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HISTORY

OF

DELAWARE.

1609—1888.

BY

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ASSISTED BY A STAFF OF ABLE ASSISTANTS.

IN TWO VOLUMES, ILLUSTRATED.

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VOL. I.

CONTENTS OF VOLUME I.

PREFACE

THAT in the two hundred and fifty-six years past since men of the Caucasian race first attempted settlement within its boundaries, no previous attempt should have been made to complete a history of the colony and State of Delaware, is a self-explanatory reason for the preparation and publication of this work.

While it is remarkable that so important and interesting a field of historical investigation should have been neglected in those latter days of keen and deep research into the individualities, the environment, the motives, the labors and the rewards of the people who laid the foundations and erected the superstructures of the American commonwealths, it may be accepted that in the case of Delaware, the difficulties of a complete and creditable work seemed even more insurmountable, than the temptation to enter this almost unexplored domain was attractive. To undertake an exhaustive inquiry and carry it to successful completion has been a task that enlisted patient determination, thorough sympathy with the subject, minute scrutiny and that liberal enterprise which the publishers have generously furnished. Now, after many months of toil, in which the lore of Delaware, the fragmentary records left by its pioneers, the stages of its progress and the collections of European and American writers bearing upon its establishment and growth, have been compelled to yield their secret or open treasures, this history is put forth with full confidence that no means have been unemployed to secure its accuracy and completeness in detail or as a whole.

Whatever lapses and errors may be found within its pages—and it is believed they are comparatively trivial in number and significance—were inseparable from the conditions. Delaware possesses fewer collated and connected records of her early days than any of the colonies or original States. What chronicles were kept by the Swedish and Dutch settlers, they mostly carried away or destroyed, and although the succeeding English were more painstaking in the making and preservation of the written materials of history, the centre of their political life was located away from the "Three Counties upon the Delaware," and their records were largely formulated in connection with Pennsylvania, New York, and to some extent with Maryland. It is to an autonomous political community that we look for a well-linked chain of history forged by the home interest of its people in their own affairs, and Delaware did not approach a condition of embryo statehood until she reached a condition of legislative semi-independence in 1704. Still, the narrative of her public, social and industrial life is fairly well kept in her own records, those of the parent countries which first populated her territory and those of the contiguous colonies, and from them an intelligent narrative of her colonial epoch has been constructed. In the next following period, the pillage and destruction of the archives at Wilmington and New Castle by the British during the Revolution, was a deplorable obstacle to the procurement of information at first hand, but

this lack has been supplied by the authentic relations of contemporary historians in other states to whom the events occurring in Delaware, and the valorous performances of Delaware troops, presented themselves in their proper magnitude and influence. Moreover, the letters and papers of Delaware statesmen and soldiers are numerous enough to throw a broadly-illuminating light upon the causes, incidents and consequences of the time, and have been used with signal benefit. For the story of the movements of affairs after the peace with Great Britain to the present day, the historical material has been sufficiently abundant.

Attention is called to the completeness of the local narrative of the political and geographical divisions. This field has been unsparingly gleaned and the results submitted, although these have in some instances involved the appearance of clash, confusion and contradiction. In many instances the sketches of "hundred histories," in the second volume, have been inserted as they were prepared by the local writers. The editor was not at liberty to change either their matter or form of arrangement. But there is nothing in which local experts and authorities so much differ as in those vicinage events and matters concerning which they collectively agree that the interference of the outsider must be stubbornly resented. Therefore, the local writers have been permitted to tell their own stories, except where certain versions have been plainly contrary to the established truths of important history, in which the editor has set forth the facts as accepted by the critical world, and it, of course, follows that every form of a purely local narrative enriches the book for the readers of the locality affected. As to the variations in the orthography of the names of places and persons that will be noticed, it must be said that the editor has adhered to the original spelling as near as it could be ascertained, but in coming down to later times the modernized orthography has been adopted. Among the Swedes, Dutch, and English, who peopled Delaware, there was a confusion and much of a blending of tongues; spelling was not a positive science with any of them, and in early documents one page will often show several different combinations of letters in one name. Under such circumstances the only safe rule is that which has been pursued, to follow the record; or in the printing of biographies of individuals to accept the dicta of the families. It will not escape observation that the biographies of eminent citizens who have borne or are bearing distinguished parts in the processes and progress of Delaware are of absorbing interest and that the list is so voluminous, the history of their lives so exact, as to almost make in themselves a compendium of events for over two centuries.

A limited amount of space has been given to biographies of representative men, living and dead, who have borne an active part in the various enterprises of life, and who have become identified with the history of the state and the localities in which they live. The achievements of the living must not be forgotten, nor must the memories of those who have passed away be allowed to perish. It is the imperative duty of the historian to chronicle their public and private efforts to advance the great interests of society. Their deeds are to be recorded for the benefit of those who follow them,—they, in fact, form part of the history of their communities, and their successful lives add to the glory of the commonwealth. With this view the publishers have prepared and inserted in the work a number of interesting biographical sketches of a few of Delaware's representative men.

The editor would be destitute of a sense of justice to himself and to the State, whose entire history has now been written for the first time, if he failed to acknowledge in this place, and with a sentiment of profound gratitude, the cordial aid extended to him and his undertaking, by the people of Delaware. They have given him the fullest encouragement throughout and have helped him materially in elaborating and perfecting the work. To the press of the State, the Pennsylvania Historical Society, the Delaware Historical Society, State, county, city and town officers and the officials of churches, societies and corporations, he is especially indebted. Among the names of helpers and contributors are those of Chief Justice J. P. Comegys, Judge George P. Fisher, Nathaniel B. Smithers, Wm. Atkinson, Geo. H. Bates, Judge Leonard E. Wales, Austin Harrington, Dr. Horace Burr, W. R. Long, Rev. T. Gardner Littell, John C. Gooden, Prof. Wesley Webb, Prof. W. L. Gooding, Dr. Charles H. Richards, Dr. Robert G. Ellegood, Dr. Edward Fowler, Dr. George W. Marshall, Rev. Lewis W. Gibson, Rev. J. F. Stonecipher, Rev. Thomas E. Terry, Alexander Cummings, Charles G. Fleming, Rev. J. L. McKim, Rev. W. W. Campbell, W. S. McNair, Alfred Matthews, Austin N. Hungerford, George R. Prowell, J. L. Rockey, W. A. Erdman, Harry W. MacIntire, R. M. Stocker, Jefferson H. Noues, David G. Scott, E. P. Fulton, of the Philadelphia *Press*, Frederick D. Stone, Librarian of the Pennsylvania Historical Society, Gover Kettlewell, and J. C. Guggenheimer. To his publishers the author must render thanks that are, after all, not sufficiently expressive of what is owing to their enterprise and liberality. In every respect of letter-press, portraits, maps, engravings of scenes and localities, and each feature of artistic and mechanical execution, they have responded promptly to all suggestions made to them, and have striven with fine taste and judicious discrimination to make the book in typography, illustration and binding equal to its great purpose of furnishing Delaware and the historical literature of America with the only entire record in existence of one of the stars in the original galaxy of the union.

J. THOMAS SCHARF.

Baltimore, February 26, 1887.

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HISTORY OF DELAWARE.

CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTION, AND TOPOGRAPHY OF DELAWARE.

The State of Delaware is one of the original thirteen States of the American Union, and, though next to the smallest in area, and least in population, possesses annals not surpassed by those of any other State in topics of varied character, romantic incident and instructive lesson. Nor does her early history relate alone to those confines which now limit her territory. New York, New Jersey, Connecticut, Massachusetts, Maryland, Virginia and Pennsylvania all partake, to a greater or less degree, in the interest of her peculiar story. The early adventure of discovery and settlement; the struggle with barbarism, and the subjugation of a rude soil; the contrast and blending of European with American life; the transfer of old institutions; the intermingling of races; the progress of commerce; the establishment of churches and schools; the triumph of freedom of conscience over bigotry; the development of principles of self-government within, and the action of encroachment and conquest from without; the relations of Delaware with Sweden, Holland and Great Britain; of the people with the proprietary of Pennsylvania; the attitude assumed towards the Dutch of New York; her position before and during the American Revolution, were all peculiar, and in the highest degree instructive to the student of the present as well as of the past.

At every period of the country's history Delaware has been among the first in patriotism and among the earliest in all that related to national defense. "The three lower counties of New Castle, Kent and Sussex, on Delaware," were represented in the Continental Congress which assembled at Philadelphia, on the 5th of September, 1774, and from that day to the present, the people of the State have been among the foremost in all that led to the prosperitya nd progress of the whole country. No state has exhibited stronger affection for the Union, made greater sacrifices in war or pursued a more judicious policy in the accumulation of wealth. Her position has commanded respect, and her integrity is beyond reproach.

It is surprising that Delaware, with a past so illustrious, so full of interest, and in many respects unique, should have no proper history. Not only aliens, but even her own sons, have been very imperfectly informed of her true history, and, as a consequence, she has been denied the meed of honor both abroad and at home.

It is the aim of the present work to give the history of Delaware with accuracy and intelligence, omitting nothing that will contribute in any degree to illustrate its origin and growth, its national importance and its peculiar local features—to paint a portrait of the State as it was and as it is, in which every lineament shall be truthfully portrayed and represented with life and vigor enough to make its fidelity acknowledged by all. If these objects can be attained by zeal, sincerity and faithful, patient and exhaustive research, the author and his co-laborers have no fears of the reception which awaits their formidable undertaking.

The State of Delaware is situated between 38° 28′ and 39° 47′ of north latitude, and between 74° 56′ and 75° 46′ of longitude west from Greenwich. Its physical boundaries are—on the north by the State of Pennsylvania, Delaware River and Bay; on the south by the State of Maryland; on the east by the Delaware River and Bay, from a point twenty-four miles from its northern boundary by a line of low-water mark on the Jersey shore, thence to the radius of twelve miles north of New Castle; on the west by the States of Maryland and Pennsylvania to the periphery of the circle drawn in a radius of twelve miles from the court house at the centre of the town of New Castle, commencing at low-water mark on the shore of New Jersey north of New Castle, thence extending over the Delaware River, and following its circumference until it again touches the shore of that State south of its radius of twelve miles from New Castle. Sole jurisdiction is given to the State of Delaware over the Delaware River and Bay by this circular line of boundary, from low-water mark on the Jersey shore, about a mile north of the mouth of Naaman's Creek on the Delaware State side, for twenty-four miles southward, nearly to where Silver Run enters the Delaware River. Within the circular boundary are Pea Patch and Reedy Islands, on the former of which Fort Delaware is situated, and upon the latter a light-house. The jurisdiction of the State below the circle extends to a line running down the middle of the Delaware Bay as far as Cape Henlopen; thence along the Atlantic

Ocean to Fenwick's Island, in about 28° 20′ north latitude. The southern line runs westwardly thirty-four miles, three hundred and nine perches, to the exact half of the distance between the Atlantic Ocean and the Chesapeake Bay; thence by a right line nearly due north at a tangent until it reaches the western part of the periphery of the circle, twelve miles from the court-house at New Castle.

The length of the State is ninety-five miles; at its southern boundary the width is thirty-five miles; at Cape Henlopen the width is about twenty-five miles, which diminishes, by the water-line of the bay, until, at Red Lion Creek, in New Castle County, the width of the State is not over ten miles, while at its northern end its width is twelve miles, being the radius of the New Castle circle.

The line which divides Delaware from Maryland, starting at the Atlantic Ocean, running due west for a distance of thirty-four miles, turns at right angles due north to the tangental point on the New Castle circle, which was run by Charles Mason and Jeremiah Dixon in 1763, and is known as "Mason & Dixon's Line."

Each of the three counties extends across the State from the ocean, bay or river to the dividing line between Delaware and Maryland, New Castle being divided from Kent by Duck Creek and a line running due west to the Maryland line; Kent is divided from Sussex by the Mispillion Creek and the Tan Trough Branch; thence by a line south-westerly to a small branch of Nanticoke, down this branch to the beaver dam, and thence by a line due west to the Maryland line. Sussex comprises all south of the last-described line to the boundary of Maryland.

The topography of the State may be said to consist of rounded hills in the northern part, which rise at no point over five hundred feet above the sea-level; this elevated portion of the State extends southward to White Clay Creek, and reposes upon a substratum of rock. South of White Clay Creek the State is level, and nowhere elevated more than seventy feet, which only occurs on the sandy table-land ridge which passes through the State. In this table-land most of the rivers and streams have their sources. One of the most notable features of the State is the Cypress Swamp, on the southern line between Delaware and Maryland, and lying in both States. This swamp abounds in trees, mostly cypress, and game of all kinds is to be found in its recesses. Below its surface are found immense trunks of trees, the remains of giants of the forests, which, perhaps, sunk beneath the waters in years long past. These trunks are raised and made into shingles, and find ready market and reward for the labor bestowed upon their conversion.

The soil of the State is fertile, and has long been celebrated for its wheat, its fruits and vegetables; while the clearing of its forests cut away the white and black oak, yellow pine, cypress, tulip, poplar, Spanish oak and gum, which once covered the whole State.

Its principal rivers and streams are the Delaware River, which for twenty-four miles forms the eastern demarkation; Naaman's Creek, enters the Delaware about a mile south of the northern line; Shelpot Creek flows into the Brandywine, and thence, with the Brandywine, which crosses the State, enters the Christiana within the limits of the city of Wilmington, about one and a half miles from the Delaware, into which it empties its waters; the Brandywine is navigable for about two miles for sloops and schooners. From the head of navigation, the Brandywine is a rocky stream with several falls, which afford excellent water-power. The Christiana rises in Maryland, and flows through the State into the Delaware at Wilmington and has depth for vessels drawing fourteen feet. Red Clay Creek, Mill Creek and Bear Creek are streams flowing into White Clay Creek. These were once navigable, but are now valuable only for water-power. Red Lion Creek has been dammed up. St. George's Creek now empties a portion of its waters into the Delaware and Chesapeake Canal, and the remainder through a new channel into the bay. St Augustine and Silver Run are small creeks which discharge their waters into St. George's Bay below Reedy Island. Appoquinimink Creek is navigable for sloops from Odessa to the Delaware, a distance of about seven miles, and for steamboats to Thomas' Landing.

Blackbird Creek, flowing due east and north until it empties into the Delaware Bay, is navigable; Duck Creek, which divides New Castle from Kent County is navigable for seven or eight miles, to Smyrna, and to Hay Point Landing for steamboats of twelve to fourteen feet draft; it reaches the Delaware Bay through a channel, called the "Thoroughfare," at a point north of Bombay Hook. Little Duck Creek is navigable for sloops to the town of Leipsic; Dona River connects with the Little Duck Creek and enters the bay below Little Bombay Hook. Dona and Little Duck Creek form Kent Island, a large marshy island, several miles in extent. Mahon River is merely one of the outlets of Dona River, which has forced a passage through the marsh, and flowing southerly for four miles enters the Delaware. Kelley's Island is formed by the conjunction of the Mahon and Dona Rivers. Port Mahon is esteemed the best harbor for coasters on the Delaware. Little Creek is navigable, as far up as Little Creek Landing, about three miles from its mouth, for sloops and small schooners.

Dover, the capital of the State, finds an outlet for its commerce to the Delaware by a very circuitous route through St. Jones' Creek, a distance of thirty miles. It is navigable as far up as Dover

for vessels and steamers of two hundred tons burden.

Murderkill Creek enters the bay below the mouth of St. Jones' Creek, and up its navigable waters commerce finds its way to Frederica. Mispillion Creek affords navigable facilities to Milford by large sloops, schooners and steamboats. Cedar Creek, though small, is navigable from the Delaware, into which it flows. Draper's, Slaughter's and Primehook Creeks are small streams entering the bay between the mouths of Mispillion and Broadkiln Creeks. Broadkiln is navigable for sloops and schooners to Milton, about twelve miles from its mouth, and flows into the estuary of Lewes' Creek, about two miles from the Delaware Bay. Lewes' Creek is about six miles long and empties into the bay; its navigation was destroyed by the "Great Storm," which washed sand of the ocean into the creek and in this way destroyed its mouth for navigable purposes. Canary or Mill Creek affords navigation to Lewes Creek and from there to Broadkiln, and Wolf Creek and Old Creek fall into it near Lewes.

A narrow ridge of sand separates Rehoboth Bay and Indian River Bay from the Atlantic Ocean, while Indian River Inlet is a passage, torn by storms, through this ridge for the waters of the two bays to the ocean. This inlet rarely contains more than a few feet of water, and after a great easterly storm is closed by sand washed into it from the ocean; but soon the dammed up waters of the bays break again for themselves a passage to the ocean. These large bays have each a surface of twenty-five miles, but their depths rarely exceed four or five feet. The most northerly of these bays is Rehoboth, which, nearly square in shape, extends parallel with the ocean, from which it is separated by the ridge. Line Creek, Middle Creek, Herring Creek and Guinea Creek empty into Rehoboth Bay. Long Neck, a narrow sand bar, separates these last-mentioned creeks from Indian River Bay, while the "Burtons"—marshy islands, called on old maps Station Islands—indicate the changes that have taken place in these waters. Indian River Bay is about eight miles long and from two to four broad; it fronts the Atlantic Ocean for three miles, and is separated only by the narrow ridge mentioned above. Millsboro' is on Indian River. Pepper Creek, Vine Creek and White Creek flow into Indian River.

Fresh Pond and Salt Pond are two ponds a few miles south of Indian River—the former is about half a mile in length and two hundred yards wide, and is from twenty-five to thirty feet deep. It has apparently no outlet or streams flowing into it, and contains but few fish. It is separated from the Atlantic by a ridge of sand not more than an eighth of a mile wide. The other, Salt Pond, is about the same size and situated about three miles south of it, and it is also without visible outlet. Its water is salt, and even more so than that of the ocean.

Assawaman Bay is formed by Jefferson Creek, and is long and shallow, about seven miles long and from one to one-half a mile broad, and from three to five feet deep. It is separated from the Atlantic by Fenwick's Island, a long narrow cape and ridge of land which extends in length twenty-three miles.

The streams which flow into the Chesapeake Bay and take their rise in Delaware, are the Nanticoke, the Broad Creek and the Pokomoke. Seaford finds water communication with the Chesapeake Bay down the Nanticoke. Portsville is reached by Broad Creek, and the Cypress Swamp is reached by the Pokomoke. Back Creek, the Bohemia and the Sassafras, in New Castle County; the Chester, the Choptank and the Marshy Hope, in Kent County; and the Wicomico in Sussex, all take their rise in the Sandy Ridge of Delaware and discharge their waters into the Chesapeake,—they all belong more properly to Maryland than to Delaware.

The lines of railroad in Delaware reach every locality and give the people every facility of transportation. The State has over three hundred miles of railroad, and the respective companies are treated more fully elsewhere in another chapter.

The waters of the Chesapeake and Delaware Bays are connected by the *Chesapeake and Delaware Canal*, navigable for coasting vessels and propeller steamers. This canal extends from Delaware City, forty six miles below Philadelphia, to Chesapeake City, on Back Creek, a navigable branch of Elk River, in Maryland. The canal is thirteen and a half miles in length, sixty-six feet wide at the top and ten feet deep. It has two tide and two left lift locks, and is located four miles through a deep cut ninety feet in depth; it was completed in 1828 at a cost of two million two hundred and fifty thousand dollars, and has since proven a source of incalculable value to the producers of the surrounding country in furnishing an outlet to the markets of the large cities.

A ship canal has been contemplated for many years between the two bays, for which a company was chartered by Maryland and by Delaware, and the line located from the Sassafras River to the Delaware Bay. Beyond securing the right of way nothing has been done. Salem Creek and the Delaware River have been connected by a canal.

Delaware is an agricultural State; a part of it is in a high state of cultivation. Beside wheat, Indian corn and other grain, peaches are grown in immense quantities and sent over the country: small fruits are also raised for transportation. In

the northern part of the State are numerous manufactories. Wilmington is the principal centre of industry. New Castle, also, has important rolling-mills, and cotton and woollen factories. On Brandywine Creek are some of the finest flouring-mills in the United States, to which vessels drawing eight feet of water can come. The foreign trade of the State is effected chiefly through Philadelphia, Baltimore and New York; so that its direct foreign trade is very inconsiderable.

CHAPTER II.

THE GEOLOGY OF DELAWARE.[1]

During the years 1837 and 1838, Prof. Jas. C. Booth, in accordance with an act of the State Legislature, made a geological survey of Delaware, the results of which were published in a report that appeared in 1841. This old memoir is of great value, both from the accuracy of the author's observations and his minute attention to detail; we cannot, therefore, expect to take anything from the character of this work, our aim being to so completely reconstruct our geology as to bring it into sympathy with results in adjacent States.

The formation represented within the bounds of the State are Archean, Cretaceous, Tertiary and Quaternary. The relations and positions of the several divisions of these formations are represented in the accompanying table, also the thickness of each. It will be understood that the formation oldest in age and order of deposition is placed at the bottom.

AGE.	GENERAL SERIES	DELAWARE SERIES.
Quaternary or Modern.	Modern.	Big Clay Alluvium.
	Post Glacial.	
	Glacial.	Delaware Gravels—10–40'.
Tertiary.	Pliocene.	Blue Clay—3—10'. Glass Sand—40'.
	Miocene.	White Potter's Clay—10' -20'.
	Eocene.	
Cretaceous.	Upper.	Middle Marl Bed—120'.
	Middle.	Indurate Marl Bed (Red Sand of New Jersey)—140'.
	Lower.	Lower Marl Bed—60'. Plastic Clays (Potomac Formation)—150'.
Archean.	Archean.	Mica Schists and Gneisses, with Eruptive Gabbros and Gabbro—Diorites.
		Magnesian Marble.
		Quartzite.

[1] Contributed by Prof. Frederick D. Chester, of Delaware College.

The geology of the State of Delaware is comparatively simple. The oldest Archean rocks cover all that portion of the State which lies to the north of the Philadelphia, Wilmington and Baltimore Railroad, where they are tilted at high angles, contorted and overthrown. The region is one of great interest, and offers to the field geologist problems of such moment as to make it a classic field in American geology. Resting upon the eroded edges of the Azoic rocks are successive series of plastic clays, sand marls and green sands, of Cretaceous age, which form quite uniform strata dipping at a low angle to the southeast. This belt, having a width of about eighteen miles, extends from the Archean hills to the latitude of Noxontown mill pond, just south of Middletown. The Cretaceous is succeeded by a stratum of white or lead colored clay having a thickness of ten to twenty feet.

This continues as far south as Murderkill Creek, and from fossiliferous evidence is probably Miocene. South of Murderkill Creek, the Miocene is succeeded by three to ten feet of light or dark blue clay, beneath which is a uniform stratum of fine white glass sand of at least forty feet in thickness. That all the State south of Murderkill is later Pliocene rather than Modern, as the older writers have claimed, has, we think, been well demonstrated. All the beds of the Tertiary lie in a nearly horizontal position, dipping at a still lower angle than the Cretaceous, and probably unconformable to the same.

Covering all of the foregoing formations, and reaching up the flanks of the Azoic hills to the height of two hundred feet or more above tide is a layer of sand and gravel, which to the north is of a coarse red nature, and to the south is fine and white. These gravels are of Quaternary age, and have been styled by the author the Delaware Gravels and Estuary Sands, respectively. Along the river and bay shores is also the belt of bog clay, which is modern, and of more recent origin than the Gravels.

THE ARCHEAN.—Generally speaking, the southern line of the Azoic or Archean rocks is the limit of the "highlands," but in certain places they extend well into more level regions. Beginning with a point upon the Maryland boundary, a little north of where the latter is cut by the Mason and Dixon line, the limit of the rocks runs in a northeast direction, cutting through the western end of Newark, and following the northern boundary of the town. Thence it runs close to the south shore of White Clay Creek to a distance of two miles beyond Roseville, where it makes an abrupt bend to the north, until at Stanton the rocks cease to be found. A mile back of the railway station, they again appear, continuing to a point about a mile back of Newport, where their course runs slightly

to the southeast, crossing the Wilmington turnpike just before it is intersected by the Wilmington Northern Railroad; thence it follows the turnpike through the southern half of the city, when it turns abruptly south to the river.

The character of the country covered by the Archean rocks is distinctly hilly, and stands in strong contrast to the low-lying region to the south. The rocks, however, are too uniform in texture and structure to cause marked topographic outlines. The region is rather rolling, or the hills low and undulating, between which are corresponding bowl shaped depressions. The elevation of this highland region varies between two hundred and three hundred and fifty feet above tide, gradually increasing to the north.

The Archean area of the State can be divided into two nearly equal areas. First, a southern club-shaped area of eruptive gabbros and hyperites with associated amphibole rocks, and Second, an upper elliptical area of softer micaceous gneisses and schists.

Almost the whole of Brandywine Hundred, and the southern half of Christiana Hundred are covered by the rocks of the first class. To the west of Brandywine Springs these rocks, however, taper out into a narrow belt of not over a quarter of a mile in width, which runs along the southern limit of the Archean to beyond Newark.

Another interesting development of the same rocks occurs to the southwest of Red Mills, and thence to the well-known elevations called Iron and Chestnut Hills. The typical hypersthenic gabbro or hyperite of the club-shaped area just described is represented by the so-called "Brandywine granite," which is quarried to such an extensive degree in the neighborhood of Wilmington. It is a rock of dark bluish gray or bluish black color of great hardness and firmness, and is without doubt one of the most valuable and durable stones in existence.[1]

This rock has been studied in detail by the writer, and from its wide variation in composition and structural characters is of peculiar interest. The rock, as studied under the microscope, is found to consist of a granular mixture of *hypersthene, diallage plagioclase feldspar* (labradorite), with accessory *quartz, biotite hornblende, magnetite, pyrite and apatite.*

The most remarkable fact observed in the study of these rocks is the intimate association of highly schistose black hornblende rock with these massive gray gabbros. The black hornblende rock is, after past microscopic studies, found to be but an extreme stage of variation affecting to a greater or less degree the whole gabbro mass. Hornblende, which is the true gabbro is but a rare or accessory constituent, is found to increase in amount until the hypersthene rock passes into a nearly pure hornblende feldspar rock, which from its schistose or banded structure makes it a hornblende gneiss. In the same way it is found that the true gabbros occur in all stages of transition into rocks distinctly granitic in character, or more nearly like many of the European norites or the trap granulites of Saxony.

