmers] want to move into the Colony is because they cannot get land enough near the others [up the river] and that the small parcels of land, which they have now here and there, are too troublesome to fence in." This came about

21 *Documents*, II, 69; XII, 229, 236, 249, 250, 253-4, 289, 271; II, 124.

22 A few weeks before the death of Alrichs at the end December, 1659, D'Hinojossa, lieutenant under the director, had written secretly to the Burgomasters at Amsterdam, praying God's blessing on them, declaring his devotion to their interests and presenting himself as able and upright while blackening the administration of the dying Alrichs. — *Documents*, II, 109.

because under rumored threats of an English attempt to take the Delaware settlements, and fear that the Indians would join the English, the leaders among the up-river colonists at last realized that for safety the outlying farmers should move closer together about one of the small settlements on or near the Schuylkill that could be defended: Kingsessing, Aronameck, or Passyunk. But the question of who was to move where raised such a controversy that Vice-Director Beeckman spent several days among them, trying to have the place and time of moving settled. None of the farmers wanted to be the ones to move and those who had large tracts at a suitable place for developing a community were unwilling to make room for others. In the end they all remained where they were. Some of them said if they had to move at all it would be to Maryland. Meanwhile the Swedish officers with Beeckman's help prevented any acceptances of D'Hinojossa's offer that year.²³ If the site of his offer was Crane Hook, that land still had a short time to wait for settlers. The same year Beeckman reported that the "Swedes and Finns count about 130 men able to bear arms." This would indicate as probable, a population of 400 above the Christina, in that fortunate district, while the colony to the south had dwindled from a high of 600, given by Director Alrichs in August 1658, before there were any deaths in the epidemic, to a possible low of 200 or less.²⁴

In the spring of 1662, Director Alexander D'Hinojossa, now formally commissioned to his office, tried again to persuade the farmers up the river to come into the City's Colony. On June 21, Vice-Director Beeckman wrote:

Sixteen or eighteen families, mostly Finns, residing in our jurisdiction, to whom great offers have been made by Mr. d'Hinojossa, intend to move into the Colony; they are to have 18 years freedom of all taxes with their own judges and decisions up to 100 guilders, also free exercise of their religion.²⁵

Except for taxes these were the conditions under which they had been living in the West India Company territory since October, 1655 under Peter Stuyvesant's grant of privileges.

When it came to the actual moving some of these families may have changed their minds, but that some of them did move to

23 *Ibid.*, XII, 299, 306, 300, 310, 301.

24 *Ibid.*, II, 51, 54.

25 *Ibid.*, XII, 384.

Crane Hook, then or later, is determined by comparing the names of up-river Swedes or Finns with the same names that appear in Crane Hook tax lists, court records, and deeds within the next few years and in confirmations later. Acrelius, who gives a biographical paragraph on Pastor Lokenius, writes:

In a deed of division, which he drew up between Paul Jön's widow and her children, dated at Tranhook on the 14th of April, 1664, he calls himself Pastor Loci, although the church was not erected for three years after that time.²⁶

That Lokenius called himself pastor of Crane Hook in a public record implies at least, that Director D'Hinojossa kept his promise concerning freedom of religion. As for Paul Jön,²⁷ the only man of that name known to have been on the river at the time was "Paul Johns[s]on, freeman", who came with Rising in 1654 and lived first at the Schuylkill.²⁸ Under Vice-Director Jacquet, in 1656, he appears in the Dutch records as Sergeant Paulus Jansen, who farmed "his Honor's land" on the half shares opposite Fort Altena. He probably lived near the fort; for in the early summer of 1657, he was one of two sergeants there under the direction of Andries Hudde. In September 1660 he had a "square" plot of land in the neighborhood and in addition was given a patent dated April 7, 1661, for "a lot for a house and garden near Fort Altena."²⁹ He may have been one of the first to accept D'Hinojossa's offer of Crane Hook land in 1662.

Further proof that other up-river Lutherans were permanent settlers at Crane Hook in the early 1660s is to be found in the "Census of the responsible housekeepers" at Crane Hook about 1675-78.³⁰ Thirteen taxables are named or partly named in a defective manuscript:

26 Acrelius, 177. "Tranhook" from Trane, Swedish for Crane and Hoeck, Dutch for point, neck, or cape of land. See Dunlap, *Dutch and Swedish Place-Names in Delaware*, 56.

27 Many Swedes and Finns at this period did not have permanent surnames. Each son or daughter might take the given name of the father with son or dotter added. Paul Jön's son would have the surname Paulsson.

28 Johnson, II, 719.

29 *Documents*, XII, 151, 170, 183; *Pennsylvania Archives*, 2nd ser. V, 6.

30 *Documents*, XII, 648. The "census" which lists inhabitants from Wicaco (Philadelphia) south to Cedar creek in Kent County is undated. The transcript in this reference is placed between documents of April 21 and May 1, 1680. But several of the persons named had died in 1676 and 1677 as proved by probate, deed, and court records: Hans Block before May 11, 1676. — (*Documents*, XII, 545; Ocle Toersen, I, before Nov. 5, 1678. — (*New Castle Records*, I, 247-258); and others.

Mons Poulsen
 Hendricks
 Bartl the
 Polla Park
 Ericke Mat
 Askel ffin
 Las Eskellson
 Samuel Peterson
 John Skrick
 Olla Toersin
 Simon ye ffinn
 Mathias ye ffinn
 Euert ye ffinn

By comparing these names and parts of names with the list of colonists in New Sweden, 1654-58, previously described, and with *New Castle County Court Records, Original Land Titles*, and the list of settlers fined in the "Long Finn" insurrection, 1669, their identity may be determined. Also by New Castle County deeds of confirmation of separate plots after 1680, especially as the "census" taker or constable has listed his "responsible housekeepers" in the order from north to south in which deeds place their plantations. The first plot, Mons Paulson's was not within Crane Hook proper as later defined, but an island of fast land in the marsh bordering the Crane Hook line, leaving twelve owners within Crane Hook (See Map I).

Paulson, Mons, often recorded as Moens Poulsen by Dutch-educated Clerk and Surveyor Ephraim Herman, his last will is dated December 3, 1680, may be the man of that name who arrived on the Delaware in 1654 with Rising (Johnson, II, 721). It is likely also that he is the son of Paul Jönsson whose property was divided by the above-mentioned document, dated as of Crane Hook in 1664.

The twelve plot owners south of Poulson are identified as follows:

1. Andriesson, *alias* Andries, Hendrik. A freeman so named arrived on the Delaware in 1654 (Johnson, II, 717). He appears later putting up a paling fence around Crane Hook Churchyard (NCC Court Records, II, 68-9).
2. Hendrickson, Bertil, a Finn. A Bartholimeus Hendrickson removed to Maryland in the Dutch period (Johnson, II, 668n), but as a number of the deserters came back he may have been one of them.³¹

³¹ *Documents*, XII, 297, 336. By proclamation, March 1, 1660, the director-general and council at New Amsterdam ordered that the deserters to Virginia and Maryland who had asked to return if they could have some time free from oppressing creditors, be granted three or four years free from back debts, provided that during that period they conduct themselves as honest and faithful citizens and continue in the province until their debts were paid.

3. Park, Polla, (a Finn ?) He probably is the same as "Pelle Perckle" who is mentioned once in the extant records of the Court of New Castle, under date of November 9, 1677, and in probate records as Pelle Parker who left a widow and eight children (Will Book A-1-65, 1684).
4. Maston, Erik, (a Finn?) He probably arrived on the Swedish ship *Mercurius*, in 1656 (Johnson, II, 724, 634). That Matsons Run, a stream on the northeast side of present Wilmington, got its name from the same Erik Matson is evidenced by 17-century land surveys and titles.
5. Askell (Eskell) ffinn (the double f is the equivalent of the capital letter in English writing of that time) is Eskell Andries who appears in a court case concerning Crane Hook land, Jan. 6, 1680 (NCC Court Records, I, 368-69, II, 50-53).
6. Eskelson, Las (Lars). A Lars Eskiellson, was sent here in 1641 and later made a freeman (Johnson, II, 713).
7. Pietersen or Peterson, Samuel. A Samuel Pieterston, freeman, arrived on the Delaware in 1654, according to Johnson (II, 721-with note). This Samuel testifies later that he gave 30 feet of his land to Crane Hook Church.
8. Matson (alias Skrick or Schrick, variously spelled in subsequent land papers). Johan or John. A soldier named Johan Matson Skrika arrived on the Delaware in 1654 (Johnson, II, 720). He was a Lutheran and probably took the alias from the mid-seventeenth century Lutheran leader Paulus Schrick.
9. Toerson, Oele (spelled in several ways). A man of that name, again variously spelled, arrived on the Delaware as a midshipman and laborer, in 1641, and seems to have remained (Johnson, II, 702, 712, 722). This Oele Toersen appears importantly in the Lutheran history to follow.
10. Johanson, Symon, a Finn. A soldier named Simon Johansson arrived on the Delaware in 1654 (Johnson, II, 719). By 1680 he had added to his Crane Hook plantation, the land of two of his neighbors (Crane Hook Map I).
11. Bertilson, Mathias, a Finn, who appears with nine others of Crane Hook who took part in the Long Finn insurrection in 1669 (*Doc. XII*, 470-76).
12. Hendrikson, Evert, a Finn. A Finn so named arrived on the Delaware in 1641 and resided on the Schuylkill in or about 1655 (Johnson, I, 151, 463, and II 667, 705, 711, 719).

There being no evidence that the Crane Hook site was settled earlier than 1662, the majority of these "responsible housekeepers," mostly Finns, who with Paul Jönsson had belonged to the New Sweden colony north of the Christina in Rising's time can be taken as the first inhabitants on Crane Hook soil. There, as members of the one Lutheran congregation then on the Delaware,

they were dependent for the offices of their church upon the only Lutheran pastor, Reverend Laurentius Carolus Lokenius, and their only church was at Tinicum Island. Glimpses of the religious life of the Lutherans are few throughout the period of Dutch control. Lokenius preached at least once in the then forbidden territory south of the Christina. This service, held at the end of 1658, or early in 1659, brought upon the unhappy Director Alrichs the following reproof from the commissioners of the City's Colony in Holland:

The bold undertaking of the Swedish Parson to preach in the Colony there without permission, does not greatly please us. And as we will assuredly, that, as yet, no other religion but the Reformed can nor will be tolerated there, so you must, by proper means, put an end to and prevent such presumption on the part of other sectaries.³²

The preaching could hardly have been in the town of New Amstel where the Reverend Everardus Welius held services in the Dutch Reformed church on the Strand, but near enough for the Dutch, Swedish, and Finnish Lutherans there, to attend. Perhaps never in their lives had these Lutherans needed the solace of public worship as they did during the terrible winter of 1658-59, when neighbors, friends, and members of their families were dying of virulent disease and many who remained alive were weak from illness and from scanty rations. Lokenius must have been going about among the suffering families giving such comfort as he could while trying to keep them in the Lutheran fold. For in their distress, the Lutherans in the New Amstel area, who were able to attend church³³ would be drawn to the Dutch services upon the ringing of the bell on Sundays and weekdays. The Dutch reformed pastor who had arrived on the ship *De Waegh* in August 1657 and was the friend-in-need to Director Alrichs, suffered with Alrichs the same illness in the fall of 1659 and died December 9, that year, followed in death by Alrichs on December 30.³⁴ From that month for many years the Dutch Reformed had no minister of their faith. Regular services of prayer, sermon-reading, and psalm-singing by lay-readers and comforters-of-the-sick continued

32 *Ibid.*, II, 61.

33 *Ibid.*, XII, 374; *Delaware History*, V, 283-84, the little Dutch church on the Strand was Andries Huddle's house sold by him to Director Alrichs in 1657 and remodeled.

34 *Documents*, II, 114, 116 (also 79, 106, 180-81); XII, 286-87, 306, 289 (also 212, 228, 239-40).

until in 1679 the Reverend Peter Teschenmaker became the Reformed pastor at New Castle.³⁵

Near the time of Pastor Welius' arrival at New Amstel two notably high-ranking Dutch Reformed clergymen at New Amsterdam, Rev. Johannes Megapolensis and Samuel Drissius, in a letter to the Classis of Amsterdam, August 5, 1657, describing the state of education and religion in New Netherland give an incidental paragraph to the drinking habits of Domine Lokenius on the Delaware:

This Lutheran preacher (Lokenius) is a man of impious and scandalous habits, a wild, drunken, unmannerly clown, more inclined to look into the wine can than into the Bible. He would prefer drinking brandy two hours to preaching one; and when the sap is in the wood his hands itch and he wants to fight whomsoever he meets. The Commandant at Fort Casimir, Jean Paulus Jacquet, brother-in-law of Domine Casparus Carpentier, told us, that during last spring this preacher was tippling with a smith, and while yet over their brandy they came to fisticuffs, and beat each others heads black and blue; yea, that the smith tore all the clothing from the preacher's body, so that this godly minister escaped in primitive nakedness, and although so poorly clothed, yet sought quarrels with others. *Sed Hoc Parergicos* (but this incidentally).³⁶

The two right-living and able Dutch Reformed clergymen can be excused for telling the incident described by Jacquet, but their statement about the inclinations and preferences of Lokenius could be slander, for the whole of contemporary evidence, except theirs, indicates the Lutheran pastor's zeal for preaching, and faithful performance of the offices of the church.

Alcoholic beverages were a part of the regular daily fare in the period among clergymen as well as lay people and social drinking in homes and taverns on the Delaware was an accepted custom. Mild intoxication among soldiers and laborers and even officers while frowned upon was doubtless tolerated under the successive governmental regimes, but under each drunkenness in public was regarded as a reproach to the good name of the colony and might be punished by fines and restricted privileges.³⁷

35 *Ibid.*, 310, 404, 410; *Ecclesiastical Records*, I, 450. On August 3, 1662 Beekman requested Stuyvesant to send down a clergyman, "as there are several children to baptise here at Altena; nor has the Lord's supper been administered here for 2½ years."

36 *Ibid.*, I, 393-99; *Documents*, III, 69-72.

37 Ferris, *Original Settlements on the Delaware*, 155; Johnson, I, 354-55.

What became of the log building used as a church at Fort Christina before the Dutch conquest is not known. The fort and its buildings seem not to have been strongly garrisoned by the Dutch at first. A year and a half later sixteen Dutch soldiers were stationed there and soon afterward the buildings were being strengthened by supplies from the Hudson sent by Stuyvesant.³⁸ As Fort Altena was the capital of the Dutch West India Company's territory on the river after April 1657, public Lutheran worship would not have been permitted there. Lokenius in that year or earlier probably took possession of the Lutheran manse and glebe at Upland where Campanius and then Nertunius had lived. The privilege of public Lutheran worship as granted by the Dutch included retaining use of the church and church property at Tinicum Island³⁹ and the concession must have included also the glebe at Upland.⁴⁰ For the Upland glebe continued in the possession of the whole Lutheran congregation on the river until 1694, when wardens of the "congregation" of Wicaco and Crane Hook sold the seven-acre property to David Lloyd. The church land is mentioned in deeds for adjoining property and in court records of the 1670's,⁴¹ but it has not been possible to trace in consecutive documents the confirmations from 1655 to 1694. The deed of sale mentions only the two under the Penn government, 1684 and 1690, all that were necessary to give legal title in 1694.

Lokenius early acquired a tract of land adjoining the glebe, confirmed to him by Governor Lovelace September 15, 1669, and later an extension of it, the plantation formerly of Olle Stille granted Lokenius in the summer of 1676. The certificate of survey, dated July 17, is for 350 acres including what had been granted by a former patent.⁴² Meanwhile Lokenius had his troubles as well as the pastoral duties of his far-reaching congregation along the Delaware. On April 28, 1660, Vice-Director Beeckman wrote in

38 *Documents*, XII, 107-10, 119, 175-76, 188, 193, 198, 202-03.

39 The church at Tinicum was on land belonging by royal grant to Printz, Hazard, *Annals*, 77. His daughter Armegot was permitted by the Dutch and later by the English to retain possession, — *ibid.*, 219-20, 403-04; Johnson, II, 690. She finally sold the property but the use of the church was not interrupted, Acrelius, 204.

40 Campanius was settled at Upland on company land in 1643 and Nertunius assigned there by Rising in 1654. — Johnson, I, 372; but how much land they had use of is not found in available records. Perhaps both had only the seven acres which in later years was the extent of the Lutheran glebe. See following note.

41 *Upland Court Records*, 200-201, 121-22.

42 *Documents*, XII, 491, 550-51; *Original Land Titles*, 109-10.

his report to Director General Stuyvesant: "Oele Stille made strong opposition to me on the last Court day because I suspected him, that without authority he had allowed the priest [Lokenius] to marry a couple of young people in his presence, without proclamation in church and against the will of the parents. I condemned therefore the priest to a fine of fifty guilders. . ." Also under this date Beeckman reports the end of a case involving Lokenius and Peter Meyer. The minister had complained to Mr. Beeckman the previous November of assault and battery upon him by Meyer: "He had been fearfully beaten and marked in his face, as I never saw it, whereupon both were summoned, but before the meeting took place, the affair was settled out of court, thus asserting that the judge [Beeckman] had nothing to say about it."⁴³

During the night of September 19-20, 1661, the wife of Lokenius eloped with Jacob Young,⁴⁴ a trader and Indian interpreter, who then had a room at Upland, and within four weeks the pastor requested civil permission to marry "a girl of 17 or 18 years." In November he asked again as "the situation of his family imperiously requires it," for he had several young children. He obtained from the court at Altena a decree of divorce dated December 15, 1661, subject to the approval of Stuyvesant and the New Netherland Council. Without requesting or obtaining the final decree, he married the girl in January, 1662, through a ceremony performed by himself. On April 14, 1662, Vice-Director Beeckman, as head of the Altena court, informed Domine Lokenius "that his marriage was declared illegal, because he had

43 *Documents*, XII, 307-308. Peter Meyer came to New Sweden about 1643, as a soldier, and left to live in Maryland in 1661. — Johnson, II, 667 with note, 668, 703, 713. Because the duties of Gregorius Van Dyck, sheriff of the Swedes and Finns in the West India Company's jurisdiction were "very light" (a tribute to the good behavior of the up-river people) the duties were transferred to Beeckman, Mar. 21, 1661. The sheriff was also prosecutor and judge.

44 Jacob Junge (*Young* in English records) came to Fort Christina with Governor Rising in 1654 as clerk of the storehouse. — Johnson, II, 716; and in Dec. 1654 and Feb. 1655 made inventories of the goods at Tinicum and Christina. — *Ibid.*, 503-04. After Rising's departure Young was in the service of the Dutch at New Amstel and Altena, as interpreter and trader. The runaway couple went to Maryland, where Jacob was soon employed by the government. Information concerning him and his many services in Maryland runs through seven or more volumes of *Maryland Archives*. About 1675, he was in possession of 1280 acres in New Castle County, most of it on the north side of the mouth of St. Georges Creek. — *Documents*, XII, 543; *Original Land Titles*, 102-3, 162, 165. At the court of New Castle, Nov. 3, 1680, Jacob Young's wife (the former wife of Lokenius?) defends him against defamation by John Taylor. She wins the suit. Most of Young's story is told by Raphael Semmes in his *Captains and Mariners of Early Maryland*.

married himself, which is contrary to the order in matters of matrimony; that pursuant to the laws of the Fatherland he ought to have first asked and obtained a [final] decree of divorce from the superior authority and that in case of delay he would be obliged to proceed against him." On the same day Lokenius was heavily fined for having broken into the room of the fugitive Jacob Young, in the house of "Andries Andriesen, the Finn," and "for usurpation of the authority of the Court."⁴⁵

Lokenius states his case to Director General Stuyvesant as follows:

Noble, Honorable General,
Sir:

My humble services and what further lies in my power are always at your disposal. It will not be unknown to your Honor, how, since the elopement of my wife, I have fallen from one misfortune into another, because all my steps taken on that account have been given the worst explanation and I have been condemned to heavy fines, which considering my poverty, I am not able to get together, for besides about 200 guilders paid already, I have now again been sentenced to a fine of 280 guilders, which has happened, because I was looking for my wife, and thought she was in the room, which I opened by force. I found there nothing but some pairs of socks, which the vagabond robber of my wife had left behind him. I inventoried these and whereas it has been so interpreted as if I had abused the Court by this act of mine, therefore I have been fined 280 guilders, as it is pretended, that the runaway was so much in debt and whereas I have been condemned to this fine in my innocence, having no other intention than to look for my wife, therefore it is my humble petition, that your Honor as Chief Magistrate may please to be favorable and merciful to me and to forgive me, what in my ignorance has happened here and to remit my punishment considering my poverty. As to having married myself, I have proceeded lawfully therein and consent was given. I have followed the same custom, which others have followed here, who have not been called upon that account. I declare on my conscience, that it was not done with any bad intention; had I known that this self-marriage would be thus interpreted, I would have willingly submitted to the usages of the Reformed Church, which were not known to me.

"Therefore I pray once more the Honorable General may please to assist me with favor and mercy to attend to my poor vocation and means, so that I may enjoy my bread and livelihood without being a burden to anybody. The Lord Almighty, to whose protection I faith-

⁴⁵ Hazard, *Annals*, 329; *Documents*, XII, 355-60, 366-68.

fully commend your Honor, may move your Honor's heart and mind to such mercy.
Uplandt, 30th April, 1662.

Your Honor's humble subject
Laurentius Carolus
L. Minister.

To the Noble, Honorable, Distinguished
General Petrus Stuyvesant, Director
of New Netherland.⁴⁶

Whether Stuyvesant considered this appeal and sent Beekman instructions for dealing with Lokenius is not of record. But the marriage stood. His children (by both wives) who used the surname Lock, grew up to be estimable citizens.

By 1662, Dutch and Swedish Lutherans in the New Amstel colony were permitted by Director D'Hinojossa to call a young Lutheran minister from Amsterdam as school master for their children. Domine Abelius Zetskoorn arrived in the City's Colony the following spring and taught in the Colony for more than a year. In June Beekman wrote to Stuyvesant: "Abelius Zetscoren received an invitation and call from the Swedish congregation, subject to your Honor's approval, but Domine Laers objects to it with all his influence, so that the Commissaries were compelled to threaten him with a protest before he could be persuaded to permit Domine Zetscoren to preach on the second day of Pene-cost." Further information is provided in Beekman's letter of November 15:

Abelius Zetskoorn has been called by those of the Augsburg Confession, who belong to the colony of New Amstel, as I informed your Hon^{ble} Worships before this, with the consent of Director and Council there, subject to the approval of their very Honorable Worships, the Lords-Burgomasters. Since his staying there, he has been here in the district of the Hon^{ble} Company only once (it was last Whitmonday) and then he preached at Tinnakunck [Tinicum] at the request of the Swedish Commissaries. Afterward he was offered as high a salary, as Domine Laers receives; they wanted him especially as schoolmaster, but they of New Amstel would not let him go. In regard to the information, received by your Hon^{ble} Worships, that he also administers the rite of baptism, this is not true: I shall expect your Hon^{ble} Worship' further order in this matter.⁴⁷

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 367. The signature is the only original found in this search. In records of the Duke of York period, he is frequently called "Laurentius Carolus" without either "Lock" or "L".

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, III, 40; 432, 433, 446; *Ecclesiastical Records*, 1, 550; *Documents*, XII, 446.

Domine Zetskoorn must have had a good command of the Swedish language, as well as his native Dutch, to have been wanted by the Swedes in Beeckman's jurisdiction to teach their children. He performed no religious offices in the New Amstel territory, but probably taught the children of Dutch, Swedish and Finnish Lutherans their catechisms according to Augsburg Confession.

Except for the deed drawn by Lokenius at Crane Hook early in 1664, which as previously related he signed as pastor of the place, there is no further record concerning Lutheran religion or education on the Delaware until October of that year when the English Duke of York's commander, Sir Robert Carr, forced the surrender of the Dutch on the Delaware to his English Majesty, King Charles of Great Britain.

Before this happened Director Alexander D'Hinojossa, who governed badly from the day he came into office following Director Alrichs' death, but took much care to strengthen his standing with the Amsterdam directors of the City's Colony by sending them adroit reports of his administration, had disrupted life among the people in his jurisdiction and become a threat to the peace and prosperity of the whole river. Below the Christina Dutch, Swedes, Finns and others suffered from his tyranny and his persecution of individuals, especially those who failed to pay him the homage he demanded.⁴⁸

A man who offended the director might be severely sentenced on a false or trifling charge, while serious offenses against the public safety might be ignored as was the open selling of liquor to the Indians. On one occasion when two farm servants on a plantation close to New Amstel, "one a Hollander, the other a Swede or Fin" killed three Indians, a man, woman, and boy while robbing them of their wampum, D'Hinojossa arrested the murderers, heard their confessions and the convincing evidence against them and then discharged them. Terrified Dutch and Swedes on the surrounding farms fearing Indian violence in revenge sought safety among the closely settled town people. Fortunately the news reached Stuyvesant at New Amsterdam in time to prevent this tragedy. He forced D'Hinojossa to prosecute the murderers and the Indians were pacified.⁴⁹

48 *Ibid.*, 289-90, 374-75, 376-80, *Delaware History*, IV, 294-96.

49 *Documents*, XII, 292, 293, 305.

Early in 1663 D'Hinojossa was selling property of the City's Colony, "everything for which he can find a purchaser, even the powder and musket balls from the magazine," wrote Beeckman, for means to provide supplies in expectation of ships bringing many colonists. This maneuver did not support the claims of competent management he had made to the Burgomasters. Although his sales of ammunition to Maryland merchants weakened the defenses of the Delaware D'Hinojossa depended upon the English not to attack. He was planning a great trade with them for which he would move the capital of the colony from New Amstel to the Appoquinimink.⁵⁰

As a boast and threat, especially to the up-river inhabitants, he declared publicly that the West India Company would soon sell the company's holdings on the Delaware to the City of Amsterdam, implying that he would then control the whole river. Late in the spring he took ship for Amsterdam, returning December 3 with 150 colonists, thirty-two of whom were Finns. The sale had been made by the West India Company (still greatly in debt) and Alexander D'Hinojossa was now the City of Amsterdam's director of the "Colony of the South River from the sea upwards as far as the river reaches."⁵¹

True to his character, D'Hinojossa immediately displayed his power by announcing that Beeckman was dismissed from the Delaware; he published a date after which all trade by the inhabitants would be forbidden. Trade was to be carried on only by his appointees. He issued orders that no colonist should brew or distill beer or liquor either for sale or for home use, in order, he explained, to gain surplus wheat and barley for export. He hired out the new farm laborers including those from Sweden to planters for a term of years, "almost the same method," in Beeckman's words, "as the English trade in servants."

Beeckman refused to transmit the order against brewing and distilling to the Swedish population above the Christina, since they engaged in it only for home consumption, and no more grain was produced than was needed by the people and for seed.⁵²

Early in January, Beeckman had called together at Altena, the Swedish commissaries and all the Swedish colonists in his former

50 *Ibid.*, 450, 442, 434.

51 *Ibid.*, 434, 436-38, 450; II, 176-77; III, 346.

52 *Ibid.*, XII, 448-53; II, 209-12.

jurisdiction, announced his resignation, and released them from their oath to the West India Company. The next day a delegation of them appeared before D'Hinojossa and his Council at New Amstel. There they showed plenty of spirit. "Now we are sold, hand us over," said the leaders. But when the new oath was read all present refused to take it. They demanded a written guarantee of the same privileges in trading and other things that they had enjoyed under the West India Company. D'Hinojossa and Council gave them eight days for consultation among themselves and with those of their population who were not present, after which they would be required to take the oath or leave the river.⁵³ Most of them were trapped unless they could bring themselves to leave their hard-won possessions in cultivated land, in buildings, equipment and livestock — for confiscation of everything any departing colonists owned was to be expected from D'Hinojossa. There is no record that they took the oath at the end of the eight days nor that any of them left the river. The signing probably dragged along, a few at a time, and may not have been complete when the ships of the Duke of York appeared on the river in October.

Having heard from Stuyvesant and also from the Amsterdam directors of the City's Colony who recognized the importance of keeping a man of Beekman's experience and wisdom on the Delaware in the interest of an orderly change of government, D'Hinojossa invited him to stay offering him his present property as a gift if he would continue to live at Altena. Mr. Beekman did not accept; but he remained with his family at his Altena home until Stuyvesant was able to provide a place for him as chief officer at Esopus (Kingston) on the Hudson. The moving with his wife and eight children, his possessions and those of the West India Company could not be managed until July 4, 1664.⁵⁴

So for an additional six months of D'Hinojossa's rule the Swedes had an unofficial advocate and protector. The majority of New Sweden settlers were of peasant stock, but the peasants of Sweden, unlike those of other European countries, had never been serfs. As a class they were freehold farmers, one of the four

⁵³ *Ibid.*, XII, 451-52.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 449, 452; Hazard, *Annals*, 359.

"Estates" of Sweden: Clergy, Nobility, Burgers, Peasants, entitled to speak for themselves and their interests before the king and his councillors. And as a class they were honest, religious, and hardworking, hospitable and generous, but tenacious of age-long ways, fond of sports and out-door life. These were their normal traits, however much individuals might diverge from these qualities.⁵⁵

⁵⁵ Johnson, I, 29, Gumbert, *A History of Sweden*, 184-85.

The Building of Crane Hook Church

THE west side of the Delaware was not included in the grant of American territory to James, Duke of York, by his brother, Charles II of Great Britain, March 12, 1664. But James in his determination to reduce the naval and commercial superiority of the Dutch, used his position, High Admiral of the British Navy, and the favor of his brother, to take the whole of New Netherland in his majesty's name. For this adventure he sent across the Atlantic a commission headed by Colonel Richard Nicolls in command of a fleet of armed ships carrying soldiers. By threat of this overwhelming force compared with the weak defenses of the Dutch, the duke's commissioners secured the surrender of New Amsterdam without the firing of a gun, August 27/September 7, 1664.¹

Sir Robert Carr, one of the commissioners, was then dispatched with two frigates and a company of soldiers to take the Dutch South River. The ships arrived in the Delaware September 30/October 10, sailed unchallenged past New Amstel without a salute and negotiated with the Swedes and Finns above the Christina, who accepted the liberal English terms. Later, after three days parley with the Dutch officers, magistrates, and people at New Amstel, Commander Carr persuaded magistrates and people to take the oath of allegiance. But not the Dutch director, D'Hinojossa. He rushed his chief officers into the fort which he had largely denuded of fire-power, alerted the soldiers, and attempted a semblance of bristling defense. The British ships were not in range, but the next morning Sir Robert Carr dropped them down

¹ Andrews, *Colonial Period*, III, 53-63; *Original Land Titles*, 17-23. The Duke's grant extended only to "the east side of Delaware Bay."

before the Dutch fort where each fired two broadsides into that redoubt killing three soldiers and wounding ten. Carr's soldiers rushed upon the fort for plunder and Carr followed, securing booty for himself. He then took "for the use of the King from New Amstel and inhabitants thereabout" everything of value including the stores and equipment in the fort, the livestock, crops and farming implements from some of the plantations. To pay for supplies he gave the Dutch soldiers in trade to an English merchant to be sold into indentured service. The Negro servants belonging to D'Hinojossa he traded to Maryland for beef, pork, corn and salt. D'Hinojossa and the sheriff, Gerrit van Sweeringen, all their property confiscated, departed for Maryland, but the able and versatile Peter Alrichs swore allegiance to the English and prospered.²

The plundering bout by Carr was in violation of his instructions. He was recalled October 23/November 2 and his booty taken from him. Colonel Richard Nicolls, governor for the Duke of York, came to the Delaware immediately following the recall, established orderly government, and did what he could to meliorate the effects of Carr's brutal conduct. Whether any Swedes and Finns living among the Dutch in the New Amstel district suffered in the raid by Carr is not known. New Amstel was renamed New Castle and Captain John Carr, a son or brother³ of Sir Robert Carr, was made commandant on the Delaware.

Under the English terms for allegiance, colonists who took the oath, whatever their nationality, were protected in their real and personal estates; became free citizens and could enjoy the privileges of trading into his majesty's dominions as freely as any Englishman and would be given a certificate for the purpose; present magistrates and other officers under the Dutch were confirmed in their authority and jurisdictions for six months; all people were to enjoy liberty of conscience in their church discipline.⁴

The freedom of worship thus granted in October, 1664, was within two years reinforced by the Duke of York. A letter from Governor Nicolls to "*Gentlemen*," not named in the published

² *Document*, XII, 457 ff., III, 68-73, 345-346; *Pennsylvania Archives*, 2d ser., V, 752; Hazard, *Annals*, 368.

³ *Documents*, XII, 457-459; Hazard, 367; *Pennsylvania Archives*, 2d ser., V, 541-542; *Archives of Maryland*, V, 416. *Documents*, XI (index) lists John Carr as "son" of Sir Robert, citing III, 109, but John Carr is not mentioned there. Myers, *Narratives*, 316n., says John was Robert's "brother, not his cousin."

⁴ *Documents*, III, 71; *Pennsylvania Archives*, 2d ser., V, 544-547.

transcript, but its contents necessarily applying to all districts alike reads:

Gentlemen.

I have lately received L^{tes} from y^e Duke Wherein it is peticulerly signified unto me that his Royal Highness doth approve of y^e Tollerⁿtion given to y^e Lutheran Church in these partes I doe therefore expect that yo^u live friendly & peaceable wth those of that profession giving them no disturbance in y^e Exercise of their Religion, as they shall receive noe Countenance in but on y^e Contrary strictly Answer any disturbance they shall presume to give unto any of yo^u in yo^r divine worship. So I bid yo^u farewell being

Yor very loving friend.

Fort James in New Yorke this 13th day of October, 1666.⁵

Fortunately by this firm policy, any obstructive tactics that may have been used by the Dutch Reformed magistrates still in office at New Castle against the building of a Lutheran church would be overcome. The congregation would still have to secure from the court at New Castle permission to build and approval of the site.⁶ The general history from the contemporary sources of the Swedish Lutherans on the Delaware as given in the preceding chapter shows that no Crane Hook church could have been built before the change to English sovereignty in October 1664. Plans for the church may have been in the mind of Pastor Lokenius as early as 1662, when Governor D'Hinojossa promised Swedish and Finnish farmers in the West India Company's territory "free exercise of their religion" if they would move into Dutch territory south of the Christina. Conditions under D'Hinojossa were hardly propitious for the building of a new Lutheran Church, even if the congregation who would attend could have been persuaded to build the church at Crane Hook rather than at Christina where the first Swedish Church had stood.

Considering from the foregoing that the opportunity to build Crane Hook church arrived about 1667, weight is given to the comment written by the Reverend Erik Björk⁷ who became the pastor of the church thirty years later, that so far as he could

⁵ *Documents*, XIV, 626.

⁶ *New Castle Court Records*, I, 45-47; *Documents*, XII, 526. That the court at New Castle determined the places of worship, both Calvinist and Lutheran, is confirmed by orders of the court, quoted hereafter.

⁷ Erik Björk's name is so spelled by modern Swedish writers in scholarly publications. The surname comes from the Swedish word for birch tree.

discover, services had been held there since the year 1667.⁸ Thus expressed, his statement represents an effort to learn the date of building Crane Hook Church, for which he had good opportunity among the oldest members of the congregation at the time he arrived in 1697. No Crane Hook Church records have survived. Some must have been kept for there was a parish clerk in the 1670's who may have been appointed when the church was built. He was Oele (Olof) Poulson of Bread and Cheese Island. The only records by Lokenius that could be found by the Reverend Andreas Rudman, 1697-1702, were in a small book of jumbled items.⁹

The time of building the church having been established, the location is to be determined by deeds and surveys of Crane Hook land, by deeds and surveys to individual owners, by deed of sale of John Matson's property; also by a court case involving church land. Reference to Crane Hook Map I will show the relation of Hendrick Lemmens', the plaintiff's property in the following court case to the site of the church as later determined. Hendrick Andriessen, the defendant, who had enlarged the church yard will be remembered as one of the "responsible housekeepers" on Crane Hook land in the census of 1676-78.

On October 17/27, 1683, in the Court of New Castle, Hendrick Lemmens accused Hendrick Andriessen of "Haucing taken in this plts. Land at Craen hook Church:"

The afternamed two wittnesses were Sworne for y^e p^{lt} Hans Peterson & Charles Petersen Sworne in Co^{rt}: that they haue ben p^{sent} and Seen that the def^t hath taken in fence att Craenhook Church yard about y^e breath of three paces more then were [where] y^e old pales Stood —

The def^t alleidging that hee could proove that y^e former owners of y^e Land had Given Sufficient power for inlargeing y^e s^d Churchyard, and desiring that y^e case might bee Suspended til next Co^{rt} for him to Proove y^e aboves^d — The Co^{rt}: therefore Suspended y^e same and ordered that the def^t bring in y^e writing w^{ch} hee Sayes there is, to proove that by y^e former owners of y^e Land there was Sufficient power Given for the Enlargeing of y^e Church yard to y^e Church att Craenhook afores^d¹⁰

⁸ MS. Records of Holy Trinity Church, I, 12.

⁹ Oele (Ola, Olof) Poulson is called "clocker" and "klocker" (klockare) in several records. See *Document*, XII, 648; *New Castle County Book of Warrants (Confirmations and Grants)*, 1667-1679, folios 56-57; *Rudman Manuscripts*.

¹⁰ *New Castle Records*, II, 68-69.

On December 4/14, 1683, the case was again taken up:

The deff^t saith ye Land in controversy belonest to ye Church being given by the first owner.

Laurence Cock being appointed Interpreter was accordingly attested

Samll Peters being attested saith he gave thirty foot of land to ye Church

Epherim Harman being attested saith, y^t Richard Noble he Sur-
vayd y^e Land in Controversy & the inhabitants made no objection

Wrion Wruonsen being attested said the first donor allowed the Church so much land as it should need

The Jury upon y^e matter going out bring in their verdict for y^e Deff^t with cost of sute

The Court give Judgment according y^e Verdict of y^e Jury.¹¹

Unfortunately the "wryting" to be brought in by Hendrick Andriessen is not described by the clerk in recording the disposition of the case. Andriessen's handling of the court case and his enlarging the burial ground indicates a position of responsibility, probably that of warden. He is presumably, the "Hindrick Andersson, freeman," who came with Governor Rising in 1654, and who in later records is a blacksmith.¹²

Hendrick Lemmens' nationality and time of arrival on the Delaware are not known. He appears first as the author of a protest by Crane Hook Lutherans in 1675 (cited later). On April 4, 1677, he has a suit against "Peter Hendricx" for a debt of 34 gilders, in the court of New Castle.¹³ On October 3, the same year, he and Symon Jansen, "Inhabitants att the Cranehook," petition the court to grant each of them 50 acres of marsh lying between Captain Evert Hendricksson's Island and the Batstow Creek,¹⁴ which was granted. He was among those at New Castle who did "Solemnly promise to yield to him [William Penn] all Just obedience," on the old calendar date October 28, 1682, and was naturalized by Penn at New Castle on old calendar February 21,

11 *Ibid.*, 77. The witness whose name is spelled Wrion Wruonsen in the printed *Records* and Wrion Wriionson in the manuscript was Juriaen Juriaensen, son of Juriaen "Bosman" or "Bootsman" (Bosjeman?) who was the owner of Long Hook. See Crane Hook Map I. Land at Long Hook in the possession of Juriaen Juriaensen was confirmed to him in 1669, *Original Land Titles*, 143-144.

12 Johnson, *Swedish Settlements*, II, 717; Logan Papers. Quit-rents. Three Lower Counties, 1701-1713.

13 *New Castle Records*, I, 75.

14 Crane Hook Map I. A resurvey of Crane Hook land in 1703 shows in its accompanying drawing the location of the Batstow Creek a short distance south of the Crane Hook line, in Paerd Hook. — *Book of Surveys (Penn)*, 297.

1683. From January 20/30, 1685 to 1687, the year of his death, Henry or Hendrick Lemmens was a justice of the court of New Castle.¹⁵

The Crane Hook properties bought by Hendrick Lemmens between 1675 and the court case of 1683, that proved the church yard to adjoin his land, can be known by comparing the owners of plots in their order from north to south in the 1676-1678 census of "responsible housekeepers," with the owners of the same plots, 1680-85, as shown on Crane Hook Map I. This map is based on the official survey of October 20/30, 1680, by Ephraim Herman, New Castle County surveyor, of the 784 acres of Crane Hook proper,¹⁶ and deeds and surveys for adjoining land in effect 1680-1685.

In the first list there are eight owners between Hendrick Andriessen at the north and Simon Jansen at the south end of the Crane Hook properties. Between Andriessen and Jansen the responsible housekeeper owners were Bertil Hindricksen, Pella Parker, Erick Matson, Eskell Andries, Lars Eskellson, Samuel Peterson, John Matson, and Olla Toersen. The 1680 survey confirms that Andriessen and Simon Jansen had large plantations and that in between them were originally eight single home lots, 18 perches ("rods") and 2 feet wide at each end and 150 perches in depth plus marshes in front and woodland behind. At the time of the survey, Hendrick Andriessen is still in possession of his large plantation; the two single "home lotts" next south of him, formerly of Bertil Hendrickson and Pella Parker have been acquired by William Johnson (alias Scott); the third single home lot, formerly of Erick Matson has been acquired by Hendrick Lemmens; the fourth single lot is still owned by Eskell Andries, the fifth single lot, formerly of Lars Eskellson, has been acquired by Hendrick Lemmens; the sixth single lot, formerly of Samuel

15 New Castle County Deeds, G-1, 410; *New Castle Records*, II, 37, 94-151.

16 *Ibid.*, I, 503-505.

Peterson,¹⁷ has been acquired by John Matson, who still owns his original single lot adjoining; the eighth single lot, originally of Olla Toersen, has been acquired by Simon Jansen (Symon Johnson), increasing the size of his large plantation.¹⁸

Hendrick Lemmens in 1680 owned the original lot of Lars Eskellson which adjoined the original lot of Samuel Peterson now owned by John Matson. These are the "home lotts" that determine the position of the Crane Hook church property. Samuel Peterson gave 30 feet to the church, so Lars Eskellson if he owned the land in 1667 was the man who gave the church "so much land as it should need." That Lars Eskellson owned this same lot the second year after the church was built has confirmation in the list of Crane Hook participants fined in the "Long Finn" conspiracy of 1669, where Lars Eskellson, Samuel Peterson and John Matson appear consecutively.¹⁹

Thus the court case and the official survey show that the plot of ground belonging to Crane Hook church in 1667 was partly on both sides of the line of division between Samuel Peterson's home lot and that of Lars Eskellson. But there is no indication of its site along the 150 perches of that boundary. John Matson who acquired the Peterson lot next north of his own sold his double lot, February 11/21, 1687, by the following deed:

John Matson alias Screeck of Crane Hook sold to Hendrick Vandenbugh, merchant of New Castle County (and town) for a

17 At this time Samuel Peterson owned a tract of land on the north side of the Christina (part of which was later Willingtoun, now part of Wilmington), his half of 400 acres conveyed to him and Lars Cornelison on the 10th day of 8th month, 1674, by John Anderson Stalcoep (New Castle Deeds, K-1, 364). He had been in possession of a piece of Holland Creek Marsh on the south bank of the Christina since 1654-1655 as Samuel Pers(s)on i Bogen and Samuel Peterson, freeman (Johnson, *Swedish Settlements*, II, 721), "i Bogen" describing the location of his marsh, at or in the shoulder (of land) or bend (of a stream), which later deeds, surveys, and a court case show as on both sides of the South Market Street causeway (Crane Hook Map I) adjoining John Paul Jacquet's tract. Jacquet sued Peterson and Jacob Classon (Clawson) in 1674 (*New Casile Records*, I, 122) for mowing hay over on his tract. A survey for Jacquet (Book of Surveys (Penn) 326) shows Peterson's tract adjoining Jacquet's in the bend of the creek. A recital in Deed Book E-2, 341-344 (1783), traces Samuel's tract back to his son Peter who inherited under his will, dated 20 Sept. 1699, cited in Deed Book K-1, 364, mentioned above.

18 Confirmed to Simon Jansen and Mattys Berckelsen (Eskelson?) July 1, 1669, land on Crane Hook in their possession, 60 rods wide next to Laats Toersen and running 600 rods into the woods. — *Original Titles*, 159. In the survey of Crane Hook Land, 1680, Johnson's tract is 86 perches (or rods) wide and Berckelsen and Toersen have none.

19 List of 1669 as "transcribed and examined at New Castle, May 11, 1675" in *Documents*, XII, 470-471.

Vallowable sum of money . . . a certain pantacon scitua Lying and being in Crane hooke afore^d bounded to y^e North west with y^e Church to y^e South east with y^e River Delaware to the South west with the Land of John Crompton containing two Lotts being now in the tenure and occupacon of y^e s^d John Mattson alias Screeck with all y^e housing outhousing . . . to hae and to hold &c.

Acknowledged in the Court of New Castle on February 15/25, 1687.²⁰

"Northwest with the Church" coincides with the information of the court case and survey, for the northwest line of Matson's "two lotts" would include the northwest line of the lot formerly of Peterson. Peterson's lot was 18 perches and 2 feet wide along this back line dividing his cultivated land from his share of the woodland, and as Peterson, according to the court minutes, gave only 30 feet to the church, the church land began very near the edge of Peterson's land or woodland and extended north into that of Lars Eskellson, later of Lemmens. Of this extent there is no record. Bounded to the northwest by the church suggests that the church was outside the line of Matson's cultivated land and therefore in the woodland area belonging to this north lot. In a preliminary recorded agreement for the sale to Vandenburg, February 26/March 8, 1685, "both home lotts & Woodland and all the Marshes or Marsh Ground thereunto belonging," etc., are to be conveyed. In the deed of sale and in subsequent indentures, the suggestion is strengthened that the church land was in the woodland.²¹ The Matson deed establishes the distance of the church from the Delaware River. The fast land of "home lotts" faces the "great Marsh" along the river a fourth to a third of a mile wide,²² which added to the 150 perches back to the woods puts the church at least three-fourths of a mile from the water and about a half mile back from the "wagon way leading to Christina ferry."²³

Crane Hook maps I and II were made by plotting Crane Hook properties from contemporary deeds and surveys upon a modern map of south Wilmington, with the aid of an air map²⁴

20 New Castle County Deeds, B-1, 5-7, and see 134-135, sale of former Simon Johnson tract to John Grantham.

21 *Ibid.*, 1-2, 5-7 134-135, 84.

22 New Castle County Book of Surveys (Penn), 297. A drawn plot is recorded with the certificate of resurvey of Crane Hook land, Jan. 28/Feb. 8, 1703.

23 *New Castle Records*, II, 50-53.

24 This excellent map is in *The Port of Wilmington*.

and by field expeditions. The location of the church thus arrived at is probably close enough to the original site for archaeologists to find the exact location of the burying ground.

As to the architecture of the church and character of the building published English translations of contemporary records have stated merely that it was of wood.²⁵ Evidence that Crane Hook Church as well as the church at Wicaco was of the block-house type is provided in the words of the Reverend Erik Björk, pastor of Crane Hook during its last years and familiar with the Wicaco church in use when he arrived on the Delaware in 1697. His description is included in the Latin thesis of his son, Tobias Ericus Björk, submitted at Upsala University, Stockholm, and printed in 1731, *Dissertatus Gradualis de Plantatione Ecclesiae Svecanae in America*. Referring to Wicaco and especially to Crane Hook, the son quotes his father as writing:

These (churches) were so built that above an elevation suitable for another house there was erected an overhang, several courses higher, from which they could shoot downward; so that if the heathen who could shoot no one unless they were to come close to the building, attacked them, the Swedes could shoot them all down quickly, while the pagan, who used only bow and arrow, could hurt them little if at all.

For this quotation Tobias Björk used the original Swedish text of his father.²⁶ That both churches were built of wood (*de ligno*) means to the student of Swedish architecture on the Delaware: built of logs, round or squared, expertly notched together at the ends to form the walls, with planks for flooring, clapboards or planks for the gabled roof, a door usually in the gable end, sliding boards to close the window openings when glass was not available, the whole built upon a stone foundation or on the ground.²⁷

²⁵ Acrelius, 176.

²⁶ Translated by Mrs. Courtland B. Springer from the Swedish text in Björk, *Dissertatio Gradualis*, 11-12, which reads: "Hwilcka (Kyrkior) woro så bygde/ at efter en lagom högd som ett annat hus/ giordes en utbygning några hwarf höggre/ ther the kunde skiuta utföre; så at om Hedningarne anföllu them/ som intet kunde skie/ uthan the icke skulle komma in på huset/ tå kunde the Swenske skiuta neder them alt fort/ och Hedningen/ som brukade allenast boga och pihl/ kunde litet eller intet skada them." (The diagonal lines have the function of commas.)

Acrelius, (*Beskrifning*, 198-199), uses the same text but says it is quoted from Andreas Rudman's MS. history, which he had used at Gloria Dei Church, Philadelphia, during his stay in America, 1749-1756.

²⁷ Johnson, *Swedish Settlements*, I, 345 ff.; Weslager, "Log Structures in New Sweden," 86.



— Drawing by Walter Stewart
from description of Reverend Erik Björk

A logical reason for choosing Crane Hook as the site for building the church in 1667 has been hard to find in the site itself and the preceding history. Acrelius assumed that easier distance for the Lutherans of New Castle was the reason.²⁸ No members of the congregation then lived on the east side of the Delaware,²⁹ but the greater part of what became the congregation

²⁸ Acrelius, 176.

²⁹ As early as 1666-1669 a few Dutch and French families belonging to the Dutch Reformed Church at New Castle acquired tracts of land on the east side of the Delaware: Foppe Jansen Outhout, Isaac Tayne, Peter Alrichs and others. Swedes, Finns, and Dutch Lutherans belonging to the Crane Hook Church began acquiring land in the Penns Neck-Salem Creek area about 1671 and later. Their number increased after 1682 under William Penn, more of them being from the area served by Tinicum Church than from the Crane Hook Church area. — West Jersey Records, Deeds Patents, Book I, 9, 12, 20, 21, 313; *Pennsylvania Archives*, 1st ser., I, 56-59; 32-37 for earlier grants.

of Crane Hook lived at Christina and above. Here again Tobias Biork provides the answer (in Latin), telling that those living "in tractu Christinae" sought to build themselves a church:

But because there did not seem to them there much provision [protection] against an invasion of Indians, the greater part of them erected for themselves at a place across the river Christina, Crane Hook, a church called by the same name, and also built of wood.

The original text reads:

Sed quoniam nec ibi ab invasione Indianorum, satis sibi prospectum videretur, major eorundem pars, amne Christina trajecto in loco Tranhuken templum sibi, eodem nomine insignitum, etjam ligneum extruxere.³⁰

Indians used the Christina River as a thoroughfare and also the trail near the Delaware between New Castle and the Christina. So the church was hidden away on the edge of what was actually hardwood forest, behind a series of plantations with their buildings, orchards, and judging from the marked trees that formed the plantation boundaries, forest trees still standing. That the Indian menace was real is made clear by contemporary references, especially the report of Sir Robert Carr after he had taken the Delaware. The Indians at that time were not friendly and because there was a war on by parties from the tribes of Senecas and Tuscororas, Christians as well as the River Indians might be attacked in their forays.³¹

Lutheran services on the Delaware were conducted in the form used in Sweden in the time of Printz and Rising. Lokenius, during the twelve years since New Sweden came under the Dutch, must have kept as closely as he could to the established order in the church Psalmbook or handbook to which he was accustomed. It can be conjectured that the dedication ceremonies and services at Crane Hook Church followed an order prescribed for one of the important special Sundays of the year. This would mean a long service or it might be two services and two sermons on the same day.

According to the Swedish custom all services opened with the singing of a Psalm by the congregation. The order of the day included responsive readings or singing, prayer, the Epistle for

30 *Dissertatio Gradualis*, 11-12.

31 *Documents*, III, 73; Weslager, "Minquas," 18; and see *Documents*, XII, 493.

the day, the sermon, one of the several creeds read or sung, singing of a Psalm often special for the special day, prayers, admonitions and announcements by the pastor and final blessing.

The church celebrations of Christmas, Easter, and Pentecost, each lasted four days with appropriate daily ceremonies; other special days had only a morning service on the day.³² As in most religions, the church bell was important to pastor and people, but whether those of the Crane Hook congregation within hearing were summoned by the sweet tones of a good bell made in Sweden, or the clangor of a poor bell, or by any bell at all, is unknown.³³ Effort would be made to decorate the interior of the church appropriately. Materials for altar cloth and vestments could be procured from English merchants and women members of the congregation skilled with the needle could supply the decorative handwork. A painting such as Rising desired for the Christina Church of his day, would be harder to procure.³⁴

Records are silent about both Lokenius and the church for two years. In 1669 came a testing-time for Swedes and Finns of the congregation. An impostor came among them, calling himself the son of the Swedish General Conigsmark. With persuasive talk he played upon the strong loyalty to the Swedish crown that many of them had. Called alternately the "Long Finn" and the "Long Swede" by the English, this man, Marcus Jacobson, convinced some of the worthy Swedish colonists that under his leadership Finns and Swedes could overthrow the Duke's officers by force and take control in the name of young Prince Carl of Sweden. Henry Coleman (Kolehmainen),³⁵ a Finn who knew the Indian language, joined the newcomer, the two of them hiding out among the Indians between their recruiting sorties among the people. They were caught, the leader imprisoned, tried and found guilty

32 Johnson, *Swedish Settlements*, I, 366, ff.

33 The only bell known to have called Lutherans to church up to the end of the Crane Hook period was the bell at Tunicum, made in Sweden, engraved with the year 1643 and sent to Governor Printz on the "Fama" in 1644. It went to the Wicaco congregation in 1699 for their new church, Gloria Dei, and was in use there until the Revolution. — Johnson, *Collin*, 69; Johnson, *Swedish Settlements*, I, 366.

There is no mention of a church bell at Fort Christina. Governor Rising, in a letter home of July, 1654, suggested that two or three bells would be "very serviceable here" (Myers, *Narratives*, 150) but it is unlikely that any were received.

34 Rev. Erick Björk writes that for the dedication of the new church on Trinity Sunday, 1699, he did not wear a chasuble, because none could be obtained here. *Holy Trinity Records*, 40.

35 Dunlap and Moyné, 87

of conspiring to invade the government by force of arms, and of maliciously and traitorously soliciting, enticing or threatening others to join a revolt and betray their allegiance to His Majesty, the King of England. The false Conigsmark was whipped, branded and sent to Barbadoes to be sold as a servant. His chief confederates suffered a fine of the value of half their goods and chattles and the rest who were drawn in and followed him, lighter fines. And who were his confederates? — Many of those living at Crane Hook along with other Swedes and Finns from New Castle to Verdrietige Hook (Edge Moor). Among the confederates was Pastor Lokenius, about whom the English governor, Francis Lovelace, wrote from New York, September 15, 1669, to Commander Carr and the commissioners at New Castle: "I perceive the Little Domine hath played the trumpeter to this disorder, I refer the quality of his punishment to your discretion." He was sentenced with those required pay the higher fines: "Laurance Carolus minister 600 guilders." Among the richest, judging from the value of half their possessions, were Olle Fransen, 2000 guilders; Henry Coleman, 950, and John Stalcop, 1500. Before the trial the governor had ordered Stalcop imprisoned as a chief fomenter and actor in the intended insurrection.³⁶

If the upstart Long Finn or Long Swede had come recently from Sweden in 1669, he may have known that Sweden was still making efforts to regain New Sweden. The effort began in 1656 by presentation of demands and "memorials" to the Dutch government at the Hague. That government in fair-sounding resolutions appointed commissioners to adjust any objections, but finally referred the Swedish claims to the Dutch West India Company which had no intention of returning territory or paying indemnity, but stalled along until the English conquest of 1664. Sweden then tried to secure reparations from the English, of course to no avail.³⁷

Within the next few years the geographical extent of Crane Hook congregation reached down to the Appoquinimink, following permission of the English governor, Francis Lovelace, to "Finns or others" to take up land and receive their patents as soon

³⁶ *Documents*, XII, 463-472; Acrelius, 116; Hazard, *Annals*, 375-379. The names of those drawing lesser fines include all the "responsible housekeepers" listed later (1676-1678) at Crane Hook except one, Olle Toersen.