The massive gabbros, best exposed in the extensive quarries of Brandywine Hundred, are entirely massive in structure, or with an entire absence of those planes of bedding which characterize sedimentary deposits. All evidence obtained in the field and with the microscope confirms the belief that they are truly eruptive, and that the rock was at one time in a more or less molten state, in which condition it was probably forced up through the older mica schists which lie to the north and which also lie buried to the south beneath younger clays of the cretaceous. The banded or schistose structure prevalent in the associated hornblende rocks proves also that the rocks of this gabbro belt have been subjected to great pressure, a pressure which the microscope shows was great enough to flatten and elongate certain of the mineral constituents of the rock and to crush others into fragments.

To the north of the area of gabbros and hornblende rocks, and resting upon the latter, is an extensive formation of highly micaceous slaty rocks, so easily friable as to crumble to the touch, and which break into a loose sandy loam of great richness.

The rocks of the mica schist belt are all stratified with variations of bedding, from that as thin as slate, in the mica schists, to that of a heavily bedded character in more highly metamorphosed forms. Both strike and dip in these rocks are subject to great variation. Variations of strike in this case proving that the elevating force acted very unequally, showing itself in a twisting and undulation of the out-cropping edges of the rock. Variations of dip enabling the geologist, by plotting upon paper those observed along any line of section, to show that the micaceous rocks of Delaware have been pressed into a series of folds or waves, like the wrinkles in a piece of cloth, by an enormous lateral pressure, a pressure which resulted in the elevation of the Blue Ridge from New England to Alabama, of which uplift the crystalline rocks of Delaware form a part.

The mica schists and gneisses of Delaware form a continuation of the so-called Philadelphia Gneiss belt, which covers the greater part of Delaware County, and the southern portion of Montgomery, Bucks and Chester Counties in Pennsylvania.

These rocks have been the subject of much controversy, and their age is still undecided. By many they are regarded as altered Palaeozoic sedi-

[1] Bulletin, No. 41, U. S. Geological Survey, Washington.

ments, while others continue to regard them as of Archean age. This latter designation is based upon their lithological similarity to many of the older crystalline schists. They have hence been referred to the White Mountain, or the Rocky Mountain series, one of the upper members of the Archean.

Associated with the softer slaty micaceous rocks are probably intrusive masses of coarse grained granite, which vary in thickness for several inches up to many feet. These granites often become so highly feldspathic as to possess considerable economic value, inasmuch as the feldspar frequently becomes decomposed into Kaolin.

The celebrated deposits around Hockessin are of this character. Dixon's quarry near Wilmington has produced very fine yields of feldspar. A very notable vein cuts across the road leading up the Brandywine, about one and a half miles from the head of the State. Its width is about twenty feet, and the material a mixture of red orthoclase albite, blue quartz and muscovite. The rock is quarried for the valuable feldspar, used in the manufacture of artificial teeth.

Quartites are also imbedded with the mica schists and when pure and white are worked under the name of *flint*. At Tweed's Mill, above Newark, this rock is ground into a fine flour, when it is shipped for use in the manufacture of porcelain ware.

It is an interesting point to note that these quartz veins are frequently of a cellular character, when they are quite similar to many gold bearing veins in rocks of like age in Virginia, North Carolina and Georgia. Hence it is not at all improbable to suppose that gold bearing veins may some day be discovered upon the farms of Northern Delaware.

Another common associate of the mica schists is a black hornblende rock interbedded with the latter, and forming masses often several hundred feet in thickness. In places, this alternation of hornblende and micaceous rocks is frequent.

THE CRETACEOUS.—The cretaceous of Delaware, a continuation of the same formation as developed in New Jersey, extends across the state as a northeast and southwest belt, with a breadth of eighteen, and a length of from fifteen to twenty miles. The northern limit of the belt has already been traced out as making the southern boundary of the Archean. The southern limit was a little to the south of, and parallel with, Appoquinimink Creek, cutting through the centre of Noxontown millpond, and thence proceeds in a straight southwesterly direction. The different subdivisions of the cretaceous form uniform beds dipping at a low angle to the southeast. This dip was carefully measured at the deep cut, along the Chesapeake and Delaware canal, and found to be at this point at the rate of forty-five feet to the mile.

These subdivisions will be noticed in the chronological table at the opening of this article and will be described in order.

THE PLASTIC CLAYS.—This formation is the thickest member of the cretaceous whose northern limit corresponds with the upper border of the cretaceous. Its southern line begins a few miles south of New Castle, and extends in a southwesterly direction to just below Red Lion, crossing the railroad between Porter's and Kirkwood, and cutting the State line about two miles north of Chesapeake City.

Although of so much importance, it is, owing to the great thickness of the overlying gravels, rarely exposed, and even when more favorable opportunities are offered, but a few feet of the characteristic Red Clay appear above the surface.

The clay is more generally red and highly plastic; in other cases it is mottled, and again white and sandy like fire clays.

The best exposures are along the lower levels of the gullies cut by the creeks of upper New Castle County, particularly along Red Lion Creek. Occasionally the characteristic red clay comes to the surface at points along the roads. The hills to the east and north of Christiana are formed of these clays, which outcrop very frequently along the road leading from Christiana to New Castle.

Judging from the many points where we have found this clay exposed we are convinced that it has an important economic value for the manufacture of terra cotta ware. The supply is practically inexhaustible, and the clay is to all appearance as good as similar clays worked in New Jersey for manufacture into terra cotta ware.

The plastic clays of Delaware have within the past year been correlated with the so-called Potomac formation of Maryland and Virginia, and have important relations to certain older gravel deposits which will be dwelt upon later.

SAND MARL.—This is a deposit of a loamy yellow siliceous sand, with which is mixed some green sand (marl), whose thickness is about ninety feet. It rests upon the plastic clay formation, and covers that part of New Castle County, lying between the southern limit of the plastic clays, and the canal.

THE MARL BEDS.—The marl beds cover a comparatively small area in the State, and are practically limited to that division of New Castle county called St. George's Hundred.

The first important outcrops of green sand occur along the Delaware and Chesapeake Canal, the channel of which cuts deeply into the formation. Its northern limit, as determined by old marl pits, runs approximately parallel with the canal, keeping a distance of from a quarter of a mile, to a mile. From this line the marl extends southward to another boundary parallel with, and about

one mile south of Appoquinimink Creek, where it gives place to the tertiary clays.

The divisions of the green sand formation are found, with two exceptions, to correspond with those made by the New Jersey Survey. The chronological table at the opening of this article gives the subdivisions of the marl beds.

LOWER MARL BED.—This stratum, which extends as a narrow belt on each side of the canal, is found to outcrop along the entire length of the same, rising about a foot above the surface of the water, and farther west to the height of twenty feet. The lowest layer in this deposit is a tough bluish black marl, which, upon drying, turns to a lighter, ashen or earthy color, when it is found to be made of a mixture of green sand, siliceous sand and argillaceous matter. The solid particles are coated with chalky carbonate of lime, which, under the microscope, appears as a fine white powder of a granular character.

Overlying this last layer is a shelly layer of about three feet in thickness, and containing the characteristic fossils of the Lower Marl Bed of New Jersey.

Above this layer, which we have called the "Black Argillo-micaceous Marl," to the west of the Delaware railroad, it is exposed in the "Deep Cut," where its characters can be well studied. This black marl is composed of minute sharp glassy particles of quartz, coated with a grayish dust, and associated with a few green sand particles of unusual firmness, together with a considerable quantity of minute scales of muscovite mica.

INDURATED MARL BED.—The northern limit of this belt, which is also the southern limit of the lower marl bed, starts near the mouth of Scott's run, and thence keeps parallel with the canal to the railroad, where it begins slightly to diverge, cutting the headwaters of the northern branch of the Bohemia river. The southern limit of the belt can only be approximately outlined, but as can best be determined, runs from Port Penn through the headwaters of Drawyer's Creek, and crosses the Maryland line four miles below the head of Bohemia River. The deposit is divided into two layers: 1st, Lower layer of reddish siliceous sand, with some green sand, which occupies the upper border of the belt a little south of the canal; and 2d, An upper layer of partly decomposed or indurated marl, of a rusty green color when dry, which underlies most of the area of the belt.

THE MIDDLE MARL BED.—This belt crosses the State with a uniform breadth of three and a half miles, the northern line running from Port Penn, a little north of Drawyer's Creek, and crossing the State line four miles south of the Bohemia River. The southern line crosses the center of the Noxontown mill-pond, keeping parallel with and a little south of Appoquinimink Creek. The middle marl is divided into three very distant layers. (1) A lowermost pure green sand covering most of the belt, and well-exposed along Drawyer's Creek and Silver Run. (2) An intermediate layer of friable shells, from three to ten feet, exposed at the head of Noxontown mill-pond and along the south side of Appoquinimink Creek. (3) An upper yellow or reddish-yellow sand, occupying the southern verge of the belt.

THE ECONOMIC VALUE OF THE MARL.—The area covered by the marl beds has already been set forth with sufficient exactness to enable one to know where marl can be found. The supply within the area, underlaid by it, is probably inexhaustible. Its value as a fertilizer makes it worthy of consideration. Green sand is composed of grains of the mineral glauconite, mixed with greater or less quantities of impurities, as clay, siliceous sand, and mineral particles.

Glauconite is a compound of silica, iron, protoxide and potash; the quantity of potash ranging from four to twelve per cent. Many of the New Jersey green sand marls contain from one to two and a half per cent. of phosphoric acid, and there is no reason to doubt but that the Delaware marls, which are geologically identical with those of New Jersey, may be equally rich in this last substance. When used, liberal dressings of the land should be made before plowing, in this way a large amount of potash is introduced into the soil, which, while at first insoluble, or not directly available, becomes slowly set free by decomposition, and renders it available to plants.

The effects of the marl are, therefore, lasting, and when applied every few years permanent. A careful inquiry into the results obtained from the application of marl upon some of the Delaware farms has convinced the writer that good results can be reached by its use. As a direct and immediate source of potash, green sand is not to be compared, by the rule of commercial valuation, with the easily soluble *kainit*; but as an easily available and cheap material for the culture and permanent improvement of land, green sand marl is a material worthy of the attention of those farmers of the State whose lands are underlaid by it.

THE TERTIARY.—All that portion of the State lying south of the lower limit of the marl beds, as already pointed out, is underlaid by the Tertiary, of both Miocene and probable Pliocene age.

The northern half of this area, which is bordered on the south by a line running not far from the course of Murderkill Creek, is underlaid by a drab or white clay deposit of from ten to twenty feet in thickness, so far as can be determined from such well-records as have come to the writer's attention. This deposit contains in places abundant fossils sufficient to determine its Miocene age; it also overlies, probably unconformably, the marl. This

highly plastic clay can be seen only along the creeks of Kent County and lower New Castle County.

Along the creeks at Smyrna and at Dover it is frequently exposed, where its qualities can be well studied. In its purer forms it would make an admirable potter's clay, and considering its unlimited supply, underlying as it does the whole of Kent County, its value for that purpose is worthy of the consideration of potters abroad and at home. South of the latitude of Murderkill Creek, representing the whole of Sussex County, we meet with a later deposit of the Tertiary of probably Pliocene age.

This is represented by an uppermost layer of blue clay, and an under deposit of glass sand.

The blue clay varies in thickness from three to ten feet, and often runs into a black bog mud, while less often it becomes of a light drab hue. In its upper portion it contains nests of the modern oyster in a very friable condition, and which Prof. Heilprin, of the Philadelphia Academy of Natural Sciences, considers as of a somewhat antique character.

Underlying the blue clay is the glass sand, which, so far as the writer's knowledge goes, has been penetrated to a depth of forty feet.

It is a pure white glass sand, and would be of great value in manufacturing were it easily accessible. It seldom, if ever, comes to the surface, owing to the overlying clay deposit, which rises to just about tide-level. Where the uppermost gravels and loams of Sussex County are thin, however, it might be found near enough to the surface to be readily worked. At any rate, this point is well worthy of the time necessary for prospecting.

Iron Ore Beds.—The ore beds of the State are found only in New Castle and Sussex Counties, and are entirely bog-ores, which are of two kinds "dome" and "layer." The former is found mostly in New Castle County; the latter in Sussex County.

The outlying spurs of the Archean Rocks, Iron and Chestnut Hills, which rise abruptly above the plain in the vicinity of White Clay Creek in Pencader Hundred, New Castle County, were known to contain ore from the earliest settlement of that part of the State, and the former is mentioned in official records and papers in 1681. In 1725, a forge and furnace were built at the place, where ore was mined and smelted for about ten years. They were then abandoned, and in 1841, the pits and adjacent property were purchased by David Wood, an iron-master of Philadelphia, by whom they were operated for many years, and were known as "Wood's Ore Pits." In 1872, the property passed to the proprietors of the Principio Furnace, by whom they are still owned and operated.

Ore was found on Chestnut Hill, (a knoll about a mile west of Iron Hill,) many years ago. In 1873, the work of mining and shipping ore was begun on quite a large scale, and continued until 1884.

In Sussex County, along the streams that flow westerly into the Chesapeake Bay and largely in Nanticoke Hundred, bog-ores (layer) have been known to exist from about the middle of the last century, and from 1763 to 1776, large quantities of ore were raised, smelted and the iron shipped to England. The blockading of the Chesapeake, compelled the abandonment of the furnaces, and the mining of ore and the manufacture of iron, was not again renewed until the beginning of the present century, when forges and furnaces were built and large quantities of ore raised, some of which was smelted in the forges in the vicinity but the larger portion shipped to New Jersey. The lands from which the later forges procured their ores were those worked before the Revolution. Collins forge, which went out of blast about 1850, was the last to abandon the manufacture of iron in Sussex County. Many of the lands, about 1821, passed to iron masters of New Jersey, who raised and shipped the ore to their furnaces in that State long after the abandonment of all the forges in the lower parts of Delaware. No ore has been raised in Sussex and Kent County for several years, as the visible supply was nearly exhausted; but new deposits are slowly being made, and at some future time the iron industry may again be made a source of profit to the State.

It may be of interest to the people of the region where these ores are found, to know in what other localities similar ores are worked and how they are formed. Professor J. P. Lesley, an eminent authority, in the "Iron Manufacturers Guide," published in 1859, enumerated the different kinds of ore as follows:

"1. The primary, specular, magnetic red oxide, and
"2. The brown hematites.
"3. The fossil ore of the Upper Silurian Rocks.
"4. The carbonates, especially of the coal measures.
"5. The bog ores of the present surface."

Professor Lesley continues to speak of the formations and deposits:

"We have the cretaceous, tertiary and post tertiary deposits to the left of the great central belt as we go south, covering the southern half of New Jersey, all Delaware and eastern Maryland, eastern Virginia, North and South Carolina, two thirds of Georgia and Alabama, nearly all of Mississippi, the western part of Tennessee and Kentucky between the Mississippi and Tennessee Rivers, and west of the Mississippi River all the country south of Missouri (except a part of Arkansas) as far as the Rio Grande, and northward all between the 99° of longitude and the Rocky Mountains, far into the British possessions, excepting only the Black Hills and a few other and still smaller islands of older rocks which stood above the cretaceous and tertiary oceans, or were projected through its deposits from below. Bog iron ore characterizes this great belt in New Jersey, Delaware and Maryland, and in the west.

"Bog ore is a deposit of every age upon the actual surface at the time. In the present age the process assumes the principal forms the dome and the layer. The former is a mechanical, the latter an organic process. The former takes place at the issues where water springs from ferri-

ferous rocks; the latter at the bottom of peat bogs. Throughout the coal measure areas of the west, where the rocks are outspread for thousands of square leagues in nearly horizontal strata, and their edges exposed upon the sinuous and terraced slopes of innumerable valleys, in alternate bands of slate and sandstone, coal, limestone, iron and clay, the waters, filtering out between these rocks in rows of fountains, deposit the peroxide of iron in those moist places which ferns and mosses most affect, and thus in course of time, domes of wet, spongy, elastic bog ores, composed of an intimate admixture of three elements,—the dead and living stems and twigs of vegetation, fine, muddy clay, and the peroxide of iron of the spring water. These domes flatten as their bases expand and sometimes cover a quarter of an acre of the ground, where that is favorable to their reception; for this purpose is required an even, broad and very gently sloping terrace in front of an escarpment of ferruginous sandstone based on clay or coal or on some considerable bed of iron ore. When drained and dried these spongy masses make a favorite fluxing ore for the charcoal furnaces in their neighborhood; but owing to the sulphur they commonly contain make other neutral ores run red-short, and, therefore, should be mixed only with cold short sand ores. By one of these happy adaptations which excite our pleasurable admiration for the laws which govern the material world, these bog deposits fortunately are most common in regions which exhibit heavy siliceous ores of cold short temper."

The ores of this nature mentioned above, as the "dome" and formed by a mechanical process, are found mostly in the northwestern part of Delaware in the vicinity of Iron Hill. Professor James C. Booth in his report of 1841 says:

"This elevation consists of clays, sand and gravel, and derives its name from the abundance of boulders of iron-stone and ferruginous quartz scattered over its flanks, the latter of which was probably at one time of good quality, but through exposure to atmospheric agents, has been rendered valueless. An excavation has been made on the summit for the extraction of iron ore to the depth of 40 to 50 feet, which enables us to estimate the character of this singular hill. . . .

"Nodules of iron ore are abundantly distributed through the whole formation; it is of a chestnut-brown color (sometimes bluish-black from the presence of manganese), hard and tough; may be considered a moderately hard ore, being both siliceous and argillaceous; the nodules frequently enclose an ochrey clay, more rarely a black earth containing manganese. Large quantities of the ore have already been exported."

Professor Lesley continues in regard to layer ore:

"But ore of another kind is deposited upon the white clay or white sand floor of peat bogs, lakes and swamps of every kind in tertiary, and other low and gravelly parts of the earth's surface. In Eastern Massachusetts the oldest furnaces were built to smelt such ores. In New Jersey and Delaware they have been wrought many years. The southern shore of Lake Erie is lined with furnaces built on deposits of this order. In true peat bogs a cake or pan of peroxide of iron is found at the bottom, and every tree-trunk is dyed black with it. The waters which feed these bogs bring into them from the ferruginous sand hills, by which they are inlocked, enough of iron to supply certain microscopic animals with the material they require for their ferro-siliceous shields, and these, upon the death of the little creatures, fall in a fine powder to the bottom of the bog or are carried into the pores of the timber it contains."[1]

The ores of this State are not, however, those formed in peat swamps but are better described by Professor James C. Booth in his report in 1841. Under the head of "Upper Sands," he writes:

"The ores of iron found in various parts of Sussex County in considerable quantity, and particularly on the dividing ridge, claim attention as having yielded and still introducing some revenue into the State. The most remarkable are those situated a few miles northwest of Georgetown, near the sources of several streams flowing westerly, which, being on elevated and level land, spread themselves in broad and shallow basins covered with a stratum of black argillaceous mould. The ore found below this black soil is of various kinds, hard or solid, gravelly and loam ore. The hard variety, which exists in great abundance, forms a solid substratum to the mould from six to eight inches or more in thickness; it is hard, moderately tough, of a rich brown color and resinous lustre, with an uneven, conchoidal fracture; sometimes compact; often cellular in structure; composed essentially of peroxide of iron and water. An analysis of this variety of ore from the Clowes bed (in the western part of Broadkiln Hundred), performed by E. Mayer, yielded peroxide of iron, 80 per cent.; water, 15 per cent.; silica, 5 per cent., and of alumina a trace, which may be viewed as the average composition of the same kind found in other localities. The amount of metallic iron in the above is 55½ per cent., but when subjected to roasting the remaining ore will yield nearly 66 per cent. The gravelly ore consists of irregular masses of a similar ore of the size of a nut and smaller, disseminated in a yellow ferruginous loam, but containing rather more argillaceous matter, is softer and more readily worked.

"The loam ore, which is still softer than the preceding, is a yellow ochre or clay highly charged with hydrated peroxide of iron. For working in the furnace the several kinds are mingled together, which not only facilitates the reduction by fluxing, but results in the production of a better quality of iron. Various names have been given to the ores of Sussex, more dependent on differences in their external form and other characters of the ore, which first renders itself perceptible in the metal; it is that matter which forms a cold, short metal, and, in all probability, is a compound of phosphorus or arsenic, but analysis has not hitherto detected

[1] "Ehrenberg has detected in the ochreous matters that form bog iron ore immense numbers of organic bodies which indeed make up the substance of the ochre. They consist of slender articulated plates or threads partly siliceous and partly ferruginous, of what he considered an animalcule, but which are now commonly regarded by naturalists as belonging to the vegetable kingdom."—*Appleton's Cyclopædia.*

their presence in the ore. The hard or solid variety is very apt to produce such a metal, but by mixing with the softer kinds, the result is a good malleable iron when worked in a forge.

"Collins' ore bed, the lowest on the Green Meadow branch of Deep Creek (in Nanticoke Hundred), consists chiefly of a solid loam ore which is principally wrought at Collins' forge—a hard, compact ore, very rich in iron, but said to yield a cold, short metal, and of a small quantity of sandy ore. There are many other deposits of ore in various parts of Sussex, such as that on Green branch, about ten miles west of Millsborough, the best of which is in balls or nodules and yields good metal; that on Burton's branch, one mile west of the same town, making a cold, short iron; that on Little Creek, near Laurel, and others in which the characters are referable to those given above. . . .

"The raising of ore in quantity was commenced about 1814, since which time nearly 200,000 tons have been raised, about 100,000 of which were exported, introducing not less than $600,000 into the State."

At the time Mr. Booth made his report little was known concerning the manufacture of iron before the Revolution and mining of the bog ores. A full account of the mining of ore and manufacture of iron will be found in histories of the hundreds in which the furnaces and forges were located.

THE QUATERNARY.—Overlying all of the formations of the State, and forming its soil, is a broad sheet of gravelly deposits, whose average thickness is about twenty-five feet. In New Castle County these gravels have received the name of Delaware gravels, from their identity with like deposits along the Delaware River valley. Here we distinguish two layers—an upper brick clay, called the Philadelphia brick clay, and an under red sand and gravel. The brick clay layer has a thickness varying from two to six feet, but with an average of about three feet. It varies from a stiff brick clay to a loam of remarkable richness, which forms the soil of New Castle County. It often becomes quite gravelly, containing frequently quartzose boulders and cobble-stones of huge size. The red sand has an average thickness of about twenty feet, and is characterized by its color. The sand is often quite fine, again coarse and running into gravel; it shows frequent cross bedding, and indicates the agency of swift, shifting currents in its deposition. The Delaware gravels extend up the slopes of the Archean hills to an average elevation of two hundred feet, which represents the height of the waters of Quaternary time.

Over Kent County the gravels maintain an equal thickness; the brick-clay layer, however, becomes more sandy, and more generally a sandy loam, this deposit forming the rich peach land of Kent County.

In Southern Kent County the two members of the Quaternary gravels merge into a single deposit of a highly gravelly or loamy character, this feature continuing over the whole of Sussex County.

To explain the mode of deposition of these gravels, we must understand that during the Glacial epoch, what is now the Delaware River had its source near Belvidere, at the lower limit of the ice sheet; that it stood one hundred and fifty feet higher than at present, and had a width of something like ten miles.

At the same time, what is now the Delaware and Maryland Peninsula, became submerged, forming an estuary, like the Chesapeake; into this the swollen Delaware River emptied, carrying with it its loads of detritus, which it spread out over the Peninsula.

Down this Quaternary river icebergs floated, carrying burdens of boulders, which they dropped at points over the entire State.

Besides this universal sheet of gravel covering all three counties, we find over the high Archean hills isolated patches of gravel, which are much older. This is called the Potomac formation by W. T. McGee, from its fine exposures along the Potomac River. McGee has shown that these isolated patches of gravel are contemporaneous with the plastic clays of the Lower Cretaceous, when the clays extended farther north, so as to reach over the high hills of Delaware.

The materials of the Potomac gravels are quite like those of the Delaware gravels, but the two can easily be distinguished, from the fact that the Potomac gravel patches reach an elevation of from three hundred to four hundred feet, while the Delaware gravels never reach that elevation, but have a maximum elevation of two hundred and twenty feet above tide.

CHAPTER III.

THE ABORIGINES.

A VAST, mysterious, barbarian race, the aborigines of the Western Continent, emerged gradually from blank obscurity into the clear light of knowledge, and began to figure upon the pages of history with the other peoples of the earth, when the pioneer navigators of the Old World touched the shores of the New.

At the dawn of the historic era, which so far as

the region that we here treat of is concerned, had its first gleaming in the advent of Henry Hudson upon the Delaware and the North River, the Indians occupying the country watered by these great streams were chiefly of the Algonquins, Lenni-Lenape or, as they have been more commonly called, Delawares,[1] and the Andastes, Iroquois or Five or Six Nations.[2]

The former extended from the lower Hudson to the Potomac, but they appear to have been centralized upon the Delaware River and Bay, particularly the former, while their kinsmen the Nanticokes had their home upon the waters of the latter and occupied at that early period much of the territory now included in the southern parts of Delaware and Maryland and the eastern shore of the Chesapeake, in the latter region being interspersed with the Mangures or Mingoes; often these were called the Susquehannas. The Lenni Lenape may thus be said, in a general way, to have held dominion over the forest-covered hills and plains in what is now southeastern New York, nearly the whole of New Jersey, all of Pennsylvania east of the Susquehanna and much of the region included in the State which is the especial province of this work. It was not, however, an undisputed dominion. Their great northern neighbors, the Iroquois, were their implacable enemies, and often waged war against them, repeatedly reducing and humiliating them, so that by a century and a half after the first authentic knowledge of the Lenape was obtained, they had sunk into comparative insignificance. The Iroquois occupied the region of the Upper Hudson upon its west shore, and their villages sparsely dotted the wilderness northward, to and beyond the St. Lawrence, and westward to the great lakes, their principal population being within what is now the State of New York.

When Henry Hudson, in September, 1609, after entering and examining the Delaware Bay, skirted the Atlantic Coast, sailed up the royal river that bears his name and rode at anchor in the majestic tide, he touched the northern and eastern extremity of the land of the Lenape. The Indians whom he met there and upon the island where it came about that New York was built, were of that nation, and with them were some of their friends the Mohicans or Mohegans.

Full of simple sublimity and lofty poetry was the conception these savages first formed of the strange pale-faced men, in dress, bearing and speech different from their own, who came in the "winged canoes" to their shores. In their astonishment they called out to one another, "Behold! the Gods are come to visit us!" They at first considered these hitherto unknown beings as messengers of peace sent to them from the abode of the Great Spirit, and welcomed and honored them with sacrificial feasts and with gifts. Hudson recorded that above the Highlands "they found a very loving people and very old men, and were well used."[3]

The gallant Dutch navigator and discoverer was not to be outdone in civility and generosity. He gave the wondering savages presents and put to their innocent lips bottles of spirits—very probably Holland schnapps gin,—thus introducing at the very inception of his acquaintance with them one of the destructive and important characteristics of civilization,—the art of becoming drunk. The savages reciprocated by extending the tobacco-pipe, and thus the Old World and the New each gave the other a much-prized new vice.

As has been heretofore intimated, actual knowledge of these people—their history—begins with the coming of Henry Hudson, and such information as we have concerning them in after-years is afforded by the other early adventurers and settlers along the Atlantic seaboard. Of the origin or derivation of the race—of its early movements—there is absolutely no data, only an illimitable field for wild conjecture; and concerning the affairs of the several nations, even during the period closely preceding the discovery and occupancy of the country, the Indians were able to give only vague and fanciful traditions, some of them corroborated as to essentials by evidence from other sources. Of this class is the Delawares' traditionary account of the migration of their people and the Mengwe or Iroquois from the far west to the east, which there is external evidence for believing in the main true. We present this with some other Delaware legends before drawing upon the accounts of the Dutch, Swedes and English for a description of the Indian character and manner of life.

The Lenape claimed great antiquity and superiority over other aboriginal nations. Indeed, the name Lenni Lenape (sometimes Renni Renappi) signifies "the original people" or "men of men"—a race of human beings who are the same that they were in the beginning, unchanged and unmixed. They asserted that they had existed from the beginning of time, and many Indian nations, the Miamis, Wyandots, Shawanese and more than

[1] "The name 'Delawares,' which we give to these people," says Heckewelder, "is known in their own language; * * they thought the whites had given it to them in derision but they were reconciled to it, on being told that it was the name of a great white chief, Lord de la Warre, which had been given to them and their river. As they are fond of being named after distinguished men, they were rather pleased, considering it as a compliment."

They called themselves Lenni Lenape, which means in their language "the original people."

The Dutch called them *Mahikanders*; the French, *Abenakis*.

[2] The "*Five* Nations" became the "*Six* Nations" about 1712, by the incorporation with their body of the refugee southern tribe, the Tuscaroras.

[3] The *Lenni Lenape* handed down the tradition of their reception of the Dutch, and always maintained that none of the enemy—the Iroquois, or Five Nations—were present, though they sent for the Mohicans, to participate in the joyous occasion.

twenty other tribes or nations, admitted their antiquity and called them "Grandfathers." Their tradition of the advent of the nations upon the Delaware and the eastern sea-coast is poetical and interesting. They say that a great many hundred years ago their ancestors had dwelt in a far-away country beyond the Father of Waters—the *Mamecsi Sipu*, or Mississippi—and near the wide sea, in which the sun sank every night. They had, very long before the white men came to their country traveled eastward, seeking a fairer land, of which their prophets had told them, and as they neared the western shore of the great Mississippi they met another mighty nation of men, of whose very existence they had been in ignorance. These people they say were the *Mengwe* or Iroquois, and this was the first meeting of these two nations, destined to remain in the east for centuries as neighbors and enemies. They journeyed on together, neither in warfare nor friendship, but presently they found that they must unite their forces against a common enemy. East of the Father of Waters they discovered a race called the Allegwi, occupying a vast domain, and not only stronger in number than themselves, but equally brave and more skilled in war. They had, indeed, fortified towns and numerous strongholds.[1] The Allegwi permitted a part of the emigrating nations to pass the border of their country, and having thus caused a division of their antagonists, fell upon them with great fury to annihilate them. But the main body of the allied Mengwe and Lenape rallying from the first shock, made resistance with such desperate energy that they defeated the Allegwi, and sweeping them forward as the wind does the dry leaves of the forest, they invaded the country, and during a long and bloody war won victory after victory, until they had not only entirely vanquished, but well-nigh exterminated them. Their country, in which their earth fortifications remained the only reminder of the dispersed nation, was occupied by the victors. After this both the Mengwe and the Lenape ranged eastward, the former keeping to the northward, and the latter to the southward, until they reached respectively the Hudson and the Delaware, which they called the *Lenape Wihittuck*, or River of the Lenape.[2] Upon its banks, and in the wild region watered by its tributaries, the Lenape found the land they had journeyed in quest of from the setting sun.

Myths as to their origin as members of the human family—their creation—existed among the Delawares in great variety, attesting the proneness of even this barbarian people, in common with all civilized races, to speculate upon the mystery of life and their longing to solve the unknowable. They claim that they emerged from a cave in the earth, like the woodchuck and ground squirrel; to have sprung from a snail that was transformed into a human being and instructed in the mysteries of woodcraft and the hunt by a beneficent spirit, and that subsequently he was received into the lodge of the beaver and married his favorite daughter. According to another legend, a woman fallen or expelled from heaven is hovering in mid-air over a chaos of angry waters, there being no earth to afford her a resting-place. At this critical juncture in the career of the Lenape progenitors, a giant turtle rose from the vasty depths and placed his broad and dome like back at her service, and she descended upon it and made it her abode. The turtle slept upon the surface of the globe-covering sea, barnacles attached themselves to the margin of the shell, the scum of the waters gathered floating fragments of sea-weed, and all of the *flotsam* of the primal ocean accumulated until the dry land grew apace, and after ages had passed, all of that broad expanse which constitutes North America had emerged from the deluge. The woman, worn with watching and with the loneliness of her situation, fell into a deep sleep of vast duration, broken only by a dream in which she was visited by a spirit from her last home above the skies, and of that dream the fruits were sons and daughters, from whom have sprung all the nations of the earth. In another legend the Great Spirit is represented as descending upon the face of the waters in the form of a colossal bird and brooding there until the earth arose, when, exercising its creative power, the Spirit brought into life the plants, the animals and, lastly, man, to whom was given an arrow imbued with mystic potency—a blessing and a safeguard. But the man, by his carelessness, lost the arrow, and the Spirit, grieved and offended, soared away and was no longer seen, and man had thereafter to follow the hunt by means of his own rude devices and combat nature to gain his living. Still another and very prevalent fiction of the Lenape ascribes to the demi-god Manabozho the creation of all the tribes of red men from the carcasses of various animals, reptiles and birds, as the bear, the beaver, the wolf, the serpent, the turtle, the crane, the eagle, etc. Manabozho (also called Measou, Michaboo and Nanabush) was the central figure in the Indian mythology; was the restorer of the world after the deluge, brought on by the wicked-

[1] By many this tradition of the emigration of the Lenni Lenape is believed to have a solid foundation in fact, and the Allegwi are regarded as being the Mound-Builders, whose vast works are numerous along the Mississippi, the Ohio and their tributaries.

[2] The DELAWARE RIVER was called by the Lenni-Lenape *Lenape-wihittuck*, *i. e. the river of the Lenape*. In the language of the Minsi Delawares the name was *Kit hanne*, or *Gichi hanne*, signifying *the main stream in the region of country*. Other names for it in various Indian tongues were Poetanut, Chickohocke, Marbhitten and Mohirrihhicken. The Dutch who were the first white people who sailed up the bay and river named the latter in contra-distinction from the North or Hudson River *Zuydt*, or South River, and they also called it Nassau River and Prince Hendricks and Charles River. The Swedes referred to it as the Swenska Revier, Nya Sverige's Elf, or Nova Swecia Revier (new Swedens River or New Swedeland Stream). The English gave it the present name in honor of Lord de la Warre who was said to have passed the capes in 1610. The bay has also been respectively called Newport, Moys and Godyn's Bay.

ness of the serpent Manitous or evil spirits; was regarded as working all of the mysterious changes in nature, and was supposed to be the king of the whole creation of beasts. He was the son of the west wind and a descendant of the moon He sometimes appeared in the form of a wolf or a bird, and often in that of a man of majestic mien and stature, but his usual manifestation was in the shape of the Gigantic Hare. He had power over the magi; was, in fact, a sorcerer, and united in himself the qualities belonging to Prospero, Ariel and Puck, being sometimes actuated by a spirit of beneficence towards man, and again as an impish elf displaying in ingenious ways insatiable malice and malevolence.

The matter of the derivation of the Indian race has been as variously, if not as wildly and fancifully, speculated upon by scholars as by the red men themselves. William Penn gravely, and with complacent assurance, put forward the hypothesis that the so-called aborigines of America were descendants of the ten lost tribes of Israel, and men of much more pretension of study, and usually confining themselves to the few hard facts that are known concerning this people, have permitted themselves pleasing, if profitless, dalliance with various unsupported theories of their origin. Bancroft argues that a Calmuck or Mongolian immigration was not impossible and, indeed, not improbable, and this hypothesis has found many advocates. Spanish legends have been adduced to confirm this view. M. de Guignes, in a memoir read before the French Academy of Inscriptions, argued with considerable plausibility that the Chinese penetrated America in A.D. 458, and used the description and chart of Fou Sang in proof, and Charles G. Leland, of Philadelphia, eminent as an ethnologist and explorer of the hidden byways of history, has been fascinated by the same half-myth and lent it the approval of his partial credence in his republication of the story of the so-called island of Fou Sang and its inhabitants. De Guignes asserted that the Chinese were familiar with the Straits of Magellan and that the Coreans had a settlement on Terra del Fuego. Another Chinese immigration is assigned to A.D. 1270, the time of the Tartar invasion of the "Central Flowery Kingdom." China, Tartary, Siberia and Kamtschatka, with the Aleutian archipelago, formed a natural route for immigration, though none of the students and speculators who have given it consideration have succeeded in explaining how the hordes of savages were able to make their way through the frozen wastes of Alaska and British North America. Some students, as Williamson, think the Indians of Cingalese or Hindoo origin, and that the Occidental world was peopled from the Oriental world in pre-historic times is very generally admitted upon the strong ground of the close resemblance which the ancient temples of Mexico and Peru bear to those of Egypt and India. But Egypt, India, China and Tartary have not been the only countries of the Eastern Hemisphere to which students of American antiquities have ascribed the origin of the red men. Wales, Ireland, Spain, Scandinavia, Phœnicia and other countries of the Eastern world have been pointed to in turn as the regions in which the mysterious movement of population finally spreading over North America had its origin. The most generally accepted theory is that the Indian race came originally from China. Humboldt thought that in time, "by greater diligence and perseverance, many of the historical problems" concerning this theory might "be cleared up by the discovery of facts with which we have hitherto been entirely unacquainted;"[1] but Prof. W. D. Whitney, one of the most advanced students of our time, is less sanguine. He says that it is "futile to attempt, by the evidence of language, the peopling of the continent from Asia or from any other portion of the world outside. . . . . If our studies shall at length put us in a position to deal with the question of their Asiatic origin, we shall rejoice at it. I do not myself expect that valuable light will ever be shed upon the subject by linguistic evidence; others may be more sanguine, but all must, at any rate, agree that as things are, the subject is in no position to be taken up and discussed with profit." The author from whom we have quoted, notwithstanding his attitude upon this question of Indian origin, is a warm advocate of greater diligence in the study of American antiquities. "Our national duty and honor," he says, "are peculiarly concerned in this matter of the study of aboriginal American languages, as the most fertile and important branch of American archæology. Europeans accuse us, with too much reason, of indifference and inefficiency with regard to preserving memorials of the race whom we have dispossessed and are dispossessing, and to promoting a thorough comprehension of their history."[2]

Reverting from what may seem a digression, to the matters of more immediate interest to the reader—to the Lenape or Delawares as the white man found them on the shores of the bay and river bearing their name—we find cause for regret that the first comers to these shores were not better observers and more accurate chroniclers. Hudson, Captain Cornelis Hendrickson, Captain Jacobson Mey, De Vries, Campanius, Acrelius, William Penn, Gabriel Thomas, Thomas Budd, George Alsop (of Maryland), and others among the early Dutch, Swedish and English adventurers and writers saw the Indians before they had undergone any material change from association

[1] Cosmos, Vol. II., p 610 (note).
[2] "Language and the Study of Languages," by Prof. W. D. Whitney.

with the civilized people, and before they had drunk in with Holland schnapps and English spirits very much of that knowledge which bred suspicion in the savage breast. Had these pioneers of the Delaware region been trained observers and investigators, able to divest themselves of prejudices and to have told what they learned intelligibly, they could have preserved many facts concerning the Indians which now are lost forever. Nearly all of these early writers give speculations, and dreams, and opinions, often exceedingly extravagant and ridiculous, instead of facts. They paid more attention to the Indian's astrology, and fable, and tradition, than to the Indian's manner of living, his social system and his language—the most necessary factor in ethnological study. Some of them mingled most outrageously false statements, made evidently in the utmost seriousness, with the few truths they chronicled. Of this class, the baldest falsifier was Thomas Campanius, of Stockholm, albeit a most interesting *raconteur*, and the preserver of some valuable facts as well as of many more or less interesting statements, exhibiting high inventive genius, as, for instance, Campanius' stories of the rattlesnake which could bite a man's leg off, and of the "sea spiders" (crabs) which had tails like edged swords, with which they could saw down trees. The way in which Campanius allows his imagination to enlarge upon and add to the marvels of the New World makes him worthy of the title Scandinavian Munchausen of the Delaware.

From the time of Hudson's voyage to the close of the seventeenth century there is frequent cotemporary mention of the Delawares and their kinsmen, the Nanticokes (of whom we shall presently treat), and their neighbors the Mengwes, Minquas or Mingoes, known in Maryland as the Susquehannas, and later in Pennsylvania as the Conestogas. Captain Cornelis Hendrickson who explored part of the Delaware, in 1615–16,[1] met and traded with the Minquas (probably at the mouth of or upon the Christiana), and redeemed from them three Dutch prisoners. His intercourse with them was the beginning of the Delaware fur trade. In 1623 Captain Cornelis Jacobson Mey met them at the site of Gloucester, N. J., just below the place where Penn's great city was to be founded, and where he built Fort Nassau.

The first whites who formed a settlement in the lone, but lovely wilderness region now included in the bounds of Delaware—a little colony planted by David Pietersen De Vries, on the Hoornekill, near Lewes, in the year 1631—soon afterwards fell victims to the savages, though they wrought their own doom by initiatory acts of violence.[1]

When De Vries founded his colony, and at the time of his expedition in 1633 up the Delaware, the Minquas, of the lower part of the Delaware-Maryland-Virginia peninsula, appear to have been at war with the Lenape, who were then chiefly confined to the eastern or New Jersey side of the Delaware Bay and River, and to the region along that part of the west shore now in Northern Delaware and Southwestern Pennsylvania. In 1638 the Swedes came to the Delaware (as will be more fully set forth in the next chapter), and founding the first permanent settlement within the region which is our especial province at Christiana (Wilmington), and subsequently establishing themselves at other points, began an active and extensive trade with the Lenape, Minquas and Nanticokes, for furs. They bought the land which they occupied, and appear to have lived with the Indians on very friendly terms. They were supplied with professional interpreters, and systematically sought the good-will of the Indians for the purpose of carrying on an advantageous trade with them. The Swedish governors seem to have understood how best to conciliate the Indians and retain their confidence, and they soon supplanted the Dutch in the esteem of the savages. They even exercised a protecting power over the Delawares and the Minquas, and when the Iroquois came down to wage war against the latter, in 1662, they were baffled by a regular fort, constructed by Swedish engineers, with bastions and mounted cannon.

With the Swedish Governor Printz, there came to the Delaware, in 1643, John Campanius[2] (to whom allusion has heretofore been made), rendered prominent from being the first to translate Luther's catechism into the Indian language, from the fact that he was for six years a pastor of the Swedes, and last, but not least, because of his keeping a journal from which his grandson, Thomas Campanius, wrote his famous "Description of the New Province of New Sweden,"[3] illustrated with cuts and maps made by the Swedish engineer Lindstrom, several of which are reproduced in this work. From Campanius we glean some interesting information concerning the Indians taking care to exclude much that is clearly erroneous. He states that the Swedes in his time had no intercourse except with "the black and white Mengwes"—an expression it is difficult to understand. The Minquas, or Susquehannas, had their chief population upon the river bearing their name, and in the region now Cecil County, Maryland (where they were regularly visited by the Swedish traders), but they are known also to have been quite numerous at times upon the Christiana and Brandywine, and thus in the immediate

[1] See next chapter.

[2] This name is sometimes printed John Campanius *Holm*, the last name being added to signify Stockholm, of which city he was a native. Where it so occurs it is equivalent to John Campanius, *of Holm* or *Stockholm*.

[3] A copy of the original Swedish edition of this work, published at Stockholm in ———, is in the library of the Delaware Historical Society.

neighborhood of Fort Christina. What is meant by "black and white Minquas," however, is not even a matter for intelligent conjecture—though this is not surprising—in the writings of the Swedish chaplain. Nothwithstanding the fact that he disclaims intercourse except with the Minquas, he calmly enters upon a description of the life, manners and customs of the Lenape, whom he accuses of being cannibals, as, in truth, were nearly all tribes of American Indians, *but only upon rare occasions.*

The attitude of the Indians of the Delaware towards the early Swedish settlers is shown in an account of a council which they held while Printz was Governor, probably about 1645, given in Campanius' work and undoubtedly authentic in its essential statements. The council was called by the Sachem Matta Horn, who owned the ground on which Wilmington stands, and sold that upon which Fort Christina was built. At the time of the council most of the inhabitants along the Delaware were Swedes, but there were a few Hollanders in the country. Matta Horn is represented as calling first his son, Agga Horn, and afterwards upon other chiefs and warriors, to ascertain the opinion of his people as to the advisability of allowing the white men to dwell peacefully in the country, or fall upon and disperse them. The dialogue which ensues is thus represented by Campanius:

DELAWARE INDIAN FAMILY.
(From Campanius' "New Sweden.")

Father Matta Horn.—Where are the Swedes and the Dutch?

Son Agga Horn.—Some of them are at Fort Christina, and some at New Gottenberg.

Father.—What do the Swedes and the Dutch say now?

Son.—They say, why are the Indians so angry with us? Why do they say they will kill all of us Swedes, and rout us out of the country? The Swedes are very good. They come in large fast sailing ships, with all sorts of fine things from Swede's country, or old Sweden.

F.—Go round to the other chiefs and to the common men, and hear what they say.

S.—They say, you Indians and we (Swedes, and Dutch, and English) are in friendship with each other. We are good men. Come to us. We have a great deal of cloth, kettles, gunpowder, guns and all that you may want to buy.

F.—I understand. What do you say about this, Agga Horn, my son?

S.—I say that I think it best not to fall upon them, because the Swedes are skillful warriors.

F.—My son, you must go about here and there, to our good friends, the chiefs and common men, and engage them to come immediately here to me, that we may consult together as to what we shall do.

S.—It is well, I will go.

F.—Do that, but don't be long away.

The son comes again and salutes his father.

S.—Father Matta Horn, I have done what you ordered me.

F.—Well, my son, what answered the officers.

S.—They answered that they would come here to us, the day after to-morrow.

F.—You, my son, Agga Horn, may go with the men to shoot some deer in the woods. Perhaps the good gentlemen (sic) may be hungry when they come.

S.—I understand that well, I will go immediately out hunting.

After being hunting, he returns with venison.

F.—Have you been hunting?

S.—Yes, I have.

F.—What have you done?

S.—We have killed two elks, and as many deer as will be wanted.

F.—Have you shot no turkeys?

S.—I shall have also, twelve turkeys.

F.—Enough, enough.

The people are now assembled in Council.

Sachem.—Are you here, good friends?

Warriors.—Yes, we are.

Sachem.—That is well, you are welcome. Sit down and rest.

Warriors.—With pleasure, for we are much tired.

Sachem.—Are you also hungry?

Warriors.—Yes, may be we are hungry.

Sachem.—I know you have gone a great way, so you must be very hungry. We shall have meat presently.

Warriors.—That will do for us.

Sachem.—Here, you have to eat. Eat all, ye good friends.

Warriors.—Yes, we will do our best. Give us meat.

Sachem.—Do you also want drink?

Warriors.—Yes, give us drink. This is sweet and good water. We are now well satisfied. Thanks, thanks.

Sachem's Speech to the Warriors.—My good friends, all of you don't take it amiss that my son has called you to this place. The Swedes don't here upon our land, and they have many fortresses and houses for their habitation. But they have no goods to sell to us. We can find nothing in their stores that we want, and we cannot trade with them. The question is, whether we shall go out and kill all the Swedes, and destroy them altogether, or whether we shall suffer them to remain? Therefore, I am glad that you came here, that we may consult together on this subject. You chiefs and warriors, what advice do you give? What shall we do with the Swedes? They have no cloth, red, blue, or brown. They have no kettles, no brass, no lead, no guns, no powder. They have nothing to sell us; but the English and Dutch have got all sorts of merchandize.

Some of the Chiefs answer.—We are for the Swedes, we have nothing against them.

Another Chief answers.—It would be well to kill all the Swedes; for they have nothing in their stores, for which we can trade with them.

A common warrior says: Wherefore, should we kill all the Swedes, and rout them out of the country? They are in friendship with us. We have no complaint to make of them. Presently they will bring here a large ship full of all sorts of good things.

Others answer.—You talk well, we common warriors agree with you. Then we shall not kill all the Swedes, and rout them out of the country.

Others reply.—No, by no means. For the Swedes are good enough, and they will shortly have here a large ship full of all sorts of goods.

The Kiss's decision.—Right so. We, native Indians, will love the Swedes, and the Swedes shall be our good friends. We, and the Swedes, and the Dutch, shall always trade with each other. We shall not make war upon them and destroy them. This is fixed and certain. Take care to observe it.[1]

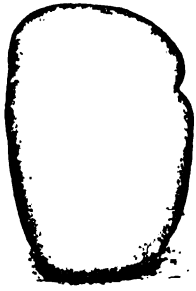
A sachem ruled over each tribe, the office being hereditary upon the mother's side. "When a king or sachem died it was not," says Campanius," his children who succeeded him, but his brothers by the same mother, or his sisters or their daughters' male children, for no female could succeed to the government." It was customary, when any act of importance was to be entered upon, as the sale of land or making of war or peace, for the sachem to summon a council consisting of the wise men and also of the common people. In making a treaty of peace or friendship, they were accustomed to give to those with whom they were making it a pipe to smoke, which act being performed, the treaty was regarded as concluded and sacredly sealed. Their punishments usually consisted of fines. "A murderer," says Campanius, "may be forgiven on giving a feast or something else of the same kind; but if a woman be killed, the penalty is doubled, because a woman can bring forth children and a man cannot." Nearly all authorities seem to agree with the Swedish chronicler that murder was very uncommon among the Indians until "the white man came, when, under the influence of intoxication from the liquor they sold them, several were committed by the Indians. When they committed murder under those circumstances they excused themselves by saying it was the liquor that did it."

Another writer[2] gives some interesting facts concerning the relation of drunkenness and crime among the Indians, prefacing his local facts with the remark that intoxication was to them (the Indians) a new sensation; they did not come to it by slow and imperceptible degrees, . . . but plunged at once into the vortex and madness was the consequence." In the year 1668 some Indians in a state of intoxication attacked and murdered the servants of one of the settlers near where Burlington, N. J., now stands on the Delaware. "The Indians when sober appear to have been ever anxious to live on terms of friendship with the whites. Accordingly, we find that in this instance, as they had previously done in many others, they determined to bring the offenders to justice. Having ascertained who the murderers were, they arrested the chief of them, a man by the name of Tashiowycan, shot and brought his body to Wicacoa,[3] from whence it was taken to New Castle and there hung in chains." It is a notable fact that after this event the Indians themselves requested that an absolute prohibition of the sale of liquor to the Indians should be ordered along the entire length of the Delaware. Governor Lovelace in 1671 actually prohibited, upon pain of death, the selling of spirits and powder and lead to the Indians, but the law was inoperative, for we find that these very articles were the principal considerations in land purchases from the Indians almost immediately after the proclamation, and continued to be for a century.

Resuming our extracts from Campanius' work, though this time it is the engineer and map-maker Lindstrom who is quoted by the former, we find a description of one of the Indians' great hunts.—

"As soon as the winter is over they commence their hunting expeditions, which they do in the most ingenious manner. They choose the time when the grass is high, and dry as hay. The Sachem collects the people together, and places them in a circumference of one or two miles, according to their numbers; they then rout out all the grass around that circumference, to the breadth of about four yards, so that the fire cannot run back upon them; when that is done, they set the grass on fire, which of course extends all round, until it reaches the centre of the circumference. They then set up great outcries, and the animals fly toward the centre, and when they are collected within a small circle, the Indians shoot at them with guns and bows, and kill as many as they please, by which means they get plenty of venison. When the grass has ceased to grow, they go out into the woods and shoot the animals which they find there, in which they have not much trouble, for their sense of smelling is so acute that they can smell them like hounds. Their Sachem causes a turkey to be hung up in the air, of which the bowels being taken out and the belly filled with money, he who shoots the bird down gets the money that is within it."[4]

The weapons of the Indians were stone hatchets, the bow and arrow and the war-club, and these primitive articles served them in the chase and in their battles with each other until they obtained guns and powder and lead, knives and iron tomahawks, the Delawares, Susquehannas, Nanticokes and some other tribes from the Dutch and Swedes and English, and the Iroquois of New York from the French. Their bows were made usually of the limbs of trees about six feet in length, and then strings were made of the sinews and skins and intestines of animals. Their arrows were reeds from a yard to a yard and a half long. They were winged with feathers, and in the end was fixed a hard piece of wood, in which was set a flint, a piece of bone or horn or sometimes the sharp tooth of an animal or large fish, which was securely fastened in with tough ligaments and fish glue. When they went to war each brave provided himself with a bow, a quiver full of arrows and a club, and they painted themselves and placed upon their heads red feathers as the insignia of blood. They fortified

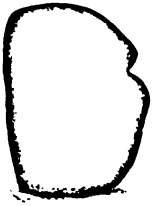


HORNBLENDE AXE.