³⁷ Johnson, *Swedish Settlements*, II, 648-656; *Documents*, XII, 445, 455, II, 232-236, 240.

as the land had been surveyed.³⁸ The Dutch Governor D'Hinojossa's intention to make his capital there had called attention to the value of the location for trade with Maryland.³⁹

It was in 1669, also, that Lokenius obtained a confirmatory title to some new land at Upland.⁴⁰ That same year on the old calendar date, March 1, there arrived at New York an ordained German Lutheran clergyman, Magister Jacobus Fabricius, who was to become a rival of Lokenius for the pastorate of Crane Hook. He was sent by the Lutheran consistory at Amsterdam in answer to requests of New York Lutherans for a well-qualified pastor. Fabricius was born in Poland of German parents and had been an ordained pastor at Groslogan (Gross Glogau) in Silesia. At the time he applied to the Amsterdam clergy for an allowance (*viaticum*), he was a refugee from Poggans in Upper Hungary during an invasion of the Turks. Nothing further has been learned of his background in the present search, but the fact that his "old age" tempered penalties against him in a New York court in 1674 indicates that he was of mature years before his mission to New York. He impressed the Amsterdam consistory by his credentials for pious conduct and learning and by his preaching at Amsterdam, as having "such gifts and learning as are needed to build up" the New York Church.⁴¹

Fabricius chose Albany for his first pastorate in this country, where he immediately interfered with the authority of the magistrates, and his license to preach was revoked for a year by Governor Lovelace. When the year was up, he was still forbidden to preach at Albany but was given freedom to serve the congregation

³⁸ *Ibid.*, XII, 464.

³⁹ In 1663 D'Hinojossa had persuaded his superiors at Amsterdam that "a stone house in the form of a redoubt" ought to be built at Appoquinimink (site of Odessa) for a convenient trade with Maryland by way of Appoquinimink Creek and Great Bohemia Creek. — *Documents*, II, 211. There is no evidence that the stone house was built, but Gerrit Otto, later one of the magistrates at New Castle, acquired land there in 1667. — Deed Book A-1, 24-25. Other grants followed during the next decade, and by 1677 there was a settlement with a mill and a log fort. Part of the fort was rented for dwelling quarters, and Magistrate Otto was authorized to collect the rents and use them for the upkeep of the fort. — *New Castle Records*, I, 57.

⁴⁰ *Documents*, XII, 491.

⁴¹ Van Laer, *Lutheran Church*, 63-69; Jacobs, *Lutheran Church*, 3; *Ecclesiastical Records*, I, 602; *Documents*, II, 693. "Fabricius" is the early Latin form of this name retained in Germany where from the 16th to the 18th century ten or more persons of that name were of sufficient importance to be included in the *Dictionary of Universal Biography* (London, 1916). In The Netherlands, where the name was rare, the Dutch spelled it "Fabritius," which explains finding this form in some American colonial records.

of the City of New York.⁴⁹ By that time, April 1670, he had married Annetje Cornelis, Dutch widow of Lucas Dirks van Berg of New York, and on April 13 received a pass from the governor for himself and his wife to go to New Castle, to collect a debt of 900 guilders owed to her from the estate of her late husband, which Governor Lovelace urged be paid without further delay.⁴²

The following letter from the Lutheran elders at New York to the Consistory of Amsterdam, June 30, 1670, describes their difficulties with their eccentric pastor:

Reverend Gentlemen of the Consistory, our beloved and very great Benefactors:

We hope that your Reverences duly received our last of the 27th of October from New York to your Reverences at Amsterdam, from which you will have learned our situation here and how our pastor, Magister Jacobus Fabricius, conducts himself here. We can, therefore, now that the opportunity offers itself, not refrain from informing you once more that he does not behave himself or live as a pastor should. He is very fond of wine and brandy, and knows how to curse and swear, too. In his apparel he is like a soldier, red from head to foot. He married a woman here with five children and has dressed them all in red. For himself he has had coats and a hat made like the pastors at Hamburg wear. He pays little attention to people, so that our opponents or neighbors have nothing else to talk about but the Lutheran pastor. This has lasted as long as he has been in this country. He traveled to the South River without notifying any one of us and remained there for seven weeks. When he came back and preached again, he announced from the pulpit to the entire congregation that we must write for another pastor. It seems that he likes it better among the Swedes at the South River. There he can follow his own will and live in the woods, away from the people. Our governor here in this place wishes that he were gone, for he has much trouble on his account. The man has caused us much expense, both at Fort Orange [Albany] and here. He has been once at Fort Orange and got into such trouble with the magistrates there that he is not allowed to come back. We here and at Fort Orange have agreed with him about his salary and allowed him eighty beavers for one year. On that he could live decently here in this country if he were a capable man. . . .⁴³

In August, 1671, at his petition, Fabricius was permitted to preach the valedictory sermon and install his successor at New York. Early the next year, January 16/26, 1672 Governor Lovelace issued a passport and arranged transportation for Martin

⁴² Hazard, *Annals*, 373, 380-381; *Documentary History*, III, 242; *Documents*, XII, 473.

⁴³ Quoted in Van Lact, *Lutheran Church*, 76-77.

Hofman of the New York Lutheran congregation to go to the Delaware to seek contributions toward the church that congregation hoped to build.⁴⁴ Just when Fabricius came is not of record, but collections by Hofman seem not to have interfered with his Delaware prospects, judging by a deed of gift, dated October 23, 1672, by which Olle Toersen of "Swanwick," "out of love and favour," conveyed to "Magister Jacobus Fabricius" two pieces of "Swanwick" land. These pieces began 31 feet "from the church" on the southwest side and 20 feet from the church on the northwest side.⁴⁵

Olle Toersen, who gave him the land for himself in fee, was a Swede or Finn, one of the "responsible housekeepers" at Crane Hook, it will be remembered; and three years later as a deacon of Crane Hook church, he was to sign a protest against permitting Fabricius to serve as pastor there. For some time Fabricius must have avoided clashes with the civil authorities on the Delaware (only scattered records of the court of New Castle survive for this period) but his time of trouble was coming.

There is no record of the attitude or activities of Lokenius during the time Fabricius was at Swanwyck. Attendance at Crane Hook church would have declined with the loss of most of the Dutch members and Fabricius by December 10/20, 1672 had made plans to take the whole congregation. On that day a proposal was drawn up in Council at New Castle for the approval of the governor, dividing the river into two parishes: "all below Verdrietige Hoek [Edge Moor, north of Wilmington] to be under the pastorate of Magr Jakobus Fabricius" and "all above Verdrietige Hoek" under the pastorate of Lokenius.⁴⁶

That the governor did not approve this proposal will appear later, and meanwhile there was a change of sovereignty on the river. During the war between England and the Netherlands each country tried to take the other's colonies. The Dutch took New York on the old calendar July 30, 1673, the city became New Orange and all of the Duke of York's province was again New

⁴⁴ *Documentary History*, III, 242; *Documents*, XII, 494. In the summer of 1671 Fabricius had Martin Hofman in court at New York on charges of defamation of character. "The court ordered these causes to be thrown out of court, they being found only vexatious." *Records of New Amsterdam*, VI, 323.

⁴⁵ Text in Dunlap. "Dutch and Swedish Land Records," 38. Nothing is known of the structure of this Dutch Lutheran church building.

⁴⁶ *Documents*, XII, 529.

Netherland and the Delaware, the South River.⁴⁷ Conditions granted to Swedes, Finns, English and all others who took the oath of allegiance included freedom of conscience and the same privileges as all other subjects of the Dutch government.

The privileges granted were stated in nine articles to "deputies" from the Delaware, who on September 12, 1673, at New Orange (New York) declared their submission to the Dutch. The Articles were signed by the Dutch "Council of War," which body established Anthony Colve as governor. Governor Colve appointed Peter Alrichs commander and sheriff on the Delaware.⁴⁸ This was the same Peter Alrichs, nephew of a former Dutch director at New Amstel, who had been on the river under the Dutch and then the English since April, 1657.

Alrich's duties according to his instructions began with the following article:

To see that sincere true Christian religion in conformity with the Synod of Dortrecht be taught and to maintain it by all proper means, without tolerating that people holding another belief may make the least attempt against it.⁴⁹

Considering the formal pledge of freedom of conscience given the deputies from the Delaware of whom Fabricius may have been one (representing the Dutch Lutherans on the Delaware, or assuming to represent all Lutherans if no Swedish deputy were present) this instruction could have applied only to the Dutch Reformed church at New Castle. No Dutch Reformed pastor had been available to those of that faith on the river since the death of Domine Welius at the end of 1659. Only services conducted by lay readers were held at the little Dutch church on the Strand. With the increasing population of English settlers in the neighborhood of that church and the strength of the Lutherans with their two pastors, an instruction to preserve teaching there according to the Reformed faith must have been sought by Peter Alrichs himself.

Fabricius was in New York before January 17, 1674, the reasons for his leaving the Delaware not now of record. But the pastor's presumption in civil affairs and his disorderly conduct could have landed him in trouble with Peter Alrichs without

47 *Ibid.*, II, 569 ff., III, 199 ff., 216-19; *Ecclesiastical Records*, I, 628 ff.

48 *Ibid.*, 615; *Documents*, XII, 507-509. II, 618.

49 *Ibid.*, XII, 510; II, 604-605.

reference to religious faith. On that day he was the defendant in the Municipal Court of New Orange (New York) to answer demand of his wife that he be ordered to give up the room he was occupying in her house. On February 24, a second petition to the court telling at length the sufferings she had endured from the ill-treatment of her drunken husband, a "constant prophaner of God's name," added to the fact that he, "contrary to the previous order and prohibition given him, hath behaved very uncivilly and badly, he is ordered to give up the key to the house and not presume to molest his wife in any way."⁵⁰

On March 1, Fabricius was deprived of his license to preach within the province of New Netherland for a year, because he had married a couple without authority to do so or any previous publication of their intention to marry. He escaped the full penalty of the law because the governor and council were "unwilling to proceed rigorously against him . . . out of respect for his old age and the office he last filled." He was found guilty at the same session of court of striking a woman in her own house for which he was fined two beavers with costs. In April he petitioned the governor and council to relax their prohibition against his exercising the ministerial office to the extent of permitting him to baptise. This was refused.⁵¹

Finally on June 17th he was brought into the court at New Orange by the sheriff on charges that contrary to the orders of the court he had forced his way into the house of his wife, brought a chest into it against her will, created a disturbance, and resisted arrest. The sheriff as plaintiff demanded that the offender be banished forever out of the city's jurisdiction as a person unworthy to live in a well-regulated city. The court having heard all the charges and given Fabricius opportunity to answer, fined him 100 florins and costs; repeated the order that he should not go to his wife's house without her consent nor give her any trouble, and required him to ask the court's pardon "for insults and injuries committed against it at divers times although he deserved to be more severely punished."⁵²

50 *Ecclesiastical Records*, I, 640; *Documentary History*, III, 242. There is no evidence that the wife of Fabricius ever lived on the Delaware except during the brief visit to collect a debt in 1670.

51 *Documents*, III, 693, II, 706, XII, 512.

52 *Documentary History*, III, 243.

By the Treaty of Westminster, February 9/19, 1674, Dutch possessions in America were to be returned to England. The news probably reached New Orange before the English governor general, Edmund Andros, arrived in the city that autumn to receive from Anthony Colve the formal transfer on October 31/November 10, 1674. Among the official instructions brought by Governor Andros was:

11. You shall permitt all persons of what Religion soever, quietly to inhabit wthin y^e precincts of your jurisdiction, wthout giving y^m any disturbance or disquiet whatsoever, for or by reason of their differing opinions in matters of Religion; Provided they give noe disturbance to y^e publique peace, nor doe molest or disquiet others in y^e free exercise of their religion.⁵³

Either before or soon after the return of the Duke of York's rule, Magister Jacobus Fabricius returned to the Delaware, resuming his service as pastor of the Swanwyck church. By June the next year the document drawn up December 10, 1672, proposing the union of Crane Hook and Swanwyck congregations under Fabricius was again included in a petition to the governor for its confirmation:

To the Noble, Right Honorable, Major Edmond Andros, Governor-General of all his Royal Highness, James, Duke of York and Albany etc. Territories in America.

Show with all reverence the subscribed petitioners, the community of the unchangeable Augsburg Confession, called the Lutheran, which has its residence on the Southriver, that after the petitioners had addressed an humble petition to the Right Honorable Governor on the 13th of May Anno 1675, together with a document drawn up in Council at New Castle on the 10th December 1672, and presented by petitioners' minister, whereby they divided the river into two parishes, so that all above Verdrigitte Hoek is and shall remain under the pastorate of Mr. Laers and all below Verdrigitte Hoek under the pastorate of Mag^r JaKobus Fabricius, and requested and asked with due humility, that your Noble Honor would please to confirm the action and the division for the sake of God's glory and good order, the petitioners expected hereupon a favorable answer and decision and had hoped to receive the same through Capt. Ed. Kantwell, but as the speedy journey and many troubles have prevented your Noble Honor, the petitioners do not know, how to act and they come therefore again to your Noble Right Honorable Worship with the humble request, to confirm the act and the division, also their minister Mag^r Jakobus Fabri-

⁵³ Documents, II, 569 ff.; III, 199 ff.; Ecclesiastical Records, I, 628 ff., Documents, III, 216 19.

cius and to grant a favorable reply to the petitioners, doing which they remain your Noble Right Honorable Worships subjects and mediators with God.

Actum New Castle
the first of June
Anno 1675

The Community of the Unchangeable Confession of Augsburg on the Southriver belonging to the Churches of Swaenewyck and Kraenhoek.

Henrich Jannsen

Hendrich Janse van Bremes

Harman Jans

Pieter Velcker

Peter Classen

Peter Witten (De Witt)

Corn (Cornelis) Jansson

Pieter Masslandt

Jan Barends

Sibrand Jansen

Hinrich Fransen

Willem Jansen

Jan Jansen

John Nohmers

Clas Andressen

and all the others⁵⁴

⁵⁴ Documents, XII, 529. Names from photostat of the original Dutch copy in New York Colonial Manuscripts, XX, 66.

Late in the summer the members of Crane Hook Church made their protest:

REMONSTRANCE OF THE SWEDES AND FINNS OF CRANE-HOOK CHURCH, AGAINST DOMINE FABRICIUS BEING THEIR MINISTER.

Laus Deo Semper
the 14th of August 1675.

We Swedes and Finns,
Belonging to the Crane Hook church understand that the Dutch priest Fabricius has represented to the honorable general [Governor Edmund Andros] in a very sinister manner without our knowledge that our church and congregation are his, which was never granted to him by Governor Lovelace [in Office 1667-1673] unless the congregation was in the end contented. And what reasons thereto could we have for neither we nor our wives and children can understand him. On this account we request that the honorable [Edmund] Cantwell should humbly beseech the honorable general [Governor Edmund Andros] that our church may be allowed to continue with our priest to our edification as we have done up to now. If the Dutch priest desires to teach let him remain in his living at Swanwyck and preach for the Dutch.

Hendericus Lemmens⁵⁵

- As deacons of the church
- Olle (mark) Torsse
- Jan (mark) Matson
- Samuel (mark) Petersen
- Mons (mark) Pauwelson
- [and] the entire congregation

Nothing further is heard about the petitions, but one of New Castle County's earliest road-building projects resulted in the removal of Fabricius from his pastorate at Swanwyck and the closing of the Swanwyck Lutheran Church. Early in November, 1674, Governor Edmund Andros restored the government at New Castle to its status before the Dutch interlude. Capt. Edmund Cantwell became sheriff and chief officer and the following were named justices of the court:⁵⁶ "Hans Block, John Moll, Foppe (Jansen) Outhout, Dirck Alberts, and Joseph Chew — four Dutchmen and one Englishman. For the court at Upland, Peter Cock, Peter

55 *Ibid.*, XX, 75. This translation into easily readable English, with a gap in Dutch original supplied, is based upon a literal translation from that original by Dr. A. R. Dunlap, English Department, University of Delaware. The signature *Hendericus Lemmens*, instead of the usual *Hendrick*, may indicate that he had an academic education entitling him to use the latin form of his name.

56 *Documents*, XII, 513, 515.

Laus Deo semper
den 14^{ten} August 1675

Wij Sweden en Finnen
 Belonging to the Crane Hook church understand that the Dutch priest Fabricius has represented to the honorable general [Governor Edmund Andros] in a very sinister manner without our knowledge that our church and congregation are his, which was never granted to him by Governor Lovelace [in Office 1667-1673] unless the congregation was in the end contented. And what reasons thereto could we have for neither we nor our wives and children can understand him. On this account we request that the honorable [Edmund] Cantwell should humbly beseech the honorable general [Governor Edmund Andros] that our church may be allowed to continue with our priest to our edification as we have done up to now. If the Dutch priest desires to teach let him remain in his living at Swanwyck and preach for the Dutch.

Hendericus Lemmens

Olle (mark) Torsse
Jan (mark) Matson
Samuel (mark) Petersen
Mons (mark) Pauwelson
 [and] the entire congregation

Rambo, Israel Helm, Lars Andriessen and Wolle Swain (Swen-[sson]?) The importance of these appointments in relation to the Lutheran churches will be recognized in a court order cited ahead.

During a session of the court at New Castle, May 13-14, 1675, the governor being present, it was ordered

That some Convenient way bee made passable between Towne & Towne in this River, The manner of doing itt to be ordered by the Respective Cor^{ts} and Lykewise the charge . . . That the orders about High Wayes Bridges etc. bee put into Execution by the Magestraets . . . in the Tyme of three months after the date hereof, or the Sherriffe Shall have Power to gett it done. . .⁵⁷

The magistrates decided that Hans Block's dyke near the river should be strengthened and that an inner dyke with floodgates must be constructed before the cartway could be built through the marsh and bridged over the creek. Hans Block's dyke "being the common and nearest footway from this Town to Swanewick, Crane Hook and parts adjacent":

In case of war with the Savages or other enemies, especially during the winter, when the river is closed, it would be very dangerous for us and our nearest neighbors to go 5 or 6 miles through the woods in order to assist each other; we need each other besides in diverse emergencies every day.⁵⁸

The men of New Castle, Swanwyck, and Crane Hook were summoned to meet at the Dutch church on the Strand at New Castle where an order of the magistrates of June 4/14, 1675 was read to them. They were divided into three companies and ordered to report on a set day for work on Hans Block's dyke, and continue until that and the inner dyke were completed.⁵⁹

After the meeting some inhabitants of the town of New Castle and others from outside protested in "a mutinous and tumultuous manner being led by ffabricius the priester and Jacob van der Veere, John Ogle, Evert Hendricksen and several others . . . The priest was very angry . . . swore and scolded . . . used foul language."

⁵⁷ *New Castle Records*, I, 45-47; *Documents*, XII, 526.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 535-536, 533. In May, 1675, for protection against the Indians, a form of commission was drawn up by the court at New Castle for captains of "a foot company of militia" in each of the following places: "New Castle, Crane Hooke, Verdrietige Hooke, Upland, Passayunck, Apoquemini, and Horekill." The names of several captains appear in later records: Capt. Evert Hendrickson of Crane Hook, Capt. Jacob Vendever, Capt. Israel Helm at Upland. *Ibid.*, 520; *New Castle Records*, I, 324.

⁵⁹ *Documents*, XII, 530.

When the meeting was reported to Governor Andros he confirmed the order of the magistrates⁶⁰ and sent warrants for the appearance in court at New York, of "Magister Fabricius & John Ogle as Ringleaders" of the disorder. John Ogle was an Englishman whose offense was regarded as all the more serious on that account, but he became too ill to make the journey at the same time as Fabricius. At New York the pastor presented a petition to the governor asking that a commission be sent to New Castle to examine the people as to whether he was guilty, and further requesting that after he was cleared, his costs for travel and loss of time in his employment be allowed him. But the Court on September 15/25, ordered:

That ye said Magister Fabricius in regard of his being guilty of what is laid to his charge and his former irregular life and conversation be suspended from exercising his functions as a Minister, or preaching any more within this Government either in public or private.⁶¹

At the special court at New Castle May 13-14/23-24, 1675 when the order for highways was drawn up, orders were also issued:

That the Church or place of meeting for Divine worship in this Towne & the affaires thereunto belonging be Regulated by the Court here in as orderly & decent manner as may bee
That the Place for meeting att Craine Creek [Hook] do continue; as heretofore. That the Church at Tinnecum Island do serve for upland and Parts adjacent. And whereas there is no Church or place of meet-higher upp the River than the s^d Island, for the Greater ease & Convenience of the Inhabitants there, Its ordered that the magestrats of upland do cause a church or place of meeting for that Purpose to be built at Wickegkoo [Philadelphia] th w^{ch} to bee for the Inhabitants of Passayunck & so upwards.⁶²

It will be noted from these orders that the Dutch Reformed Church at New Castle, as well as the Lutheran churches, were to be regulated by the magistrates. Lack of mention of the Swanwyck Church in the recorded proceedings may mean a decision by Gov-

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 531, 535-536. Before the middle of this month of June, 1675, Fabricius bought from "Peter Methyse" for 100 guilders, a piece of land adjoining his Swanwyck property, reaching from the river to "the new main road lately laid out." Dunlan, "Land Records," 43.

Both dykes were made before the close of 1675. In a later plot of survey the surveyor's drawing shows "ye foot Dyke" (Block's) and "Ye Broad Cartdyke." *New Castle County Book of Surveys (Penn)*, 338-339 (1681).

⁶¹ *Documents*, XII, 521, 573-538, 540.

⁶² *New Castle Records*, I, 45-56; *Documents*, XII, 526.

ernor Andros to await the formal protest he could expect from the congregation at Crane Hook if he had his ear to the ground while at New Castle. And then came the characteristic behavior of Fabricius in the meeting about building the dykes.

No information is available concerning the relations between the Crane Hook and Swanwyck congregations after Fabricius left for his court trial at New York in September 1675 until November 5, 1678 when the New Castle Court minutes on that day shed important light:

Elice the wyfe of oele Toersen deceased shewing by Peticon that Jacobus fabritius heretofore did borrow of hur s^d husband the sume of seventy and seven gilders of the Monny then belonging to y^e Church att Swanwyke, as alsoe that there was yett a small parcell of wampum in hur hands of y^e s^d Church, desiring (sence those of y^e Church of Crainhoek doe demant itt) that this Court would order hur to whome she shall deliver the s^d wampum as alsoe who shall Receive y^e monny bake of s^d fabritius: Ordered that the wampum as alsoe the debt of fabritius bee Received by this Church of New Castle as the nearest to itt, Those of ye Crainhoek haueing already Received a good part thereof.⁶³

There is no record of protest at this casual transference to the benefit of the Dutch Reformed church of money contributed by Lutherans. Fabricius was in debt to individual members of the congregation and to others at Swanwyck and New Castle. But he had back salary coming to him from several pledges that had not been paid. All of the claims were heard in sessions of the court between January 2 and November 8, 1677. On his protest after his property at Swanwyck was attached for debt he was given time to raise the money and through the court recovered 599 guilders, chiefly salary due him. He seems to have come out solvent and in possession of his Swanwyck property which he later sold.⁶⁴

The tide of life for Fabricius had now turned. In the spring of that same year the congregation on the upper part of the river having converted the Wicaco blockhouse to serve as the church ordered by Governor Andros, had secured the governor's permission to call Magister Fabricius as their minister. He preached his first sermon at Wicaco on Trinity Sunday, June 9/19, 1677. What-

63 *New Castle Records*, I, 247-248.

64 *Ibid.*, 42, 50-54, 85, 149-156. On the reverse side of the original patent in Dutch from Olle Toersen to Magister Jacobus Fabricius is a conveyance in English from Fabricius to Peter Maeslander. *Old New Castle*, 20.

ever his experience in New York between September 1675 and June 1677, he now lived on the Delaware the "exemplary life" to which his congregation later testified, and gave faithful service as an "admirable preacher," of whom Charles Springer wrote to Sweden in 1693.⁶⁵

After the distribution of the assets of the Swanwyck Church was determined by the court the church at Crane Hook drops from the extant records of the Duke of York period. Lokenius would continue to preach on alternate Sundays at Tinicum and Crane Hook and to answer calls for the offices of the church in his large parish. While Fabricius was settling his financial affairs in the Court of New Castle in 1677, Lokenius was there, too, at several sessions. In June he brought suit against Hans Peterson for possession of a mare which both men claimed and which had been awarded to Peterson by judgment of the Upland Court. Lokenius asked also damages for Peterson's slander in that court against his credit and reputation and payment of the costs in both courts. All of this Lokenius won in the New Castle Court. But Peterson then appealed to the governor against the proceedings of both courts. Even Governor Andros, who had the proceedings of the courts sent to him and had the case tried over again, was unable to find out whether the preacher or the parishioner was the owner of the mare. Finally Peterson and Lokenius came to an agreement privately and so declared in the Upland Court, each to pay half the costs.⁶⁶

On November 12, 1678, the clerk of the Court of Upland recorded a certificate of survey to Anthony Nielson, *alias* Long, for 100 acres of land on Stille's Creek partly bounded by land of "Dom Laurencies Carolus." On the same day the minutes of the court read:

Complaint being made by the Church wardens that Neeles Laersen has taken in (wth the Lotts of Land by him bought of dom: Lasse Carolus here in Upland Towne) some of the Church or glebb Land; ordered that Neeles Laersen shall have his due of the 2 Lotts by him bought of sd dom: Carolus Equall wth the other Lotts in uppland, but for what shall be found that s^d Neeles Laersen has taken in more, hee to Leau the same out againe annexed to y^e other Church Lotts.⁶⁷

65 Acrelius, 179-181 (appeal of the Wicaco congregation, 1690-1691, to the Lutheran Consistory at Amsterdam for a pastor to relieve the aged and blind Fabricius), 186-190.

66 *New Castle Records*, I, 73, 88, 114, 143, 324, 332; *Upland Record*, 74; *Documents*, XII, 622.

67 *Upland Record*, 121-122.

As previously told the Church Glebe was owned by the whole Lutheran congregation on the Delaware and was under separate patent from the land of Lokenius. About 1676 Lokenius had 350 acres of land some of it granted or confirmed by a patent of 1669. The pastor last appears in the records of the court of New Castle on May 3/13, 1681, when an action against him by "Thomas Wollaston Late undersherrife att New Castle for undersherrifs and marshalls fees amounting to 55 guilders" (begun in the Upland Court March 12/22, 1679), was settled by agreement of the plaintiff and defendant.⁶⁸

During the last years of his life when Domine Lokenius was too crippled to get about, there would have been a reader to hold the customary prayer and psalm services in the Crane Hook church. No name has survived, but as many of the congregation could read there is a wide choice. It was not until after Lokenius died that Charles Springer became the reader at Crane Hook (see Springer's letter to his mother, Chapter VII).

Acrelius wrote that in his last years Lokenius served chiefly Crane Hook church. Fabricius then had charge of both Wicaco and Tinicum. Acrelius tells of Lokenius that:

His old age was burdened with many troubles. Finally he became too lame to help himself and still less the churches, and therefore did no service for some years, until his death ended all his troubles in 1688.⁶⁹

Fabricius, who had been blind since 1683, was now the only pastor on the river. With the aid of Anders Bengtson (his name became Andrew Bankson in English) as lay reader for the upper congregation of Wicaco and Tinicum and Charles Springer for Crane Hook, Fabricius served his large pastorate in the offices of the church as long as his strength permitted. In 1691 he told his congregation at Wicaco that he could no longer perform his duties. Then the wardens of the church wrote a strong appeal (in Dutch) to the Lutheran consistory at Amsterdam, praising the "highly learned" Fabricius and requesting the honored clergymen of the consistory to send to the Delaware a qualified Swedish minister from among those who were students of theology at Amsterdam and might be waiting appointment; or to correspond

⁶⁸ *Documents*, XII, 491; *Original Land Titles*, 109-110; *Upland Record*, 131-132; *New Castle Records*, I, 479.

⁶⁹ Acrelius, 177.

with Sweden to procure a minister for them there.⁷⁰ The letter was given to Dutch merchant traders on ships out of Amsterdam, but no answer came.

The Dutch Reformed church at New Castle had secured the services of the highly learend clergyman Peter Tesschenmaker in 1679. English as well as Dutch and probably Swedes and Finns in the community attended the services at which Domine Tesschenmaker at first preached alternately in Dutch and English. Later the Dutch quarreled with the English members who withdrew from the church. The Dutch failed to make better terms with Pastor Tesschenmaker when he was not satisfied with the support given him for his living. This was little and always so late that he suffered the humiliation of having to collect it himself. He accepted a call to Staten Island and then to Schenectady.⁷¹

Left without an ordained minister in the summer of 1682, the elders and deacons wrote to the Dutch Reformed classis of Amsterdam on September 25, an earnest appeal for a pastor of their faith, giving a description of their unhappy situation:

We live here among many Lutherans, whose teachers [Lokenius and Fabricius] preach in a very unedifying manner; and among a still greater number of Quakers who are given to errors. Apparently they will not cease their efforts to draw into their fold the fickle ones. Therefore preaching and catechizing in the clean, upright, true Reformed religion is very necessary here, especially as a great many unreliable, dissolute people move in here among us.⁷²

Among the signers who thus disparaged the Lutheran preachers, was the leading elder of the Dutch Church, former Vice-Director Jean Paul Jacquet, who, it will be remembered was living a close neighbor to Crane Hook, the plantations of Swedes and Finns extending south, west and north of his land on the Christina.