[1] Campanius, pp. 153-154.
[2] William Huffington's Delaware Register. Vol. I. p. 212.
[3] Wicacoa, the Swedish settlement on the site of Philadelphia.
[4] Campanius' "New Sweden," p. 136.

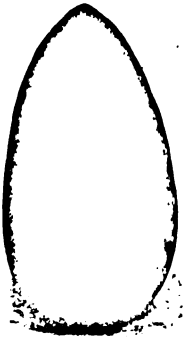
some of their houses or groups of huts against the sudden attacks of their enemies. Campanius says the Minquas had "a fort on a high mountain about twelve miles from New Sweden" [1] (Fort Christina, on the Christiana River, at the site of Wilmington),

GROOVED HAMMER, With castle.

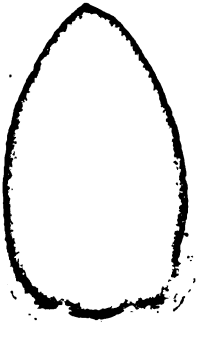


POLISHED AXE.

possibly meaning at Iron or Chestnut Hills, near Newark. He says "they surrounded their houses with round or square palisades made of logs or planks, which they fasten in the ground." Parkman[2]



FLINT KNIFE, 3¼ by 3 inches.



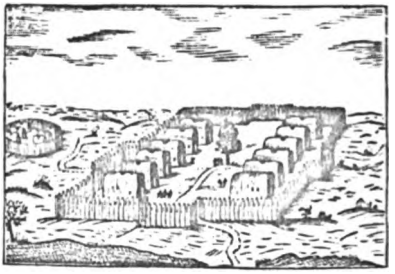
FLINT KNIFE, 8 by 3¼ inches.

more fully describes the mode of erecting these defenses. First, a ditch was dug around the village, the earth being thrown up on the inside. The trees of which the posts of the palisades were

CEREMONIAL STONE OF GREEN.

made were burned down and the trunks and larger branches partly cut through by fire, the work being finished by hacking them with such rude tools as the Indians possessed. The logs were then placed upright in the embankment, in one or several concentric rows, those of each row, if the latter plan was pursued, being bent towards each other until they intersected. Where the palisades crossed, a gallery of timber was thrown up for the defenders to stand upon. In some cases the palisades were placed perpendicularly in rude post-holes, and the earth from the ditch thrown up against them. None of these forts were regularly built or gave the appearance of any considerable strength, except where the Indians had the assistance of European soldiers.

Their lodges, according to Campanius, they constructed in this way: "They fix a pole in the ground and spread their mats around it, which are made of the leaves of the Indian corn matted together; then they cover it above with a kind of roof made of bark, leaving a hole at the top for



DELAWARE INDIAN FORT. (From Campanius' "New Sweden.")

smoke to pass through; they fix hooks in the pole on which they hang their kettles; underneath they put a large stone to guard themselves from the fire, and around it they spread their mats and skins on which they sleep. For beds, tables and chairs they use nothing else; the earth serves them for all these purposes. They have several doors to their houses, generally one on the north and one on the south side. When it blows hard, they stop up one of them with bark, and hang a mat or skin before the other." The Delawares, intimates our Swedish observer, had few towns or fixed places of habitation (though, as a matter of fact, they did have some permanent abiding-places), and he continues: "They mostly wander about from one place to another, and generally go to those places where they think they are most likely to find the means of support. . . . When they travel they carry their meats with them wherever they go and fix them on poles, under which they dwell. When they want fire, they strike it out of a piece of dry wood, of which they find plenty; and in that manner they are never at a loss for fire to warm themselves or to cook their meat."

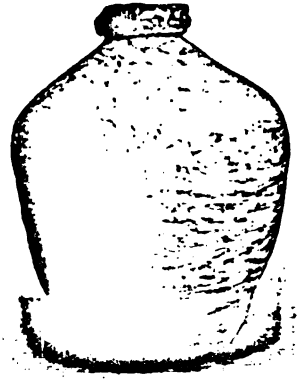
The huts of the Lenape and other Indians of the region which we are considering could not have been very comfortable in winter. The smoke from

[1] Campanius, p. 127.
[2] Francis Parkman, in Introduction to "The Jesuits in America."

their fires had no outlet save irregularly through a hole in the roof, and the interiors were stained and dingy, and the half-stifling air so filled with pungent and acrid odors as to cause much inflammation of the eyes and blindness in old age. The fleas and other vermin were numerous and pestiferous, and noise and confusion reigned supreme in the closely-huddled family circle. Parkman draws a vivid picture of a lodge on a winter night, alternately in glow and gloom from the flickering flame of resinous woods that sent fitful flashes through the dingy canopy of smoke, a bronzed group encircling the fire, cooking, eating, gambling, quarreling or amusing themselves with idle chaff; grizzly old warriors, scarred with the marks of repeated battles; shriveled squaws, hideous with toil and hardship endured for half a century; young warriors with a record to make, vain, boastful, obstreperous; giddy girls, gay with paint, ochre, wampum and braid; "restless children pell-mell with restless dogs."

Of foods the Indians had, besides their game and fish, fresh and dried, melons, squashes and pumpkins, beans, peas and berries, of which they dried many for winter use, and several roots and plants of which they ate largely, and they all raised corn, the Indians along the Lower Delaware, and in Maryland, Pennsylvania and Virginia especially, paying considerable attention to its cultivation. They ground it in the hollow places of rocks either naturally or artificially formed, mixed the coarse cracked kernels with flour, and baked the paste in cakes upon the ashes. While engaged in the chase or traveling along distances they carried pouches full of parched corn for their sustenance. They had, too, the *tuckahoe* (the *petukgunnug* of the Delawares and the *tauqouuk* of the Minquas), called by the whites the "Indian loaf," a curious root supposed by some to be a sort of truffle. It was of the form of a flattened sphere, and varied in size from an acorn to the bigness of a man's head. It was roasted in the ashes, as was also the Indian turnip, which, thus deprived of its pungency, made a wholesome food.

The Indians of Campanius' time had well-nigh given up the manufacture of pottery, for the cooking utensils they secured from the Europeans served their purpose better. They were perfect strangers to the use of iron, and their own tools were rude and poor, strictly speaking, being those of the stone age. Charles Thompson, who had an intimate knowledge of the Indians, but who, unfortunately, wrote but little about them, says in an essay:[1] "They were perfect strangers to the use of iron. The instruments with which they dug up the ground were of wood, or a stone fastened to a handle of wood. Their hatchets for cutting were of stone, sharpened to an edge by rubbing, and fastened to a wooden handle. Their arrows were pointed with flint or bones. What clothing they wore was of the skins of animals taken in hunting, and their ornaments were principally of feathers."



HAND-MADE AND FINGER-MARKED VESSEL OF POTTERY.

Their skill in some kinds of domestic industry is attested by Campanius, who says:

"They can tan and prepare the skins of animals, which they paint afterwards in their own way. They make much use of painted feathers, with which they adorn their skins and bed-covers, binding them with a kind of net-work, which is very handsome and fastens the feathers well. With these they make light and warm covering and clothing for themselves; with the leaves of Indian corn and reeds they make purses mats and baskets. . . . They make very handsome and strong, mats of fine rushes, which they paint with all kinds of figures; they hang their walls with these mats and make excellent bed-clothes of them. The women spin thread and yarn out of nettles, hemp and some plants unknown to us. Governor Printz had a complete suit of clothes, with coat, breeches and belt, made by these barbarians with their wampum, which was curiously wrought with figures of all kinds of animals. . . . They make tobacco pipes out of reeds, about a man's length; the bowl is made of horn, and to contain a great quantity of tobacco. They generally present these pipes to their good friends to smoke. . . . They make them otherwise of red, yellow and blue clay, of which there is a great quantity in the country; also of white, gray, green, brown, black and blue stones, which are so soft that they can be cut with a knife. . . . Their boats are made of the bark of cedar and birch trees, bound together and lashed very strongly. They carry them along wherever they go, and when they come to some creek that they want to get over they launch them and go whither they please. They also used to make boats out of cedar trees, which they burnt inside and scraped off the coals with sharp stones, oysters, or muscle shells."

ORNAMENTAL POTTERY.

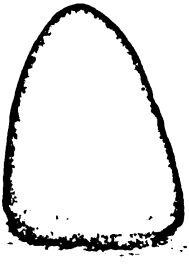
The dress and adornment of the Indian, according to the always trustworthy Thompson, exhibited many peculiarities:

"They all painted or daubed their face with red. The men suffered only a tuft of hair to grow on the crown of their head; the rest, whether

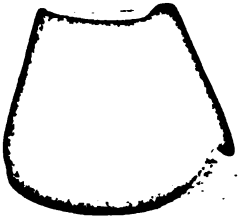
[1] "Essay upon Indian Affairs" (a fragment), published in Transactions of the Pennsylvania Historical Society.

on their heads or faces, they prevented from growing by constantly pinching it out by the roots, so that they always appeared as if they were bald and beardless. Many were in the practice of marking their faces, arms and breast by pricking the skin with thorns and rubbing the parts with a fine powder made of coal (charcoal), which, penetrating the punctures, left an indelible stain or mark, which remained as long as they lived. The punctures were made in figures according to their several fancies. The only part of the body which they covered was from the waist half-way down the thighs, and their feet they guarded with a kind of shoe made of hides of leathakes or deerskin, laced tight over the instep and up to the ankles with thongs. It was and still continues to be a common practice among the men to slit their ears, putting something into the hole to prevent its closing, and then by hanging weights to the lower part to stretch it out, so that it hung down the cheek like a large ring."

Wampum and war and peace belts are described by the same writer:



POLISHED FLESHER.



FLESHER WITH HANDLE.

"Instead of money they used a kind of beads made of conch shell manufactured in a curious manner. These beads were made, some of the white, some of the black or colored parts of the shell. They were formed into cylinders about one-quarter of an inch long and a quarter of an inch in diameter. They were round and highly polished and perforated lengthwise with a small hole, by which they strung them together and wove them into belts, some of which, by a proper arrangement of the beads of different colors, were figured like carpeting with different figures, according to the various uses for which they were designed. These were made use of in their treaties and intercourse with each other, and served to assist their memory and preserve the remembrance of transactions. When different tribes or nations made peace or alliance with each other they exchanged belts of one sort; when they excited each other to war they used another sort. Hence they were distinguished by the name of peace belts or war belts. Every message sent from one tribe to another was accompanied with a string of these beads or a belt, and the string or belt was smaller or greater according to the weight and importance of the subject. These beads were their riches. They were worn as bracelets on the arms and like chains round the neck by way of ornaments."

William Penn's observations and opinions of the Indians are interesting and well worth reproduction in these pages, for he not only first saw the natives of the New World on the shores of the Delaware (at New Castle), but those whom he afterwards had opportunity of minutely studying at Philadelphia were of the same people, and doubtless, in many cases, the same individuals who lived in the region which now constitutes the northern part of this State. In a letter to Henry Sewell, dated Philadelphia, 30th of Fifth Month, 1683, he thus chronicles his impressions:

"The natives are proper and shapely, very swift, their language lofty. They speak little, but fervently and with elegancy. I have never seen more naturall eagerity, considering them without ye help—I was going to say ye apyle—of tradition. The worst is that they are ye nors for ye Christians who have propagated their vices and plebled them tradition for ye worse & not for ye better things, they believe a Deity and Immortality without ye help of metaphysicks & some of them admirably sober, though ye Dutch & Sweed and English have by Brandy and Rum almost Debauckt ym all, and when Drunk ye most wretched of spectacles, often burning & sometimes murdering one another, at which times ye Christians are not without danger as well as fear. Tho' for gain they will run the hazard both of ye sord ye Law, they make their worship to consist of two parts, sacrifices wh they offer of their first fruits with marvellous fervency and labour of body sweating as if in a bath, the other is their Cantieres, as they call them, wch is performed by round Dances, sometimes words, then songs, then shouts, two being in ye middle ye begin and direct ye chorus; this they performe with equal fervency but great appearance of joy. In this I admire them, nobody shall want wt another has, yett they have property (property) but freely communicable, they want or care for little, no Bills of Exchange nor Bills of Lading, no Chancery suits nor Exchequer Accts. have they to perplex themselves with, they are most satisfied, and their pleasure feeds them, I mean hunting and fishing."[1]

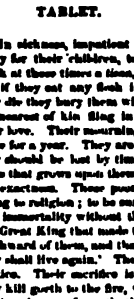
A much fuller description of the red men of the Delaware was given by Penn in a letter to the Free Society of Traders, written in August, 1683. The natives, he says, are generally tall and straight,

"well built, and of singular proportion [*i. e.*, of symmetry]; they tread strong and clever, and mostly walk with a lofty chin. Of complexion black, but (by design, as the gipsies in England. They grease themselves with bear's fat clarified, and using no defense against sun and weather, their skins must needs be swarthy. Their eye is livid and black, not unlike a straight-looked Jew. The thick lips and flat nose, so frequent with the East Indians and blacks, are not common to them; for I have seen as comely European-like faces among them, of both sexes, as on your side the sea; and truly an Italian complexion hath not more of the white; and the mass of several of them have as much of the Roman. Their language is lofty, yet narrow; but, like the Hebrew, in signification full. Like short-hand in writing, one word serveth in the place of three, and the rest are supplied by the understanding of the hearer; imperfect in their tenses, wanting in their moods, parts (plus, adverbs, conjunctions and interjections. I have made it my business to understand it, that I might not want an interpreter on any occasion; and I must say that I know not a language spoken in Europe that hath words of more sweetness or greatness, in several and emphases, than theirs; for instance, Octockchon, Rancocas, Orickon, Shak, Marian, Pequessan, all which are names of places, and have grandeur in them. Of words of sweetness, anne is mother; ananna, a brother; nebasp, friend; napewi, very good; pone, bread; metes, eat; matta, no; hatta, to have; pape, to come; Sepassin, Passijon, the names of places; Tamanne, Sacanna, Menanne, Sentaretta, are the names of persons. . . .

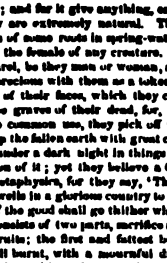
"Of their customs and manners there is much to be said. I will begin with children. So soon as they are born they wash them in water, and while very young and in cold weather to cleanse, they plunge them in the rivers to harden and enlighten them. Having wrapt them in a cloat, they lay them on a strait thin board a little more than the length and breadth of the child, and swaddle it fast upon the board to make it straight; whereforee all Indians have flat heads, and thus they carry them at their backs. The children will go [walk] very young, at nine months commonly. They wear only a small cloat around their waist till they are big. If boys, they go a fishing till ripe for the woods, which is about fifteen. There they hunt; and having given some proofs of their manhood by a good return of skins, they marry; else it is a shame to think of a wife. The girls stay with their mothers, and help to hoe the ground, plant corn and carry burthens; and they do well to use them to that, while young, which they must do when they are old; for the wives are the true servants of the husbands; otherwise the men are very affectionate to them. When the young women are fit for marriage they wear something upon their heads for an advertisement, but as no their faces are hardly to be seen but when they please. The age they marry at, if women, is about thirteen and fourteen; if men, seventeen and eighteen. They are rarely older. Their houses are made of barks of trees, set on poles in the fashion of an English barn, but out of the power of the winds, for they are hardly higher than a man. They lie on reeds or grass. In travel they lodge in the woods about a great fire, with the mantle of duffils they wear by day wrapt about them and a few boughs stuck round them. Their diet is maize or Indian corn divers ways prepared, sometimes roasted in the ashes, sometimes beaten and boiled with water, which they call *hominie*. They also make cakes not unpleasant to eat. They have likewise several sorts of beans and peas that are good nourishment, and the woods and rivers are their larder. If an European comes to see them, or calls for lodging at their house or wigwam, they give him the best place and first cut. If they come to visit us they salute us with an *Itah!* which is as much as to say, 'Good be to you!' and set them down, which is mostly on the ground, close to their heels, their legs upright; it may be they speak not a word, but observe all passages [all that passes]. If you give them anything to eat or drink, well, for they will not ask; and, be it little or much, if it be with kindness, they are well pleased; else they go away sullen, but say nothing. They are great observers of their own ceremonies, bound to it, I believe, by the revenge that hath been practiced among them. In either of these they are not exceeded by the Italians. . . . Some of the young women are said to take undue liberty before marriage for a portion; but when married, chaste. . . .

[1] Pennsylvania Archives, Vol. I. pp. 68, 69.

"But in liberality they excel; nothing is too good for their friend; give them a fine gun, coat, or other thing, it may pass through twenty hands before it sticks; light of heart, strong affections, but soon spent. The most merry creatures that live, feast and dance perpetually; they never have much, nor want much; wealth circulateth like the blood; all posts partake; and though none shall want what another hath, yet exact observers of property. Some kings have sold, others presented me with several parcels of land; the pay or presents I made them were not hoarded by the particular owners; but the neighboring kings and their clans being present when the goods were brought out, the parties chiefly concerned consulted what and to whom they should give them. To every king then, by the hands of a person for that work appointed, is a proportion neat, as varied and fashed, and with that gravity that is admirable. Then that king subdivideth it in like manner among his dependents. . . . They care for little, because they want but little; and the reason is, a little contents them. In this they are sufficiently revenged on us; if they are ignorant of our pleasures, they are also free from our pains. . . . Since the Europeans came into these parts they are grown great lovers of strong liquors, rum especially, and for it they exchange the richest of their skins and furs. If they are heated with liquors they are restless till they have enough to sleep,—that is their cry,—*Some more and I will go to sleep;* but when drunk one of the most wretched spectacles in the world!



PIERCED RECORD TABLET.



GROOVED HAMMER.

"In sickness, impatient to be cured; and for it give anything, especially for their 'chill-brew,' to whom they are extremely natural. They drink at those times a tissa, or decoction of some roots in spring-water; and if they eat any flesh it must be of the female of any creature. If they die they bury them with their apparel, be they man or woman, and the nearest of kin fling in something precious with them as a token of their love. Their mourning is blacking of their faces, which they continue for a year. They are choice of the graves of their dead, for, lest they should be lost by time and fall to common use, they pick off the grass that grows upon them, and heap up the fallen earth with great care and exactness. These poor people are under a dark night in things relating to religion; to be sure the tradition of it; yet they believe a God and immortality without the help of metaphysics, for they say, 'There is a Great King that made them, who dwells in a glorious country to the southward of them, and that the souls of the good shall go thither where they shall live again.' Their worship consists of two parts, sacrifice and cantica. Their sacrifice is their first fruits; the first and fattest buck they kill goeth to the fire, where he is all burnt, with a mournful ditty of him that performeth the ceremony, but with such marvellous fervency and labor of body that he will even sweat to a foam. The other part is their cantica, performed by round dances, sometimes words, sometimes songs, then shouts, two being in the middle that begin, and by singing and drumming on a board direct the chorus. Their postures in the dance are very antick and differing, but all keep measure. This is done with equal earnestness and labor, but great appearance of *joy*. In the fall, when the corn cometh in, they begin to feast one another. There have been two great festivals already, to which all come that will. I was at one myself; their entertainment was a great seat by a spring under some shady trees, and twenty bucks, with hot cakes of new corn, both wheat and beans, which they make up in a square form in the leaves of the stem and bake them in the ashes, and after that they fall to dance. But they that go must carry a small present in their money; it may be sixpence, which is made of the bone of a fish; the black is with them as gold, the white silver; they call it all wampum.

"Their government is by Kings, which they call Sachems, and these by succession, but always on the mother's side. . . . Every King hath his Council, and that consists of all the old and wise men of his nation which, perhaps, is two hundred people. Nothing of moment is undertaken, be it war, peace, selling of land, or traffick, without advising with them, and, which is more, with the young men too. It is admirable to consider how powerful the Kings are, and yet how they move by the breath of their people. I have had occasion to be in council with them upon treaties of land, and to adjust the terms of trade. Their order is thus: The king sits in the middle of an half moon, and hath his council, the old and wise, on each hand; behind them, or at a little distance, sit the younger fry in the same figure. Having consulted and resolved their business, the King ordered one of them to speak to me he stood up, came to me and, in the name of his King, saluted me; then took me by the hand and told me, 'He was ordered by his King to speak to me, and that now it was not he, but the King that spoke; because what he should say was the King's mind.' He first prayed me 'to excuse them, that they had not complied with me the last time, he feared there might be some fault in the Interpreter, being neither Indian nor English; besides, it was the Indian custom to deliberate and take up much time in council before they resolve, and that if the young people and owners of the land had been as ready as he, I had not met with so much delay.' Having thus introduced his matter, he fell to the bounds of the land they had agreed to dispose of and the price, which now is little and dear, that which would have bought twenty miles not buying now two. During the time that this man spoke not a man of them was observed to whisper or smile, the old grave, the young reverent in their department. They speak little but fervently, and with elegance. I have never seen more natural sagacity, considering them without the help (I was going to my the spoil) of tradition, and he will deserve the name of wise that outwits them in any treaty about a thing they understand. When the purchase was agreed great promises passed between us, 'of kindness and good neighborhood, and that the Indians and English must live in love as long as the sun gave light,' which done, another made a speech to the Indians in the name of all the Sachemakers or Kings, first to tell them what was done, next to charge and command them 'to love the Christians, and particularly live in peace with me and the people under my government; that many governors had been in the river, but that no Governor had come himself to live and stay here before, and having now such an one, that had treated them well, they should never do him or his any wrong,' at every sentence of which they shouted and said Amen in their way. . . .

"We have agreed that in all differences between us six of each side shall end the matter. Do not abuse them, but let them have justice, and you win them. The worst is that they are the worse for the Christians, who have propagated their vices and plobded their traditions for ill and not for good things. But as low as ebb as these people are at, and as inglorious as their own condition looks, the Christians have not outlived their sight, with all their pretensions to an higher manifestation. What good, then, might not a good people graft where there is no distinct a knowledge left between good and evil? I beseech God to incline the hearts of all that come into these parts, to cultive the knowledge of the natives, by a fixed sheldence to their greater knowledge of the will of God, for it were miserable indeed for us to fall under the just censure of the poor Indians' conscience, while we make profession of things so far transcending.

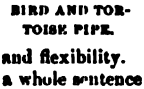
"For their original, I am ready to believe them of the Jewish race; I mean, of the stock of the ten tribes, and that for the following reasons: First, they were to go to a 'land not planted nor known;' which, to be sure, Asia and Africa were, if not Europe, and He that intended that extraordinary judgment upon them might make the passage not uneasy to them, as it is not impossible in itself, from the easternmost parts of Asia to the westernmost of America. . . ."

Gabriel Thomas discoursed of the Indians in a manner similar to Penn, but adds an interesting fact or two: "The English and the Indians," he says, "live together very peaceably, by reason that the English satisfies them for their Land. . . . The Dutch and Sweads inform me that they are greatly decreased in number to what they were when they came first into this country, and the Indians themselves say that two of them die to every one Christian that comes in here." [1]

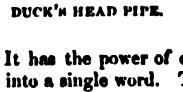
There is not much more that it is worth while to deduce from the cotemporary writers upon the Delawares, though we shall hereafter quote from George Alsop concerning the Minquas, Mingoes or Susquehannas. What we have extracted from the writings of Campanius, Penn and others, endeavoring to omit matters of minor importance and those which are clearly erroneous, affords quite a comprehensive view of the manners, customs, character and appearance of the supplanted race, in regard to whom there must be a constantly increasing interest as the years roll by.

[1] "Historical Description of the Province and County of West New Jersey in America," London, 1698.

The language of the Lenni Lenape,—"the pure Castilian of the New World,"—in the opinion of several competent judges, is the most perfect of all the Indian tongues, although all of these belonged to what philologists regard as one of the lowest orders of speech—the incorporative or polysynthetic type. It is distinguished by beauty, strength



BIRD AND TORTOISE PIPE.

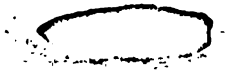


DUCK'S HEAD PIPE.

FLINT SKIN SCRAPER.

and flexibility. It has the power of compressing a whole sentence into a single word. This is done by taking the most important syllable of each word, and sometimes simply a single letter, combining them in slightly varying forms or with different terminations, the laws of euphony being observed, and thus forming a new word, expressing a variety of ideas. Nearly all of the Indian names, particularly those of the Lenape, are rich in rythmical euphony, and some which are exceptions have doubtless received their harshness through imperfect rendering into English (or, in many cases, Dutch and Swedish).

The earliest Indian deed transferring lands in Delaware which is on record is dated May 4, 1679, and is preserved in the archives of the recorder's office in New Castle County. It is a deed for the island upon the Delaware, in Duck Creek Hundred, Kent County, known as Bombay Hook Island, of which Mechacksit, a sachem, was the grantor and Peter Bayard[1] the grantee. In the



BLACK FLINT KNIFE.

FLINT PERFORATOR.

following, which is the full text of the deed, here reprinted as of antiquarian interest, the "ancher" of liquor mentioned as one of the items in the consideration was a Dutch measure, equivalent to about thirty-two gallons:—

"Be it known unto all men by these presents, that I, Mechacksitt, Chiefe Sachemm of Cohanzink, & sole Indian owner & Proprietor of all that Tract of Land commonly called by the Christians Bompies Hook, and by the Indians Navsink, for & in consideration of one Gunn, fower handfulls of Powder, three Matecoats, one Ancher of liquor & one Kittle before the Ensealing and Delivery here of to me in hand paid, and Delivered by Peter Bayard, of New Yorke, wherewith I acknowledge and confesse myselfe to bee fully satisfyed, contented and paid, therefore doe hereby Acquit, Exonerate and fully Discharge the said Peter Bayard, for the same Have Given, Granted, Bargained, sold, assigned, Transported and Made over, and by these presents doe fully, Clearly and absolutely give, Grant, Bargaine, sell, assigne, Transporte & Make over unto him, the said Peter Bayard, his heirs and Assigns, all that part of Land Called Bompies hook, afoul lying and being on the west side of Delaware River and at the mouth thereof, Beginning at a Great Pond, and a little Creeke issuing out of the said Pond being the uppermost bounds of the sd Lands & stretching downe along the sd River to Duckie Creek, Including and Comprehending all the Land, woods, undermoods, Marshes, Creeks & Waters between the said uppermost Pond and Creeke & Duckie Creek aforesaid, To have & to hold the said tract of Land, Marshes & Premises, with all and Singular the appurtenances, so also all the Right, Title and Interest of him, the sd Mechacksitt, his heirs and Assigns therein unto the said Peter Bayard, his heirs and assigns unto the sole and Proper use & behoofe of him, the said Peter Bayard, his heirs and Assigns forever.

"In witness whereof, hee, the said Mechacksitt, hath hereunto set his Hand & Seale at New Castle, in Delaware, the 4th of May, 1679.

"Was subscribed The signing or mark of

"MECHACKSITT (4 o)

"This is the mark of MOHSSAPPENACHIH, the son of MEHOCKSIT.

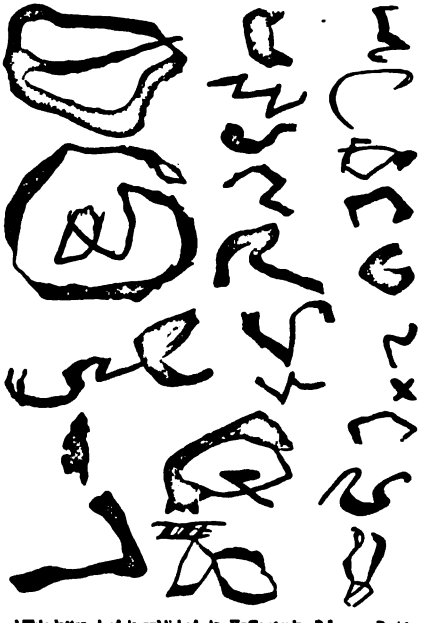
"Signed, sealed & Delivered in the presence of us.

"J. DENAES as Interpreter.
"JOHN ADAMS.
"A. WELLEBOIS NARISON.
"EPH HERMAN, cor.

"This above is a true copy of the original Deed Recorded and Examined.

"EPH HERMAN."

Another deed similiar to the one here given was made November 1, 1680, by the same sachem, Mechacksit, transferring to Ephraim Herman, "for two half ancers of drink, one blancquet, one matscoate, two axes, two knives, two double handsfull of powder, two barrs of lead, and one kittle," a tract of land in Appoquininnink Hundred, in the lower part of New Castle County.[2] In conveying lands the Indian sachems usually signed their marks to the deeds of conveyance for the various tracts. The autographs of the most prominent Indian chiefs from 1682 to 1692 are shown below:



[1] Bayard, so far as European law was concerned, was the owner of the tract five years before the making of this deed, Governor Andros having deeded it to him December 15, 1675.

[2] This latter deed is published in Hallington's *Delaware Register*, Vol. II. p. 170, and is similar to the one here produced.

Something of the tribal division and later history of the vanished Lenape nation remains to be told. It is not probable that at any time after they became known to the whites the Delawares had in their whole region more than twenty-five to thirty thousand people or from five to seven thousand warriors. In 1759, but little more than a century from the time that the first knowledge of them was obtained, they had but six hundred fighting men between the Delaware and the Ohio. It is probable that their numbers had been greatly reduced, decimated time and time again by the Iroquois prior to the coming of the Dutch and Swedes and English among them. The Delawares were divided into tribes of which the most notable were the branches of the Turtle or Unamis, the Turkey or Unalachtgo, and the Wolf or Minsi (corrupted into Monsey). While the domain of the Lenape extended from the sea-coast between the Chesapeake and Long Island Sound back beyond the Susquehanna to the Alleghenies and northward to the hunting-grounds of the Iroquois, it seems not to have been regarded as the common country of the tribes, but to have been set apart for them in more or less distinctly-defined districts. The Unamis and Unalachtgo nations, subdivided into the tribes of Assunpinks, Matas, Chichequans, Shackamaxons, Tutelos, Nanticokes and many others, occupied the lower country toward the coast, upon the Delaware and its affluents. The Unamis were the greatest and most intelligent of the Lenape. They were a fishing people and to a larger extent planters than the other tribes, and equally skilled in the hunt. They had numerous small villages under minor chiefs, who were subordinate to the great council of the nation. They were less nomadic and more peaceable than the other tribes of Delawares.

The more warlike tribe of the Minsi or Wolf, as Heckewelder informs us, "had chosen to live back of the other tribes, and formed a kind of a bulwark for their protection, watching the motions of the Iroquois, or Six Nations, and being at hand to offer aid in case of a rupture with them. "The Minsi," continues the authority from whom we have quoted, "extended their settlements from the Minisink, a place (on the Delaware, in Monroe County, Pennsylvania) named after them, where they had their council-seat and fire, quite up to the Hudson on the east, and to the west and south far beyond the Susquehanna; their northern boundaries were supposed originally to be the heads of the great rivers Susquehanna and Delaware, and their southern that ridge of hills known in New Jersey by the name of Muskanecum, and in Pennsylvania by those of Lehigh, Coghnewago."[1]

The Lenape and the Iroquois confederacy, as has been before remarked, were almost constantly at war, but after the advent of the French in Canada, the Iroquois, finding that they could not withstand an enemy upon each side of them, shrewdly sought to placate the Lenape tribes, and, by the use of much skillful diplomacy, induced them to abandon arms and act as mediators between all the nations, to take up the peaceful pursuit of agriculture, and, by avoiding war, promote their own growth as a people, and at the same time exercise an influence towards the preservation of the entire Indian race. Into this trap, devised by the cunning Iroquois, they fell, and for a long period occupied, as they themselves expressed it, the position of *women* instead of *men*. The Five Nations, when opportunity presented itself, rewarded with treachery the confidence that the Lenape had reposed in them, and the latter, then resolving to unite their forces and by one great effort destroy their perfidious northern neighbors, again became *men*. This was before the era of the English in America had really begun, and the Lenape were diverted from their purpose by new and strange occurrences. The English came in great numbers to their coast. They received the new-comers kindly, as they had the Dutch, but in time the English, even the followers of Penn, turned from them and made friends with their enemy, the Iroquois, as the Dutch had done. They never ceased to revere the founder of Pennsylvania, *Miquon*, as they called him, but laid all of the subsequent wrong to mischievous people who got into power after their good brother had gone away, and who, not content with the land they had given them, contrived, they alleged, by every fraudulent means in their power, to rob them of all their possessions, and brought the hated Iroquois to humiliate them. They always maintained that they were insulted and treated in a degrading manner at treaties to which the English were parties, and particularly at that which took place at Philadelphia, in July, 1742, and at Easton, in November, 1756, when the Six Nations were publicly called upon to compel the Lenape to give up the land taken from them by the famous and infamous "Walking Purchase" of 1737. But for this and other outrages they declared they would not have taken up the tomahawk against the English in the so-called "French and Indian War" of 1755-63. It is possible that they would have remained neutral, notwithstanding their grievances, had they not been incited to enmity by the Iroquois. After the close of the war, in 1763, the Lenape withdrew altogether from the proximity of the white settlements into the wilds around the upper waters of the Susquehanna, and to Wyalusing, a hundred miles from the pioneer settlers of Pennsylvania. They did not long remain there, however, for the Iroquois sold the whole country to the English. Some of the *Minsis* or *Munseys* had

[1] Heckewelder's "Manners and Customs of the Indian Nations."

gone before this to the head-waters of the Allegheny, and those of this tribe who were at Wyalusing joined them there. Subsequently the Lenape tribes were in Ohio, and a considerable number, chiefly of the *Minsis*, in Upper Canada, while others were upon the waters of the Wabash, in Indiana. Between the years 1780 and 1790 they began to emigrate from those regions to the territory west of the Mississippi. The remnant of the race thus—if their legend was true—retraced the steps of their ancestors, made centuries before.

It would be improper to conclude this sketch of the Lenni Lenape without a few words upon its greatest and noblest character, the most illustrious and revered chief in the whole history of the nation—Tamanend or Tammany, who once lived somewhere in the territory now constituting the State of Delaware. Comparatively little is known of him. He lives principally in tradition, and his name has been perpetuated by frequent application to civic societies among the people who supplanted his race. He was a seventeenth century Indian, and is supposed to have died about the time of its close. In 1683 he, with a lesser chief, affixed their hieroglyphical signatures to a deed conveying to William Penn a tract of land in Bucks County, Pennsylvania.[1] While his home was doubtless for many years upon the Lower Delaware, and, there is reason to believe, near the Christiana, he doubtless moved northward as the English settlers encroached upon his domain, and it is traditionally asserted that he lived far up towards the head-waters of the river of his people in the extreme northeastern part of Pennsylvania.[2] Of the character of Tamanend, Heckewelder says: "He was in the highest degree endowed with wisdom, virtue, prudence, charity, affability, meekness, hospitality, —in short, with every good and noble qualification that a human being may possess," and Thatcher declares that the Indians "could only account for the perfections they ascribed to him by supposing him to be favored with the special communications of the Great Spirit."

The Nanticokes, to whom allusion has several times been made in this chapter, were allies and kindred of the Delawares, whom they called "grandfathers," and occupied the lower part of this State and the Eastern Shore of Maryland, and were distinctively a fishing and trapping people, rather than hunters and warriors. These facts were asserted by one of their chiefs, White, to Lockiel and Heckewelder, the Moravian missionaries and historians at Bethlehem, Pennsylvania. The Nanticokes moved northward before the pressure of the slow, but inexorable advance of the white settlers, and after waging for a long period an intermittent war with the early colonists of Maryland they retreated to the head of the Chesapeake Bay, and thence, some of them, under the advice and protection of the Iroquois, moved to the Wyoming Valley, and others went farther up the Susquehanna to Chemmenk or Zeningis (Shenango), to which region they all immigrated at the beginning of the French and Indian War against the English. The tribe suffered even more from contact with the Europeans than did the Delawares and Susquehannas. "Nothing," said White, "had equaled the decline of his tribe since the white people had come into the country. They were destroyed in part by disorders which they brought with them, by the small-pox, the venereal disease, and by the free use of spirituous liquors, to which great numbers fell victims."[3] The tribe had so dwindled away that soon after the Revolution (in which they had joined the British standard) they did not number more than fifty men.

The last remnant of this people in Delaware took their departure about 1748,[4] from the neighborhood of Laurel, in Sussex County. In this locality—about a mile from Laurel, on the bank of a small stream—there was quite an extensive burying-ground, which was opened early in the present century by workmen engaged in digging earth for the purpose of repairing a mill-dam. They dug up several wagon-loads of bones and left a large quantity still remaining in the earth. The skeletons were in a fair degree of preservation, lay side by side and each bone was in its proper place. Several of them were of such size as to denote that the men whose remains they were, possessed remarkably high stature and great strength, one of them in particular being seven feet in length. At the time the grave-yard was opened by the spades of the laborers there were living in the neighborhood several very old men who remembered "the last of the Nanticokes," and said that a short time before they left that

[1] Pennsylvania Archives, Vol. 1, p. 64.

[2] It is believed that Tamanend lived for a considerable period on the west bank of the Delaware, in what is now Damascus township, Wayne County. The Connecticut settlers, who came there in 1757, called the fertile bottom land "St. Tammany Flat," and in later years his name was applied in its consolidated form to a local lodge of the Masonic fraternity. The traditional fame of Tamanend's virtue, wisdom and greatness became so widespread among the whites that he was established as St. Tammany, the Patron Saint of America. His name was printed in some old time calendars and his festival celebrated on the 1st day of May every year. On that day a numerous society of his votaries walked together in procession through the streets of Philadelphia with buckskin, adorning their hats, and proceeded to a "wigwam," in a rural locality where they smoked the calumet of peace and indulged in festivity and mirth. The original Tammany Society in the United States was a Philadelphia organization of high repute, which had no other purpose than pleasure and quaint but innocent diversion. The later societies, being devoted to partisan politics, have lost the charm which the old society possessed. It is interesting to note, however, that one of the most widely known political associations in the country bears the name of the great chief of the Lenni Lenape.

[3] Heckewelder.

[4] A number of Nanticokes from Maryland passed by Shamokin in ten canoes on their way to Wyoming.—*Diary of Rev. Christian Frederick*, May 21, 1748. Others, says Heckewelder, frequently passed by land through Bethlehem, and thence through the Delaware Water Gap to Nescopeck or Susquehanna.

part of the country they all assembled at this spot, and bringing with them the bones of their dead who had been buried elsewhere in the region round about, interred them here with many peculiar ceremonies prior to their mournful final departure from the land of their fathers.[1] Heckewelder remarks that "the Nanticokes had the singular custom of removing the bones of their deceased friends from the burial-place to a place of deposit in the country they dwell in,"—a statement which is qualified by the authentic account we

A SUSQUEHANNA INDIAN WARRIOR.

have made use of in reference to the discovery near Laurel. In this instance the Indians did indeed remove the bones of their friends to a central locality and common burial-place, but they did not take them to the locality to which they were about to emigrate. That in some instances they did remove the bones of the dead from their old home in Delaware and Maryland to Northern Pennsylvania is incontestable, but in such cases the remains were doubtless those of sachems or chiefs, distinguished men or very close kindred. Heckewelder is authority for the statement that in the years between 1750 and 1760 many of these Indians went down to the Delaware-Maryland Peninsula to carry the bones of their dead up to Wyoming and Nescopeck, and he says, "I well remember seeing them loaded with such bones, which, being fresh, caused a disagreeable stench as they passed through the streets of Bethlehem."[2]

The Susquehannas, who had their home upon the Potomac and the Susquehanna, and perhaps their greatest strength in what is now Cecil County, extending their population even into the territory of Northern Delaware, were a powerful tribe with whom the early adventurers, traders and settlers of the Delaware had much intercourse, and they have received frequent mention in this chapter, but their importance, historically, makes them worthy of a more specific consideration in these pages than has yet been accorded to them. They were—conclude Francis Parkman and other students who have given special and intelligent attention to the subject—a branch or outlying colony of that quite wonderful savage confederacy, the Five (afterwards the Six) Nations, or the Iroquois, and they seem to have acted as a guard or check upon the Delawares of the lower river and other southern tribes, often waging war against them and also committing occasional depredations on the frontier settlements of Maryland. They were the Minquas or Minquosy of the Dutch, the Mengwes of Campanius and the Swedes generally (the English corrupting the name into Mingoes), the Susquehannas or Susquehannocks of the Marylanders, and were also called the Andastes or Gandastogues (corrupted in Pennsylvania into Conestogas). The Susquehannas or Mingoes were a stalwart race of warriors, and those who saw them in their prime attest their physical superiority over other tribes. Captain John Smith describes them as

"such great and well-proportioned men as are seldom seen, for they seemed like giants to the English; yea, and to the neighbors, yet seemed of an honest and simple disposition, with much adoe restrained from adoring us as Gods, . . . for their language it may well become their proportions, sounding from them as a voyce in a vault. . . . . Five of their chief werowances came aboord us and crossed the Bay in their Barge. The picture of the greatest of them is signified in the Mappe [accompanying Smith's narrative], the calfe of whose leg was three-quarters of a yard about, and all the rest of his limbes so answerable to that proportion that he seemed the goodliest man we ever beheld."

"They are regarded," says George Alsop, in a little work[3] on Maryland, published in 1666:

"As the most Noble and Heroick Nation of Indians that dwell upon the confines of America; also are so allowed and lookt upon by the rest of the Indians, by a submission and tributary acknowledgment, being a people cast into the mould of a most large and warlike department, the men being for the most part seven foot high in altitude and in magnitude and bulk suitable to so high a pitch; their voice large and hollow, as ascending out of a Cave, their gate and behavior straight, steady, and majestick, treading on the Earth with as much pride, contempt, and disdain to so sordid a Centre as can be imagined from a creature derived from the same mould and Earth."

[1] Huffington's *Delaware Register*, Vol. I., pp. 16, 17.

[2] Heckewelder's "Manners and Customs of the Indian Nations."

[3] "A Character of the Province of Maryland," by George Alsop; London, 1666.

The Susquehannas were on good terms with the Dutch and Swedes, being notably assisted and championed by the latter, who, as heretofore stated, built for them a fort which, in 1662, saved them from defeat at the hands of their kindred, the Six Nations. The English settlers upon the Delaware were equally skillful with the Swedes in gaining and securing the friendship of this tribe, and carried on a large trade with them. The maintenance of relations at once agreeable and advantageous constantly exercised the diplomacy of officials, and communications of an advisory nature were incessantly passing between the Governors at New York and the minor officers upon the Delaware during the early period of the English *régime*, as they did later between Penn and his functionaries in Pennsylvania and the "three lower counties." Governor Andros, writing to the court officials at New Castle, on November 23, 1676, says: "Iff the Susquehannas should apply to you for any thing, you are to use them kindly, still as transient friends, butt for more than that to Refer them to come hither to the Governor, where they may expect all further just favors wth dispatch in what they may desire"[1]—which affords a fair illustration of the prevailing disposition of the English towards the people they were destined to supplant.

Alternately at war with the whites and other tribes of their own race,—with the Maryland colonists, the Delawares, the Chesapeake and Potomac Indians, and the Iroquois of the north,—the Susquehannas at last gave way before the march of civilization and its attendant evils, rum and small-pox, combined with the onslaught of their savage enemies, until a mere fragment of their nation, called the Conestogas, was all that remained of a once powerful people, which, as late as 1647, had thirteen hundred warriors trained to the use of firearms by Swedish soldiers. These Conestogas were treacherously and brutally murdered by the "Paxton boys," in the Lancaster jail, where the Pennsylvania authorities had sent them for protection, and not many years later Logan, incomparably the greatest of the Mingoes, whose passionate but dignified and sententious eloquence, as displayed in his words of mourning for his slain kindred, is world-famous, fell a victim to the tomahawk of an Indian assassin while sitting by his lonely camp-fire in the wilds of Ohio. Thus passed the last of the Mingoes, the noblest of all that brave, if barbarous, people—his own fate typical of that which befell his nation and his race.

[1] Records of New Castle County Court.

CHAPTER IV.

DISCOVERY AND SETTLEMENT BY THE DUTCH, 1609–1636.

It is not positively known who discovered the territory now known as Delaware, but as early as 1526, the Spaniards not only explored the whole coast from the Mexican Gulf, northward to and beyond the thirty-fifth degree of latitude, but had even attempted to form a settlement about that parallel. There is evidence,[2] apparently incontrovertible, that the Chesapeake was known to the Spaniards, and that an expedition had been made by them for the occupation of its coasts at least twenty years before we have any knowledge of any attempt of the English to establish themselves in any part of the American continent. In view of these facts it would have been strange that

HENRY HUDSON.

the great basin, now known as Delaware Bay, should have remained unknown to the Spaniards until it was visited by Henry Hudson in 1609.

In the sixteenth century enterprises for discovery were numerous, and the daring and skill of the early voyagers who led the way to the colonization of the United States deserve the highest admiration. The character of the prevalent winds and currents was unknown, and the ships employed for discovery were generally of less than one hundred tons burden. Frobisher sailed in a vessel of but twenty-five tons; two of those of Columbus were without a deck, and so perilous were the voyages deemed that the sailors were accustomed, before embarking, to perform solemn acts of devotion, as if to prepare for eternity.

It is certain that the first practical discovery of the Delaware Bay and River and of the New York Bay and Hudson River was made in 1609, by Henry Hudson,[3] an English navigator in the ser-

[2] *Ensayo Cronológico para la Historia de la Florida. Por don Gabriel de Cardenas y Cano. Madrid*, 1723.

[3] We know surprisingly little of Henry Hudson. He is said to have been the personal friend of Capt. John Smith, the founder of Virginia, and it is probable that he was of the family of that Henry Hudson who, in 1554, was one of the original incorporators of the English Muscovy

vice of the Dutch East India Company, whose title to immortality seems to be assured by the fact that one of the largest bays and one of the noblest rivers in the world equally bear his name, and are admitted to have been discovered by him. The discovery of Delaware Bay and River was made, according to the journal kept by Robert Jewett (or Juet), the first officer of Hudson's ship, on August 28, 1609 (new style), and on this discovery the Dutch founded their claim to the countries lying upon and adjacent to the North (Hudson) and the South (Delaware) Rivers.[1]

The accounts of Hudson's third voyage and his discovery of the North and South Rivers are too accurate, circumstantial, and satisfactory to allow of any question in regard to them. Hudson's journal as well as that of Robert Juet are preserved in Purchas' Pilgrims, and Juet has given not only the courses and distances sailed on the coast, but the various depths of water obtained by soundings off the bars and within the capes of the two bays. Juet's log-book of August 28, 1609, has indeed been tested by actual soundings and sailing distances, and is found to be so accurate to this day that his route can be minutely followed.

At noon Hudson having passed the lower cape, the shores were descried stretching away north-west,[2] while land was also seen towards the north-east, which he at first took to be an island, but it proved to be the main land and the second point[3] of the bay.[4]

The remainder of the day was spent in sounding the waters, which were in some parts filled with shoals, as at the present time, so that the "Half Moon," though of light draught, struck upon the hidden sands. "He that will throughly discover this great Bay," says Juet, "muste have a small Pinnasse that must draw but four or five foote water, to sound before him."

At sunset the master anchored his little vessel "in eight fathomes water," and found a tide running from the northwest; "and it riseth one fathome, and floweth South-South-east."[5] "From the strength of the current that set out and caused the accumulation of sands," he "suspected that a large river discharged into the bay."[6]

In the course of the night, the weather, which had been intensely warm all day, suddenly changed. A passing storm dispelled the heat, while the breeze blowing from the land refreshed the weary men with the moist perfumes of sweet shrubs and summer flowers. At early dawn the explorations were renewed and Hudson stood towards the "norther land," where he again "strooke ground" with his rudder. Convinced that the road to China did not lie that way, he hastened to emerge from the Delaware in search of new channels through which he might pass quickly to India, the goal of his wishes. Imbued with this idea, he continued his voyage along the coast of New Jersey, and cast anchor, on the 3d of September, within the shelter of what is now Sandy Hook, New York. His subsequent discovery of the river which bears his name, and his ascent to a point in the vicinity of the present city of Albany, are facts too well known to be given repetition here.[7]

The English early gave the name of Delaware Bay and River to the South River of the Dutch, upon the pretext that it was discovered by Lord de la Warr in his voyage to Virginia in 1610. Mr. Brodhead and other writers, however, have

Company. This man's son, Christopher, supposed to have been the father of the great navigator, was as early as 1576 and up to 1601 the factor and agent on the part of the London Company trading to Russia, and it seems likely that the younger Hudson, from his familiarity with Arctic navigation, and his daring pertinacity in attempting to invade the ice-bound northern waters, may have served his apprenticeship as a navigator in trading, on behalf of the Muscovy Company, from Bristol to Russia, as was then often done through the North Channel, and round the Hebrides, Orkneys, Shetlands, and North Cape to the White Sea and Archangel. At any rate when Hudson makes his first picturesque appearance before us, in the summer of 1607, in the Church of St. Bleiborge, Bishopsgate Street, London, where he and his crew are present to partake of the Holy Sacrament together, it is preparatory to a voyage in the service of the newly-organized "London Company," in Jewett's own words, "for to discover a passage by the North Pole to Japan and China." The navigator was at that time a middle-aged man, experienced and trusted. Hudson reached Spitzbergen, and there the ice forced him back. He repeated next year the attempt to reach Asia by crossing directly over the Pole, and again he failed after having reached Nova Zembla. The London Company now became disheartened, and Hudson at once transferred his services to the Dutch, who were then also eagerly seeking a northern route to Asia, and preparing under the ardent urgings of Usselinx (of whom more will be said presently) to establish a West India Company. The Amsterdam directors of the Dutch East India Company put him in command of a yacht or vile boat, the "Half-Moon" (the "yagt 'Halve Maan'"), of forty "lasts" or eighty tons burden, manned by a medley crew of sixteen or eighteen English and Dutch sailors, and bade him continue to search for a route to the Eastern seas such as the Spaniards and Portuguese could not obstruct. It was on his third voyage when, beaten back by the ice from the Greenland seas, he sailed as far south as the capes of the Chesapeake, and discovered Delaware Bay and Hudson River. In his fourth voyage he returned again in the service of England, discovered and entered Hudson's Bay, wintered there, and in the spring, having angered his crew by harshness and by persisting in going westward, was cast adrift by them in a small boat and left, with his son, to perish in the ice on the desolate border of the bay which bears his name. He was never heard of afterward. For further particulars of this stern, bold, and intelligent navigator, who was a man full of spirit, energy, and well-defined purpose, the reader may consult Purchas, Hakluyt, and the monographs of Hon. H. C. Murphy, Dr. Asher, Gen. John M. Read, Jr., and Rev. B. F. de Costa.

[1] In an official report drawn up by a Dutch Chamber, from documents and papers placed in their hands, December 15, 1641, it is said that "New Netherland, situate in America, between English Virginia and New England, extending from the South (Delaware) River, lying in latitude 38½°, to Cape Malabar, in latitude 41½°, was first frequented by the inhabitants of this country in the year 1598, and especially by those of the Greenland Company, but without making any fixed settlements, only as a shelter in the winter; for which purpose they erected there two little forts on the South and North Rivers, against the incursions of the Indians." *O'Callaghan's History of New Netherlands, Vol. I. p. 116.*

[2] Juet's Journal, Purchas III. p. 599.

[3] Cape May

[4] De Laet Nieuw Wereld fol. Amsterdam, 1625, Book III. Chap. 7, Hazard's Annals, p. 8, N. Y. Hist. Soc. Coll. Vol. 1. N. S. p. 280.

[5] Juet's Journal, Purchas III. 599. Vander Donck speaking of the South River, or Delaware, says: "This is the place where the ship *Half-Moon* first took possession." See also O'Callaghan's Hist. of New Netherland, Vol. I. p. 34.

[6] De Laet's Nieuwe Wereld.