The Dutch Reformed congregation was not successful in obtaining a pastor and not until 1690 did a clergyman of that faith visit the Delaware. In that year the Reverend Rudolphus

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, 177 ff. Anders Bengtson, born in Sweden, came to the Delaware in the Swedish ship "Mercurius" in 1656. See *ibid.*, and Kalm, II, 728.

⁷¹ He was a graduate of the University of Utrecht with a license to preach. He had served the English Reformed Church at the Hague, and that city's Dutch and English consistories sent excellent testimonials to New York concerning his character and preaching ability. Corwin, *Manual*, 728 ff.; *Ecclesiastical Records*, II, 832-836.

⁷² *Ibid.*, 823-824, 831, 838.

Varick of Long Island, who spent several weeks on the river, left an account of his experiences:

I found in the whole of Pennsylvania only one Protestant Lutheran pastor, an old blind man. In passing I came to a Swede, called Capt. Israel [Helm]. He received me kindly. Upon hearing that I was a minister, he said they would make an agreement with me to be their pastor, as their own minister had died the year before [Lokenius who died in September, 1688]. I replied You are Lutherans. He replied, There is, indeed, a little difference about the communion, but we shall not trouble ourselves about that. Then I told him that I had not come with any such design.

Coming at last to New Castle I preached there on three Sundays, and administered communion. I had there a little church full of people, Dutchmen, Swedes and Finns.⁷³

The visit of the distinguished Dutch Reformed pastor must have stirred the hearts and hopes of the people of that faith, and the Lutheran Swedes and Finns in the surrounding community, could, like "Capt. Israel"⁷⁴ overlook differences of doctrine for the satisfactions of attending regular church services by an ordained minister.

⁷³ *Ibid.*, 1052-1053. Domine Varick, graduate of Utrecht a highly regarded Dutch Reformed pastor on Long Island, came to the Delaware to escape prosecution by Jacob Leisler, who brooked no clerical criticism of his civil administration on the Hudson, 1689-1691. — Corwin, *Manual*, 63, 871-872, 1046.

⁷⁴ Israel Helm, born in Sweden, was still there in 1655 (Kalm, II, 719), so he must have come to the Delaware on the "Mercurius" in 1656. He gained the immediate trust of the English after 1664, was made councilor in the special court for Indian affairs, 1668; served as Indian interpreter, justice of the Upland Court and the High Court at New Castle. He acquired valuable tracts of land on both sides of the Delaware, and was a strong supporter of the Lutheran churches. Hazard, *Annals*, 371, 431, 437; *New Castle Records*, I, 99; II, 121, 170; *Upland Record*, 35-189. Information about his children is given in Werner, *Eric Mullica*

From Crane Hook to Christina

WITHIN a year or two the Lutherans also had a visitor from whose stay among them came events of great moment for the whole body of Lutherans on the Delaware. Andrew Printz, nephew of former Governor Johan Printz, arrived on an English merchant ship presumably at Philadelphia in 1691 or early in 1692.¹ Visiting the Swedes and Finns along the river to learn how his uncle's former colony fared, this young man would be welcomed with a gladness of heart that must have moved him deeply, for as is to be told he decided to come back to live among them. The first result of his report in Sweden came from the postmaster of Gothenburg, John Thelin, in a letter dated November 16/26, 1692, and received on the Delaware May 23/June 2, 1693. What Postmaster Thelin wrote is here given in main part:

Highly-esteemed friends and countrymen: The occasion which gives me the honor of writing to you is, that during the past year I was in Stockholm, where I fell into the company of one Andrew Pritz, who told me, and others also in the city, that he had been in an English ship to the West Indies, which I knew to be the fact. I was very glad of his arrival, and inquired if he had a prosperous voyage. Whereupon he answered, thanking God, that he had there found not only a fine country, but also the old Swedes in good condition; and further, that they were heartily rejoiced to see him, as he was a Swede; that they had taken the occasion to inquire what was now the state of affairs in Sweden, their own foster-land, and who was now the reigning king in Sweden? Also that you, my good friends, had that confidence in His Majesty as to believe that if some one would lay before His Majesty your want of ministers and books, you had no doubt that His Majesty, out of his feeling and Christian heart, for the sake of your salvation, and for the upholding of the Evangelical religion among both Swedes and Finns, would send you assistance. It has

¹ Acrelius, 181-185.

been told us that both nations have lost their ministers: that the Finnish congregation lost their minister some years since, and that their church is now deserted; but that Divine service is still held in the Swedish church, though chiefly by the son of the deceased minister, in such a way that hymns are sung, and the Gospels for the day are read, but without the hearing of any sermon, and without the reception of the Lord's supper. Also, that you are in great need of Bibles, hymnbooks, and other books of devotion; and that you would willingly pay for them if they were sent to you upon the first opportunity. In truth, this goes to my heart, and to that of many others; and as I had some good friends in the Royal court, I related this before a distinguished lord, and he, again, presented it to His Majesty. Our most gracious king thereupon gave it his especial attention. I was immediately commanded to present in a written communication everything that I had learned concerning you. In consequence of which His Majesty did most graciously resolve not only to send you ministers, but also all sorts of religious books in both languages. . . .

On this account I take the liberty of inquiring your names, which are all unknown to us. An elderly woman, who lives here in the city, relates that she has a brother there by the name of Peter Gunnarsson Rambo, and desires me now to write a letter to him, wherever he may be found, if he be still in this life, as well as to some other good, honest men and old countrymen, and thus to let us know whether you will still be called honest, upright, and true Swedes, so that we may become acquainted with you. Also, if it is truly so, as the man relates, and if you do really wish such favor from His Majesty, and how you would arrange that these ministers may be sent and conveyed to you. . . .

In reference to which it is my earnest desire that you would, by the first and speediest opportunity, inform me circumstantially, promptly, with truth and certainty, how you, His Majesty's old, faithful, and honest subjects, are employed and situated. . . .

For the rest, as regards your life and conduct, what means of support you have, whether agriculture or commerce, His Majesty will be greatly pleased to understand, as also that you are all prospering. Only inform us of every particular of your condition, in the least as well as in the greatest. The person above named also told me that you live well and in love to one another; that you, in all things, follow Swedish customs in eating, drinking, and farming, as well as in other forms of labor. . . . But, above all things, let us know how many ministers and books you desire; also, how large your congregations are, and how many churches you have. . . .²

The people could not doubt that William Penn's government would approve acceptance of the offer of King Carl XI of Sweden to send ministers and books, for Penn himself after his return to

² Rudman Manuscripts (research by Courtland B. and Ruth L. Springer) Thelin's letter, quoted in part above, says: "Eight or ten years since, Governor William Penn communicated to the Swedish Envoy Extraordinary in London," etc.

England in 1684 had communicated their need of ministers and books to the Swedish Legation at London and as his own gift had sent them "a little chest with catechisms and books together with a Bible in folio for their church."³ These were in English. Charles Springer and other representatives of the congregations joyfully took Thelin's letter and a translation of it into English by Springer to Deputy-Governor Markham at Philadelphia. Markham not only gave approval, but promised to write to William Penn and to the Swedish minister at London.⁴

The answer in Swedish, written by Springer on behalf of all the Lutherans, was also submitted to Governor Markham, along with an English translation of it by the author for the English governor's benefit. The Swedish version was to be dispatched to Thelin in duplicate, each copy on a different ship. Springer's English translation has not been found, but a later copy of it, made by the Reverend Andreas Rudman, who as a result of this fruitful correspondence became pastor of the Wicaco congregation in 1697, is preserved in the archives of Gloria Dei Church. Although we have Springer's Swedish letter (as printed in Acrelius' *Beskrifning*, which in turn has been translated into English), it is interesting to see what Charles Springer could do with English on his own account. The Rudman transcription is reproduced here in full.⁴

Honoured, Loving⁵ & much respected Friend *John Thelin*,

His Majesty's Loyal Subject and Postmaster in Gottenborg.

Our kind love remembered unto you, wishing you all Prosperity.

Your unexpected⁶ and welcome letter dated Gottenborg d. 16 Nov. 1692, came to our hand the 23 Maji 1693; which was [to] us exceedingly welcome & made us heartily rejoyce at the receiving of it, and understanding, how it hath pleased Almighty God to raise up a jong⁷ Man *Andrew Printz* by name, who hath formerly been here with us in the West Indien, & did see how we doe live

³ Acrelius, 185.

⁴ By permission of Dr. John Craig Roak, vicar of Gloria Dei Church; copied and collated by Courtland B. and Ruth L. Springer.

⁵ Loving. The English sound "v" was commonly denoted by the letter w in Swedish at this time.

⁶ The Swedish letter, as given in Acrelius, reads "mycket val och karkomne," which could be translated "very welcome and appreciated" or "cherished" or "opportune," but not "unexpected."

⁷ Young

here in one thing as well as another. Partly he hath related true & partly not. But the certainty of our Condition and the reality thereof we will by this letter let you in verity & truth know.

We doe further understand how that his Majesty of Sweedland throw⁸ this jong Mans Relation doth yet bear unto us a tender & a Christian heart and care, as His former old and True Subjects, for our Souls good & happiness, and a Lower of the Lutheran faith. And also we hear how great care his Maj. takets⁹ for us to get Ministers to be send over to us, with godly books; For which His Maj^{ty} great care & favour, We every one of us¹⁰ heartely and with all our heart do give his Maj^{ty} many tanks wishing his Maj^{ty} prosperity, all heavenly and earthly blessing and an everlasting happiness.

Therefore doe we now kindly and with all our herths¹¹ desire, that since it hath pleased his Maj^{ty} graciously to grant that wee should with all expedition become¹² Ministers and Books, when that wee an answer send again upon your Letter, so kindly desiring that there may be sent unto us Two Sweeds Ministers, that are well Learned in ye holy Scriptures, and that may be able To defend them and us against all false opposers who can or may oppose any of us, and also one that may defend ye True Lutheran faith wh:[ich] wee do confess, that if Tribulation should come amongst us, and wee should suffer for our faith, that wee are ready to seale it with our blood; and wee also desiring that These Ministers may bee such sober, discreet, and wise men, that by their good exampell given to us our children may also take a good exampell thereby in every thing.

Further it is our humble desire that you would be pleased to send to us Tree Sermon Books 12 Bibles, 42 Psalmbooks, 100 of the Lesser, with 200 Catechesis 200 ABC Books, and as wee These books should be come to our hand then wee do engage that wee will make honest pay for the same and also deliver ye payment to such place as you shall tink fitt to ord:^r

And as for these Ministers Maintainance so de wee engage and promise to maintain them honestly and truly, and when this our Letter is sent away, then wee shall Buy a peace of land that

8 Through.

9 Takes.

10 The first page ends here. The next is in a different hand.

11 Hearts.

12 A later hand has crossed out this word and written "obtain."

shall belong to the Church, whereupon ye Ministers may Live.

Now what concerns our Living in this contry, and our Lives and conversations so are wee for the most part husbandmen, and plow and sowe and Till y[e] ground, and wee use yet ye good ould fashions in meate and drink; this Land is a mighty fruitful good and plentiful Contry and here doth growe all sorts of grains in greate plenty; and all what wee sowe and plant doth Thrive mightly; and this River, out of it is sent and shipt away all sorts of grains every yeare to our Neighbouring islands in West indien, and ¹³heare is also great plenty of all sorts, beasts, fowls & fishes; & our wives & daughters follow spinning of flax & wool, some with weawing,¹⁴ so that we have great occasion to thanck the Almighty God for his manyfold mercies & benefits, which we at his hand receive, God give that we may also get good shepheards to feed us with Gods holy woord & sacraments. We live also in peace, friendship & amity with one an other, and the Indians have not molested us [for] many yeares.

Further your letter doth specifye, that it is related also that the Sweeds Ministers sons perform the service of God, as Ministers in the Sweeds Church, but it is not so: In one of the Churches¹⁵ we had a Sweeds Minister Laurentius Caroli Lokenius, who came hither in the Countrey with Gov^r. John Printz in his time, but he is dead five years ago Sept. next, he did preach for us the word of God many yeares: As for the other Sweeds congregaon,¹⁶ we have a Dutch Minister by name Magister Jacobus Fabritius, which doth preach in the Dutch tonge & hath preached for us these 16 yeares, He is a good Preacher, but old & for severall yeares blind, but nevertheless [has] done his office in all possible parts mighty well. In the other congregaon¹⁵ they make use of a Reader, a born Sweed in Stockholm, who with reading Sermons & singing of Psalmes, doth perform the divine service. But for a Finsk minister we have had none, neither doe want, all of us both Sweeds & Finns understanding the Swedish tongue.

Further you desire to know how we are used here in the Countrey; We do all in generall confess and protest & in truth say, that we have been exceedingly & mighty well used, both in the Dutch Gouvernement, as well as in his maj^{ty} of England, Our

13 New page, again in Rudman's hand.

14 Weaving.

15 Crane Hook

16 Wicaco

Gracious Kings time, for we have been allwayes well dealt with, seated in the Court with his Maj^{ty}s Justices & also in Councils, & yet doe to this day; and we have allwayes had good & gracious Gouv^t. And we live with one an other in peace & quietness. So that every one of us desireth that we may upon this our letter so soon as it comes to your hand, gett a joyfull return with the speediest & soonest & with all Expedition. And we in our behalf ¹⁷shall allwayes pray for its save¹⁸. Return for we hope that God hath certainly his hand in this Christian work, and hoping that he farther more will have, hoping that God will not forsake us although we are here in an heathen Countrey.

We have allready written twice to our Native Countrey for Minister & books, but having got non answer, we suspect the letters to have miscarried. Therefore we desire you Mr. John Thelin, that you will be pleased to doe your best in our behalf to promote our desire, and let it be done with all Expedition.

So we doe commend you unto the Almighty Gods protection in body & soul.

Your most obliged friends
& Lowing Countrymen

Dated in Pennsylvania
in Delaware River
the 31 Maj. 1693.

P. S. This letter we do let go dubble, in case if one should miscarry, the other may come to your hands

The names of thirty members of the two congregations, besides "Carl Christopherson Springer," were signed to the Swedish letter, and it was accompanied, at Thelin's request, by a list of his countrymen on the Delaware. There were 183 males listed, some alone but most of them with families ranging up to nine, ten, or eleven persons each. There were five widows who had families of five to eight, in all, a total of 942 persons. Of this number 39 are named as having been born in Sweden. The Swedish letter with signatures and the lists are printed in Arcelius, who points out that among these members of the congregations in 1693 were many "Hollanders" and that later, when the churches were better

¹⁷ New page, Rudman's hand.

¹⁸ Safe.

organized under the ministers sent from Sweden, more Dutch and also English, Irish, Germans and Scots came into the churches, while during the years that followed "many Swedish families also came in."¹⁹

The letters reached Postmaster Thelin in November, 1693 and were given to the king in December. Unfortunately the king was now in a period of great distress, as were his people. Queen Ulrica Eleanora had died that year, of whom he said that half his life died with her. Many of the people were suffering from poverty and famine because of repeated annual crop failures caused by storms and freezing weather in late spring and early summer.²⁰

Now on the Delaware came the long wait, mitigated we hope by communications from John Thelin and from Charles Springer's mother (to whom he wrote the day after completing the letter to Thelin)²¹ with assurance that the king would carry out his intention to send ministers and books when his burdens were lightened. His burdens were not lightened, but at the beginning of 1696 he took effective action. Having conferred with Dr. Jesper Svedberg, Provost of the cathedral at Upsala, King Carl wrote on February 18/28 to Archbishop Olaus Swebillius, enclosing the letter from the Swedish colony on the Delaware to Postmaster Thelin and expressing his will that "such learned and godly men as they desire" be chosen and prepared. He would provide the money for their journey and would provide as a gift from himself the books requested in the letter.²²

The king's instructions were zealously and responsibly carried out by the two distinguished men. Dr. Svedberg suggested Andreas Rudman, candidate for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy at Upsala. Rudman accepted Dr. Svedberg's suggestion of Erik Björk as his companion in the mission. A third minister, Jonas Aurén, was then added by order of the king. Aurén was the personal representative of King Carl, whose assignment was to observe country and people on the Delaware and how the ministers were received there. He was then to return to Sweden and report in person to his majesty. The ministers were called in con-

¹⁹ Arcelius, 186-193.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, 194; Norberg, *Stenska kyrkans missions*, 45; Grimberg, *History of Sweden*, 210-211.

²¹ See Chapter VII.

²² Arcelius, 195-197.

ference by the King and told to ask him and no one else for what they needed and to let him know if any difficulties were put in their way. Again he conferred with them at the leave-taking and among other evidences of his great interest told them that if they found opposition or suffered injury they were to come home and he would provide for them.²³

Soon after they received the books, which had been prepared under the King's direction by an officer of the Royal Library at Stockholm in the summer,²⁴ they took ship August 4, on their way to England, arriving in London, October 10, 1696. Through the Swedish Minister at the English Court and the support of William Penn who was living in London, England's consent to forwarding the Swedish mission was obtained. King William in friendly spirit signed the passport himself on November 22. As these proceedings took more time than had been foreseen, the ship on which passage had been engaged had sailed and there was a long wait for the next suitable ship.²⁵

In the party with the three ministers was Andrew Printz, whom King Carl had appointed as their guide and who had decided to settle among his fellow countrymen on the Delaware. But before their ship sailed, February 4, 1697, Andrew Printz disappeared without trace. The supposition was that he had been seized and impressed on a ship of the English navy in the war William III was then leading against France. Another Swede who had been to America, Jones Bjurström, was appointed in his place as guide for the voyage. For years to come, no doubt, English ships arriving in the Delaware would be scanned with the hope that Andrew Printz, unharmed and free, would be coming back to settle among his overwhelmingly grateful friends.

On the Delaware, Magister Jacobus Fabricius had died about the time Rudman, Björk and Aurén were ready to set out from Sweden.²⁷ He was buried in the choir of the blockhouse church building at Wicaco, where his grave was left in front of the south door of the present Gloria Dei Church when the old log

²³ *Ibid.*, 198.

²⁴ In the Rudman Manuscripts is a list of the books by title and number of copies together with a copy of the document of transfer by the king and of the receipt by the three ministers given the king's representative (research by Courtland B. and Ruth L. Springer).

²⁶ Acrelius, 201; *Holy Trinity Records*, 12.

²⁷ Norberg, 14, n. 1.

building was removed.²⁸ The place of burial of Lokenius is unknown. It might have been on the glebe property at Upland (Chester) where he lived or more suitably in the churchyard of Crane Hook Church.

The ship carrying the Swedish mission arrived at Annapolis, Maryland, June 19/29, 1697, where Governor Francis Nicholson entertained the three ministers. In a long letter written by Erik Björk to Bishop Israel Colmodin, dated October 29, 1697,²⁹ he describes their stay with the governor, their arrival at Elk River and first greeting by Delaware River Lutherans:

I might, but should not and could not pass over what happened with the above-mentioned governor, just briefly mentioning: We went on shore the day afterward [June 20/30,] with the intention of soon returning on board, but we were invited, honored, and feasted, by him, and he remembered our gracious King and his House in such respectful way that if we had been especially sent from Sweden to this man, he could not have done more. As long as we remained there, that is to say, four days, we stayed in his house, and he always took us with him during his walks, showing us various things. As we noticed that the ship would remain there for some time, and we longed for our destination, for which purpose we chartered a boat, he relieved us of all worries, and wished to make himself assured about the man who was going to guide us and how we were going to reach our Swedes. It was not sufficient that he had entertained us for so many days at his table, but when we took leave he followed us through a pretty part of the country where his stables stood, and where he among other toasts first drank the health of our King under a flag hoisted on the top of the roof, which flag was taken down as soon as the toasts were ended. He also gave us a sum of money and made two men carry down into the boat as many bottles as possible filled with all kinds of liquors. He is a bachelor, but appears like a brave soldier who tries to do the best for his King, which he has clearly demonstrated during the time of only a year and a half that he has been at Annapolis.

We left the ship with all our belongings on the evening of June 23. I cannot, however, forget the captain's kindness in letting us have everything free on such a long voyage, without the slightest charge for freight. We then traveled with a favorable wind about 70 English miles to a place called Trantown, at the end of Elk River, until the second day at 10 o'clock, and from there one English mile to where

²⁸ Kalm, II, 733.

²⁹ In the Royal Archives, Stockholm, translated by Anton Olsson, archival expert of Stockholm, for Courtland B. and Ruth L. Springer.

Björk's letter was printed in Thomas Campanius Holm's *Kort beskrifning* (1702) and translated by Du Ponceau, but with many errors, in 1834.

some of the Swedes lived and where we were delighted to land, taking out and looking over all our belongings. We found everything, thank God, in a good state after such a long voyage.

Before we had been there a day and a night, not only had the renown of our arrival spread most incredibly, but people from a distance of 10, 12, to 16 miles came with horses to bring us more easily to the congregations. We were pleased to see that many cried with joy, and some would not believe anything before they saw us. . .

Björk tells that the country is as fertile as it has been described:

with a richness of prosperity by which the people live extremely well without any forced or difficult labor, and with few and just taxes, calling themselves peasants, as they do the same work as in Sweden, but their standard of clothing, food, and other things is that of honest burghers. They get everything fresh from the streams and forests, and do not lack anything as do neighboring districts, who often require grain from here for food and drink. May God let them live in the future as they do now, so that they may enjoy the same beneficence and lack nothing. In one place about 14 English miles from here the inhabitants had to eat horse-flesh and other strange things, owing to famine and bad harvest, and have in these days appealed by letter to our Vice Governor for help and assistance. Poor people and beggars are unknown in this country, where all people support themselves, as the country is entirely open to anyone who is capable of cultivating it and profiting from it.

The aborigines and our people are as one nation. They have much more confidence in us than in the English,³⁰ and they also in their own language call these Swedes their own people. They have also shown themselves very glad at our arrival, as they now see that Sweden exists, which they were scarcely willing to believe, before, as they had seen nobody arrive from there.

On June 27/July 7, the ministers had a meeting of prayer and thanksgiving at Crane Hook. Two days later they presented their credentials to Lieutenant Governor William Markham at Philadelphia, who received them well, and on the next day addressed the Wicaco congregation with an account of the preparation of their mission in Sweden and their journey, reading to them letters of the King, the Archbishop and the Swedish Minister at London. The three ministers made the same presentation at Crane Hook July 2/12, emphasizing that King Carl had sent them a great many more books than they had petitioned for.³¹

³⁰ Du Ponceau changes the meaning of this passage entirely by translating it: "We live in much greater friendship with them (the Indians) than with the English" (!), *Short Description*, 100.

³¹ *Holy Trinity Records*, 11-12.

It had been left to the ministers, Rudman and Björk, to decide which congregation each should serve. As Rudman was first appointed Björk proposed that he make his choice, which was Wicaco, so Björk remained with Crane Hook. There, in the log church, the Reverend Erik Björk held his first Divine Service, on the sixth Sunday after Trinity, July 11/21, 1697, explaining from the pulpit at the beginning of it the order of Sunday services he proposed to follow, circumstances permitting; and also the special order for communion Sundays when the Lord's Supper was celebrated (called High Mass by the Swedes). Every Sunday after the opening psalm he would read a chapter of the Old Testament and one from the New Testament.³²

In further comment by Björk in his letter to Bishop Colmodin the picture of the Crane Hook congregation unrolls:

If you compare their divine service, regulations, the knowledge among young people in the catechism, and other similar things with any parish in Sweden, these matters are not conducted regularly, but irregularly, which threatens us with much worry and labor as well in fulfilling our oath as in our own ambition to make them the same as any in Sweden, and, if possible, to do this soon, for the clergymen they have had, especially the last one, were worn out with age and illness and never worried about how these matters should be properly conducted, or how the education of the young should be arranged. We hope, however, that God will grant us a long life, and then, with God's help, there will be an improvement in churches, parsonages, regulations, lessons in catechism, and other kinds of education, so that young people will not visit their pastor with a pipe in the mouth and a hat on the head, and so that he who eventually succeeds us will find that path cleared which was now accepted uncleared. What they do is not done out of ill will, but out of lack of knowledge, which makes all the greater difficulty for us, as we are alone here, and the young are many. . .

I cannot without astonishment relate, to the merit of these people, that when there hardly existed three Swedish books here, they took such care of their children that although they lent from one to another, yet they all can read a book rather well, so that none of the books which His Majesty has given them are unused. They are so divided as the houses are populated with elder and younger people, so that he who could make the best use of this or that book, he was allowed to retain it, somebody else, another one, so that everyone has

³² *Ibid.*, 13. Ten years later, Sunday, August 31, 1707, Björk finished the reading of the whole Bible and told his hearers that those who had been faithful in attendance might confidently say that they had heard the Bible read through from beginning to end once in their lives. *Ibid.*, 126.

been able to make use of the King's gift, which they also with pleasure and gratitude remember. . .

To speak, now, in greater detail about the state of the congregation, they have come no closer to accomplishing what stands in their letter [of May 31, 1693]. The reason for this is that they dwell in a very unhandy [i.e., scattered] fashion, and have not been able to agree upon a more convenient place for the church than this [present] one, which all have to go across water to [reach].³³ Partly, they wished to leave it until they should be able to see if they could ever get pastors, and then submit the matter to them. By God's grace I have reached an agreement with them on a more convenient place for building a church, of stone, at Christina, right across from Crane Hook, the present location. It seems likely that this will be called Christina's Church, or whatever may in the course of time seem good. One hopes that in not more than a year from now this church will be erected and built, for the congregation is well-to-do and they respond very well [literally, "they allow themselves to be persuaded very well"] to that which I set before them with reason and justice. . .

By Pastor Björk's third Sunday of regular service, the Crane Hook congregation was ready to select a site for building a new church under his direction. On Friday of that week they met and appointed a committee with this duty: Charles Springer, John Nummerson, Hans Pietersson, Hendrick Juarsson (Ivarsson), and Brewer Sinnike from the west side of the river; Olle Stoby (William Sluby), Staffan Juransson (Stephen Juriansson) and Olle Fransson (William Fransson) and Jacob Van de Ver from the east side. The discussions which followed among members of the committee and many others present after considering the three sites favored by different groups: *Crane Hook*, *Third Hook* (Verdrietige Hook, now Edge Moor, north of Wilmington), and *Christina* (the neighborhood near the site of the old fort on the north side of that stream), finally ended with an agreement on Christina. The agreement was reached after objections from those on the east side of the river had been heard and met. They were concerned about contributing money that they might need later for a church on their side. Pledge was given that they would be helped in turn.

Pastor Björk who was ill and unable to attend the meeting, heard afterward that some on the east side were still not satis-

³³ The Crane Hook marshes were crossed by a causeway, in flood-time awash with water. Those living above the Christina crossed the stream by canoe; those on the New Jersey side crossed the Delaware by shallop or skiff to New Castle and came overland to the church.

fied. He reports in his diary that he immediately "drew up a writing," that those on the west side are:

bound for the Glory of God to help them again on the other side if they now help us, and I further wrote by way of encouragement and exhortation — and Charles Springer ever unwearied in the promotion of God's Glory, in order to bring about a good understanding of the matter, when around with this my writing and read it to them and so won them all to unity.³⁴

To meet the second objection of those on the east side—that after they crossed the Delaware to New Castle and came up the river overland, it would be a burden to pay ferriage across the Christina—those on the west side promised to provide a canoe for their sole use to ferry themselves over.

That the church should be built of brick or stone had been decided at the main meeting and plans moved so quickly that on October 6/16, 1697, the first contract for building the church was signed with a mason for constructing its walls of stone.³⁵

On a slope above the Christina River, looking down upon the site of old Fort Christina was the early burying ground of New Sweden. In all the years since the first settlement it seems to have been reserved out of surrounding farm lands as belonging to members of the Lutheran congregation.³⁶ Here in 1697-98, graves so nearly filled the plot that there was not room to set the whole of the new church foundations without building partly over graves. To avoid this, John Stalcop owner of the adjoining farm (which had belonged to his father, John Anderson Stalcop) gave sufficient land to accommodate part of the church building and provide open space to the south and west of it.³⁷

The mason, Joseph Richardson of Upland had broken his contract of October 6, 1697, but Joseph Yard, master mason of

³⁴ *Ibid.*, 15-17. Björk's diary forms the early Records of Holy Trinity.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, 15-18.