[7] See Historical Inquiry Concerning Henry Hudson by John Meredith Read, Jr., delivered before the Historical Society of Delaware. The little "Half-Moon," the first craft other than the frail Indian canoes, that is known to have entered the waters of the Delaware Bay, was wrecked about six years later (in 1615) at the island of Mauritius. Brodhead's N. Y. Hist. Coll. Vol. I. p. 43.

plainly shown that Lord La Warr never saw Delaware Bay, and that the name *Cape* La Warr[1] was given to Cape May by the roistering Capt. Samuel Argalls, of Lord Somers' squadron, who, being separated from his commander in a fog off the Bermudas, in that voyage the narration of which is supposed to have given Shakspeare his theme for the *Tempest*, was carried by a cyclone as far north as Cape Cod, and descending the coast again to Virginia, sighted the cape in question and gave his lordship's name to it.

The Dutch eventually rested their claim to the New Netherlands upon the magnificent discoveries of Hudson, as opposed to the English claim through the general discovery by the Cabots, but they did not immediately profit by them to any great extent, nor did they make prompt endeavors to by that best of all methods, organized colonization. Indeed, when it is taken into consideration that Holland was then the first maritime power and the greatest trading country of the world; that Amsterdam was to the north what Venice had been to the Mediterranean and the less known seas of two continents; that her traffic with Russia frequently necessitated the sending of as many as seventy or eighty ships a year to Archangel, and further, when it is brought to mind that her people had for years been urged by the energetic Usselinx (of whom much more anon), to systematically seek the riches of the New World, it is difficult to form other conclusion than that the Dutch were somewhat dilatory in taking advantage of their enlarged opportunities. There were reasons, which will presently be explained, for the avoidance of colonization schemes, but the tardiness, the comparatively inconsequential character and the incompletely organized efforts of this nation of merchants, towards establishing trade with the rich, new found regions of the world are facts not easily accounted for. What the Dutch at first undertook and actually accomplished, however, was inspired by monetary rather than political ambition.

The reports carried to Holland by Hudson were far more favorable in regard to the North than the Zuydt or South River, and to the former were directed the first commercial expeditions of the Dutch. The "Half Moon" in 1610 was sent back to the North River with a trading cargo, and took to Holland a heavy cargo of cheaply bought furs. In 1611 (the same year that Hudson was abandoned to a horrible death) Hendrick Christiaensen, of Cleves near Niemguen, Holland, a West India trader, and Adrien Block, of Amsterdam, chartered a ship in company with the Schipper Rysar, and made a voyage to the Manhattans and "the great river of the mountains," returning with a quantity of furs and bringing also two sons of Indian chiefs, whom they named "Valentine," and "Orson." These young savages, and the rare but cheap furs from their native land, appear to have roused the phlegmatic Hollanders from their lethargy, and public interest in the newly discovered territories began to show some liveliness. A memorial on the subject was presented to the Provincial States of Holland and West Friesland by several merchants and inhabitants of the United Provinces, and, says Brodhead, "it was judged of sufficient interest to be formally communicated to the cities of Amsterdam, Rotterdam, Hoorn and Enckhuysen."[2] In the following year Christiaensen and Block received material aid from several leading merchants, and fitted out two vessels, the "Fortune" and "Tiger," upon which they sailed again to the Hudson and traded along its banks with the Indians. In 1613 other merchants, allured by the handsome profits of these ventures, caught the New World fever, and the "Little Fox," under command of John De Witt, and "Nightingale," under Thys Volkertsen, were sent out from Amsterdam, while the owners of the ship "Fortune," of Hoorn, placed their vessel under charge of Captain Cornelis Jacobsen Mey (or May). This little fleet sailed to the Hudson River, where Block's vessel, the "Tiger," was destroyed by fire just as he was about to set sail for Holland in the fall. Undaunted by this misfortune, the mariner built a hut on the shore of a small island (named by him Block Island), and spent the winter of 1613-14 in constructing a boat to supply the place of the "Tiger." This was a yacht of thirty-eight feet keel, forty-four and one-half feet long, and eleven feet wide, with a carrying capacity of sixteen tons. This little craft, the first built by Europeans in that part of America which became the United States, the builder named the "Onrust" or "Restless," and the name passed into history, and became famous as that of the vessel which bore the first actual explorers of the Delaware River. By the time that the "Onrust" was finished and nearly ready for service, in the spring of 1614, the companion vessels of the preceding year,

[1] Lord de la Warr's real name was Sir Thomas West, and he was Lord Delawarre only by courtesy, being the third son of Lord de la Warr and therefore ineligible to the title. He was the first Governor of Virginia and was appointed to that position for life, but was soon compelled to return to England and his government was administered by deputies. He married in 1597 the daughter of Sir Thomas Shirley from whom the name of the well-known old Virginia estate comes. Per one descended from the West stock are still living in Virginia and West Point, N. Y., perpetuates the name of the old Dominion Governor. The family still exists in England and numbers among its members an Earl de la Warr, whose brother, Hon. L. S. Sackville West, is the present British Minister to Washington. Lord de la Warr in whose honor the bay, river and state were named is asserted to have died in 1618 while returning from Virginia to England, and some writers have stated that he was poisoned, which however seems improbable that sixty persons perished on the ship, some malignant malady prevailing. While the majority of his octane declare that he died at sea, it is circumstantially and positively asserted in Walpole's Royal and Noble Authors as enlarged by Thomas Park and quoted by Bancroft (Vol. I., that he died at Wherwell, Hants, in England, June 7, 1618. Bancroft says of this personage in honor of whom Delaware received its name) "his affection for Virginia ceased only with his life," and all students accord him a high character as a man and ruler.

[2] Brodhead, Vol. I. p. 46. N. Y. Hist. Coll. 2d Series, Vol. II. p. 336.

heretofore enumerated, were on their way over the ocean, to begin their second season's work. This time, however, they came under new auspices, for in consequence of the presentation of petitions by "many merchants interested in the maritime discovery" to the "High and Mighty States General of Holland," an edict or ordinance had been issued[1] declaring that it "was honorable, useful and profitable" that the people of the Netherlands should be encouraged to adventure themselves in discovering unknown countries, and for the purpose of making the inducement "free and common to every one of the inhabitants," it was granted and conceded that "whoever shall from this time forward discover any new passages, havens, lands or places, shall have the exclusive right of navigating to the same for four voyages." It was provided that the discoverer should, within fourteen days from his return, deliver to the State "a pertinent report of his discoveries," and that in case any discoveries were made simultaneously by different parties, they were to enjoy in common the rights acquired.

In the spring, when voyaging began, Christiaensen pushed up the Hudson and erected a trading post and block-house on Castle Island, just below the site of Albany; Block, with the "Onrest," explored Long Island Sound, and Mey sailed directly southward, upon the "Fortune," charted the coast from Sandy Hook to the Delaware and, entering that bay, gave his surname (now spelled May) to the northern cape, his Christian name, Cornelis, to the southern cape opposite, and to the southern cape, facing the ocean, the name of Hindlopen or Henlopen, probably after Thymen Jacobsen Hinlopen, of Amsterdam, or a town in Friesland, though the latter, applied as it was to a false cape, was subsequently transferred to the Delaware cape (near Lewes), which now bears it. There is no evidence that May attempted to change the name of Delaware Bay and River from that given by the Dutch, Zuydt River,[2] or that he landed at any point. In the fall the vessels of the trading squadron all returned to Holland, except the "Onrust," which was left at Manhattan under the command of Captain Cornelis Hendricksen, doubtless for the express purpose of making a more minute examination of the country. The returned navigators and their associate merchants formed a company, drew up a report and chart of their several discoveries, and proceeded to the Hague to claim a concession under the edict of March 27, 1614. In the presence of the twelve mighty lords of the States General, by John Van Olden Barneveldt, the "advocate" of Holland, they unfolded what they called a "figurative map" of the West India (or American) coast, told their tale of adventures, discoveries, loss and gain, and asked for the monopoly which the edict promised. It was at once granted, and a special charter to them of exclusive privileges to trade for four voyages in the region they had explored, which now, for the first time, obtained the name of the "NEW NETHERLANDS," was drawn up and signed October 11, 1614. The territory covered by this charter was all of the region from New France (as the French possessions in Canada were called) and Virginia. The company was granted the privilege, exclusively, to navigate to the newly-discovered lands for five voyages, within the period of three years, commencing the 1st of January, 1615. The privilege expired on the 1st of January, 1618, and there is no evidence now extant that any of the vessels ever traded on the Delaware. This charter had a broader historical importance and greater influence in the chain of cause and effect than the mere granting of a valuable franchise to a half dozen or more individuals, for it, in effect, asserted that the Dutch territory of the New Netherlands embraced all the territory and coast line of North America from the fortieth to the forty-fifth parallel.

Hendricksen in the little yacht "Onrust" (scarcely larger than the smallest oyster shallop of the present day), was meanwhile engaged in making the first actual exploration of the Delaware Bay and River, a work which seems to have occupied the greater part of the year 1615, and some portion of the succeeding one. Authorities radically differ as to the extent of the Captain's explorations, some firmly asserting that he went as far north as the Schuylkill, and that he was, therefore, the first white man to gaze upon the site of the city of Philadelphia, and others stoutly denying that he went beyond the head of the Bay or the mouth of the Delaware River proper. Without entering into an elaborate and unsatisfying discussion of the merits of these clashing assertions, it may be stated that the former possesses the greater portion of probabilities, and has been generally conceded by the not over captious class of critics and historians. The chief ground for belief that he did sail up the river is to be found in his report, in which he speaks of having "discovered and explored certain lands, a bay and three rivers, situated between 38 and 40 degrees," corresponding respectively to the south boundary of Maryland, where it touches the Atlantic and the latitude of Philadelphia It would seem from this statement that no other than the Delaware Bay and River and the Christiana and Schuylkill could be meant. But little has been preserved of the information which Hendricksen carried to Holland concerning his voyage. What is

[1] It was dated March 27, 1614.

[2] Also variously called by the Indian names of Poutaxat, Makirihittan, Makarich-Kiekes, and Lenape Wihittuck, while Heylin, in his Cosmography, bravely gives it the further name of Arampha. When it became better known, the Dutch sometimes called it the Nassau, Prince Hendrick's or Prince Charles' River; and the Swedes, New Swedeland stream. The earliest settlers sometimes styled it New Port May and Godyn's Bay.

saved from oblivion may be regarded as the first record of man upon the Delaware, and it is enough to show that he landed at several places, took soundings, drew charts and discovered the contour of the bay and the capabilities of the river. He tells how he traded with the Indians for skins of various kinds, sables, otter, mink, bear robes, etc. He speaks of the vegetation of the shores and mentions the kinds of trees that abound—the oaks, hickories and pines, richly draped and festooned here and there with grape vines and flowering creepers.

The forests he says were alive with game, bucks, does, turkeys and partridges. "He hath found," says his report, "the climate of said country very temperate," and he believed it to be similar in temperature to Holland.

At Christiana Creek where he landed, and possibly walked over the very ground that was destined to be covered with the streets and buildings of the City of Wilmington, Hendricksen met a band of Minquas (or Mingse) Indians, and redeemed from them three white men, who in the spring of 1616 had left the Dutch Fort near the site of Albany, wandered up the Mohawk Valley, crossed the dividing ridge to the head waters of the Delaware, and descended that stream until they had encountered the Minquas and been made prisoners by them.[1]

In the summer of 1616, Captain Hendricksen was again in Holland, for on August 19, he laid his report of discoveries and claims for extensive trading privileges before the States General.[2] For some reason which does not clearly appear this was not granted, and the brave and energetic explorer reaped no advantage from his arduous and dangerous undertaking, nor did he further figure in the cisatlantic affairs of his nation.[3]

If of little use to himself, Hendricksen's discoveries were nevertheless of vast importance to Holland, and of far-reaching influence and effect in the planting of the American Colonies. His report of his voyages along the coast and exploration of the great Zuydt River, did more to bring about the organization of the Dutch West India Company than any one power, if possibly we except the long continued patient, powerful and adroit manipulations of public opinion by William Usselinx. This man who had long before been a character in the action of the drama of human progress now became a most prominent one. He was a native of Antwerp, in Brabant, a merchant, who had traveled several years in Spain, Portugal and the Azores Islands, and had become thoroughly familiar with the profitable commerce carried on between those countries and West India, as all of the then known America was called.[4]

As early as 1591, on his return to Holland, he proposed to certain merchants a plan to establish a company for carrying on trade with America, and in the following year he presented that plan in writing to the States General, to several cities and numerous individuals. He secured an ardent adherent in the person of Prince Maurice, and at his suggestion traveled throughout Holland to urge his scheme upon the inhabitants, but he could not arouse them, for as he expressed it "The people could not be awakened from their sleep." Now that Hendricksen's report had awakened fresh interest in America, Usselinx in 1616, resumed the agitation that he had commenced at the beginning of the century, and in that year he presented a petition to the States General of Holland and West Friesland, in which he offered to prove the following points:—

"1. That through such a West Indian Company the United Netherlands could be strengthened and be better secured against the King of Spain than through all their revenues.

"2. That the country could expect more treasures and a more extensive trade from India than Spain, in case we continue in peace with the King of Spain.

"3. That in case we should become involved in war with the King of Spain, we could, through the means which we might acquire, not only retain but take places now in his possession, or render them altogether fruitless to him.

"4. That money could be collected to carry on this work properly without weakening or reducing the regular trade in the least, even if the sum should amount to ten millions.

"5. That this work should not only prove a benefit to merchants, mechanics, and seafaring people, but that each and every inhabitant should derive an advantage from it."[5]

It was not until nearly a year had passed that this document was permitted to be read, and even then its time of fruition had not come, and even when it did, the man who had fostered and nourished the plant received no reward for his indefatigable services which were of vast value to his country. For years he had devoted nearly all of his energies to his favorite scheme, and he became so impoverished and embarrassed in his private affairs, that in 1618 it became necessary that he should be protected from arrest by his creditors through the granting of *sureté du corps*. But further than this his frequent pleadings for remuneration received no recognition, and the very people who received benefit from his acts harshly criticized them. This was too much for his fiery spirit to bear, and he gave expression to his indignation in unmistakable language. "Crack-brained and overwise pretenders" he wrote:—

"Who think that which they cannot comprehend in their crazy heads is not to be found in nature, even if they don't know what has passed in this affair and what my intentions may have been, are yet so impertinent not only to slander the good work and my propositions, but even dare to accuse persons of high rank and intelligence of inconsiderate-

[1] By those who deny that Hendricksen surrended the Delaware to the Schuylkill it is claimed that he obtained his knowledge of the upper portion of the river from those men who passed down its shore.

[2] Penn. Archives, 2d Series, Vol. I.

[3] Hendricksen was doubtless a Hollander, although his name was Swedish. He is said in Dutch documents to have been from Monnikendam, eight miles from Amsterdam on the Zuyder Zee.

[4] Joseph J. Mickley's "Some Account of William Usselinx and Peter Minuit," published by the Historical Society of Delaware.

[5] Mickley.

nous and impudence, because they give me a hearing and approve of my propositions."

If we follow for a brief period the history of this remarkable man, before taking up the organization and affairs of the company which he did more than any other one man to create, we find in his misfortunes the effect of an ingratitude which it is difficult to account for, except upon the ground of the baseness and selfishness of the common herd of man, who often when enjoying the results of wise action forgets the instrument by which they were accomplished. Prince Maurice most earnestly urged a settlement of poor Usselinx's claim, and in a letter to the States General of the United Netherlands under date of August 30, 1622, said:—

"Usselinx has during a number of years employed much of his time in laboring faithfully to promote and establish the West India Company, in which he has rendered great and useful services, and still continues in it with the same zeal, for which he justly deserves to be properly rewarded. Therefore it is our desire that your High Mightiness consider well his former and future services, and satisfy his just claim. Do not lose sight of him, do not let him go from here, for that may prove dangerous."

In spite of this strong advocacy of his rights by an influential personage, the States General on July 4, 1623, positively refused to settle his claim, and referred him to the managers of the West India Company, with a letter in which they warmly attested his zeal and affection for the continuance of the Company, spoke of his willingness to remain and his willingness "to give and explain the knowledge he had acquired by long experience," and begged that the managers "would examine and consider everything favorably, and according as they found him worthy of his services, make a suitable disposition." Usselinx did not deliver this letter, because in the first place he did not regard the managers or company as his debtors, but "that their High Mightinesses the Lords States Generals owed for his services," and secondly, because he had reason to fear the jealousy and unfriendliness of several of the managers. "For these reasons," he says, "I finally resolved not to trouble myself any more about the company, and, after giving due notice, left them and the country to try my luck elsewhere, out of the country." And thus poor, disappointed, stung with ingratitude and embittered in spirit, he transferred his valuable knowledge and energies to the service of Sweden and of Gustavus Adolphus, where as will presently be shown they were not only used to good advantages, but better appreciated than in his native country.

The Dutch West India Company was finally incorporated on the 3d of June, 1621, for the time was ripe for the consummation of the great scheme which, indeed, now looked to a colonization of the new world possessions of Holland, as well as the establishment of trade. To understand the long delay of this measure, it is necessary to recall one or two circumstances in the condition and attitude of Holland early in the seventeenth century. The nation had been in war with Spain for several years, but, in 1609, a truce, to last twelve years, was negotiated in lieu of a permanent treaty of peace. Philip II. had consented to the independence of the Netherlands, but would not consent to give them free trade in the East Indies. The Netherlands would not accept a final and permanent treaty which did not guarantee their commercial freedom, hence the truce as a compromise. The negotiation was effected by Grotius and Barneveldt and was bitterly opposed by the distinctively "war party" of the day, headed by Usselinx, for the reason that it destroyed the project for a West India Company. This party was eager to resort to every means to injure and humble their haughty and arrogant enemy, and, indeed, Usselinx appears to have had a bitter, personal hatred of Spain and the other Catholic countries in which he had traveled. The party, too, was infused as a whole with the heat of religious rancor for the Calvinists and Puritans (the latter exiles in Leyden) were in bitter antagonism to the Arminians, who controlled the State.[1] The Reformers, finally in 1619, carried everything before them in the Synod of Dort, the Arminians were put down and thus one obstacle to the success of colonization was removed. The charter to the Amsterdam merchants expired in 1618; the twelve year truce with Spain ended in the spring of 1621, and the United Provinces must soon be renewed while the necessity for a more vigorous policy on the part of Holland, in support of its claims to the New Netherlands was given an additional force of demonstration by the fact that the English government was preparing to remonstrate against the expansion of the Dutch territory, both on the New England side and on the Delaware, the Virginians having, in fact, sent one abortive expedition against the traders on the latter stream. Thus various causes conspired to bring about the result that Usselinx and his party had, for more than twenty years, labored to bring about.

It was upon the 3d of June, 1621, that the States General, under their great seal, granted the formal patent incorporating the West India Company, for the encouragement of that foreign settlement and commerce that its advocates asserted the welfare of the Netherlands largely rested. The company was invested with tremendous powers. It was authorized, as Brodhead says, to make in the name of the States General, "contracts and alliances with the princes and natives of the countries comprehended within the limits of its

[1] It is a fact that the Puritans, in 1620, applied to the Netherlands, through the Amsterdam merchants, for permission to settle upon the North River, but that because of the opposing religious preferments of the State General, that body peremptorily rejected their proposition. It is interesting to speculate as to what, but for this refusal, might have been the course of American history.

charter, build forts, appoint and discharge governors, soldiers and public officers, administer justice and promote trade. It was bound to advance the peopling of these fruitful and unsettled parts and do all that the service of those countries and the profit and increase of trade shall require." It had a power in America practically equal to that of Holland itself, for all of the functions of that government, appertaining to its foreign possessions, were unreservedly delegated to it. The States General, reserving the power to declare war, had a sort of general supervision with the privilege of confirming the appointment of superior officers, but that was the limit of its powers. The charter set forth that except in the name of "the United Company of these United Netherlands," for the space of twenty-four years, no native inhabitants of the Netherlands should be permitted to sail to or from, or to traffic on the coast of Africa, from the tropic of Cancer to the Cape of Good Hope, nor in the countries of America or the West Indies, between the south-end of Terra Nova, by the straits of Magellan, La Maire, or any other straits and passage situate thereabout, to the straits of Arrian, neither upon the North or the South Seas, nor any islands situated on the one side or the other, or between both, nor on the Western or Southern Countries, reaching, lying and between both the meridians from the Cape of Good Hope in the west-end of New Guinea in the west, "under penalty of forfeiture of goods and ships."

The government of the company was vested in five boards of managers—one at Amsterdam managing four-ninths of the whole; one at Middleburg, in Zealand, managing two-ninths; one at Dortrecht, on the Maese, managing one-ninth; one in North Holland, one-ninth; and one in Friesland and Groningen, one-ninth. The general executive power was placed in the hands of a board of nineteen delegates, (usually denominated the College of Nineteen) of whom eight were to come from the Amsterdam Chamber, and the rest from the other Chambers in proportion to their shares, except that the States General was to be represented by one delegate. The States were pledged to defend the company against all comers, to give for its assistance sixteen ships of war, of three hundred tons each, and four yachts of eighty tons each, and were to advance a million guilders in money. The company was to provide at its own expense a number of ships equal to those supplied by the government and to arm and equip them all. The fleet thus constituted it was provided should be placed under the command of an Admiral selected by the States General. The books of the company were only to be kept open for stock subscriptions during the year 1621, and while any inhabitant of the Netherlands might become a stockholder within that period, it was announced that none could do so later. It happened, however, that the books were not closed until June, 1623, when the organization was completed.

While the organization was being completed, several ships were sent on trading ventures of more or less private character to the newly discovered countries, between latitudes 40° and 45° "together with a great river lying between 38 and 40 degrees of latitude," which of course was none other than the Delaware. There is no evidence that they actually traded on this river, but it is to be inferred from the action of the English in Virginia that they did. Indeed it is probable that they visited all of the waters of the coast from Buzzard's Bay (within twenty miles of Plymouth) down to the Delaware.

A plan of colonization was also matured. There were then in the Netherlands a number of Walloons (Belgian Protestants of supposed Waelsche or Celtic origin) who were refugees from Spanish persecution, who had sought to emigrate to Virginia but could not secure satisfactory terms. The West India Company quick to see that these people would be good immigrants with whom to begin the permanent settlement of their possessions in America, at once made provision to carry them over in one of their ships soon to sail. This was the "New Netherlands" in command of Captain Cornelis Jacobsen Mey, who first after Hudson had sailed into the Delaware Bay and who was going out now as the first resident director or governor of the colonies. The vessel sailed from the Texel in March 1623, (Adriaen Joris of Thienpoint being second in command), without about thirty Walloon[1] families on board and took the southern course to America, (the one then commonly followed) by way of the British Channel, the Canaries, across the Atlantic to Guiana and the Carribees, thence northward between the Bermudas and Bahamas to the Virginia coast, and then skirting the shore to the North River. Reaching his destination Mey distributed his handful of colonists as far as he could. The majority were taken up to the site of Albany where the Dutch had built Fort Orange (Aurania) in 1614, a few to the Connecticut River and four couples who had married on the way out, with several sailors and other men were sent to the Delaware, where they were either accompanied or soon visited by Mey. The site selected for this South River settlement was Verlulsten Island near the present city of Trenton, N. J. While the Walloons were located at this place, it appears that the sailors and soldiers were stationed at a little fort which was hurriedly built for their protection at a spot which the natives called "Tekaacho" near Gloucester Point, immediately opposite the lower part of the city of Philadelphia.

[1] The name comes, it is said, either from Wall, (water or sea) or more probably, from the old German word Walsh, signifying a foreigner

This was Fort Nassau, the first building known to have been erected by civilized men on the shores of the Delaware. Its exact site cannot now be pointed out, but it was supposed to be upon the north branch of Timber Creek or as the Dutch called it "Timmer Kill,"[1] then called "Sapackon." It was built close to the point of rocks, its southern rampart being within a few feet of the creek.[2] The year in which the fort was built is disputed, but it is probable that its construction was undertaken about 1623, which was doubtless also the time of the settlement near the site of Trenton. The men and women of the Walloons at this isolated station grew homesick, and within a year or so returned to Manhattan. The fort too was abandoned after one or two years of occupation though it was irregularly occupied by a few soldiers for short periods, down to 1642 when it was continuously garrisoned until 1650 or 1651 when the Dutch themselves destroyed it, because it was too high up the river and too far from the chief theatre of their activities to serve any valuable purpose. It appears to have been occasionally used as a lodging place by the Indians, probably at such times as they expected trading vessels to arrive which was at least once a year, and DeVries found it thus tenanted by the savages when he visited it in 1633.

In 1625, the colony at Manhattan numbered over two hundred souls, and Cornelis Jacobsen May, who administered its simple government, during the year 1624, was succeeded by William Verhulst, as the second director of New Netherlands. He seems to have visited the South River, and his name was for a long time commemorated by "Verhulsten Island," near the bend of the Delaware at Trenton. Upon this island, which is described as being "near the falls of that river, and near the west-side thereof," the West India Company established a trading house, "where there were three or four families of Walloons." The company also had a brick house at Horekill. The Walloon families did not remain very long in their lonely frontier home. By order of the West India Company, "all those who were at the South River," at Verhulsten Island, and Fort Nassau, in 1628, were removed to Manhattan. A small vessel only remained there, to keep up the fur trade. That trade, however, was less profitable than traffic on the North River.

[1] On the map in Campanius' work it is designated as being between the two branches of Timber Creek.

[2] Various discoveries and relics have been made at different times in digging at the site of the fort. In 1765 a Spanish privateer threatened to land on the Delaware, and fears being entertained that they would attack Wilmington, attempts were made to place the old fort in repair. In digging the ground for that purpose, they found several pieces of money, with Queen Christina's stamp upon it. On the 31st of March, 1775, on taking up by chance some pieces of the walls, there were found many cannon balls, grapshot, and other similar things, which had been kept carefully concealed since the surrender of the fort by Rising. Five pieces of cannon (according to Acrelius) were kept mounted there previously, as at the treaty of Aix la Chapelle, in 1646, an English salute was fired from them, in honor of the Governor, who was going to meet the Legislature at New Castle.