³⁶ During the Dutch period, 1655-1664, Swedes and Finns had tracts of land confirmed to them in the neighborhood of Fort Altena (the former Fort Christina), as has been told in Chapter II, and as the only other burying ground was at Tunicum until the blockhouse was established at Wicaco, 1676-1677, it is likely that there was no break in the use of this graveyard of the first Lutherans (even after Crane Hook churchyard was laid out) by families whose kin were buried there.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, 18. John Anderson, alias Stälkoffta, who signed his name John Andrison, (Wills, Book A-1, folio 79), but whose family adopted his nickname from the Swedish stälkoffta meaning steel-jacket, was a gunner and constable at Fort Christina in Governor Rising's time. Johnson, II, 503, 517. For Stalcop's land see note at end of this chapter.

Philadelphia applied May 18, 1698, and a contract was signed with him the next day. Measurements of the building urged by Björk to allow for increasing membership were finally accepted, sixty by thirty feet within the walls, the latter to be three feet thick at the base. Sawyers, carpenters, a plasterer and other paid craftsmen were engaged as the work went along. Mr. Björk superintended the work daily.³⁸

From the beginning of plans for the stone church, members of the Crane Hook congregation contributed money, labor and materials as their free-will share in its building. Stone, lumber, and sand came free from nearby property. For these only the stonemason and the sawyers had to be paid. Other materials prepared, contributed and delivered free included such essentials as 180 ceiling joists, 1200 plastering lath, 700 shingling lath, all the walnut boards and stock for interior finishing and furnishing.

The mason and his three sons as helpers, the carpenters, plasterer and outside laborers had to be boarded as part of the contracts, but little of the board had to be paid by the church; for most of them were boarded free by well-to-do farm owners close by. For example, Lucas Stidham who had "two day laborers for 13 weeks and then two carpenters for 9 weeks and also other laborers at other times as much as four weeks for which he should have had in all 7£, 6 shillings and 8 d, which of his good heart he gave freely for the glory of God."³⁹

For the year during which the church was built, Pastor Björk lists by name about 125 men who gave 1,083 days of free work including the necessary amount of hauling with pairs of horses and oxen. The corner stone was set "on the north corner of the east gable," May 28, 1698, a Saturday, when Mr. Rudman and Mr. Aurén were visiting Christina. Apparently, as Björk does not mention any gathering it was done without announced ceremony. The roof-raising began on November 2, and continued for several days, enough members of the congregation joining in the work to make it go well and without accident. The festive side of that occasion was provided for in good food and drink as a treat for visitors who joined the celebrating and perhaps the work. Björk writes that Charles Springer "gave freely almost a whole barrel of good beer and seven quarts of rum for the strangers. Staffin

38 *Holy Trinity Records*, 19, 26-27.

39 *Ibid.*, 44-52.

Juranson gave a sheep worth twelve shillings and the widow on Pumpkinhook (across the Delaware) gave five pounds of butter at six-pence."⁴⁰

Toward the end of May, 1699, the church stood complete in structure except for permanently fixing the iron letters of inscriptions which had been placed upon the gables and sides. Pastor Björk had chosen the name: Helgo Trefaldighetz Kyrckia, The Holy Trinity's Church, intending this name "to be perpetual humble offering to the Great Triune God." The day of the dedication was set for Trinity Sunday, June 4/14 and on the preceding Wednesday the last service was held at the Crane Hook log church:

The Fourth Day of Pentecost divine service was held for the last time at Crane Hook, where, so nearly as I have been able to discover, it has been held ever since the year 1667. This called for a little talk, afterwards, appropriate to such an occasion, with exhortation to renew their hearts before God, since God has graciously blessed us with a new building and church etc.

I had promised earlier that today I would let one and all know their definite pew-room, after I had taken that upon myself with little or no thought as to the labor and difficulty involved, which I found out. And so I offered my excuses, and showed them tolerably well, nevertheless, which quarter to occupy, and that they ought not to run from one to another, in an all too unseemly manner, as has happened in Crane Hook Church. However, especially on the consecration day, room should be left for the visitors. Then I promised that before long I would let them know their places more exactly. . .

The three days following after this, there were always many of of the congregation present to help put everything in order, to make all clean and fair.⁴¹

On the morning of Trinity Sunday, June 4, it can be believed that the sound of the church bell⁴² ringing out before the service lifted the hearts and spirits of all who had hoped and labored for this day. Thus the Reverend Erik Björk records:

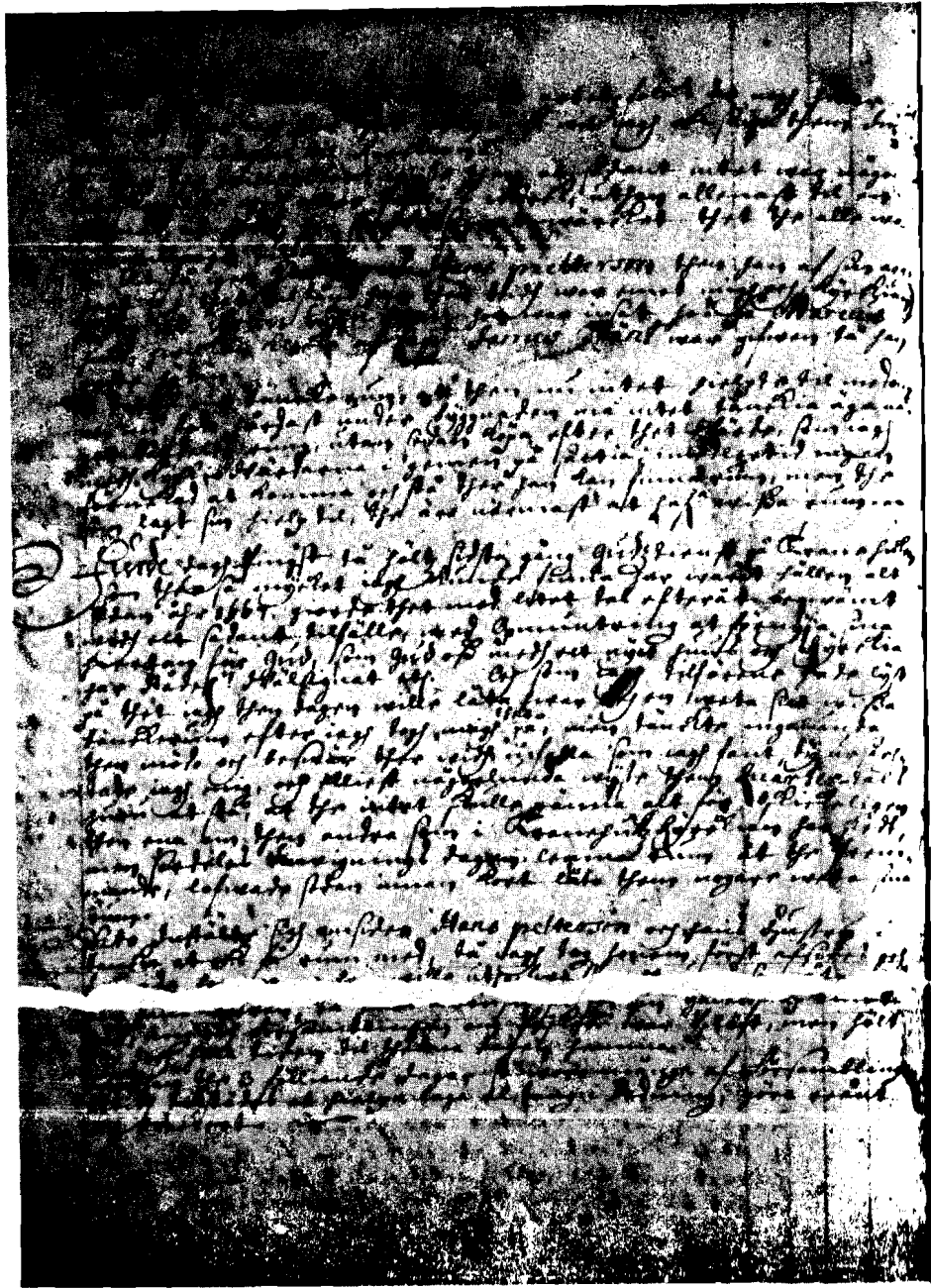
God shed the light of his grace upon me and the congregation, as a reward for our labor and expense, on this day when we were privileged to enter for the first time our church at Christina.⁴³

40 *Ibid.*, 29, 33, 51.

41 See *ibid.*, 38-39. The passage as given here is translated by Mrs. Courtland B. Springer from MS. Records of Holy Trinity, I, 12.

42 *Holy Trinity Records*, 24, 40.

43 MS. Records of Holy Trinity, I, 13, translation by Dr. Nils G. Sahlin former director of the American Swedish Foundation.



The consecration service was conducted by the three ministers, Rudman, Björk, and Aurén according to the order for such ceremonies in Sweden. At its close children were baptised and the Lord's Supper celebrated. Finally the regular Sunday service was held. "The consecration took place," writes Björk, "in the presence of many hundred persons of various religions besides our own." Specially invited by the congregation had been Lieutenant Governor Markham and his family. Charles Springer, delegated to deliver the invitation in person found Markham not recovered from an illness but he wrote a letter for Springer to bring back with him. After the services, Björk's records tells:

Afterwards, all the most distinguished of the visitors, so far as we could assemble them, were entertained at Christina at the home of Church Warden John Stalcop, with meat, ale, and wine, as were the others, later on. The cost of this was taken care of by the congregation, as the record shows.

The food given "for the entertainment of visitors" by twenty members of the congregation included mutton, veal, venison, turkey; eggs, butter, sugar, salt, rasins; bread already baked and wheat meal (for bread and pastry), malt for making ale, red wine, rum, coffee. Some of the quantities prove that the large gathering was expected: more than 40 pounds of wheat meal (stone-ground whole wheat flour), 5½ sheep, half a calf, and a quarter of venison.⁴⁴

On that great day for the Crane Hook congregation their achievement had won recognition and tribute from the inhabitants of the entire Delaware River Valley. Nothing like this new church had been built in this region by men of any faith. The Swedes' gratitude to the learned minister sent them through the enlightened and generous interest of King Carl XI of Sweden must have been unbounded. Yet even they could not have realized fully the abilities the Reverend Erik Björk exercised in their behalf. Learning and devotion to duty alone could not have welded the thousand and one elements, material and human, into a working unity toward the two-fold goal: a church structure of seamliness and taste and the uplifting of his congregation through the exercise of the fine qualities he found in them.

To them Björk gives full credit recording for posterity in his journal their names and the contributions and services of each

⁴⁴ Holy Trinity Records, 42-44.

in a context of understanding for individual circumstances and inclinations. Of the man who was his chief support, Björk writes:

Charles Springer is not recorded for any particular day's work in this account, though in addition to some day's work in assisting the carpenters he has from the first beginning to the end been engaged in various journeys and errands connected with the business, as also to gather together what was necessary such as brick, lime, nails, boards and various other things, going now one place and then another, as to Philadelphia or Upland, Sandhook, or Maryland, devoting hereto many days and weeks, being absent from his home; and this all at his own expense, with his own horse, and entirely without the least expense to the congregation.⁴⁵

Not until Midsummer's Day (June 24th) did Pastor Björk make assignment of pews, as he had promised during that last service at the old church. His care to do justice to every member and also to reward those who had shown special devotion or great generosity and helpfulness—by giving them "forward" pews without regard to their standing otherwise, had required much study and thought. He had not expected to please everybody but so far as he could find out few were dissatisfied. The pews had to be purchased, so only those agreeing to pay (terms were undoubtedly made very easy) were assigned. In all 87 pews were assigned on the men's side, 77 on the women's side; two free pews were reserved for visitors, one for the parish clerk and two left vacant.⁴⁶

Statements attributed to Björk in the faulty translation of his letter written November 19, 1700 to his friend in Sweden, the Honorable Carl Wijström (Wiström) have disturbed students familiar with available contemporary information. Among other subjects, Björk's description of the interior of the new-built Holy Trinity Church is so translated as to impute to Björk these errors of fact: that a door on the north side of the church "led into a vestry," that the chancel railing (enclosing the choir and altar) was "circular," that there was "a small belfry at the east end."⁴⁷ That Björk said none of these things is clear from the original Swedish in Holm, here translated by Mrs. Courtland B. Springer:

There are four doors, a large one on the west end and one of silimar size on the south side, but two smaller ones on the

45 *Ibid.*, 44-50.

46 *Ibid.*, 62-65.

47 By Du Ponceau, in Holm, *Short Description*, from Holm's *Kort Beskrifning*, 103-04.

north side, of which one is left for a sacristy door. There are two windows on the north and two on the south, alike in size, but a larger one in the east end, and a small one [a transom] over the west door which corresponds to the arch of that in the east end. These are of wood, constructed by the carpenters according to the fashion of church windows. . .

All the pews of the church are of pinewood, built in the town manner, with the doors before [them], but the choir railing, all around, that nearest the altar as well as the outer [railing], is of turned walnut wood:

Dörar äro der på fyra en stor på västra ändan/ och en af lika storlek på södra sidan: men 2. smärre på norre sidan/ ther af then ena är lemnat til Sacerstugu dör: Fönster äro 2. på norre och 2. på södre sidan af lika storlek/ men ett större på östre ändan/ och ett litet öfwer västra dören som swarer emot rundeln på det i östra ändan; hwilka alle äro i trä af Timmermannerne efter Kyrkio-Fönsters maner utarbetade. . .

Alle bankarna i Kyrkian äro af Furuträ på Stadz maner bygde med dörer före/ Men Choret rundt i kring/ så wäl det närmsta til Altaret som det yttra skranket/ är swarfwat af Wallnöteträ/ sasom ock hela Prädikstolen af samma slags trä.

In a letter of the same date to Postmaster John Thelin,⁴⁸ Björk mentioned "two smaller doors on the north side, of which the one near the pulpit steps is intended [to lead] to a sacristy, when God is pleased to make this possible."

In neither of these letters is there any suggestion of a belfry. Acrelius stated that "the bell was hung upon a walnut-tree in the church-yard." It was not until Midsummer's Day, 1707, that Björk recorded in the Church Book: "We raised the belfry (klockstapel) on the north side down by the east corner of the church, right opposite a walnut tree the whole labor of which cost one pound and thirteen shillings." This type of belfry or church steeple built of well-braced timbers a few feet from the side of the church or chapel was common in Sweden at the time.⁴⁹

48 There is a copy in Swedish of the letter to Johan Thelin at Gothenburg, dated Nov. 19, 1700 in a box of Swedish manuscripts in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, with a note attached that the original is in the Royal Archives, Stockholm.

49 Acrelius, 267; *Holy Trinity Records*, 124; Johnson, *Settlements*, I, 366 (with illustration).

In the late autumn of this year of the dedication William Penn returned to his province and territories. Firing of guns on his ship *Canterbury* announced his arrival at New Castle November 29/December 9, after an absence in England of fifteen years. With this ship in the care of Penn came many books that the ministers and people on the Delaware had wanted—sent as a gift by King Carl XII. Also there were many letters from Sweden including one from Archbishop Swebillius at Upsala. Half the books were for the Wicaco congregation where the members under the leadership of Pastor Andreas Rudman were building their new church, Gloria Dei, close by the old blockhouse church. On the first Sunday after Trinity in the next year, 1700, Gloria Dei was dedicated. The Christina pastor, Erik Björk, conducted the ceremony.⁵⁰

Meanwhile, on October 22, 1699, the congregation had engaged Swen Colsberg as parish clerk (*klockare*) and schoolmaster. From early times in Sweden the duties of the parish clerk were many. He kept the record of marriages, births, baptisms, and burials from day to day for transfer later into a permanent book. On Sundays he helped the minister on with his robes, saw to it that the necessary books, marriages banns and announcements were on the pulpit. His special part in the service was to lead the singing. Keeping school for parish children and other civic duties were usually required of him. There was a saying in Sweden that "the parish clerk must have a finger in every pie."⁵¹ In his letter to Thelin, November 19, 1700, Björk described Colsberg as a young person of thoroughly tested worth, a sober, devout, and capable servant of the church; so he must have kept the Christina parish register along with his other duties from his appointment until his death in January, 1710. That it was the pastor's duty to see that marriages, births, baptisms and burials were recorded by the clerk gives further assurance that there was a Christina parish register in Björk's time, though all trace of it has since been lost.

At Christina Swen Colsberg also rang the bell for services. After his death Pastor Björk rang the bell until a new parish clerk

⁵⁰ *Holy Trinity Records*, 70-75, 79; Acrelius, 206-208.

⁵¹ MS. Records of Holy Trinity, I, 53; Burr translation, 78-79, 135-136. *Klockare* is the word used throughout the Swedish text. *Klockringare* (bell ringer) does not occur. Information concerning the duties of the parish clerk was supplied by the Reverend Carl S. Ohman, pastor of Zion Swedish Lutheran Church, Philadelphia.

could be engaged.⁵² The bell which was rung from a walnut tree near the church for the dedication service was a ship's bell given to the Christina congregation by Captain Jacob Trent (a Scot whose mother was a Swede) when he was in the river with a French merchant ship in 1697. Both the Christina congregation and that of Wicaco demanded for their new churches the Tincum bell sent to Printz in 1643-44 and still sound and valuable. The argument lasted until Captain Trent ended it by his gift. Before the dedication Björk wrote in his diary the memorandum: "To recover from Hans Piettersen the bell that he in his anger (the state of mind he was in at that time toward me and the church), lied away from the man with whom it was lodged, at Marcus Hook, this being the bell given by Captain James (Jacob) Trent when he departed hence." Hans Peterson had not then been paid for his land at Verdrietige Hook, sold by him to the Crane Hook wardens, as will be told, which may have been the cause of his vindictive attitude.⁵³

While the school had to be closed in the spring of 1700 because of much illness, Swen Colsberg with some help from the boys of Luloff and Ashmud Stidham painted the doors and windows of the church as a free-will service. There was more work to be done on the church and the grounds before the whole property of Holy Trinity could be regarded as complete. Especially the churchyard was to be laid off, cleared and fenced. This was long delayed. In the year 1707 Erik Björk weary of talking about fencing the churchyard hired a man at his own expense to split 500 rails and posts.⁵⁴

Meanwhile, the greatest obligation of those formerly of the Crane Hook congregation, still to be made good, the building of a parsonage, was haltingly under way and never quite finished during Björk's pastorate.

Glebe and Parsonage

It will be remembered that the Crane Hook and Wicaco congregation made a happy pledge to King Carl XI through Post-

⁵² Letter of Björk to Thelin previously cited; *Holy Trinity Records*, 134-35.

⁵³ MS. Records of Holy Trinity, I, 11; *Holy Trinity Records*, 24; Björk to Wiström, Oct. 29, 1697; Kalm, II, 729; Johnson, *Collin*, 69.

⁵⁴ *Holy Trinity Records*, 78-80, 107, 117. In 1714 when Björk was leaving for Sweden and the churchyard was still unfenced he made a bargain with the congregation: they would do the work and he would pay for it. *Ibid.*, 197.

master Thelin, that they would provide places for the expected ministers to live. The Crane Hook congregation at some time before the arrival of Björk contracted for 100 acres of land under cultivation at Verdrietige Hook (Edge Moor), the property of Hans (Hance) Peterson. Payment for it had been deferred, probably upon agreement that the seller use its profits until it was needed. The choice of Christina for the site of the church required a more convenient location for glebe land and parsonage. So the wardens, now of Christina congregation made good the unrecorded contract or understanding of the former Crane Hook wardens by payment of £35 in silver money to Hans Peterson and received from him a deed of sale acknowledged in the Court of New Castle, August 15/25, 1699 and recorded the same day.⁵⁵

The Christina wardens had a buyer for the land in Peter "Mounson" (Månsson) whose farm at Verdrietige Hook was next to that bought of Hans Peterson⁵⁶ and on November 1/11, that year, Charles Springer as warden, in the presence of Erik Björk and Lucas Stidham, signed an agreement of conveyance to Månsson for £35 in silver money, to be paid in part that month and the balance in 1700. Doubtless the arrangement is again the reason for not officially recording an indenture. Copied into the Church Book its text makes clear that:

Charles Springer and the rest of the Church Wardens, which then at that time were church wardens, did buy this aforesaid tract of land for a minister to live upon which they did in behalf of ye congregation, then ye Cranehook's congregation called. But when it pleased God of his mercy, that when our Reverend minister arrived, and the congregation did conclude to build ye Church upon Christeen, so was this land found altogether not convenient for a minister to live upon, and so with common consent for to be sold.⁵⁷

It has been told that in the discussions about a site for the new church after Björk's arrival, some of the committee and the congregations favored Verdrietige Hook. So it may be that at the time the glebe was arranged for this was recognized to be a good choice for the location of a new church. The large tract granted there in the Dutch period had been divided into small farms and

55 *New Castle Records*, II, 226; Deeds B-1, 128-30.

56 *Book of Surveys* (Penn), 533.

57 *Holy Trinity Records*, 69-70.

reconfirmed to the owners by Governor Lovelace, May 16, 1670.⁵⁸ More small farms had been granted in the neighborhood and a large tract adjoining to the north along the river had also been divided into small farms, so the population had become greater than that of Crane Hook or Christina and was growing. There were two mills in the neighborhood and the "King's Road" from New Castle to Tinicum ran along the high ground through the farms, including that of Hans Peterson.⁵⁹

As soon as the contract for putting up the stone walls of the new church had been signed with Joseph Yard, the Crane Hook congregation set about making good its promise to provide a convenient place to live for their minister. Church Warden John Stalcop who had given the small tract adjoining the old graveyard to accommodate the church building owned all the suitable land in the neighborhood. Asked on May 21/31, 1698, if he would consider selling a plot convenient to the church, he let them know in November that he was willing to sell the Pickering tract⁶⁰ of 500 acres for £160 in silver money at some time in the future, but was unwilling to release even part of it by deed of sale at that time. In December he agreed to let the congregation have half of it rent-free but without a deed until a later time. In the spring of 1699 he withdrew this concession and on Midsummer's Day, June 24, offered as his only terms for a deed, that the church would buy the whole 500 acres (of Pickering land) with condition attached that they would keep the whole of it for the parsonage forever.

58 *Original Land Titles*, 24-5, 123-24. Verdrietige Hook (Troublesome Corner) was the Dutch name for the tract of fast land (now Edge Moor) on the Delaware between the north end of Verdrietige Hook Marsh (i.e. the marsh that extended up to Verdrietige Hook from the Christina, later called Cherry Island Marsh) and Stone Hook near present Bellevue Creek. The separateness of Cherry Island Marsh from the marsh area adjoining their plantations allotted in patents to the inhabitants of Verdrietige Hook is shown in a case against Hans Peterson of Verdrietige Hook in 1690 for cutting hay on Cherry Island Marsh in which he was proved in court to have no rights — *Pennsylvania Archives*, 2nd ser., XIX, 40-42.

59 *Original Land Titles*, 95 (mill, grant for 700 acres adjoining), 107 (farms of Hans and Charles Peterson in 1670's): *Book of Surveys* (Penn), 523-34, (plot showing property lines, houses, etc.).

60 For origin of "Pickering tract" see note on Stalcop land at end of this chapter. Pickering owned besides Cornelison's share of the land conveyed by John Anderson Stalcop to Peterson and Cornelison, a wooded tract not adjoining this "old land," but farther away to the northwest. This with the Cornelison — Pickering acres made up to 500 acres John Stalcop offered the church. In the end he agreed to sell them a wooded tract adjoining the "old land."

From this stand John Stalcop would not budge. Björk then released the congregation from any further thought of dealing with John Stalcop. He thanked them for their efforts and good will, putting the whole blame on John Stalcop that he, Björk, still had no near path to the church for his "weary feet." He had walked back and forth to the church daily during its building from his boarding place at the dwelling house of Lucas Stidham.⁶¹ One of the older sons of Dr. Timen Stidham, Lucas lived on his 200 acre farm extending southwest of present Wilmington from Deer Creek (near Lancaster Avenue) to Clapboard Creek, a branch of Mill Creek. Depending upon where his dwelling was, the distance to the church would have been from two to three miles.⁶² In August that summer, John Stalcop took the initiative and without conditions except for the terms of payment acceptable to the congregation, offered to prove a deed in court. An agreement in the form of a deed of sale was drawn up September 29th, 1699 and signed. John Stalcop died before the deed was recorded, but his widow, Annicka Erickson Stalcop, when the land after several attempts was finally correctly surveyed, proved a deed in court, May 18, 1703. Meanwhile the land could be used for cultivation and building.⁶³

Soon after the final agreement with John Stalcop the wardens secured pledges for work and materials from the members on both sides of the river, but it was not until October 1701 that work on the building started. The volunteers, Charles Springer, Luloff Stidham and others worked well and finished the log walls two stories high in about five weeks.⁶⁴ Then the promised timbers and shingles for the roof were not delivered and many pledges of money were not paid. A year later Björk writes of the "lingering parsonage house," while he, having married, lived still farther

61 *Holy Trinity Records*, 20, 21, 22, 57-58, 91.

62 In 1655, *Timen Stiddem*, so spelled his name in a firm clear hand. *New York Colonial Manuscripts*, V, 18, p. 20. By 1679, a copy of his signature is "Tymen Stidham." Deed-Book A-1, 42. The deed to Lucas Stidham for this property is not now of record as such. It appears in recitals of later deeds, Book H-1, 173, 191; Book of Surveys (Penn) 475-76; *Original Land Titles*, 142; minutes of the Commissioners of Property, 3 Sept. 1724, *Pennsylvania Archives*, 2nd ser., XIX, 722.

63 *Holy Trinity Records*, 59, 83, 84, 86, 88. Both indentures are recorded in Deeds, Book G-1, 576-79.

64 The logs (stackar) were cut in such irregular lengths that the size of the house specified by Björk to be 30 by 25 feet within the walls had to be reduced to 27 feet 9 inches by 20 feet inside measurement, *Holy Trinity Records*, 86.

from the church.⁶⁵ He had married, October 6, 1702, Christina Stalcop, a young daughter of Peter and Catharine Stalcop, granddaughter of John Anderson Stalcop. Having no house of his own he and his wife lived in part of the house of her parents on a 600 acre plantation between Red Clay and Mill Creeks.⁶⁶ This meant that besides housekeeping expenses he had to keep a horse and like the money for the parsonage his salary was always in arrears. Björk urged his congregation from time to time to finish the house, but he did not press them too hard for money was scarce.⁶⁷ There was a balance of debt from the building of the church that with the cost of the glebe land amounted to £300, and work was still to be done on the church and the grounds.⁶⁸

At last, on January 20, 1710, Pastor Björk moved with his family into "the slowly built, and now but little more than half-finished" parsonage. "And so," he writes, "after almost thirteen years of difficult and tiresome journeys to the church, I hope to have a little easier life, if God shall please."⁶⁹

Within a few years the parsonage was completed and those of the Crane Hook congregation still living could feel satisfaction that in spite of the trials and delays and the shortcomings of many of them, the pledge to King Carl XI had finally been made good. The king had been dead since the year the learned ministers sent by him started for the Delaware, and many of those in the Crane Hook congregation who had been active workers and generous givers for the building of Holy Trinity Church had died during the years since its dedication.⁷⁰

Pastor Erik Björk received from Dr. Jesper Swedberg, Bishop of Skara, on January 9, 1709, a letter stating that it had pleased His Majesty Carl XII to recall Björk and that the king had ordered two suitable pastors to be commissioned to relieve him with the assurance that he would be well-provided for in Sweden.⁷¹ In May, 1712, there arrived at Christina, Magister Andreas Heselius and the Reverend Abraham Lidenius as assistant to Hes-

65 *Holy Trinity Records*, 68, 86-87, 99; *Delaware History*, V, 273, n. 8.

66 Deeds, Book A-1, 14, 22; Book y-1, 732 (recital); *New Castle Records*, II, 19. This tract included Price's Corner and the mill site on the Red Clay Creek that descended to Empson Bird, Deeds, Book C-2, 113.

67 *Holy Trinity Records*, 108, 131-32.

68 Acrelius, 265; *Holy Trinity Records*, 84, 88, 100, 107.

69 *Ibid.*, 134.

70 *Ibid.*, 76-77, 125, 128, 130, 134.

71 *Holy Trinity Records*, 140.

selius.⁷² Björk continued to serve as pastor with the aid of the new clergymen until May 1713 when he removed from the parsonage with his wife and children to a house that had been left to him by his late father-in-law, Peter Stalcop, on the Red Clay Creek estate.⁷³ When Dr. Swedberg heard that it was convenient for Björk to remain another year, Björk received from him, August 12, 1713, an appointment as Provost over the Swedish Lutheran churches on the Delaware. On January 15, 1714, he received his appointment as provost and pastor in the city of Fahlun, Sweden. Pastor Hesselius announced this honor and deserved recognition to the congregation of Holy Trinity. On June 29, 1714, Björk left Christina for Bohemia Landing, whence he was to begin his journey to Sweden with his wife and children and several relatives by marriage,⁷⁴ accompanied by the Swedish pastors and officers of Christina Church and several of the Wicaco congregation as far as Bohemia Landing.

Erik Björk had come to the Crane Hook congregation a young man of twenty-nine years and left it in the prime of life at forty-six,⁷⁵ possessed of a priceless experience contributed to by his own traits of character and his unusually mature and sympathetic understanding of these people. The people though long isolated from the cultural influences of the home country had a vital culture of their own through the natural inclination of most of them to live good lives and promote the religious and elementary school education of their children, which Björk had reported to Sweden in 1697. Their faith in their inherited religion was sincere and deep. So this learned pastor and these unassuming people were held to each other by strong bonds from the beginning, through hard times after the church was built and even after an ocean lay between the congregation on the Delaware and Provost Björk in his pastorate at Fahlun, Sweden.

⁷² *Ibid.*, 141.

⁷³ *Ibid.*, 154; Will of Peter Stalcop, New Castle County Wills, Book B-1, 193.

⁷⁴ *Holy Trinity Records*, 157, 159, 161, 169, 193.

⁷⁵ A legend on the oil portrait of Björk sent from Fahlun, Sweden (1899) in memory of Björk and now hung in the vestry at Old Swedes, tells that he was 60 years of age in 1728.

⁷⁶ John Anderson Stalcop's land (cf. footnote 37): Anderson had a small tract on the Christina near the fort in 1660 which he may have owned from 1655. He bought an adjoining tract from Peter Meyer in 1659 for which Meyer had no patent. He was given one by Stuyvesant dated Sept. 18, 1660, after intercession by Vice-Director William Beeckman on behalf of both men (*Doc. XII*, 182-3, 324-25). By 1669 Anderson owned more than half the site of present Wilmington

between the entrance of the Brandywine into the Christina on the east and present Scott and Union Streets on the west and around the bend of the Christina opposite Long Hook on the southwest. North of Anderson all the land between these east and west limits was owned by Dr. Tymen Stidham with its north border along the Brandywine from Rattlesnake Run (present Clayton Street) to its entrance into the Christina.

The west bounds of Anderson's land in 1669 are proved by a grant of 400 acres to four soldiers in 1669, extending from Mill Creek to John Stalcop's (*Original Land Titles*, 142), by subsequent divisions and conveyances of this tract, and by surveys of this and adjoining land, *New Castle Records*, I, 511-12; *Penna. Archives*, 2nd ser. XIX, 722; Book of Warrants (Penn), 720 ff; Book of Surveys (Penn's), 475, 477.).

Tymen Stidham's tract was confirmed to him by Governor Francis Lovelace in 1671 (original deed owned by Hist. Soc. of Del.); recorded in Deeds, Book A-1, 18; a surveyor's plot of the Stidham tract showing Tymen's house is in Book of Surveys (Penn), 479-80.

The confirmation to John Anderson is not now of record, but that it was made in the time of "the late honorable Coll. Francis Lovelace, Governor of the Duke of York" (May 1667 to July 1673) is given in recital in Deeds, Book M-1, 114, 1737. The confirmation was for 800 acres within the bounds just cited.

On "April 16, 1675" according to Deeds, Book M-1, 114, 1737, and on the "10th day of 8th mo., 1674" according to Deeds, Book K-1, 364, 1735, John Anderson conveyed an undivided half of his 800 acres to Samuel Peterson and Lars Cornelison. What must have been a final agreement as to terms between Anderson and the grantees, dated April 16, 1676, is translated from the Dutch by A. R. Dunlap in *Delaware History*, VI, 43, from a partly defective copy owned by Hist. Soc. of Del.

The 400 acres was a strip beginning at a small run flowing into the Christina (site of Lombard Street) striking northwest to Scott and Lincoln Streets. Cornelison took the north half divided lengthwise of this strip. He sold it to Justa Andries; Andries sold to Mathias De Foss. It was bought from De Foss (Deeds, Book B-1, 55, 1685) by Charles Pickering, merchant of Philadelphia. Pickering bought another tract beyond the west boundary, and on May 10, 1693 sold both, amounting to about 500 acres, to John Stalcop's widow, Christina and their son John (Deed B-1, 103). John Anderson Stalcop's land as divided in 1686 is shown in Book of Surveys (Penn), 448-452, when the separate tracts add up to 994 acres instead of 800. 1736 survey, *ibid*, 393.

Some Crane Hook Land Transfers and the Church Burying Ground

IT WILL be remembered that Crane Hook Church and burying ground were on land given by two members of the congregation, Samuel Peterson who gave thirty feet and Lars Eskelsson who gave the church as much land as it should need. Also that Hendrick Lemmens at some time before October, 1683, had acquired Eskelsson's plot in addition to his own lot next but one above. In 1680 there was surveyed to Lemmens a large tract, 200 acres of "Land Creple & Marsh" between the north line of Crane Hook and the Christina.¹ This included the fast land of "Moens Poulson's Island" (Crane Hook Map I), also called Calkon Island, Calkon being the Swedish for turkey. The tract was confirmed to him in 1685 by patent from the Pennsylvania Commissioners of Property.² Meanwhile, soon after Lemmens was in possession of the tract trouble between him and his Crane Hook neighbors about their wagon road and footpath across this property to the ferry landing on the Christina, also about the extent of his right to cut wood and timber in the common woodland so vexed the community that to end the strife both sides agreed to arbitration. The report of the arbiters, John Cann, a justice of the New Castle Court and Ephraim Herman, official surveyor of the County is an invaluable document for the picture it gives of the Crane Hook community with the adjoining tract of Hendrick Lemmens' marsh and island in 1682-83.³

¹ Book of Surveys (Penn), 325.

² New Castle County Deeds, A-1, 152.

³ Recorded Sept. 4, 1683, *New Castle Records*, II, 50-53; and recited in Deeds, M-1, 268-270 (1738), from William Poulson and wife Elizabeth to Lucas Stidham, Jr.

The marsh or "meadow ground" between the Badstu Creek and Hendrick Evertson's island at the southeast part of Crane Hook was to belong in proportionate shares to the land owners. Hendrick Evertson, having bought Hendrick Lemmens', Symon Jansen's and Evert Hendrickson's shares of the marsh was to have six shares (one share to each single-lot-sized piece of fast land). The remaining landowners: now Hendrick Andriesson, William Johnson's widow, Catherine; Eskell Andries and John Matson were to have the eight remaining shares. Hendrick Lemmens still had his two home-lots, having sold only the two shares of marsh belonging to them to Evertson.

As to cutting wood and timber: since Hendrick Lemmens had the two shares of the common woodland belonging to his two lots and had reserved the cutting of timber and other wood on half of Symon Johnson's land sold to Hendrick Evertson, Lemmens was to be free to cut wood and timber on any part of the woodland outside the home-lots.

The wagon way so long in use by Crane Hook people across Lemmens' island was to remain free to the people, there being no other convenient landing on the Christina than the one to which this road led; with the provision, however, that the Crane Hook landowners should help Hendrick keep the bridge of the road and the road itself in good repair upon penalty of thirty shillings each for those who failed to report for the work at the first notice from Hendrick. The footway, being across the best part of Lemmens' marsh was to be given up and if necessary one could be made in a less damaging place. Also the inhabitants of Crane Hook were to respect Lemmens' fences and other properties. And henceforth they were required to cease from all suits and quarrels at law.

So far as known this "fynall award arbitrimint in manner and force," signed by the arbiters and the four Crane Hook land owners (though not by Hendrick Lemmens) represented all the real property and privileges of Hendrick Lemmens in Crane Hook and the adjoining area south of the Christina up to the time of his death in November, 1687. He had been a justice of the Court of New Castle from January, 1685 to 1687.⁴ His nuncupative will was sworn to in that court, November 14/24, 1687:

⁴ *New Castle Records*, II, 94-151 *passim*.

Peter Clason and Jacob Clason being attested declare that being at the house of Henry Lemmens, lately deceased, said Henry being then on his death bed, did call them to him and told them it was his will that his wife should have half of all he had and his children the other half, and they asked him if he meant his land. He said yes, the half of his land during her life, for she hath labored to get it as well as I, and there is something behooved to my wife's first children, and afterwards when the attestants came to speak with the testator he was not capable of speaking plain.⁵

Ann Lemmens was granted administration of her husband's estate. She had remarried before December 20/30, 1688, when "Thomas Gasper and Anneky Lemmens his wife" acknowledged in court a deed of that date to Henry Evertson for a house and lot in Crane Hook. The deed is not now of record and may have been only to give a clear title for a part of the Symon Jansen tract that Lemens had bought and sold several years before his death. Nor is any other sale of Lemmens' Crane Hook land of record during Ann's lifetime. Thomas Gasper's will was probated October 5, 1692, by which his "wife Mary" was made executrix,⁶ evidence that Ann Lemmens did not long survive Hendrick.

Nothing has been found concerning Ann Lemmens' "first children," nor whether they received any thing from Henry Lemmens' estate. If so it was not at Crane Hook. Lemmens had 445 acres elsewhere in the county in 1684 and was assessed for 800 acres in 1685/86 for which his widow was taxed the following year. In 1695 Paul Paulson "of Christiana Creek" records that "having intermarried with Elizabeth the daughter of Henry Lemmens late of Turkey Island in Christiana Creek aforesaid, deceased," he releases "Charles Rumsey and Nicholas Lockier, Gentlemen, late guardians of the said Elizabeth."⁷

The Paulson or Poulson families lived at Fern Hook, where a tract in the tenure and occupation of Paul Poulson was confirmed to him by Governor Nicolls, March, 1668-9; and at Bread and Cheese Island (formed at the junction of the Christina with Red Clay Creek) where William ("Wolley") Poulson had land confirmed to him a few months earlier. Moens Poulson's Island shows a Poulson in possession of that tract before it was surveyed to Hendrick Lemmens in 1680. That Paul Paulson came into possession of this tract and island through his wife is proved by

⁵ New Castle County Wills, A-1, 94; Misc. I, 282.

⁶ New Castle Records, II, 192, 146; Wills, Misc. I, 76.

⁷ New Castle Records, II, 79, 119, 169; Deeds, B-1, 92-93.

a resurvey of "Land belonging to Paul Paulson of Turkey Island" in 1702. The lines of which coincide with those of this tract of land, meadow, and marsh as surveyed to Lemmens in 1680.⁸

Among sales disposing of Lemmens' property outside the Crane Hook neighborhood, the first is dated November 16, 1696: Paul Paulson of Christina Creek, "in right of his wife Elizabeth, only Daughter and Survivour of the children of Hendrick Lemmens," sold to Peter Anderson of the same place, 220 acres of land and marsh on St. Georges Creek. Along with the resurvey to Paul Paulson in 1702 of Hendrick Lemmens' Turkey Island Tract, the deed to Anderson and a much later indenture by which Elizabeth Lemmens and her second husband, Timothy Collins,⁹ released to Lucas Stidham (Senior) of Christiana Hundred all right, title, and interest in the whole of Crane Hook land and the island tract, form the main evidence that Elizabeth Lemmens inherited the whole of her father's estate, including his southern home-lot with the burying ground at its west end. Attached to this release, dated November 18/28, 1725, is the reservation:

Memorandum that Crane Hook Church yard is to be excepted out of this release and reserved as a Burying Ground for the use of that Congregation for ever as it was first intended.

The release was acknowledged in court August 20, 1726, and recorded March 20, 1727. It was signed by Lucas Stidham with his characteristic signature mark, "L S," as well as by Elizabeth and Timothy Collins. Later indentures indicate that at the time the release was drawn up, Lucas Stidham was about to buy from Samuel Kirk 300 acres of Crane Hook land including the home-lots south of William Johnson's line with their proportion of marsh and woodland. Lucas Stidham died in December 1726 and the sale of Kirk and his wife Elizabeth was made to Lucas Stidham, Jr., for £160. In their deed is a recital giving some previous history of these home-lots. In 1720 Samuel Kirk bought from the sheriff of the county, the 300 acres¹⁰ and in 1723 mort-

⁸ Original Land Titles, 34, 134, 137, 152, 187; "Communicant Records," Delaware History, VI, 242-243n.; Book of Surveys (Penn), 428.

⁹ Deeds, B-1, 269-271. The date of Elizabeth's marriage to Timothy Collins has not been found. Paul Paulson died in 1713, buried Oct. 25. The entry in the printed *Holy Trinity Records*, 190, adds by error, "in Crane Hook Church yard," which belongs to the name entered above. See "Burial Records," Delaware History, V, 182.

¹⁰ Deeds, H-1, 83, 57-58; *Holy Trinity Records*, 299, "Buried December 8th."

gaged the tract to the trustees of the New Castle County loan office.

In their deed to Lucas Stidham, Jr., dated August 20/30, 1726¹¹ (the same day on which the release from Elizabeth and Timothy Collins was proved in court) they tell that outside of the 300 acres all the land of Crane Hook proper (784 acres without Turkey Island) was owned by William Paulson and a certain John Richardson, Esq. (who had been a trustee of the Loan office at the time of Kirk's mortgage.)

William ("Wolle") Poulson had bought from Jacob Anderson by deed of February 16/26, 1721, for £70, the four lots formerly of Hendrick Anderson and William Johnson, bounded south by Hendrick Lemmens line and north by the swamp between this land and "Calcoon Island." Acknowledged in court February 21, 1720/21, the deed was not recorded until March 31, 1751, when William "Poleson" of the Borough of Wilmington, Innholder (son of "Woola" Poulson who inherited half the tract from his father and half from his dead brother Peter), and his wife Mary sold to Peter Sigfredus Alrichs, 254 acres of marsh, fast land, and woodland, part of the four-lot tract, for £625 (see Crane Hook Map II). Innholder William Poleson mortgaged the remainder of the four lots. The mortgaged land was sold by the sheriff and bought by Jonas Stidham (written on the margin of the deed) as recorded June 19/29, 1752.¹²

Lucas Stidham, Jr., who acquired the Crane Hook property as described above, conveyed the lower half of this "plantation" by a deed of gift April 13/23, 1749 to his son Jonas. This was just before his death in April of that year, after which, Peter inherited the north half. Jonas' share was south of present Lambson's Lane. Peter's share included the Crane Hook Burying Ground. Peter by his will dated March 3, 1777, bequeathed his plantation "called Cranehook" to three sons to be divided into three equal parts: William, the eldest, to have the southern division (this would be next to his Uncle Jonas); Peter, the youngest son, to have the middle division, which included the Crane Hook Burying Ground (See Crane Hook Map II); Lucas to have the northern division.¹³

11 Deeds, Q-1, 448.

12 *Ibid.*, Q-1, 448, 458-459, 626-627.

13 *Ibid.*, 163-164; Book of Warrants (Penn). 720; Wills, G-1, 305, K 1 385 ff.

Peter's plot had been in possession of direct descendants of Lucas Stidham, Senior, since 1726 when in 1813, this Peter Stidham by indenture of December 7 that year sold the middle division bequeathed him by his father to William Walker and Thomas Bradun of Wilmington. There was no reservation of Crane Hook Burying Ground. There was, however, mention of a grave yard, which by the boundaries of Peter's plot as described in the deed, was at the edge of the fast land and the Delaware River marsh. That is, it was at the river-front of the old home-lot, a half mile south of the church and churchyard of 1667. It was this graveyard, presumably a Stidham family burial place, mistaken for the Crane Hook Churchyard, that led to the choice of this site for the monument, erected in 1896 to commemorate Crane Hook Church. The site of it is mentioned later in a number of conveyances. For example in a deed of E. I. duPont deNemours & Company to Brandywine Realty Company, 25 May, 1903: "Beginning at a stone corner for the land formerly of Franklin Platt, thence by said lands S 84½ degrees E along the middle of the lane 189 3/0 perches to a stone at the edge of the marsh at the N. E. corner of the grave yard, etc."¹⁴

John Matson by his will dated September 14, 1699, directed that he be buried at Crane Hook Church. Burials in the old Crane Hook Churchyard are recorded occasionally between 1713 and 1750. The Reverend Israel Acrelius, pastor of Holy Trinity (Old Swedes) Church, 1749-1756, wrote of it:

The place is now changed into an orchard; yet the ground still serves as a burial place for a few families who have there, interred their fathers, as also for poor people on that side of the creek who have no fixed residence.¹⁵

Except for Matson's, records of individual burials have not been found for the period when the churchyard was most used. That more ground was taken into it in 1683 has been told, and it may have been extended later. Hendrick Lemmens would, it is likely, be buried there, also his daughter Elizabeth, who ensured the protection of the Crane Hook Burying Ground for years to

14 Deeds, N-1, 3-6, L-19, 498.

15 Wills, Book I, 475-76 (Charles Springer was a witness); "Burial Records," *Delaware History*, V, 182, 184, 187, 195, 196. The last two entries are for Olaf Paulsson's wife and a daughter. Acrelius, 264. The "poor people without fixed residence" were probably the servants and laborers who worked as transients on the farms of prosperous owners.

come by her recorded reservation in 1725-26. The year of her death has not been found, but she last appears in the records covered for this study in an indenture of August, 1738, by which "Timothy Collins of New Castle Hundred and his wife Elizabeth" sold to Lucas Stidham (Junior) of the same place, sixty acres of "Cherry Island Marsh" in Brandywine Hundred, "right over against Calcoen or Turkey Island," being a tract confirmed to Lars Cornelius in 1676, which Cornelius sold to Christopher Myer, May 1, 1683, and Myer the same day conveyed by deed to Hendrick-Lemmens. "And the said Elizabeth the wife of the said Timothy Collins is the only daughter & Heir of the said Hendrick Lemmens." The deed was acknowledged in court, November term, 1738 and recorded February 3/13, 1739.¹⁶

¹⁶ Deeds, W-1, 156-158.

7.

Charles Springer 1658-1738

MUCH has been written about Charles Springer without benefit of the first-hand information contained in his letter of June 1, 1693, to his mother, from his home near present Wilmington. Neither in Swedish nor in translation was the letter available in America for more than two hundred and fifty years after it was written. In 1874 William M. Reynolds, translator of Acrelius' *History of New Sweden*, wrote in a footnote to that work, that he had found such a letter mentioned in another Swedish text (L. A. Anjou's *Svenska Kyrkans Historia*), but had observed no reference to it elsewhere. In 1893, Otto Norberg, in his *Svenska Kyrkans Mission vid Delaware i Nord-Amerika*, used the 1693 letter, with other source materials, as the basis for a biographical note on Charles Springer. The Norberg work, however, has not been available in English, except for a partial manuscript translation in the library of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

In November, 1948, the American Swedish Historical Foundation, Philadelphia, obtained for Courtland B. Springer a photostat of the original letter, now in the Royal Archives in Stockholm. An English translation of it skillfully made by Dr. Axel John Uppvall (Professor Emeritus of Scandinavian Languages) of the

All the new facts concerning the parents and ancestors of Charles Springer included in this chapter are from research conducted in Sweden in 1951 and 1952 by Mr. Anton Olsson, of Stockholm, who was especially recommended to the late Courtland B. Springer for whom the work was done, by Dr. Olof Jagerskiold, of the Swedish Royal Archives. Photostats or certified copies of all pertinent source materials are now in the possession of Mrs. Courtland B. Springer of Upper Darby, Pennsylvania. In addition to the records from Sweden, Mr. and Mrs. Springer supplied genealogical information on Charles Springer's children. Courtland Bowker Springer, born May 15, 1878, died November 19, 1956. He was a direct descendant of Charles Springer.

University of Pennsylvania was published in 1949 both in the yearbook of the American Swedish Historical Foundation and in *Delaware History*.

Subsequent readings of the Swedish letter, while upholding Professor Uppvall's excellent translation in all major respects, have remedied some omissions, bringing to light additional information, and have verified, or, in some cases, revised the earlier rendering of rather obscure passages, so that it is now possible to present the following translation which conforms even more closely to the original:

Highly Esteemed, Beloved, Dear Mother.

My highly esteemed, dear Mother:

I cannot permit this opportunity which, thank God, I now have, to go by without making known to you *distinctly*, dear Mother, my present situation and life.

First of all, I find it wholly deplorable to be so far away from my dear mother, brothers, family, and relatives, and in a land so distant from you, and not able to receive any communication from you, for all that I have written to you many times, without getting any answer except for one letter in England.

Further, I shall also let you know about my coming here to this land. When I was in London, and was of a mind to journey home to Sweden, my native country, again, having gone to school there [i.e., in London], learned there the English speech and the writing and reading, and [having become] well versed in arithmetic, and, as I say, was about to journey home, I was kidnapped and, against my will, taken aboard an English ship. And against my will I was carried to America, in the West Indies, to Virginia. And when I got there I was sold off like a farm animal that is driven to market. Thus was I sold, to labor, and held in very slavery for five years together.

My work was unspeakable. In the summer it was *Extra Ordinary* hot during the day, and my work was mostly in the winter, clearing land and cutting down the forest and making it ready for planting *Tobacco* and the Indian grain [corn] in the summer. I had a very hard master. But now—to God be praise, honor, and glory!—I have overcome it all.

When I had faithfully served out my time I heard, *accidentally*, that there were Swedes at Delaware River, in *Pensellvenia*, which

formerly, under the Swedish rule, was called *Nya Sverige* [New Sweden], and so, as I now tell you, I made that difficult journey of about four hundred miles. And when I got there I beheld the Old Swedes, and they received me very kindly.

When I had been here about a year and a half, then it pleased God to send and vouchsafe me a most virtuous wife, by name, Maria Hindrichss dotter [Maria, Hindrich's (Hendrick's) daughter], whom I married on December 27, 1685, and with whom it has pleased God to grant me three children, all three of them daughters; and she is even now with the fourth child. May God Almighty give her a good delivery!

As for my activities, I am reader here in one Swedish congregation, and serve it, because now we have no pastors [i.e., Swedish ministers] in this land, for they are all dead. I serve the congregation in the church with the reading and expounding of God's Word, for I have a Swedish postilla [book of family sermons], and the singing of hymns. It is now upon the fourth year that I have served the congregation in this way.

Moreover, I have two plantations that I have bought, and on one of them I live, and plough and plant, sowing all kinds of seed during the year. I also have livestock for the needs of my household, and so live, thank God, that I and mine suffer no want.

My highly esteemed Mother, dear, let me also hear of you and my dear brothers, whether they are living, and how they fare. God has known my sadness at not being able to hear anything from you. That would make me truly glad of heart. My fondest longing has been that I might be permitted, before I die, to hear of your well-being.

We here in this land now have a godly enterprise, we who are Swedes. We have received a letter in our country here concerning our king in Sweden, that he will, upon our writing and representation, send us pastors and Swedish books, of which we have a great lack. They have no one among them to write for them but me; I have done it diligently.

I ask also, my beloved, dear Mother, that it may please you to send me a Bible, here, and two manuals and hymnals, for I have not one of my own. And if you please, you could send them here to me thus, that is, first, send them by some dear person [friend, acquaintance] to Giötteborgh [Gothenburg], to His Majesty's faithful servant and postmaster, John *Thellin* by name,

who will surely send them to me by messenger at the first opportunity. Dear Mother, I am wholly at a loss for books.

Dear Mother, it has been my great sorrow here in this land that I am so far away from you. But nothing can help that.

I send greetings to my dear brothers, and my dear brother Lorentz Springer [half-brother; eldest of the family] and his wife and children. Greet all good friends, relatives, and family, and all who know me and my name. My dear wife and children also send all of you their greetings.

I remain always your ever most obedient son, unto death,
Karell Christoffe[rs]son Springer.

Dated at Pensellvenia
in Delaware River the 1
June 1693*

In Charles Springer's letter to Postmaster Thelin written the previous day he makes clear that the aged pastor, Jacob Fabricius is still living. Here he says the pastors are all dead. This seeming conflict is reconciled in the Swedish originals in which Fabricius is referred to as "Predikant," a preacher. In the letter to his mother he uses "Präst," which means a pastor in the fullest sense, able to conduct services according to Swedish custom and fulfill all the pastoral offices.

"Christoffersson" in Charles Springer's signature, in the few places where he used it, was a patronymic, characteristic of the age, to identify the son with his father's family. In his letter to his mother it was a dutiful recognition of his dead father, who died in Sweden in 1669¹. It is important that the given name of the man who was an outstanding religious and cultural influence on the Delaware in his day should be correctly established and that the gratuitous middle name, Christopher, be acknowledged for what it was, a misunderstanding by later writers and students continued possibly in unconscious tribute as more distinguished-sounding than plain Charles Springer. The confusion between

* The original letter is preserved in the Royal Archives at Stockholm, Acta Eccles. V: 186. Translation and documentation by Mr. and Mrs. Springer, who supplied also the information on "Predikant" and "Präst" as used by Charles Springer in his letters of May 31 and June 1, 1693.

¹ Patronymics used to identify contemporaries of Charles Springer in church and civil records include: Jonas Jespersson Walraven, son of Jesper Walraven; Anders Johansson Stalcop, son of Johan Stalcop; Timotheus Lylofsson Stedham, son of Lylof Stedham; Lucas Lucasson Stedham, son of Lucas Stedham. The use of "Junior" for the son of the same name gradually came into general use.

patronymic and middle name probably came from Charles Springer's own emphasis upon his Swedish birth and family in order to identify himself as a good Swede among his new friends on the Delaware during his first year among them.

The Reverend Erik Björk in the early autumn of his arrival a short time after he had made the acquaintance of his best educated parishioner, refers to Charles Springer on one page of his written record² by his Swedish name with patronymic: Carl Christofferson Springer—perhaps with the intention of recording Charles Springer's identification with his family in Sweden at least once. For not again in Björk's record—of the seventeen years of his pastorate—in which the name of Charles Springer constantly appears, is he set down by Björk himself as other than Charles Springer, or as Carl Springer—Carl being the Swedish form of Charles³.

To Björk's record can be added many civil commissions to "Charles Springer" and his signature in that form only, to documents, letters and church papers. One of the special papers denoting him by his given name is his certificate of naturalization from William Penn, 23rd of Fifth month 1701, which reads: "Charles Springer was born in 1658, the son of Christopher Springer."⁴

Charles Springer born in 1658 was the son of Christopher and Beata Salina Springer of Stockholm. Records pertaining to his father and mother and his "brother Lorentz" are among Sweden's archives, church records, and other memorials. The family home was in a northern suburb of the city, the house built of stone at a period when wood was the almost universal material for dwellings. The Springer house stood opposite the east gate of the Sancta Clara (Lutheran) Church which the family attended. In the churchyard, his father, Christopher, was buried in 1669 and his half brother, Lorentz, a magistrate in the circuit court of appeal, on June 24, 1690. Lorentz was the only surviving child of Christopher Springer's first marriage (to Karin Larsdotter,

² Entry for September 9, 1697; page 6 in the original "First Book" of Records of Holy Trinity; page 17 in the Burr translation.

³ Christopher, where it is set down as a middle name in the Records is clearly by others than Björk or Charles Springer. cf. Ferris (*Settlements*, 281n), who noted this fact more than 100 years ago.

⁴ Original in the possession of Mrs. Harry W. Evans of Philadelphia, a direct descendant of Charles Springer. Photostat copy in the State Archives, Dover, Delaware.

December 1, 1633). Lorentz and his wife, Maria Mörling, lived in the family home which was still occupied by his widow at the time of the 1711 census of Stockholm and probably until her death in 1714.^{4a}

Whether the house in which Charles Springer was born survived for another century or more is not known, but Sancta Clara Church, built during the years 1572 to 1590, is today one of Stockholm's prized landmarks. Though badly damaged by fire in 1751, when many of its valuable records were destroyed, restoration was immediately begun, and completed in a manner to withstand the wear of more centuries. As recently as 1953, the area surrounding the church and churchyard was being cleared and beautified to protect this "peaceful oasis, full of memories and sentiment," from the too close encroachment of modern city traffic.⁵

The first appearance of Christopher Springer's name in records so far discovered is his signature on a treasury receipt dated Stockholm, February 9, 1626, for money paid to him as agent for another person. His own forty years of government service began in 1629, according to statements made at the time of his death.