While ships regularly visited the South River for purposes of trade, half a dozen years elapsed before any further attempt was made to place a colony or build a fort upon its shores, and when this was finally brought about it was largely through private enterprise and resulted in the founding of the first settlement within the present state of Delaware. In the meantime changes had taken place in the management of New Netherland affairs and in the policy of the West India Company. Peter Minuit[3] came out and succeeded Verhulst as Director of the New England colonies, in 1624, holding the position until 1632, when he was recalled and Van Twiller became governor in his stead. Minuit (as will become apparent in the succeeding chapter) was a man of great sagacity and energy, but he was compelled, so far as what might be called the home affairs of the colonies, to follow a very conservative policy, for the West India Company was sadly neglecting the colonization and commercial schemes it was supposed to have been organized to foster and devoting its strength to far more ambitious and adventurous ones. While the company had been nominally chartered to trade with and colonize the New Netherlands, the real object of its chiefs, had been a colossal system of legalized piracy against the commerce of Spain and Portugal, in Africa and America. And already had it won brilliant successes and acquired vast profits in following this mammon of unrighteousness. It had preyed upon Spanish fleets from one side of the Atlantic to the other. It had in two years taken one hundred and four prizes. It frequently sent out squadrons of seventy armed vessels to sweep the seas. It had captured Bahia and Pernambuco and aspired to the conquest of Brazil. It had declared dividends of fifty per cent. These spectacular and enormously profitable performances had dazzled the wealth-worshipping Dutch mind and completely cast into the shade humble profits of plodding, but legitimate trade and the company did not care to be bothered with the discharge of such common-place duties as directing the settlement of the Dutch possessions and organizing commerce. It was this abandonment or dwarfing in importance of the original purposes of the company which had been one of the chief causes of the withdrawal of William Usselinx, its promoter, in 1624. But there were, nevertheless, among the members of the Amsterdam chamber some shrewd minds albeit of conservative character, who did not, amid the excitement of conquest and quick making of vast fortunes, forget that there was an abiding value in lands. Of this class —all rich, all well-informed, all interested in the support and development of the colonies, all, also, not unwilling to make investments which would further enrich themselves—were John De Laet,

[3] The name is variously spelled Minvet, Minnewit and Minnewe.

the historian, Killiaan Van Rensselaer, Michael Pauw Peter Evertsen Hooft, Jonas Witsen, Hendrick Hamel, Samuel Godyn and Samuel Blommaert. These Amsterdam men of substance, after consulting with Isaac De Rasieres, Minuit's secretary, who, for some reason, had been sent back to Holland, secured, from the College of Nineteen, a "Charter of Exemption and Privileges" to all such as shall plant colonies in New Netherlands, which the States General confirmed on June 7, 1629. This created a complete feudal system and planted it upon the soil of the western world, destined not, indeed, long to nourish it, but to become the globe's broadest field of democracy. A landed aristocracy was brought into existence and the New Netherlands were handed over pretty much to its control. The charter gave the privilege to members of the company to send to America by the company's ships, on certain conditions, three or four persons to select lands, which on purchase from the Indians and on prescribed conditions of planting colonies, should in tracts of fixed size, become the properties of feudal lords, or patroons, who were also to have the control and government of their inhabitants. The land selected for a colony might extend sixteen Dutch miles in length if confined to one side of a navigable river or eight miles on each side, if both banks were occupied, and extend as far into the country as the situation of the occupiers should make desirable (though this latter clause seems afterwards to have been revoked and the extent inland to have been modified to one half of a Dutch mile, or two English miles). These great grants were to be bestowed upon any members of the company (to none others were the privileges open) who should within four years plant a colony of fifty adults upon the tracts in question anywhere in New Netherlands except upon the Island of Manhattan More immigrants entitled the patroon to proportionately more land. The patroons acquired their estates in fee simple, with power of disposing by will; they were magistrates within their own bounds—"had chief command and dower jurisdiction"—and each patroon had the exclusive privilege of fishing, fowling and grinding corn within his own domain. They had also the power of founding cities and appointing officers and could trade anywhere along the coast or to Holland on payment of five per cent. duty to the company, at its reservation of Manhattan. The company prohibited engagement in manufacturing and retained exclusive monopoly of the fur trade. In all other matters the patroons were to be sovereign in their lordship

Among the very first to act under the Charter of Exemptions and Privileges were Samuel Blommaert and Samuel Godwyn. In 1629 they sent two persons to the Delaware to examine and buy land, and these agents purchased from the Indians, on the south (or west) side of the bay, a tract, thirty-two miles long and two miles deep, extending from *old* Cape Henlopen (about where the south boundary of Delaware touches the ocean), northward, to the mouth of a river, the patent being registered and confirmed June 1, 1630.[1] Other would-be patrons soon followed the example of Blommaert and Godwyn, and made similar purchases elsewhere in New Netherlands, Van Rensselaer becoming the proprietor of nearly all of the present Counties of Albany and Rensselaer in New York, while their comrades secured almost equally extensive, and in some cases even more valuable estates. But these lords of the soil began to quarrel among themselves, and to avoid exposure and scandal (for the land "pool" had much to fear because of the peculiar nature of its transactions), they divided the lands equally among the disaffected ones of their number, the historian, De Laet, Blommaert and Godyn, each receiving a fifth in-

[1] This tract of land was the first ever purchased by the whites within the limits of the State of Delaware. This first purchase from the Indians was recognized by the Directors and Council of New Netherlands acting for Samuel Godyn and Samuel Blommaert, in a so-called deed dated at the Island of Manhattan July 15, 1630. This document, which is rather an acceptance or memorandum of purchase than a deed, being unsigned by the Indian grantors, has been preserved in the New York State Library and a photographic copy was given to the Historical Society of Delaware by Gen. Meredith Read. It has also been published in Hazard's Annals, p 23. It is impossible at this day to determine the bounds of the tract but it must have comprised the greater part of the bay front of the present counties of Sussex and Kent from Cape Henlopen northward being thirty-two miles (eight Dutch miles) long and two miles (or half a Dutch *groote Myles* broad). The Dutch probably over-measured the land and came north to the mouth of the Mahon River, (30) instead of (12) miles, and that in a straight line instead of following the curves of the coast. The document which is signed by Peter Minuit, Jacob Ellertson Wissink, Jan Jansen Brouwer, Simon Pietersen Pos, Reynier Harmensen and Jan Lampe reads in part as follows:

"We, the Directors and Council of New Netherlands, residing on the Island of Manhattan and in Fort Amsterdam, under the authority of their High Mightinesses the Lord's States General of the United Netherlands, and of the Incorporated West India Company Chamber at Amsterdam, hereby acknowledge and declare, that on this day, the date underwritten, came and appeared before us in their proper persons, Quackarous and Eriquet, Sachemens and the inhabitants of the village, situate at the South Cape of the bay of South River, and freely and voluntarily declared by special authority of the rulers, and consent of the commonality there, that they already on the first day of June, of the past year 1629, for, and on account of certain parcels of cargoes, which they previous to the passing hereof, acknowledged to have received and got into their hands and power, to their full satisfaction, have transferred, ceded, given over, and conveyed, in just, true, and free property, as they hereby transport, cede, give over, and convey to, and for the behoof of Messrs. Samuel Godyn and Samuel Blommaert absent; and for whom, We, by virtue of our office under proper stipulation, do accept the same, namely, the land to them belonging, situate on the south side of the aforesaid Bay, by us called the Bay of the South River, extending in length from Cape Hinlopen, off into the mouth of the aforesaid South River, about eight leagues (groote myles), and half a league in breadth into the interior, extending to a certain marsh (liegte) or *colley*, through which these limits can clearly enough be distinguished. And, that with all the action, right, and jurisdiction, to them in the aforesaid quality therein appertaining, constituting and surrogating the Messrs. Godyn and Blommaert, in their stead, state, real, and actual possession thereof; and giving them at the same time full and irrevocable authority, power, and special command to hold in quiet possession, occupancy and use, tanquam Actores et Procuratores in rem propriam the aforesaid land, acquired by the above mentioned Messrs. Godyn and Blommaert, or those who may hereafter obtain their interest; also, to do barter and dispose thereof, as they may do with their own well and lawfully acquired lands." . . . .

So much of this quaint deed must suffice, the remainder being unimportant and technical. The first actual Indian deed on record in Delaware is given in the preceding chapter.

terest in Van Rensselaer's patents, and Blommaert and Godyn sharing similarly with their partners the tract on the South River and Bay (or Godyn's Bay, as it now began to be called).

Godyn and Blommaert, in order to hold, or rather secure full title to their tract, had to colonize and improve it, and, in the accomplishment of this, David Pietersen De Vries, of Hoorn, a North Holland port, "a bold and skilful seaman and master of artillery in the service of the United Provinces, became the leading instrument." De Vries, a skipper who was known to Godyn and, who in 1624, had tried, unsuccessfully, to invade the West India Company's monopoly, and now newly returned from a three years' cruise to the East Indies, was offered an opportunity to go the New Netherlands as a captain and "second patroon." But he declined to enter into the project on any terms save equality with the rest, which finally being agreed to, he was made a patroon on October 16, 1630, and taken into partnership with Godyn, Blommaert, De Vries and Van Rensselaer, and about the same time four other directors of the West India Company, Van Ceulen, Hanel, Van Haringhoeck and Van Sittorigh, were admitted to the land "pool," as it would now be called. The captain now set to work to advance the enterprise of his associates. The ship "Walvis," or "Whale," of eighteen guns, and a yacht were immediately equipped and sailed from the Texel, in December, 1630, to plant the first settlement within the present boundaries of the State of Delaware, a settlement which has a mournful interest, from the fact that all of its people were massacred by the Indians. The vessels carried out immigrants, cattle, food and whaling implements, for De Vries had been told that whales abounded in Godyn's Bay, and he intended establishing a whale and seal fishery there, as well as a settlement and plantations for the cultivation of tobacco and grain. The expedition sailed from the Texel, in December, under the command of Peter Heyes, of Edam (for De Vries did not go out at this time, as stated by same writers).[1] They arrived in South River, in April, 1631. Sailing up the southern or west shore the "Walvis" and her consort, just above the present Cape Henlopen, entered "a fine navigable stream, filled with islands, abounding in good oysters," and flowing through a fertile region, and there the immigrants—about thirty in number, all males—were landed, and the first colony in Delaware established. The place was near the site of Lewes, and the stream was what is now known as Lewes Creek, but was then named, by Heyes, Hoornkill, and subsequently corrupted into Whorekill or Horekill.[2] The settlement was called Zwaanendael or Swanvale, and a small building,[3] surrounded with palisades, was given the name of Fort Oplandt. The land at Zwaanendael, or the Valley of Swans," was again purchased, evidently in a kind of confirmatory way, by Peter Heyes and Gillis Hossett, respectively the captain and commissary of the expedition, on May 5, 1631, from Sannoowouns, Wiewit, Penehacke, Mekowetick, Techepewuga, Mathanem, Sacoock, Anchoopoen, Janqueus and Pokahake, who were either Lenape or Nanticoke Indians.

DAVID PIETERSEN DE VRIES.

Soon after the colonists were comfortably settled at Zwaanendael, Heyes crossed to Cape May and bought from ten chiefs on behalf of Godyn, Blommaert and their associates a tract of land twelve miles square which purchase was registered at Manhattan June 3, 1631. Then after demonstrating that nothing was to be expected from the whole fishery, Heyes sailed in September for Holland to report to his employers, leaving Hossett in command of Fort Oplandt and the colony of Zwaanendael. Just how the massacre of the settlers came about was never known, but there is reason to believe that it was incited by wrongful or at least unwise acts on the part of Hossett and his men. The Dutch says one account (given to De Vries by an Indian) as was the custom, erected a pillar and placed a piece of tin upon it, traced with the coat of arms of the United Provinces. One of the chiefs not knowing the gravity of the offence, took away the tin to make pipes from it, which created great indignation among the officers of the little garrison. The Indians, continues this narrative, were exceedingly anxious to make amends to the white men, for they entertained an awe and reverence scarcely inferior to that which they accorded the gods, and slaying the

[1] Ferris and Vincent have both fallen into this error, doubtless from the fact that De Vries was at the head of the enterprise and that he was afterwards on the Delaware.

[2] There is not the slightest evidence that this name had its origin in the alleged ill behavior of the Indian women of the region. It was undoubtedly named after Hoorn of Holland with the affix of "kill" the Dutch for river, and corrupted by the English into Whorekill which name after the arrival of Penn was applied to all of the territory included in Sussex County. Cape Horn was also named after the "fatherland" town of Hoorn by William Cornelius Schouten.

[3] This is said to have been a brick house, but there is no mention of either of the ships bringing over bricks or brick-making implements in their cargo.

offending chief brought a token of their act to the fort hoping thus to appease the white Manitou's anger. They were rebuked for this act, which they thought would prove propitiatory, and went away displeased. Some of the friends of the murdered chief who had taken no part in the crime and regarded it as being actuated by the Dutch, resolved upon revenge, and stealing upon them when with the exception of one sick man they were all at work in the fields, slew them, afterwards going to the fort and making the massacre complete by killing its solitary occupant, and shooting twenty-five arrows into a huge chained mastiff. This account of the destruction of the first colony of white men within the boundaries of Delaware is open to doubt, so far as the provoking cause is concerned, but it appears certain that the whites were greatly to blame. Whatever may have been its causes the massacre was a melancholy fact, and thus was shed the first white blood upon the Delaware.

De Vries early in 1632 had made preparations to visit the colony, inspect its condition and place more settlers there. Just as he was ready to sail from the Texel in command of another ship and yacht, on May 24, Governor Minuit arrived from Manhattan with the startling intelligence of the massacre at Zwaanendale. Notwitnstanding this discouraging news he sailed, and after a tedious voyage (making their customary immense detour to the southward) arrived off the Delaware coast early in December, knowing long before he saw land that it was near "by the odor of the underwood which at this time of the year is burned by the Indians in order to be less hindered in their hunting." On the 3d of December the weary voyagers saw the entrance of the Bay; on the 5th sailed around the Cape, and on the 6th ran with the coast up the Hoornkill, having first taken precautions against an ambushed attack by the savages. De Vries doubtless had hopes that the massacre would prove to have been of a less pending character than had been represented; that some of the men had escaped or been spared; but he found that his worst fears had been realized and the scene that met his eyes, even before landing told too well of the fact of the settlement. The stockade had been burned and the dwelling or store house which constituted the stronghold of Fort Oplandt was nearly ruined. But the worst was reached when they came to the place where their countrymen had been butchered, when they found "the ground bestrewed with heads and bones of their murdered men, and near by the remains of their cattle." Silence and ruin and desolation reigned in the once lovely valley. The melancholy little search party returned to their ship, and having as yet seen no Indians, De Vries ordered a cannon fired with the hope of bringing some of them down to the shore, but none came that day. Upon the next, the 7th of December, they discovered several Indians near the ruins of the fort, but they would not come down to the ship. They evidently feared to appproach and desired the whites to come on shore, which De Vries did the following day, being anxious to learn some particulars of the massacre if possible. He went up the stream in the yacht in order that he might "have some shelter from their arrows," and found a number of the natives, but they were very shy, and it was some time before he could induce any of them to go on the vessel, though he finally succeeded in gaining their confidence. He then received the story, already given in substance, which was very probably a fabrication designed to palliate the action of the Indians and at the same time to conciliate the Dutch. De Vries did not care to investigate too clearly a deed which was irreparable, and which he felt assured originated in some brutality or debauchery among his own race. He already knew something of Dutch cruelty, and attributed the massacre of Hossett and his men to "mere jangling with the Indians" and made a treaty of peace with them and sealed it with presents—duffels, bullets, hatchets and Nuremburg toys" after the usual custom.

De Vries and his men lingered in the region of Lewes Creek through the remainder of December, attempting, it is supposed, to capture whales, but on January 1, 1633, navigation being open, they weighed anchor and sailed up the bay and river to Fort Nassau, where he arrived on the 5th. There De Vries met some of the natives, who desired to barter furs for corn, of which, however, he had none, and was thus unable to trade with them. The Indians made a show of offering peace, but their actions were suspicious, and he was warned by a squaw whom he gave a cloth dress, that their intentions were evil. He noticed, too, that some of them wore English jackets, and presently learned that they had recently murdered the crew of an English sloop, said to have come up the river from Virginia, and, as they greatly outnumbered his men, the wary captain dealt with them very cautiously. On the 6th he anchored in front of the Timmer Kill (Timber Creek), fully prepared for the Indians if they intended harming him, and soon their canoes came shooting from the shore and approached the yacht. Forty odd of the natives clambered on board. Their visit was probably made with pacific intent, but they were closely watched, and when the captain thought they had been there long enough, he ordered them ashore, threatening them to fire if they refused to depart, and telling them that he had been warned by their Manitou (God or devil) of their wicked designs. On the 8th, after cruising up and down the river, he again returned to his position before the fort, which was now thronged

[1] De Vries, p. 201.

with Indians, and presently a canoe came off with nine of them, who, when they came on to the yacht, were found to be chiefs. They crouched in a circle, and gave the captain to understand they had found he was afraid of them, but that they desired only peace and trade, and presented ten beaver skins, with much ceremony, in token of their friendship. On the 9th and 10th he obtained from them a small quantity of corn and a few furs, and on the latter day dropped down the river and anchored half a mile above the Minquas Kill (Christiana River), on the lookout for whales His yacht was afterwards twice frozen fast in the ice, and he was in some danger from Indians, of whom he saw numerous bands, there being some internecine war among them He reached Zwaanendael, after most vexatious delays, on February 20th, and on March 6th sailed for Virginia to procure, if possible, supplies for his colony. He was upon his arrival there met by the Governor and some officers and soldiers, who treated him very cordially, but told him that the South River belonged to the British by right of discovery. The Governor appeared never before to have heard that the Dutch had built forts and placed settlements upon the river, but spoke of a small vessel that had been sent some time before to explore the stream, and of which nothing had since been heard although she was long since due. De Vries then narrated what had been told him by the Indian squaw in regard to the murder of a boat's crew, and related the circumstance of having seen some of the Indians wearing English garments. Purchasing provisions and receiving a present of half a dozen goats, De Vries set sail again to the northward, and in due time reached Zwaanendael. He found that his men stationed there had taken seven whales from which they had rendered thirty-two cartels of oil, but as the fishing was too expensive in proportion to the proceeds, and the colony being so small that it could not reasonably be expected to maintain itself and resist the Indians, he took the few adventurers there and sailed to Manhattan and thence to Holland some time in the summer of 1633. Thus the Delaware Bay was again abandoned to the Indians, and no people but they broke the solitude of its shores or trod the melancholy, blood-stained and desolate ground of the "Valley of Swans," the site of Delaware's first settlement, for many years.

According to English rule, occupancy was necessary to complete a title to the wilderness. The Delaware having been reconquered by the natives, before the Dutch could renew their claim, the patent granted to Cecilius Calvert, second Lord Baltimore, on June 20, 1632, gave the Dutch an English competitor in the person of the proprietary of Maryland.

Two years after the departure of DeVries and his colonists from the Delaware on the 7th of February, 1635, the whole of the patroon lands on both shores of the bay, one stretching along the coast thirty-two miles and the other embracing Cape May and the surrounding country for a distance of twelve miles, were sold by Godyn, Blommaert and their associates to the West India Company, for fifteen thousand six hundred guilders or six thousand two hundred and forty dollars. This was the first land sold by whites upon the Delaware Bay or River.

Fort Nassau, which was unoccupied except by Indians in 1633, must have been garrisoned soon afterwards, for in 1635 a party of Englishmen from the colony on the Connecticut River, who sought to make a settlement on the Delaware endeavored to capture it, but were thwarted, captured and sent as prisoners to Manhattan. It is probable that the fort was continuously occupied by the Dutch from this time to and after the settlement on the river by the Swedes in 1638, and it certainly was in that year as the accounts of expeditions for its maintenance in the West India Company's books prove. But other than this infinitesimal dot of slowly dawning civilization, near the present town of Gloucester, N. J., there was nowhere upon the shores of the river and bay any sign of human habitation, save the occasional wigwam of the natives; and the great wilderness that stretched away, no one knew whither, from the royal water-way lay as a virgin region awaiting the coming of man. But preparations were again making beyond the ocean—this time in far away Sweden—for the peopling of these shores.

CHAPTER V.

NEW SWEDEN ON THE DELAWARE.

SWEDEN was now to become the competitor of France, and England, and Holland for a foothold in North America. The liberal mind of Gustavus Adolphus early discerned the benefits to his people of colonies and an expanded commerce; and William Usselinx, the projector of the Dutch West India Company, visiting the Baltic, quickened the zeal of the sagacious sovereign. Turning to Sweden and contemplating the complex beginning of her colonization project, which resulted in the planting of the first permanent organized settlement on the Delaware, in 1638—Christinaham, the site of which is now embraced in the city of Wilmington—one of the most noteworthy and curious facts, which presents itself to the student, is, that the three individuals chiefly instrumental in accomplishing that work were men who

had already become prominent in the Dutch colonial enterprises. These were William Usselinx, Peter Minuit and Samuel Blommaert—names with which the reader of the preceding chapter is already familiar, knowing them to have been respectively those of the first projector of the Dutch West India Company, in 1621; a Governor of New Netherlands and a patroon proprietor of great land tracts on the Delaware, one of which included the site of the unfortunate colony of Zwaanendael, upon the Hoornkill.

Usselinx, as has been shown, left Holland late in 1623 or early in 1624, impoverished and stung by the ingratitude of the Dutch. He went immediately to Sweden and there made, through Chancellor Axel Oxenstierna, to King Gustavus Adolphus,—the, then, most commanding figure in Europe and the chief defender of Protestantism,—a proposition to establish a Swedish Trading Company to operate in Asia, Africa and America, but to especially direct its energies to the latter. Both King and Chancellor embraced the enthusiast's project, with alacrity, and their interest and assistance knew no abatement, save through the pecuniary embarrassments, political changes and wars which unfortunately ensued. Usselinx, in urging all the advantages that might accrue to the nation and individuals by the enterprise, stated that there were thousands of miles of shore in America where no Spaniards or Dutch had ever been, with fertile soil, and good climate, to the natives of which their superfluous goods could be sent and from whom other goods taken in return: that colonies might be planted on these shores to the great benefit of the mother country and vastly extending His Majesty's dominions, and that the causes of civilization and Christianity might be greatly advanced. "Above all," said he:—

"It must truly be said that the most important object at which all pious Christians should aim, is that a knowledge of and friendship with so many different nations must serve most powerfully to the honor of God, which is effected partly by preaching the beatifying word of our Lord Jesus Christ to those nations who have hitherto lived in blindness, idolatry, and wickedness, as they will be brought to the light of truth and eternal salvation. In these countries where trade had hitherto been carried on, the natives, for want of a mild government, had been in a great part extirpated, and those that remained so much oppressed that life had become a burden to them."[1]

For the settlement of such a company as Usselinx proposed the King granted letters patent, dated November 10, 1624, creating the Swedish South Sea Company which it was provided, should go into operation May 1, 1625, and continue twelve years, or until 1637. On the 21st day of the next month Gustavus Adolphus authorized Usselinx to travel through the kingdom and solicit subscribers to the stock of the Company and gave him a kind of general letter of recommendation in which he said:—

[1] "Some Account of William Usselinx and Peter Minuit," by Joseph J. Mickley.

"The honest and prudent William Usselinx has humbly represented and demonstrated to us by what means a 'General Trading Company' could be established here in our kingdom. We have taken his proposition into consideration, and find it is founded and based on such good reason that we cannot disapprove of it, but see, if God give luck, that it certainly will tend to the honor of His holy name, to our States' prosperity, and to our subjects' improvement and benefit."

A second charter for the company was granted by the King, June 14, 1626, which was similar in all essential matters to that of two years before, except that it changed the time for going into effect from 1625 to 1627. It consisted of thirty-seven articles and was introduced with the following words by the King:—

"Finding it serviceable and necessary to the welfare and improvement of our kingdom and subjects that trade, produce and commerce should grow within our kingdom and dominions, and be furthered by all proper means, and having received of credible and experienced persons good information that in Africa, Asia, America and Magellanica, or Terra Australis, very rich lands and islands do exist, certain of which are peopled by a well governed nation, certain others by heathens and wild men, and others still uninhabited; and others not as yet perfectly discovered, and that not only with such places a great trade may be driven, but that the hope strengthens of bringing said people easily, through the setting on foot commercial intercourse, to a better civil state and to the truth of the Christian religion, We Gustavus II. Adolphus, King of Sweden," etc., "for the spread of the holy Gospel and the prosperity of our subjects" . . . . have concluded to erect "a general company or united power of proprietors of our own realm, and such others as shall associate themselves with them, and help forward the work, promising to strengthen it with our succor and assistance." . . .[2]

The charter fully set forth the objects of the corporation; provided that it should be open to all countries, cities and individuals, and that those of them who should bring one hundred thousand thalers should be entitled to appoint a director; guaranteed national protection; assured a crown subscription of four hundred thousand thalers; fixed numerous other details and prescribed a form of government for the company.

That the services of Usselinx were neither ignored nor inadequately estimated is apparent from the thirty-third article, in which he is most favorably spoken of and a plan established for his pecuniary recompense, viz:—

"Whereas William Usselinx, born in Antwerp, Brabant, has spent the most of his time in investigating the condition of the above-named

[2] Although the honor of projecting the first Swedish settlement in America belongs to the distinguished founder of the Dutch West India Company, William Usselinx, the credit of devising the details of the scheme, and of successfully executing it, is due to the former Director of New Netherlands and first Governor of New Sweden, Peter Minuit. In a letter addressed to Peter Spiring, June 15, 1638, on the eve of his departure from Holland for Sweden, which appears to have been laid before the Royal Council on September 27, 1638, he makes the formal offer of his services for the founding of the colony of New Sweden (then first so-called), as well as a specific statement of what was regarded as necessary for the equipment of the first Swedish expedition to the Delaware. This letter has been translated from the original Dutch by Professor G. B. Keen, a very able and industrious Pennsylvania writer, and is published in the *Pennsylvania Magazine*, Vol. VI., p. 436. Samuel Blommaert, who was associated with Minuit and Usselinx in their scheme to colonize Delaware, was a merchant of Amsterdam, distinguished himself in 1607-9 in the service of the Dutch East India Company, and was now (1638) a partner in the Dutch West India Company. In 1630, as has been stated elsewhere, he was a partner in the colony of Rensselaerswyck, and in a patroonship which established a settlement called Swaanendael, near the site of the present town of Lewes, Delaware, the following year. He was appointed Commissioner for the Swedish enterprise at Amsterdam, and held that office until the beginning of 1640. In 1647 he was a Commissioner in the Board of Accounts of the Dutch West India Company, and was Accountant General at the time of his death, which occurred about 1652.

countries, (the West Indies and America), and, according to the testimony of the States-General of the United Provinces, the late Prince Maurice of Orange, and several historians, that he is the first projector and beginner of the established West India Company in Holland, and has given the Lords States-General good instructions, so he has also given us, by his good advice and information, great satisfaction,—he has obligated himself to remain in our service and communicate faithfully and candidly everything that came to his knowledge on the subject through long experience and industry,—therefore have we, for his past and future promised services, trouble, labor and expenses, allowed him to receive from the company one out of every thousand (of florins) of all the goods and merchandise which shall be bought, traded, or sold, as long as trade continues to the countries mentioned in this charter. Thus the said company shall be obliged to pay one out of a thousand (florins) to Usselinx, his attorney or heirs."[1]

The King was a profound, far-seeing statesman and liberal thinker; and he therefore proposed that freedom of conscience and speech should prevail in any colony founded under the Swedish ægis and that to it should be welcomed all exiles from the battle-torn fields of the old world. No slaves should tread its soil "for," he said, "slaves cost a great deal, labor with reluctance and soon perish from hard usage. But the Swedish nation is industrious and intelligent, and hereby we shall gain more by a free people with wives and children."