On August 30, 1630, Christopher Springer acknowledged receipt of his yearly salary as a musician, and entries for November, 1632, and April, 1633, show his continuing service in this capacity. On June 17, 1633, however, he received salary as a member of the secretariat of the treasurer's office, and thereafter he can be followed from year to year in the records of the Cameral Board (in Swedish, the "Kammare," later on, the "Kammärkollegium"). An entry for May 19, 1636, states that Christopher Springer has been entrusted with translating into Swedish a contract written in the Dutch language.

On January 23, 1637, Christopher was granted the registration of the property opposite the Sancta Clara Church. The deed is in the municipal record office in Stockholm, and a map showing the location of the Springer property is in the archives of the town engineer's office.

His employment in the Treasury under King Gustaf Adolph, was followed by Queen Christina's appointment, February 6, 1646, of "Cammar Notarius Christofer Springer" as judge of

4a Documentary material from archival sources in Sweden, now in the possession of Mrs. Courtland B. Springer.

5 *Svenska Dagbladet*, Stockholm Newspaper, January 14, 1953, p. 3, Col. 35

Närdinghundra, a district in the county of Upland. On July 16, 1651, the Queen appointed him Referendary of the land revenue office. His oath of office, written in his own hand, has a well-preserved impression of his personal seal affixed to the signature, "Christoph Springer." At the time of his death, Christopher Springer was Archives Inspector of the Royal Exchequer.⁶

Full probate records of Christopher Springer's estate following his death in 1669 have been preserved. The inventory of his possessions proves him to have been a wealthy man for his day and his personal property was that of a man of culture, including an extensive library and a valuable collection of silver. One piece described as "of ancient workmanship," was given a specially high valuation.⁷

Charles Springer's mother, Beata Salina Springer, was the third wife of Christopher Springer, whom he married October 15, 1654. She was the eldest daughter of Dr. Baltzar Salinius, for many years physician to King Carl X.⁸ When Beata Salina's husband died in 1669, Dowager Queen Hedwig Eleanora, widow of King Carl X, immediately selected Beata Salina for a place in her service. Beata Salina Springer would be well-known to the Queen Dowager because of her father's service to the king, and her husband's forty years of service in the government. She became the Queen Dowager's royal housekeeper at Gripsholm castle across Mälär Lake from Stockholm. There she died and was buried December 17, 1693, in the front of the choir of the church at Mariefred, near the castle. The inscription on the gravestone, translated, reads: "Her Majesty's, the Queen Dowager's, royal housekeeper, Beata Salina, lies buried beneath this stone."⁹

When the true date of Beata Salina Springer's death was established as December, 1693, instead of 1714, as preliminary research had indicated, some doubt was felt that her son Charles' letter of June 1, 1693, ever reached her hands. There now seems to be a reasonable certainty that it did. Charles Springer's letter to his mother was dispatched to Postmaster Thelin, in Gothenburg, with the letter written on behalf of the Swedish congregations, which is now known to have arrived in Sweden at some time before November 4, 1693, a fact well documented by references

6 Royal Archives, Stockholm.

7 *Ibid.*

8 *Ibid.*

9 Photostat in the possession of Mrs. Courtland B. Springer.

preserved in the Archives. Since Thelin himself was in the government service, and had close friends at court, he would have known that Beata was at Gripsholm Castle, and would have been able to send her son's letter to her quite as easily as Beata could have sent to him the books for which the letter asked. Charles Springer's letter to Postmaster Thelin for the Lutheran congregations on the Delaware could be expected to be preserved in the Royal Archives as it was. The importance attached to his personal letter to his mother is indicated in that it was also placed there.

It was four years after the death of his mother that a letter was received by the government of Sweden at Stockholm from Charles Springer inquiring about his share of his parents' estate. The order by King Carl XII that the proper proceedings be undertaken to meet this request has been preserved.¹⁰

At the end of his first full year of research for information concerning the Springer family in Sweden, Mr. Anton Olsson wrote to the late Courtland B. Springer that his finds had been exceptionally rich, owing to the prominent position in life that members of the family held, and the "detailed enlightenment that is characteristic of Christopher Springer's writings." Of Christopher Springer himself Mr. Olsson said that all information about him pointed to "a highly upright man."¹¹

Concerning Charles Springer as a child and schoolboy in Stockholm, there are no known family papers or public records. His birth and baptism in the Sancta Clara Church registers have not been found. There is record that for his higher education he was first sent to Riga, commercial city on the Baltic seacoast of Latvia, then a province of Sweden, now a part of Russia. By the time he was eighteen arrangements had been made with Sweden's minister in London, Johan Leyonberg, to take charge of the young man's further education in England. The results are told in his letter to his mother.¹²

For a youth reared in the comfort and amenities of a well-to-do cultivated family, and living in the home of the Swedish minister at London at the time he was seized on a London street, the shock of his transfer to bound service on a Virginia plantation and the forced labor he performed there could easily have ruined

10 Royal Archives, Stockholm.

11 Letter in the possession of Mrs. Courtland B. Springer.

12 Royal Archives, Stockholm.

a less hardy physical constitution and a less stable character than that of Charles Springer. He calls the conditions of his five years' labor "unspeakable," yet he stood them and arrived at Christina in 1684 in his twenty-sixth year a man mature in character and responsibility. To the location of the Virginia plantation there has been no clue other than his own statement that it was 400 miles from the Christina.

Under Virginia law, Charles Springer would have received from the plantation owner at the end of his term, a signed release identifying him as a freeman. This would be his passport on his way to the Delaware. He would have only his clothing and a small sum of money to bring away with him, but he had a sure means of livelihood in his knowledge of agriculture. Free labor was scarce in the colonies and commanded high wages. As a young Swede at home and at Riga Charles Springer may have acquired some practical knowledge of forestry, for timber was part of Sweden's carefully guarded wealth. However he acquired his proficiency, he was engaged in 1698 as forester to the governor of Maryland, Sir Francis Nicholson. His absence on this job is noted by Björk, who missed him in the drafting of a contract for work on the new church.¹³

So far it has not been possible to identify among several families on the Delaware associated with Charles Springer, the parents of his wife, Maria "Hindrichsdotter," nor to be certain that her parents had the surname, Hindrickson (Hendrickson), for although a number of Swedish colonists had permanent surnames from their arrival on the Delaware and more families were adopting them by this period, the custom of using the father's given name as a surname was still fairly general. As late as 1704, a Hendrick Jacobson's son, Hendrick, who inherited from his father part of the Tymen Stidham tract along the Brandywine west of Rattlesnake Run, held ownership of that property as Hendrick Hendrickson, and thus the Jacobson name (for a grandfather whose given name was Jacob), was lost.¹⁴

Maria "Hindrichsdotter" Springer had a brother, John Hendrickson, and a sister, Williaminke Hindrichsdotter. These rela-

13 Records of Holy Trinity, "First Book," 19; Burr translation, 28.

14 Lucas Stidham, other children of Tymen Stidham, and Tymen's widow acknowledge in court sale of 100 acres on Brandywine Creek near "Rattlesnake Creek" to Henry Jacobson of Chester County, Jan. 20, 1686, *New Castle Court Records*, II, 160; Book of Surveys (Penn.), 246; Plot of survey for Hendrick Hendrickson's son Andrew showing "Rattlesnake Run" — *ibid.*, 274.

tionships are established by records that name John Hendrickson as Charles Springer's "brother-in-law," and Williaminke's husband, Stephen Cornelius, also, as his brother-in-law.¹⁵ So, whoever the father was, he had these three children and his name can be set down as: ——— Hendrickson, or Hendrick ———, while the search continues. The children of the unknown parents were members of Holy Trinity (Old Swedes) Church after their marriages, but so far it cannot be known of which church the parents were members at the time of Charles Springer's marriage in 1685: Crane Hook, Tinicum, or Wicaco.^{15a} Charles Springer would have been eager to meet all the Swedes on the Delaware in those first years of his being among them and doubtless found congenial families in the Wicaco congregation, as well as that of Crane Hook. That he visited Swedes in New Jersey in 1685 before his marriage and even owned land there, a tract of 100 acres, in Gloucester County, before 1689 appears in the New Jersey court and land records.¹⁶

Of the two plantations which Charles Springer bought and on one of which he lived in 1693, his living plantation was in

¹⁵ James Steel's Letter Book I, 57 (Historical Society of Pennsylvania) quoted in *Delaware History*, V, 281; *Pennsylvania Archives*, 2d Ser. V, 19, Minutes of the Board of Property, 731.

^{15a} Hendrick Jacobson (footnote 14) above) might have been the father of Marie, Williaminke, and John Hendrickson. As he had a son Hendrick Hendrickson, he may have been the father of Jacob Hendrickson also, who with a Hendrick Hendrickson acquired in 1684 a tract of land on the south side of the Brandywine (*Pennsylvania Archives*, 2d Ser., VII, 193) adjoining Oak Hill where Charles Springer lived after his marriage in 1685. John Hendrickson and his wife and his sister Williaminke who married Stephen Cornelius had farms close to Oak Hill.

Hendrick Jacobson, and Jacob and Hendrick Hendrickson contributed money, supplies and labor to the building of Holy Trinity Church and paid for pews in 1699. This Hendrick Jacobson is presumably the soldier who came with Rising in 1654 (Johnson, II, 719), acquired from the Dutch in 1663 a tract of land at Calcoen Hook in the Schuylkill, confirmed under the Duke of York in 1668 (*Pennsylvania Archives*, 1st ser., I, 28) and under Penn in 1685 (*ibid.*, 2d ser., VII, 193), and appears in Charles Springer's list in 1693 of those "born in our homeland," 4 in family.

¹⁶ New Jersey Deeds, Book E 11, 337, Secretary of State's Office, Trenton: May 9, 1685, Charles Springer witnessed a deed of sale from Andrew Robeson "to Morten Mortenson and John Arian (Orion) his son of the Province of West Jersey." On May 24, 1738, Charles Springer appeared before the justices of the Gloucester County Court to testify to the validity of the conveyance. Two days later, May 26, Charles Springer died at 80 years of age. Morton Mortonson, Sr. of the New Jersey deed was the grandfather of the first children of Charles Springer's second wife, Annika Justis Morton Walraven — *Delaware History*, V, 286n. Charles Springer was assessed for taxes in Gloucester County for 100 acres of land between Mantua and Oldman's Creeks, Feb. 3-6, 1689/90 together with Morton Mortonson, John Orion, Justa Justason and others (Stewart, *Gloucester County under the Proprietors*, 23).

Christiana Hundred, part of an 800 acre tract called "Oak Hill," (granted to Niels Lawrsen [Larsson] Friend in 1686), bordering the east side of Red Clay Creek in the neighborhood of Wooddale. One of the shorter sides of the rectangular Oak Hill tract extended along the Red Clay, the body of the land running north-east toward the Brandywine.¹⁷ Deeds for parts of the tract describe them as at the headwaters of Mill Creek, and numerous small creeks and runs are mentioned in tracing the boundary lines, as well as trees, chiefly oaks and hickories. Charles Springer then lived four miles or more from Christina Ferry, but being a prosperous farmer he had horses to ride so his trips to Crane Hook and to the new church at Christina were not as arduous as Pastor Björk's during Björk's early years on the Delaware.

The Lancaster Turnpike built through the site of "Oak Hill" farms probably followed an early cart road to Christina and later to Wilmington used by Charles Springer and his neighbors. Among the immediate neighbors were Niels Larsson Friend and his four sons, John Anderson Cock's family, Cock's son-in-law who was Charles Springer's brother-in-law, John Hendrickson, Jacob and Hendrick Hendrickson on a tract called "Jacob's Possession," sold before 1700 to Eric Anderson; Adam Stidham whose plantation was "Adam's Garden," Robert and Richard Robinson, Samuel Barker and Mathias De Foss (De Voss).¹⁸

The deed for Charles Springer's first tract at "Oak Hill" is not now of record but can be located by adjoining tracts, especially one sold to Jacobus Cullen (Vanderculen) in 1699.¹⁹ This adjoining 200 acres Charles Springer later bought from Rynier Cullen, brother of Jacobus.²⁰ Meanwhile in 1702 Charles Springer bought from John Anderson Cock 200 acres of the "Oak Hill" tract and an additional ten acres of Cock's land.²¹ Finally John and Laurence Friend, sons of Niels Larsson Friend, on March 7, 1725/6 conveyed the remaining part of the "800 acres" of the

¹⁷ Book of Surveys (Penn), 337-38.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 275, 337-38.

¹⁹ Deeds, Book I-1, 1, August 15, 1699.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, 150 ff.

²¹ Deeds, Book G-1, 572, Feb. 10, 1702. In the deed the year is given as the first year of the reign of Queen Anne with no calendar year. By error the Recorder's index carries the year "1725" and gives that year also for the conveyance by Ann Stalcop to the church wardens, which is dated 1703. There are no separate "Recorded" dates on the recorded deeds.

original survey to their brother Gabriel "a part having been sold before to John Anderson Coxe." Gabriel on May 12, 1726/7, sold the "remainder," bounded by Red Clay Creek and land of Charles Springer the elder, containing 176 acres, to John Springer and his brother Charles.²² According to the resurvey of the "Oak Hill" Tract in 1703, it contained 936 acres, of which Charles Springer and two of his sons, in the spring of 1727, owned 786 acres, leaving 150 acres, in part at least at one time in the possession of John Anderson Cock.

In 1719 and again in 1725 Charles Springer had requested of the Commissioners of Property a grant of 200 acres of land near his neighbor Samuel Barker and Red Clay Creek, "it being for the settling of his children, he having several sons (he had seven) and but little land for them."²³ He was granted the land on condition of improving it, and seems to have taken up his option, for in February 1735, in a letter to the Commissioners of Property, he reviewed the requests and grants, and according to the minutes said "that those children some time after dying he the sd Charles assigned his right to Daniel Barker who made considerable improvement thereon."²⁴ The sons who died were Israel and Andreas, both buried in 1731 about a week apart.²⁵ From the time of his arrival on the river, Charles Springer was active not only in building up an estate for himself and his own children but in giving aid to others for the protection of their grants and patents, as what follows shows.

Among the numerous tributes to Charles Springer written by Björk is an early one in a letter of October 26, 1697, to Bishop Israel Colmodin in Sweden telling that before Björk arrived the Swedish inhabitants had been "daily overrun" by the Quakers, but they held fast to their lay reader, Charles Springer, who, although qualified to conduct divine services, was otherwise:

a plain modest man, yet by the grace of God who is used to accomplishing great things through humble beings, he has been such an obstacle to the Quakers that they wished him out of the way, meaning that it would then be easy to settle the

22 Book of Warrants (Penn), 15 ff.

23 *Pennsylvania Archives*, 2nd ser., V. 19 (Minutes of the Board of Property), 657, 931.

24 *Ibid.*, 3rd ser., I, 54.

25 *Holy Trinity Records*, 344.

others. He is a man who has kept all his energy and substance unspared for the sake of God's work, as I have constantly observed:

En slätt och ringa man elliest, doch igenom Gudz Mådhs som igenom ringa stoorer tingh plägar Uthrätta, Qwäkerne till ett sådant hinder warit, att dhe Önskat honom aff wägen, menendes sedan snart skulle vara giordt medh dhe andre. Han ähr en man, den all sin flijt och Wällfardh haar hållit Ospardh för Gudz Ordz skull, som iag och allt sedan märcht.

The excerpt is from an authentic copy of the original in the possession of Mrs. Courtland B. Springer and the translation, as literal as English idiom permits, is based on an English draft by Anton Olsson.²⁶

Thomas Campanius Holm in his *Beskrifning* (Stockholm, 1702) deleted in quoting from Björk's letter the criticism of the Quakers which could easily have harmed the Swedes on the Delaware and embarrassed their friend William Penn whose government was then under question in London in a movement to transfer all proprietary colonies in America to the crown.

The Quakers by whom the Swedes were "daily overrun," as Björk expressed it, were settlers who came in increasing numbers after 1682. Some of these when they found the old settlers in possession of the most desirable tracts along the Delaware and tributary streams, tried, according to Andreas Rudman and Acrelius, to trick the owners out of their patents, convince them that the patents were worthless or that Penn's officers had cheated them when their land had been resurveyed. Some Swedes and Finns were the more easily affected by such arguments because under the proprietary land system which they did not understand they felt defrauded of their rights. Penn had readily confirmed their land to the old inhabitants and granted each of them as much new land as each could use. When their original tracts were resurveyed, however, and it was found that a man with a Duke of York patent for 300 acres, sometimes had three times that much, and that many had taken in additional acres of land, woodland,

26 The original in Swedish is given here because in the first version of this letter published in English, the translator represents Björk as writing that Springer was a man "devoid of talents." — *A Short Description of the Province of New Sweden*, by Thomas Campanius Holm, translated by Peter S. Du Ponceau, 96 ff; copied by Jehu Curtis Clay, *Annals of the Swedes on the Delaware*, 56.

Mr. Stal

I heartily begg your excuse, in troubling you
with a few lines, But I doe it in your behalf
of my Neighbour Andrew Gustaffson, who have
Desired me to Intervene for him with a few lines
unto you, The case is thus, he humbly desires
you by your worted goodness would be pleased to give
him a copy out of your Records, how Matthias
Prietterfon In his life time gave him his good
will of y^e Overplus land where Andrew was
upon, and how that Matthias designed in what
right & title of y^e aforesaid land unto his son
in law Andrew, and as you finde it in y^e Record
to give him a copy & if you please to give
and he shall satisfie you to your content,
he hath likewise brought up y^e Draught of the
Survey If you please to take a Memorandum
of it that it is his Survey & divided from
Best of Matthias his land, and likewise that
he prays that if it was possible
to know what Rent there is due unto
four for y^e aforesaid land he would endeavour
to pay it, I hope you will be pleased to
him, and in so doing you will oblige

Christen y^e 16th of
June 1721.

Y^r humble

Charles Springer

and marsh, they were given the choice of paying quit-rent for the "overplus" or forfeiting it. This was a ready made opportunity for the schemers, who egged on the old inhabitants to defy the collector so that when the "overplus" was declared vacant they could sign up to pay the quit-rent and get patents for improved land with valuable woodland and hay marsh.²⁷

In 1687, the Provincial Court, in the name of the proprietor, ordered the sheriffs of the Province and Territories "to seize into the Proprietary's hand all the Lands & Tenements with their appurtenances" of those refusing to pay quit-rents long in arrears.²⁸ Whether or not the orders were carried out or attempted to be carried out against owners whose only debt was quit-rent is not of record. But the threat and attempts of newcomers to use it to get control of valuable property illegally or make trouble among the quiet, honest, older settlers must have given Charles Springer much practice in preventing mischief and securing justice, which Björk's testimony tells that he did.

Trouble under the land system continued for many years. Not all injustice could be prevented or cured; insecurity under changes in provisions and operation, and under changing enforcement officers would be hard to endure, and the cheating of land-grabbers aided by the obstinacy of honest Swedes made for the exasperation of some of Penn's officers. Quit-rents remained low. Even the increase about 1700 on new grants to a penny sterling per acre was not a burden, time being given for the land to produce before the rent was demanded. Quit-rents for those who had patents before the raise continued at the old rate of one bushel of wheat per hundred acres per year.²⁹ Twenty-two years later, officers for the Penn's appointed to investigate petitions, complaints, and dissatisfaction among the Swedes (mostly of the Wicaco congregation): Richard Hill, Isaac Norris, and James Logan, stated that these were caused "by others more nearly related to Great Britain (presumably Irish and Scots) who may

27 Comment by Andreas Rudman, original manuscripts, archives of Gloria Dei church, translated for use here by Mrs. Courtland B. Springer. The land question as Acrelius learned it from old inhabitants and from the Rudman papers is described in his *History of New Sweden*, 155 ff.

28 *Pennsylvania Archives*, 1st ser., I, 98. Refusal to pay or evasion of quit rents was so general among the English and the land management under Penn so lacking in system that the proprietor and his heirs could collect only a fraction of what was due.

29 Logan Papers (Historical Society of Pennsylvania), Quit Rents, Three Lower Counties, 1701-1713.

justly be accounted the truly *Designing Men* to whom our divisions, whenever they arise will be owing . . . Swedes among us, we are sure have never been injured by the Proprietor or any under Him; tho' they are very Ill used by those who from time to time court their hands and names to carry on Designs."³⁰

An instance was the occasion for Charles Springer's letter in which he told of transferring the rights in his land originally intended for the sons who died, to Daniel Barker. As reported in the minutes of the Commissioners of Property at a meeting attended by Thomas and John Penn as Proprietaries, February 25, 1735, the letter from Charles Springer was read, reporting that one James Phillips having obtained from the Secretary a warrant for the same land was threatening Daniel Barker not only by surveying the land away from him but by suing him for cutting timber on it. "The Proprietaries were pleased to order that as the warr't (for survey) to J. Philips was irregularly obtained, he knowing of the settlem't and Imp't of Barker, it be declared void."³¹

Soon after his naturalization in 1701, Charles Springer's activities in the cause of justice among Swedes and Finns and others in the jurisdiction of the New Castle Courts were recognized by his appointment as one of the justices of the New Castle County Courts. His name appears in the May Term, 1703. Whether this was his first term cannot be known; records of 1701 and 1702 are lost and neither minutes nor dockets for the several courts are complete for any of the remaining years of Charles Springer's lifetime. But among the surviving loose pages and sections and several bound volumes of the period his name appears as a justice in many years.³² Deeds, orders, declarations and other papers signed by Charles Springer as one of the justices of the New Castle County courts fill enough pages to warrant the conclusion that he continued in the office from May 1703 to May 1738, the year of his death.³³

³⁰ *Pennsylvania Archives*, 1st ser., I, 172-77. James Steed's Letter Books, II, 92.

³¹ *Ibid.*, 3rd ser., I, 54.

³² State Archives, Dover. Charles Springer's name appears among the justices in court sessions: 1703, 1706, 1712-17, 1718-22, 1726-29, 1734-35. Only a few of the commissions survive. Three are in Deeds, Book H, 71, 202, 240.

³³ Other references to Charles Springer as a justice of the courts account for the years 1709-10 (Deeds, Book H, 122); 1731 (Executors account in Orphans Court at New Castle, *New Jersey Archives*, 1st ser., XXX, Abstracts of Wills, II, 91); 1736 (Deeds, Book K, 447); 1737 (L-1, 161); 1738 (m-1, 18).

In the courts of Common Pleas, of Quarter Sessions, Orphans Court, and by appointment of the governor, the Court of Oyer and Terminer for the trial of high crimes,³⁴ a man of Charles Springer's traits and abilities would have become thoroughly informed concerning the government and life of the people. For during his thirty-five years of serving among the justices, the county courts were charged with many administrative duties. They saw to the execution of laws affecting the county, fixed the county rates, and directed the assessment and collection of taxes, ordered all public improvements such as roads, bridges, dykes and causeways; made nomination of some county officials and performed other government services outside their judicial functions.³⁵

An example of the papers signed by Charles Springer as one of the justices of the New Castle Courts is a "memorial" to Governor Patrick Gordon at Philadelphia, November 22, 1728, stating in part:

It has always been the sentiments of the People of this Government that their Records as well as their Officers ought to be, live & reside among themselves, & Within the counties; and that no p'son except the Propriet' & Gov't ought to have Com'and or keeping of any of our Deeds, Records, Writts, etc. unless such person live and reside among us and in the County to which such Records do belong.³⁶

The practice of appointing Pennsylvanians to hold County offices in Delaware and enjoy the perquisites caused endless trouble and expense to local courts and people by the keeping of their records outside the jurisdiction of the courts.

Among other papers signed by Charles Springer as a justice of the courts is the proclamation of allegiance and fealty to King George II upon his accession to the throne, drawn up at New Castle, September 4, 1727.³⁷

³⁴ *Governor's Register*, 10-11.

³⁵ Reed, ed., *A History of the First State*, 274-75. In Springer's time the duties later assigned to the Levy Court, were performed by the justices only.

³⁶ *Pennsylvania Archives*, 1st ser., I, 234-35.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, 204.

Springer's Service to Church and People

JUDGING from the records in the Church Books civic duties did not lessen Charles Springer's attention to the needs of church and congregation. In October 1699, Erik Björk prepared an account of the achievements and progress in his parish since his arrival. For the sake of posterity he wanted to append to it the names of the men "under whose churchwardenship all this (building the new church with all that it involved) had been done and happily brought to a consummation with me in behalf of the congregation." These churchwardens, Charles Springer, Brewer Sinnexen, William Slubey, Jacob Van de Ver, and John Stalcop resigned in modesty rather than have their names affixed, as acting churchwardens, to praise of themselves.

Björk writes of choosing of new wardens at the following meeting of the congregation:

They all stuck to Charles Springer for one on this side, as they could not get along without his assistance in the Church and wished that he remain in office so long as God should spare him or at least as long as he was able to attend to the work.

Charles Springer did not serve as warden after Björk's time, however. Upon coming into the pastorate in 1713, Magister Andreas Hesselius, his successor, persuaded the congregation to elect a church council or vestry to assume most of the work of the church. To this council they elected Charles Springer as the first one named and from that time the wardens were chosen outside the council.¹

1. *Holy Trinity Records*, 67-68, 122, 194-97.



— Drawing by Walter Stewart

**Holy Trinity (Old Swedes) Church
With South Portico Added 1762.**

Israel Acrelius, pastor of the Church, 1748-1756, wrote in his *History of New Sweden*, 1759, that the north wall had been strengthened in 1740; that by 1751 the south wall also was bending outward under the weight of the roof, but the people could not decide upon the best means to support it. Benjamin Ferris in his *Settlements*, 1846, wrote that the south portico was built in 1762 and that the date and the name of the builder, Cornelius Haines, were still plainly visible on a corner stone.

As during the pastorate of Erik Björk the services of Charles Springer were appreciatively recorded in the Church Book, so in the new book begun by Andreas Hesselius in January 1713, Springer's many activities for the wellbeing of the congregation, church, and the new pastor are written down with obvious care. For although Hesselius through his own recording proves himself of a more reserved temperament than Björk and less cordial in his dealing with his parishioners and church affairs, he had a high conception of his duties and a sense of orderly procedure in both the spiritual and the business aspects of his pastorate, shown particularly in his association with the church council he created.

In his exhortations before council and the congregation Andreas Hesselius who wrote them down in the Church Book, gives today's reader glimpses of the stage of local culture among the church people. Björk presumably trained the youths not to come into the presence of their pastor with hats on their heads and pipes in their mouths. Hesselius had other cautions for young and old. Among these they must take care:

To have the music of the church performed in proper, decent and devout manner and that all who have received God's gift to be capable of singing with a pleasing voice, and with psalms to praise their God, ought by no means to neglect them and stand silent when one should lift his voice to God's glory.

Also those who have not received the gift or have not yet learned to sing should by no means by their harsh and untrained voices make discord and be a hinderance to others, but either hear in silence or by low after-singing accustom themselves to the melodies and learn them better.

But pastor Andreas Hesselius was not establishing himself in the affections of the congregation when he made early complaints to Bishop Swedberg in Sweden about the affairs in his new parish. The bishop wrote a revealing letter to the congregation, dated November 24, 1714, in which he said:

I hope the church will be on good terms with their teacher, Mr. Andreas Hesselius who is a learned man and blessed by God with excellent gifts and capacity for preaching His word, and that the congregation will so treat him that he will have no cause to write home again of his discontent.

I hope that in time he will be as pleased as his predecessors, Messrs Björk and Rudman, who never complained.

Whether the complaints of Hesselius included his attitude toward Charles Springer at this early day in his pastorate is not

shown in available records, but his brother, Samuel Hesselius who succeeded him in 1723, said publicly in defense of himself at the end of his own term as pastor, that his brother Andreas had been much afflicted by Charles Springer and suffered great injuries because of him.²

After Erik Björk any minister from Sweden unless an unusually wise and perceptive person would be at a disadvantage with the Christina congregation. Charles Springer would also be at a disadvantage in helping a pastor who saw in him a rival in the dependence and trust of the parishioners. Unconsciously Charles Springer in his confident position of leadership through many years could have riled the pastor and could have been angered himself by the pastor's failure to realize that the congregation must be led and not driven to accept the standards that were law to the learned man who had come to them. Specific incidents of the trouble do not appear in the time of Andreas Hesselius. Pledges of contribution to the minister's salary were late in payment each year by some of the people and Charles Springer as usual made the collections so far as the individuals were able to make good, and in 1717 secured pledges for an increase of the pastor's salary.

Meanwhile Charles Springer's name appears on many pages of the church records as attending to essential business on behalf of the congregation: securing and recording at court a deed from the sons of John Stalcop for land of the church site and the additional few acres of ground adjoining it that had been agreed to verbally by their father and mother; finishing at last the enclosure of the churchyard by a suitable fence having gates with locks; taking the lead in fulfilling the obligation of the Christina church to help the members on the east side of the river when they were authorized by Bishop Swedberg to build their own church.³

Whatever the disagreements between the pastor and his leading parishoner a great deal of improvement was made at the parsonage and on the glebe land during the term of Andreas Hesselius. A good well was dug, walled with stone, roofed and provided with a windlass; a frame kitchen was added to the parsonage, an orchard planted on the glebe by the freewill gifts of

² *Ibid.*, 194-97, 215-16, 317.

³ *Ibid.*, 182, 185, 235, 236, 254-56, 261-62, 268.

several members; a tenant house and barn were built; and finally the parsonage was repaired with clapboarding, a new porch built and the cellar floored.⁴ Among those who "labored" on the parsonage work was Charles Springer. Charles Springer agreed to having his name appended among others to a glowing tribute to Andreas Hesselius upon his leaving, written by the pastor of Wicaco, Magister Jonas Lidman, for endorsement by representatives of the several congregations. From the English clergymen on the Delaware a fine letter of tribute was received by Hesselius, for he had served their churches in time of need by preaching in English in which he seems to have been proficient.

During the term of Samuel Hesselius who succeeded his brother in October 1723,⁵ relations between Charls Springer (along with many members of the congregation) and the pastor came to an open breach. Hesselius was permitted by his commission from Bishop Swedberg (as his brother had been) to supply English (Episcopal) churches that were without pastors, and it seems that he was in demand most Sundays at Chester, Marcus Hook, Concord, or Northeast. Usually he preached a morning sermon at Christina and left afterward to ride to one of his English churches. The Christina church had been used to two sermons on Sunday during part of each year, but when the clamor over his "neglect" became disturbing Hesselius refused to hold any service at Christina for six weeks, "as a just censure," he said, upon unruly spirits. Under these circumstances it is not surprising that some of the parishioners did not feel called upon to pay their pledges to his salary (not that a part of them wouldn't have been late in their payments under the best pastoral service). Hesselius must have appealed to Charles Springer, because he reported publicly later:

Mr. Springer has indeed power and authority to make them pay me my dues according to the obligations they gave, but he would not do anything in such a religious matter, pretending it was against his conscience to give judgment against them to pay my dues, because of the neglect he said I was guilty of.⁶

That the root of Charles Springer's lack of accord with the pastor was deep can be sensed in other charges Hesselius made

⁴ *Ibid.*, 211-15, 226, 230-32, 234, 245, 273-74, 258, 263, 285, 273.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 274-78.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 320, 319.

against him: that Springer had called the pastor a covetous man to his face, accused him of committing sacrilege, and told him he was not fit to go up to a pulpit.

A further incitement to dissatisfaction and even bitterness was the refusal of Hesselius to administer communion to two very ill members of the church because when he answered the calls their condition, in his opinion, made them mentally incapable of receiving the service. This decision a pastor had a right to make according to his conscience, it was said later in his defense, when this refusal to give the sacrament to the dying was charged against him.⁷

In the climate thus created Charles Springer would not need to stir up the people against the preacher, which Hesselius charged he did. As could be expected, irresponsible members of the church were ready to believe of the pastor things of which he was guiltless. One or more of them wrote to Bishop Swedberg, as from the congregation, including, unfortunately, false charges as well as their real grievances.⁸ When Hesselius received a sharp letter from Bishop Swedberg based on the charges, which meant that if guilty he would lose his commission and his preferment in Sweden, he "took the prudent course," as he wrote down of himself in the Church Book, of translating the bishop's letter into English and sending it to the governor at Philadelphia with a petition that the governor order Charles Springer to appear before him for a hearing or "appoint Mr. Gordon and Mr. French to hear our differences." To the bishop's letter and his petition Hesselius attached a detailed vindication of himself blaming the false charges upon the malicious enmity of Charles Springer.⁹

Governor Patrick Gordon's commissioners, Robert Gordon, David French, and William Read, former justices of the New Castle Courts and now holding county offices as Register of Wills,

⁷ *Ibid.*, 316-323.

⁸ One false charge was that Hesselius sold some woodland belonging to the church and used the money for himself. The truth was that the church council, wardens and minister together decided to sell the plot. With the £40 received the wardens bought a negress to serve the pastor's household.

A similar charge was that he used for himself the £15 received from Edward Robinson as a release from the church of its claim upon farm-land bequeathed to it by Aaron Johnson. Here again the decision was his only in association with church officers and the money was deposited by the wardens in the church funds—*Holy Trinity Records*, 384-85; 324 (Articles 4th and 5th).

⁹ *Ibid.*, 313-15.

Clerk of the Peace and Clerk of the Orphans Court,¹⁰ began the hearing at Brandywine Ferry,¹¹ September 1, 1729. There Hesselius presented another long vindication of himself (later written down in the Church Book with other papers in the case) which was also a detailed exposition of his reasons for naming Charles Springer as the source of all the trouble between him and his congregation, and as the author of the letter to the bishop.

In their investigation the commissioners cleared Hesselius of selling church lands for his own benefit, the chief false charge. They, as Englishmen, did not take it to be neglect in Mr. Hesselius that he preached in English churches since by his commission from his bishop he was permitted to do so. They thought it would be uncharitable to say he had neglected his care because he assisted those who had no teacher at the time. The commissioners were honest, however, and added in their report to the governor, "but if this be neglect he is certainly guilty of it." They reported further that this neglect, the too frequent absence of Mr. Hesselius, especially on Sundays, of which "Charles Springer and a great part of the congregation" complained to them, they took to be the foundation of the church differences.

Ignoring the all too obvious desire of the minister to have Charles Springer condemned by them, the commissioners assured the governor of their conviction that Charles Springer was not the author of false charges and that he had done his minister many good offices.¹²

Hesselius copied the report of the commissioners into the Church Book, but his attitude toward Charles Springer was unchanged. Back in Sweden in the winter of 1731-32, in conferences, with his brother Andreas and Erik Björk, he convinced even Björk of Springer's obstructive behavior. Worse, however, was the effect of Samuel's report that Edward Robinson had been released by payment of £15 to the church wardens from his obligation to turn over to the church a plantation that had been

10 *Pennsylvania Colonial Records*, III, 253, 338.

11 The ferry crossed between the south shore of the stream and Vandever's Island, the Timber Island of Rising's time) near the present Church Street Bridge (Wilmington). Meetings were held at the inn of William Vandever. After his death in 1718, it was conducted by Samuel Kirk who married Vandever's widow, Alice, New Castle County Wills, Book C-1, 236-38; Ferris, 187; *Holy Trinity Records*, 258 (where the name Kirk is mis-printed).

12 *Ibid.*, 316-321, 325.

left to it by the will of Arent Jansen Vandenburg, known generally as Aaron Johnson.

Johnson, who owned a plantation on Bread and Cheese Island and some adjacent land, left his estate, real and personal, to his wife by his will of 1694. By a codicil of 1701 he confirmed her right to it but bequeathed what should be left after her death real and personal, to the Swedes Church at Christina, the minister and churchwardens successively to have charge and management of it for the benefit of the church. Charles Springer and Lucas Stidham were witnesses.¹³ Aaron Johnson died in 1707, but his widow who came into legal possession lived until 1719. Before her death it had been learned by the congregation that Edward Robinson, one of the appointed trustees of the widow's estate, had persuaded her to deed the plantation to him. The pastor, Andreas Hesselius and deputies of the congregation visited the widow and Edward Robinson to hear what both had to say of this attempt to divert the estate from the church.

Though Edward Robinson would admit no responsibility to the church he finally agreed to act so that the church should in time be satisfied. However, in the discourse he stated that neither Aaron Johnson nor anyone else could under English law will any land to a church. By this he made it clear that he intended to keep the land if he could, whatever he might do about sharing the revenue from it with the church. At that time church bodies or congregations, not being incorporated, could not become possessed in fee of real property devised to them by will. If Aaron Johnson had had children or other kin, the property would have descended to them unaffected by the bequest to the church. It was upon the lack of such heirs and therefore of any pressing claim for settling the estate that Edward Robinson had tenure for the time being

13 Wills, Book B-1, 131-33. A copy is printed in *Holy Trinity Records*, 202-03, the probate date was Aug. 5, 1707. The codicil made clear that the testator wanted some part of his estate to benefit Erik Björk personally for good services done to him and his wife. By an indenture of June 21, 1712, recorded in 1714, the widow sold a tract of 110 acres her husband had bought from Thomas Lloyd in 1685 (Deeds, Book S-1, 295 ff.), to give Björk the proceeds. *Delaware History*, V, 279n.

and the church any hope of benefit from the revenue the land produced.¹⁴

After the widow's death, Robinson again refused to give any information to minister and wardens concerning his management of the plantation or to give the church any share of the revenue from it. Andreas Hesselius then petitioned the governor to appoint commissioners to settle the case of the church against Edward Robinson. Colonel John French, New Castle County member of the Supreme Court of the counties¹⁵ headed the commission which met with the pastor, Charles Springer, and Edward Robinson. The commissioners heard the charges on both sides after which Colonel French asked for and was given all the papers in the case, promising to return them when the governor had made his decision. Andreas Hesselius closed his account of the hearing in the Church Book by writing, "But the just God only knows if anything will be done in this case, or any writing or documents returned."¹⁶

Nothing could be expected of the commission immediately, nor of Edward Robinson meanwhile. The case was not followed up after Samuel Hesselius became pastor, but it was at some time between 1725 and 1728 that what Björk later called the petty sum of £15 was paid by Edward Robinson in lieu of further claims of the church.¹⁷

The date of the release does not appear, but as Charles Springer's son Charles, Jr. had married Margareta Robinson, daughter of Edward before April 28, 1723, and Charles Springer's daughter Magdalene had married Edward Robinson's son Jesper in 1725, this close association between the two families strengthened Erik Björk's belief that Springer had turned soft toward

¹⁴ *Holy Trinity Records*, 253, 205-06. William Houston of New Castle, merchant, by his will, Miscellaneous Book-1, 178-79, probate Dec. 11, 1711, left most of his property to his brother and other kin, but made a bequest of 300 acres to John Wilson, minister of the New Castle Presbyterian Church and his successors forever. William's brother Anthony as chief executor settled the estate according to law, ignoring the bequest to the church. The church tried over many years without success to secure a court order against the heirs.

¹⁵ Richard S. Rodney, Early Delaware Judges, MS. in the possession of Judge Rodney.

¹⁶ *Holy Trinity Records*, 267.

¹⁷ Pastor Hesselius received a sharp letter from Erik Björk, Mar. 39, 1729, based on the charges written to Sweden and on June 11, a severe letter from Bishop Swedberg. Unfortunately the bishop sent the letter "open" to Charles Springer instead of direct to Hesselius, which gave the pastor added reason to accuse Springer of defaming him. *Holy Trinity Records*, 311-12.

the malefaction of Edward Robinson or he would have prevented the release of the church claim against him. Björk wrote, in English, an eloquent letter to Governor Gordon, in which he was joined by Andreas Hesselius, under date of December 10, 1731, giving a record of the transactions concerning the right of the church to the bequest of Aaron Johnson and pointing up the baseness of Robinson's violation of his trusteeship.

By the strictures in this letter Björk indicates that he had accepted the account of Samuel Hesselius regarding Charles Springer's obstructive behavior, but he does not absolve that minister from blame for joining with the vestry in releasing Edward Robinson. The letter shows Björk's firm belief that it was legally possible for the church to receive the revenue from the Johnson plantation and seemingly the trusteeship if not the title to the land.¹⁸

It is likely to have been Charles Springer, who succeeded in getting even as much as £15 out of the canny Edward Robinson, who intended to enjoy the profits of the Johnson land as long as he could. Springer would know the reasons that prevented so many eminent justices from declaring the law at once and forfeiting the estate to the proprietaries. There may have been reluctance to offend so many good Lutheran citizens. Governmental or political expediency may have dictated avoidance of trouble that could be used maliciously by opponents of the proprietary regime.

In the end the land was forfeited to the proprietaries, under what circumstance has not been discovered. Throughout the controversy, and while Charles Springer endured the condemnation of his faithfully served friend, Erik Björk, which must have cut deep, no words of Charles Springer are set down in the surviving records. He is represented only by opinions and motives attributed to him by others. It was not until the pastorate of Erik Unander, 1756-59, that a charter of incorporation was secured by act of Assembly for Holy Trinity Church, enabling the minister,

¹⁸ In 1763 the minister Andrew Borell, the church wardens and vestrymen (being a corporate body since 1759) petitioned the proprietors, Thomas and Richard Penn, for a patent to the land of Aaron Johnson. "forfeited or escheated to your Honors," but bequeathed by Johnson to the church. Nothing came of this appeal which seems to have been the last effort made. — *Holy Trinity Records*, 340-42. The land in question, 149 acres of original grants to Arent Johnson on Bread and Cheese Island and Red Clay Point, excluded the tract he bought from Thomas Lloyd which his widow sold for the benefit of Pastor Björk.

vestry and wardens to become possessed in law of real property devised to the church. Governor Denny signed the charter October 27, 1758.²⁰

Following the departure of Samuel Hesselius in the summer of 1731, the Reverend John Eneberg who had recently arrived at Philadelphia from Sweden came to Christina as pastor until a successor to Hesselius could be sent. Eneberg himself was commissioned regular pastor at Christina by King Frederick, July 4, 1733. Charles Springer's cooperation with the new pastor is evident in such records as Pastor Eneberg set down which are few and scattered in his time, except for vital statistics.

In 1733 Charles Springer was elected a member for life of the Church Council.²¹ He had been reelected annually since the council was formed. In 1736 the minister, John Eneberg, the vestrymen, church wardens and others of the congregation, appointed Charles Springer their trustee for leasing land belonging to the church to the benefit of the church and to pay the minister's salary. Associated with him for this purpose were two wardens elected annually. The formal document of the trusteeship was recorded in the county recorder's office from the original text in English in the Church Book.²²

Charles Springer died May 26 (old style), 1738 and was buried on the twenty-eighth; the item in the Church Book cites that he was "80 years old."²³ As told by his grandson, Joseph, in 1830, he died suddenly in a boat on the Delaware River, "probably of apoplexy." This would be on his return journey from

²⁰ An act of assembly of 1744 had confirmed to Societies of Protestant churches title to land in their peaceable possession for seven years and authorized such societies to acquire property for churches, schools, and burying grounds, but made no provision for incorporation by which they could receive bequests (Laws of the Government of New Castle, Kent and Sussex upon Delaware, Phila., 1752, 272; Del. Laws, I, Chap. 108). In 1787 a general law was passed authorizing religious bodies to incorporate by election of trustees and registration of their names with the county recorder (Del. Laws, II, Chap. 144). Between 1744 and 1787 individual churches, including Holy Trinity (1759) were incorporated by special act. Text of the 1759 charter, — Holy Trinity Records, 473-81.

²¹ *Ibid.*, 351-52, 353-54.

²² Election of Charles Springer as trustee with power of attorney by Pastor Eneberg, wardens, vestrymen and congregation is set down in English in the first book of original records of Holy Trinity church, as of November 18, 1736, pp. 105-107; and in the New Castle County Recorder's office in Book L-1 24, dated January 24, 1736/7. The only entry in the Burr translation of Holy Trinity Records (page 369) is copied from a crossed out section in the original Second Book (page 243).

²³ *Holy Trinity Records*, 357.

Gloucester County where he was present to testify on May 24, to the validity of a deed of sale witnessed by him fifty three years earlier.²⁴

The only mention of his death in the church records other than the vital statistic concerns the choice of successors to his offices:

A. D. 1738, June 1st. At a general meeting of the congregation belonging to the Swedes church in Christina, then by general choice, Lucas Stidham [who lived on his Crane Hook land] of the Hundred of New Castle, yeoman, was elected trustee for the leasing of church lands in the room of the late Charles Springer, Esq., deceased. At the same time was chosen Charles Springer, son of the said Charles Springer, Esq., deceased, one of the vestry of the said church in the room of the above mentioned deceased gentleman.²⁵

It is unfortunate that the minutes of the church council or vestry were not preserved to tell in detail of Charles Springer's activity in the church work during his last years and that Pastor Eneberg did not record the service he must have conducted at the burial of Charles Springer (whose grave was made close to the church), nor the tributes that must have been paid to him by the vestry, congregation, and people at large. Minutes of the Court of New Castle for the time of his death are also missing.

What a history of his time on the Delaware Charles Springer could have written!

²⁴ Items of family history written by the Reverend Cornelius Springer, dated at Meadow Farm, Muskingum County, Ohio Dec. 15, 1865. Historical Society of Delaware, Genealogical Records.

²⁵ *Records of Holy Trinity*, 374-75.



— Photograph by Sanborn

The New Sweden Monument
Fort Christina State Park, Wilmington

Erected by the people of Sweden to commemorate the tercentenary, 1638-1938, of the first Swedish settlement in America and given to the people of the United States, June 27, 1938, this memorial shaft was designed by the late Carl Milles, great sculptor of Sweden, who was present at the unveiling. Carved from black granite on the shore of Lake Mälär in Stockholm, it is crowned by a representation of the *Kalmar Nyckel* riding a stylized wave. Below on the concave surfaces of the flutes of the shaft are scenes from the settlement life of the colonists.

9.

Charles Springer's Family

(All dates are Old Style)

"Springer Heirs"

CHARLES SPRINGER'S first wife, Maria Hendricks' daughter (daughter), (Maria Hendrickson), whom he married December 27, 1685 (see his letter to his mother, p. 106), and by whom he had four daughters and seven sons, died in March 1727, and was buried in Christina churchyard (*Holy Trinity Records*, 300).

On June 15, 1727, Charles Springer married (by governor's licence) Annika Walraven, by whom he had no children. She was the daughter of John and Brita Justis and widow (1) of Mathias Morton; (2) of Jonas Walraven, Sr. (*Delaware History*, V, 286n.).

Charles Springer's daughters, three born before June 1, 1693 (letter to his mother):

Anna Elizabeth, married, about 1706, Samuel Hall of Kennett Township, Pennsylvania, a member of the Society of Friends, son of James and Hannah Hall of Bucks County.

Rebecca, married before 1713, Jacob Stilley (Cf. *Delaware History*, V, 289, n. 37).

Maria, married July 31, 1716 (Immanuel Records), William Cleneay (cf. *Ibid.*, V, 289, n. 38).

Magdalene, married (1) November 11, 1725 (*Holy Trinity Records*), Jesper Robinson, son of Edward Robinson and his first wife (cf. *ibid.*, V, 147, n. 27); married (2), November 19, 1728 (*Holy Trinity Records*), Paul Paulson, son of Peter

and Geizie Paulson; married (3), December 5, 1747 (*Holy Trinity Records*), Morton Justis, son of Justa and Anna (Morton) Justis of Philadelphia County (cf. *ibid.*, V, 267-77, n. 16, par. 7).

Charles, probably born 1693 or 1694 (cf. letter to his mother of June 1, 1693); died 1759 (*Delaware History*, V, 202); married Margareta Robinson daughter of Edward Robinson and his first wife (cf. *ibid.*, VI, 157, n. 36).

Christopher, born 1696; died 1755, aged 59 (*ibid.*, V, 200); married Catharina Hendrickson, his first cousin, daughter of John and Brita (Cock) Hendrickson.

John, blind from birth (cf. *ibid.*, VI, 146, n. 26); married (1), Maria Hendrickson, his first cousin, daughter of John and Brita (Cock) Hendrickson; married (2), August 31, 1736 (*Holy Trinity Records*), Mary Dempsey, whose parents have not been found. John Springer died between October 4, 1770, the date of his will, and June 15, 1772, the probate date.

James (often appears as *Jacob*, the Swedish form of *James*), born 1703, died 1763, aged 60 (*Delaware History*, V, 204); married Mary Bishop, daughter of Nicholas and Dorcas Bishop.

Israel, born _____; died 1731 (*ibid.*, V, 191) may have married.

Andreas, born _____; died 1731 (*ibid.*, V, 191) probably unmarried.

Joseph, born 1709; died 1799 (Ferris, 283, gives gravestone record which cannot now be read; Joseph Springer's will was probated March 11, 1799); married Annika Justis, daughter of Måns and Catharina (Walraven) Justis.

"SPRINGER HEIRS"

Numerous descendants of Charles Springer have continued to live in Wilmington and nearby parts of New Castle County and still do in 1957. By the middle of the nineteenth century hundreds of others were scattered throughout the United States and abroad. About that time some persons from outside the state looking into Wilmington property records discovered a

number of land leases signed by Charles Springer. How the first news spread is not known, but it was discovered by Wilmington attorneys that advertisements in newspapers outside Delaware offering to descendants of "Charles Christopher Springer" information to their financial interest brought response from hundreds of descendants.

Agents purporting to represent these heirs arrived at New Castle and at Wilmington (to which city the county court house and county offices had been moved in 1881) to badger city and county officers and local law firms with arguments presented as supporting their claim that millions of dollars in the accrued value of Wilmington property belonged to the "heirs of Charles Christopher Springer."

All the agents were shown the proof in recorded documents that leases by Charles Springer of Wilmington land had been as a trustee with power of attorney for land belonging to Holy Trinity (Old Swedes) Church. That nothing was found to support the claims that could be presented in a court of law did not stop the organization and even incorporation of groups of descendants as "Springer Heirs."

In 1884 Judge William G. Whitely of the Delaware Courts published in a Wilmington newspaper¹ an exposition of the claims made during the then past twenty years with his able refutation of them. Judge Whiteley's account of the activities of the agents shows that they had collected substantial sums from the "heirs" to prosecute their claims in Delaware and make a search of Charles Springer's background in Sweden. Finding that Charles Springer's father had been a man of importance in Stockholm the agent or agents returned with the unfounded report that "Charles Christopher Springer" as the sole heir of his father had come into the title of baron and legitimate claim to a large sequestered estate. Descent from a peer of the Swedish realm now added prestige to hopes of even larger financial gain as lure for "Springer heirs" to invest money in the promotion of their claims.

More than thirty years after the publication of Judge Whiteley's paper, Charles M. Curtis, Esq., a distinguished Wilmington attorney also published in a Wilmington newspaper² a similar refutation of the claims, saying in part:

¹ *Delaware Gazette*, January 3, 1884.

² *Every Evening*, December 6, 1907.

I know that the claims of Springer heirs to valuable land in Wilmington have ceased to be a joke and have become almost a nuisance — for county officers, judges, the mayor and other city officials have been besieged with inquiries about these vague, fictitious and elusive claims to great wealth.

In February 1909 the mayor and postmaster of Wilmington, the register of wills and recorder of deeds of New Castle County issued in pamphlet form a joint statement of their belief that the Springer claim was a myth having no foundation in fact. To substantiate this statement they included in the pamphlet the papers of Judge Whiteley and Mr. Curtis with their legal refutations. From this time all inquiries were answered by a copy of the pamphlet. Expectations of "Springer heirs" continued to flourish, however. In 1925 there was published in the *Wilmington Every Evening*⁴ an Associated Press dispatch under a Chicago date line giving news of a fight to control "Springer Heirs, Inc." an organization of "several hundred heirs of Charles Christopher Springer," whose outgoing officers had refused to turn over the books to those newly elected. Upon complaint to the Superior Court of Illinois by the new president, a resident of Minneapolis, a judge of that court had ordered the books opened.

Fresh inquiries were coming into Wilmington in 1933,⁵ and it was not until June 7, 1937 that the corporation was dissolved in the Superior Court of Cook County, Illinois, by action of the Attorney General.⁶ The Illinois organization seems to have been the parent of subsidiary groups in other states. Descendants living in Delaware were a threat to the success of agents, for they knew the truth about the claims and spoke out. Consequently they were never invited to the meetings which were held behind locked doors, admission only by pass.

3 *Statement Regarding the so-called Springer Claim.*

4 September 6, 1925.

5 *The Delmarva Star*. (magazine section), July 23, 1933.

6 Letter of January 5, 1951, from Edward J. Barnett, Secretary of State of Illinois, to Mr. Courtland B. Springer in answer to Mr. Springer's inquiry.

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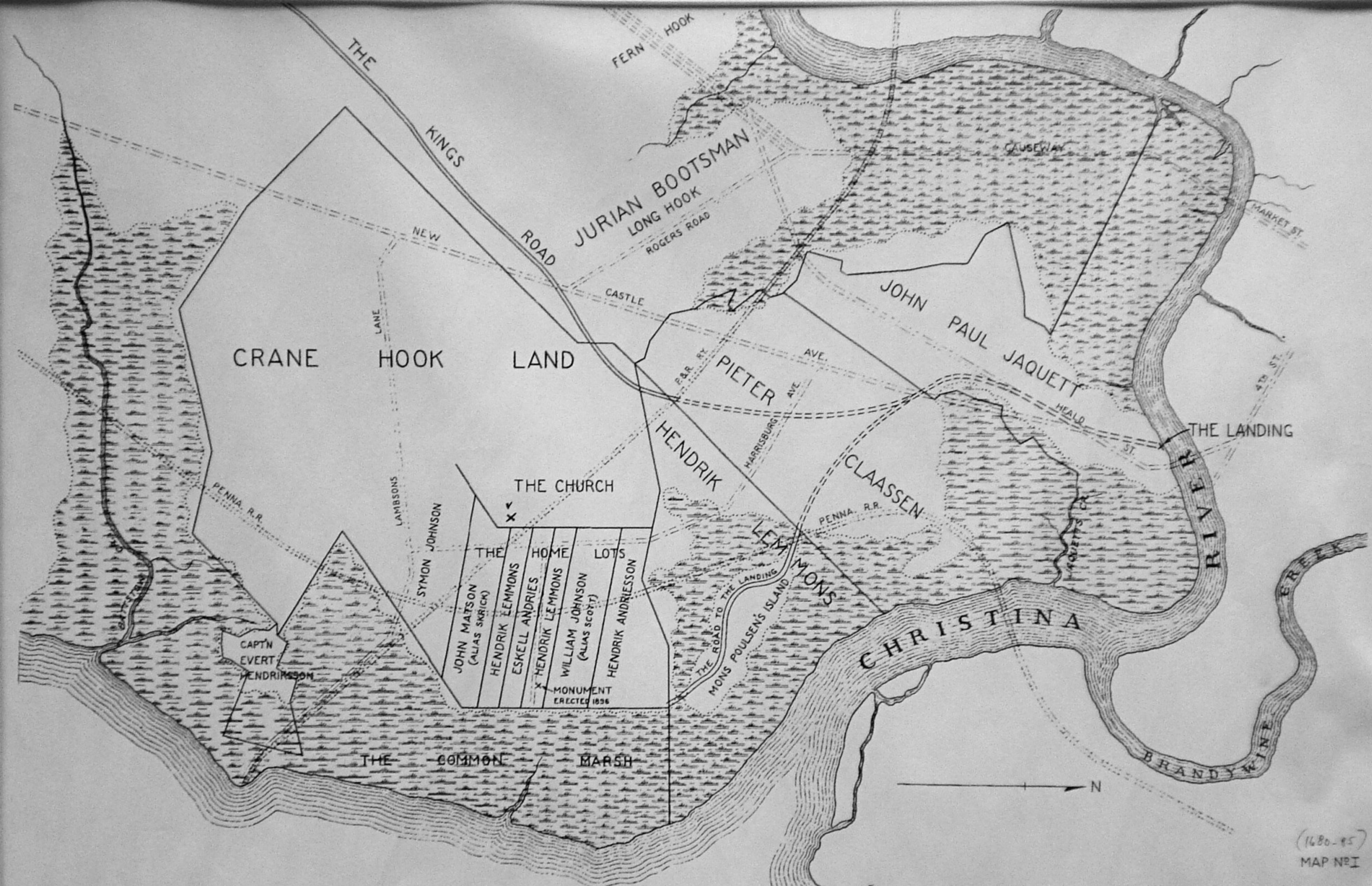
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Flow:
Crane Hook on the Delaware
DEL ROOM 475.102E/1958

CRANE HOOK CHURCH SITE
AND VICINITY, 1680-85
Delaware Federal Writers Project
1941

(1680-85)
MAP NO. I

Jeremiah Sweeney, Research
Leon de Vullinger, Sr., Cartography

KEY

- A THE JAQUET HOUSE
- B THE SCHOOL HOUSE
- C SITE OF CRANE HOOK CHURCH
- D THE ALRICH HOUSE
- E THE STIDHAM FAMILY BURIAL GROUND