The project thus warmly endorsed by Gustavus Adolphus was received with enthusiasm by his subjects. "It is not to be described," says one writer,[2] "how much all these new schemes delighted the Senators, particularly that relative to the establishment of the West Indies (as America was then called), to which all people subscribed readily and generously, in conformity to the example set them by the king." Ships were made ready and according to some authorities actually sailed for America,[3] but fell into the hands of the Spaniards, and then the Thirty Years War being renewed and Sweden needing all her men and money at home, all further efforts towards colonization were for the time abandoned. During the period which followed there was little respite in the war and the consequent political turmoil, and the undivided attention which the successful maturing of the scheme demanded could not be bestowed upon it by those in authority. Finally came a serious blow alike to the country and the prospects of the company in the death of the brave and high-minded King, who fell in the battle of Lutzen, November 6, 1632. Almost his last act in civil affairs had been his extension of the charter to include Germany in the privilege of the company and his authorization to Usselinx to travel in that country to appoint assistants to collect subscribers. In this document dated October 16, 1632 (signed and sealed by Chancellor Oxenstierna) the King styles Usselinx, "Our now authorized Over Director of the New South Company, our dear and faithful William Usselinx." After the King's death, on June 26, 1633, Oxenstierna in a public letter confirming his appointment as agent for Germany calls him "the first projector of the South Company, now appointed Over Director, the honorable, our particularly beloved William Usselinx."[4] The disastrous engagement with Germany in regard to the company was entirely broken off by the defeat of the Swedish army at the battle of Nördlingen, August 27, 1634, and Usselinx then endeavored, though ineffectually, to interest the French Government in the scheme.

And now in 1635, after nine years of, for the most part, well-directed but intermittent and productive labor, and too, amid the very same disadvantages which had defeated the original project, there was begun what was, in many essential respects, a new movment for the colonization of New Sweden, and one which culminated in success Concerning the affairs of this period in which the Chancellor Axel Oxenstierna, Peter Minuit, Samuel Blommaert and Peter Spiring were the chief actors, a Swedish investigator[5] has in very recent years discovered interesting data.

The King, a short time before his death, had freshly urged public attention to the trading and colonization scheme, and Oxenstierna, to whose wise guardianship, he had entrusted his little daughter, Christina, the future Queen of Sweden, officially reiterated his well-known desires He also stated that the work was almost carried to completion, but was delayed by the absence of the King in the crusades, in Prussia and Germany and from other causes. Fully realizing the importance of the project which had been left him as a political legacy and trust, the Chancellor in the spring of 1635, while sojourning at the Hague and Amsterdam, made the acquaintance of Samuel Blommaert, the commercially ambitious Hollander, whose land investments on the Delaware

[1] Documents Relating to the Colonial History of New York. Vol. XII. (Edited by B. Fernow), p. 13; also Mickley's pamphlet, Hazard's Register, and Vincent's History of Delaware, page 119.

[2] Harte's Life of Gustavus Adolphus.

[3] Harte asserts that "a little Swedish squadron" actually sailed for America, but that "the Spaniards contrived, dexterously enough, to make themselves masters of it." A similar statement is made by Campanius, who adds that the ships had been stopped by the Spaniards in order to aid the Poles and the Emperor of Germany, and further narrates that America was visited and settled by the Swedes in the reign of Gustavus. But the authorities agree, in the conclusion, that no settlement was made until the following reign, and that if any Swedes were in America at an earlier period, they could only have been a few individuals who adventured with the Dutch.

[4] Usselinx, afterwards, went into France to induce that government to engage in the Swedish South Company. In 1639 he attempted to form an alliance between Sweden, France and England, as a security against Spain, and in 1640 he endeavored to interest the Hanse Towns in the same affair, but he was unsuccessful in all these schemes. In 1634 he was appointed Swedish agent in Holland.—*Joseph J. Mickley's Account of Usselinx and Minuit.*

[5] C. T. Odhner: "Kolonien Nya Sveriges Grundläggning, 1637–1642 Hist. Bibliotek. My fädd I § 197–225 (Stockholm, 1876). This work translated by Prof. G. B. Keen, for the *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* appears under the title "The Founding of New Sweden," in Vol. III. pp. 260–284 and 265–411. Prof. Odhner's contribution throws new light upon the expedition to the Delaware and enables us to correct the errors into which most writers have fallen from following too closely the writings of Campanius and Acrelius, who were either not in possession of the sources of information now revealed, or valuing them too lightly, used them carelessly. The former is notoriously erroneous and the latter, though accurate as far as he goes, did not examine the records in Sweden as clearly as he did those of the Swedish churches in America.

have already been referred to, and after his departure, kept up a correspondence with him, which had the effect of giving a new impetus to Swedish-American affairs. One of the first of Blommaert's letters made inquiry as to the prospects of a Swedish expedition to Guinea, to which country and Brazil the attention of the Dutchman seems then to have been principally devoted, and subsequent letters dealt largely with a description of the commercial and maritime enterprises of Holland. In the following year Oxenstierna received a visit in Wismer from another Dutchman who was, however, engaged in the Swedish service and stood high in the esteem of the government. This was Peter Spiring, who was now sent to Holland on a commission to gain subsidies for Sweden from the States General and also "to observe whether it might not be possible in this conjuncture to obtain some service in affairs of commerce or manufactures." He wrote the Chancellor, in May 1636, that he had held several conversations with Blommaert concerning the trade with Guinea, and had sought to interest in it him and other Dutch men of business. He also heard from Blommaert of the person best qualified to impart information on these subjects, *viz.*, Peter Minuit, the leader of the first Swedish expedition to the Delaware.[1]

Minuit, whom it will be borne in mind, was Director of the Council, or President of the Board of the Holland West India Company, and Governor of Netherlands, resident on the Island of Manhattan, from May 4, 1626 to 1632, was a native of Wesel, in the war-torn Cleves in the Rhine provinces of Germany. He was probably compelled to relinquish his position, in 1632, by the intrigue of a powerful faction of the company, and thereafter seems to have led a retired life, in Holland, until 1626, when he was brought into notice by Spiring.[2] It was proposed that Minuit should journey to Sweden in the summer of 1636, "to aid the authorities with his counsel and superior information," but he was unable to do so, and sent a written communication (dated June 15) in which he said:

"As West India has been gradually occupied by the English, French and Netherlands, so it appears to me that the Swedish government should not remain inactive. Thus in order to spread its name in foreign countries, have I, the undersigned, been desirous to offer my services to the Swedish government,—to begin on a small scale, which, through the blessing of God, may in a short time result in something great. In the first place I have prepared to Peter Spiring to make a voyage to Virginia's New Netherlands and other parts adjoining,—safe places, well known to me, with a good climate,—which should be named *New Sweden*."

He suggested that the Swedish Government might grant a charter to secure the trade from Terra Nova (Newfoundland) to Florida, and also grant power to capture Spanish and Portuguese vessels, and that the goods of the company should be made free from duty, both in and out, for a period of ten years. He thought that the company ought to "try to get there the sooner the better, and procure friendly terms with the wild inhabitants, so as to induce them to collect beaver-skins during the winter; trade with them for four to five thousand skins. Thus, with a small beginning, increase the capital, so as to take more in hand afterwards." Such an expedition as Minuit contemplated required a ship of from sixty to one hundred lästers,[3] with a cargo worth ten thousand to twelve thousand gulden,[4] and a company of twenty or twenty-five men, with provisions for a year and a dozen soldiers to serve as a garrison for the colony which should be located, besides a smaller vessel to remain at the settlement. This proposition of Minuit's or one based upon it was read in the Swedish Råd, September 27, 1636, and seems to have been favorably regarded by that body as well as by Oxenstierna, Spiring, Blommaert and other interested individuals.

In the fall of 1636, Spiring was again sent to Holland, but this time as Swedish resident and "Counsellor of the Finances, ennobled under the name of Silfvercron till Norshalm (with which he coupled his own name, usually writing it Peter Spieringk Silvercron of Norshalm). He immediately resumed negotiations with Minuit, and Blommaert, (the latter of whom was now made Swedish Commissary[5] at Amsterdam), the final result of which was that the expedition to Guinea was given up, because regarded as ultimately involving too great expense and the coterie resolved to form a Swedish-Dutch Company, for the purpose of carrying on trade with and establishing colonies upon those portions of the American coast not already occupied by the Dutch and English. It was estimated that the cost of the first expedition would be about twenty-four thousand Dutch florins,[6] half of which was to be contributed by Blommaert, Minuit and their friends and the remaining half to be subscribed in Sweden

[1] Prof. Ohlmer (translation) in Pennsylvania Historical and Biographical Magazine. Vol. III., p. 274.

[2] Concerning Minuit's services for the Dutch and the severance of his relations with the West India Company, Mickley in his little monograph on Cornelius and Minuit says: "He remained in office until 1632, when a dispute arose between the West India Company and the patroons, in which Minuit was suspected of being in favor of the latter, in consequence of which he either resigned or was dismissed. This is not quite clear. Minuit left New Amsterdam in the ship "Eendracht" (Concord) in the same year, 1632, with a cargo of five thousand beaver skins. After his arrival at Portsmouth he was detained, with the ship and cargo, by command of the English government, under pretence that the country where he traded to belonged to England. He was, however, soon after released, and finally arrived safe in Amsterdam, with his valuable cargo, in May, 1632. No public records have as yet been found, either in New York or Holland, relating to that period of time in which Minuit was director at New Amsterdam, excepting a deed or warrant for land to Godyn & Blommaert, which land is situated on the east side of the Delaware (now Cape May). This is dated Manhattan, July 13, 1630; signed by P. Minuit and others."

[3] From 720 to 1200 tons.

[4] Not far from $[illegible] to $[illegible] in gold.

[5] Equivalent to Consul General.

[6] Two and a half Dutch florins were equal to about one Swedish rikedaler and the above sum was equal to nine thousand six hundred rikedalers or seven thousand two hundred dollars gold.

Spiring was desirous of taking into their confidence other business men, but their companions protested against it and urged secrecy as the only safeguard against the frustration of their scheme by the Dutch West India Company. This affords a somewhat caustic commentary upon the methods by which the first Swedish colonies were planted upon the Delaware and explains why so little was known of the early movements towards that object by cotemporary historians. Blommaert was a member of the Dutch company, but no less zealous for the welfare of the Swedish enterprise on that score, and indeed he had been engaged in contention with the company, which, doubtless had its effect in making him a party to the new project, but it is, nevertheless, a notable fact that he was not taken into the confidence of his associates.

Minuit, when these preliminaries had been arranged, in February, 1637, went to Sweden and began preparations for the expedition of which it was agreed he was to be commander. The money required from Sweden was contributed by Axel Oxenstierna and two of his relatives, Peter Spiring and Clas Fleming, who was practically the chief of the Swedish Admiralty and secretary of the Swedish company. It was he who obtained the commission to fit out the ships, and he carried out the details of equipment with Minuit and Blommaert. The latter procured the crews of experienced men, in Holland, and also bought there the articles for the cargoes for trading purposes. Both men and goods were sent over to Gottenburg, whence the expedition was to sail in the spring, but owing to Minuit's being seriously sick, a long delay ensued. On the 9th of August, the Admiralty issued passports for the ships "Kalmar Nyckel" (Key of Kalmar) and "Vogel Gripen"[1] (the Griffin, or Bird Griffin), the former a large man-of-war, the latter a sloop, to sail from Stockholm, and they did not leave Gottenburg until late in the fall. Even after sailing from this port, the vessels were delayed by adverse winds and stormy weather, and as late as December had to put into the Dutch harbor of Mendemblik, to repair damages and procure provisions. The thrifty Dutch partners were sorely worried by all of these vexatious hindrances and consequent expenditures, for already the expenses of the expedition had been calculated at thirty-six thousand florins, or half again as much as the sum which had at the outset been deemed sufficient and they were fearful that they would realize no profit from their venture. Minuit promised, however, upon his return, to induce the Swedish government to assume the extra expenditure and finally their minds were, in a measure, comforted by the departure of the "Key of Kalmar" and "Griffin" just as the year, 1637, drew to a close.[2]

Of that old-time venturesome voyage across the ocean which resulted in placing the first permanent settlement on the shores of the Delaware River, within the boundaries of the State named for it, nothing definite is known. The passage was doubtless by the circuitous southern route, along the coast of Portugal and by the way of the Azores and Canaries to the West India Islands and thence northward, along the American shore, to the entrance of the Delaware Bay. What may have been the thought of the few persons on the two vessels, thus breasting the waves, day after day, in their progress towards a practically unknown land, may be partly conjectured. What vague hopes and vaguer fears filled some of those breasts may be imagined. They had heard misty and fabulous stories of the wealth, and salubrity, and luxuriance of the country to which the winds of heaven were bearing them and they heard, too, tales of the cruelty and blood-thirstiness of the strange race who dwelt there Some of them must have had knowledge of outrages committed in the country, and those who knew the actual destination of the ships were not, improbably, aware, also, of the awful fate of the Zwaanendael colonists Some of the sailors had, very likely, visited these shores before, in the Dutch service, and they and the commander Minuit knew something of the condition of the country, but the rest were in almost absolute ignorance of the situation and circumstances that awaited them. The mind of Minuit was, doubtless, filled with dreams of personal renown and of the future glory and enrichment of the company he represented. A few may, perhaps, have been piously praying and planning for the Christian enlightenment of the savages, (but this is doubtful, for the first clergyman was yet to come to the Delaware),[3] and it is not probable that there were many religiously inclined persons among the emigrants, each and

[1] G. B. Keen, in a note to his translation of Odhner, (*Pennsylvania Magazine of History*, Vol. III, p. 277) says, "The passes granted were to Capt. Anders Nilsson Kruber, of the 'Kalmar Nyckel' (in Dutch *De Kalmers leutels*, and 'Vogel Grip' (Dutch, *De Vogelgrip*), commanded by Lieut. Jacob Barken. The 'Key of Kalmar' (named after a city of Sweden, on the Baltic coast of Gothland, off the island of Oland, and famous as being the place where the union of Denmark, Sweden and Norway was consummated in 1397, under the imperious Queen Margaret of Denmark, called the 'Semiramis of the North') was a regular man-of-war of quite good capacity. The 'Griffin' (or 'Bird Griffin') was a sloop or yacht for shallow water. The rest of the expedition, through delays, ran up above thirty-six thousand florins, causing the Dutch subscribers to grumble. The only persons, so far as known, who came to new Sweden on the 'Gripen' and remained with the colony was *en mosten eder angeder*, 'a Moor or Angola man,' a negro named Anthony, a bought slave (the first on the Delaware), who served Governor Printz at Tinnecum in 1644 ('making hay for the cattle and accompanying the Governor in his pleasure-yacht'), and was still living in 1664."

[2] Blommaert sent news of the departure to the Chancellor in a letter dated January 8, 1638.

[3] Reverus Torkillus, the first Swedish clergyman on the Delaware, was not with this expedition as has been stated by Ferris, Vincent and others, but came in the second expedition, in 1639.

every mind, of that small but mixed assemblage, had its own thoughts of the half mysterious country to which they were bound and mingled with these misty musings were the distinct, almost photographically vivid, memories of the Fatherland, thousands of miles away.

Whatever the incidents of the voyage, the adventurers were blessed with a safe, and, for the times, a speedy passage. The winds that filled the sails of the stately "Key of Kalmar" and the little sloop "Griffin" were more propitious than those which wafted the early voyagers, for it is certain that they came across the Atlantic in a period not greatly exceeding three months, and five months was not an unusual time for a voyage to America in the ships of that distant day.[1] The actual sailing of the expedition had occurred about the close of December, 1637, or the beginning of January, following, and the ships were upon the Delaware by the close of March, 1638.[2]

The season was an early one, the vegetation well advanced, and to the eyes of the navigators accustomed, for three months, to rest upon nothing but a billowy waste of water, and having last seen land—Sweden and Holland—in the dead of winter, the sight of the shores of Delaware, already green, must have been a refreshing one and filled their hearts with happy anticipations. Wafted by balmy breezes that bore the first spring odors of the unlocked and warming earth—of the bursting buds of vast forests and the grass and flowers of natural meadows, all doubly grateful to the people long-confined in crowded ships, pervaded by a composite stench, the pioneers sailed up the bay and gave expression to the exuberance of delight by naming the first place at which they landed for observation and refreshment, "Paradise Point" (Paradis Udden). To their famished eyes, the verdure-clad shore at this place (which was somewhere between the Murderkill and Mispillion Creek, in the neighborhood of Lewes, in Kent County) was, indeed, a feast of beauty—an earthly paradise,—all unmindful that the desolate site of Zwannendael was only a few miles away.

The place which they were to make their home was not yet reached, and so after a brief enjoyment of liberty on shore, the people returned to the vessels and weighing anchor sailed up the bay and river, the latter of which they named Nya Sverige's Elf (New Sweden's River). Finally they arrived at the mouth of a stream of goodly size, the Minquas Kil,[3] of which Minuit probably had some knowledge through the explorations of Captain Hendrickson,[4] and doubtless with the fixed intention of locating upon its banks, the vessels steered into its channel and slowly made their way beyond the mouth of the Brandywine to the spot known as "The Rocks,"[5] an excellent natural wharf, about one mile and three-quarters, following the course of the stream, from the Delaware. Upon these rocks the pas-

[1] When Rudman and Burch, the Swedish missionaries, were sent to this country under the authority and by order of Charles XI., of Sweden, in 1697, their ship was nine weeks and six days on her passage from Stockholm to London and ten weeks on her way thence to the coast of Virginia. It is also said, that, when Sandel, the Swedish missionary, was appointed to come over and take charge of the church at Wicaco, "He left Sweden on the 21st of August, 1701, and after some detention, in England, and the usual tedious passage across the Atlantic, arrived in the Delaware, on the 12th of March following," or in twenty-nine weeks. In the very interesting account of his voyage from Sweden to the Delaware, by the elder Campanius, we are informed that he sailed from Stockholm, August 16, 1642, and arrived at Christiana, February 15, 1643. In explanation of his passage, Campanius gives the following narrative of his voyage:

"1642, *August* 16th.—Sailed from Stockholm.
"*August* 17th.—Arrived at Dalecham.
"*September* 3d.—Left the same.
"*September* 6th.—Arrived at Copenhagen.
"*September* 8th.—Landed at Helsinger.
"*September* 12th.—Came to Gottenburg.
"*November* 1st.—Left Gottenburg Castle.
"*November* 11th.—In the Spanish Sea, (suppose off the coast of Spain).
"*November* 21st.—Sailing along the coast of Portugal.
"*November* 29th.—Off the Barbary coast.
"*November* 29th.—South of the Canary Islands.
"*December* 28th.—Arrived at Antigua.
"1643, *January* 3d.—Sailed by St. Christopher's and other small islands.
"*January* 24th.—Sounding off the coast of America.
"*January* 25th.—Saw land near the Capes of Delaware.
"*January* 26th.—Off Lewestown.
"*February* 15th.—Arrived at Christiana. Passage just five months or 150 days.

[2] That the ships arrived in March, 1638, rather than April, as stated by Vincent, and implied by various writers, is established by the discovery in Sweden (since Odhner wrote, in 1876) of a document which shows that Minuit purchased land upon the Delaware from an Indian chief, upon March 29. If he made this purchase (unhesitatingly at the site of Fort Christiana) upon the date given, he must have passed the capes three or four days previously. That the arrival of the vessels upon the Delaware, occurred in April, has been generally supposed from a letter from Jamestown, written by Jerome Hawley, secretary of the Virginia colony, to secretary Windebank, of the London Company, under date of May 8, 1638, in which he says, that, since March 26th (when he last wrote) "a Dutch ship with a commission from the young Queen of Sweden" had arrived there and remained about ten days. It has usually been inferred (and by Vincent is explicitly stated) that this ship was the "Key of Kalmar" with Minuit on board *upon her way to the Delaware*, but Odhner shows (by means of one of Bloemaert's letters) that it was the sloop Griffin, which, *after* her arrival on the Delaware, her commander had sent to Virginia with the idea of bartering her cargo—a project not realized. The letter from Hawley, alluded to, is as follows:

"JAMESTOWN, IN VIRGINIA, *May* 8, 1638.

"*Right Hon.*—Upon the 26th of March last I took the boldness to present you with my letters, wherein I gave only a touch of the business of our Assembly, referring your honor to the general letters then sent by Mr. Kemp from the governor and Council. Since which time have arrived a Dutch ship, with a commission from the young Queen of Sweden, and signed by eight of the chief lords of Sweden, the copy whereof I would have taken to send to your honor, but the captain would not permit me to take a copy thereof, except he might have free trade for to carry to Sweden, which being contrary to his majesty's instructions, the governor excused himself thereof. The ship remained here about ten days, to refresh with wood and water during which time the master of said ship made known that both himself and another ship of his company were bound for Delaware Bay, which is the confines of Virginia and New England, and there they pretend to make a plantation, and to plant tobacco, which the Dutch do already in Hudson's River, which is the very river southward from Delaware Bay. All which being his majesty's territories, I humbly conceive that it may be done by his majesty's subjects of those parts, making use only of some English ships that resort hither for trade yearly, and be no charge at all upon his majesty.—*Brodhead's London Documents*, Vol. I., pp. 57, 58."

[3] The Dutch "Kil" signifies creek.

[4] See the preceding chapter for an account of Hendrickson's voyage up the Delaware and visit to the mouth of the Christiana.

[5] "The Rocks" probably unchanged since the landing of Minuit, in 1638, are upon the northern or Wilmington side of the river, not far from the old Swedes' church, at the foot of Sixth St., and within one yard of the McCullough Iron Company's Works.

sengers of the "Key of Kalmar" and "Griffin"—the pioneers of Delaware—disembarked and the cargoes of the two vessels were unloaded. Preparations were immediately begun to meet the wants of the people and to make the place habitable. Upon the ground, immediately back of the creek (which Minuit first called the Elbe, but soon changed to Christiana Elf, after the young Queen) was built Fort Christiana ("Christina Skauts") a small enclosure having the general form of a square, and within the stronghold were erected two log houses for the abode of those who should form the garrison and as a place for the storage of provisions for them, as well as a depository for the goods brought to barter with the Indians. Immediately back of this fort, upon the rising ground, was afterwards laid out and built a small town called Christinaham or Christina Harbor, the first town within the boundaries of Delaware.

The fort extended almost to the Christiana and fronted upon it, while upon its eastern side was also water—a little cove or basin, (now filled up) which was called the Harbor—large enough to admit several vessels. Upon the other sides were low sand banks and marshes except in the rear where the rising ground, already spoken of, gradually widened and extended back to the rolling hills on which Wilmington now stands. At that time there was much more water than at present about this place, and, indeed, it is probable that twice in every twenty-four hours, when the tide was at its height, the occupants of the fort could look from its ramparts or from "the Rocks" over a sheet of water extending to the New Jersey shore, and unbroken save by "Cherry Island." The spot where the fort stood was called by the Minquas (or Mingue) Indians whom Minuit found in the region Hopokahnecking. From one of these Indians, a chief named Metasiment or Mattahoon, the commander bought, on March 29th, this site and probably considerable surrounding land, as much, the Indians afterward said, as "lay within six trees," meaning certain trees, which had been designated by "blazing" or marking with an axe,[1] and a little later he purchased a tract along the west shore of the Delaware, several days' journey in extent, the bargain being ratified by five Sachems, and a written contract drawn up. After Minuit had thus acquired possession of the country, by occupation and purchase from the natives, he caused the arms of the Queen to be erected and named the colony, which he had planted, "NEW SWEDEN."

The Dutch at Fort Nassau (Gloucester, N. J.) either by their own watchfulness through information received from the Indians, or possibly by reason of Minuit's appearance near their fort (for it is alleged he or some of his men ascended the river as far as Timber Creek) had early knowledge of the invasion of what they regarded as their domain. William Kieft, who was now the Governor of New Netherlands, had received intelligence of it at Manhattan Island by April 28th, about a month from the time of Minuit's arrival, receiving word from the commissary at Fort Nassau, for upon that date he wrote the directors of the West India Company that Minuit had landed on the Delaware and had begun to construct a stronghold and had tried to push on up the river beyond Fort Nassau, but had been prevented from doing so. The Governor at first ordered the commissary of

Fort Nassau to protest against Minuit's action, and that official duly sent Peter Mey down to the Christiana to see the commander's license and commissions, which he refused to show. The Governor then, on May 6th, old style, or 17th, new style (the Swedes using the former and the Dutch the latter) sent the following solemn protest, in which he laid claim in behalf of the Dutch West India Company to the Zuydt River:

[1] Acrelius affirms that at this time Minuit bought all of the land from Cape Henlopen to Santicun (Trenton Falls) probably confounding this purchase with a later one.

"I William Kieft, Director-General of New Netherlands, residing on the Island of Manhattan, in New Amsterdam, under the sovereignty of their High Mightinesses the State General of the United Netherlands and the privileged West India Company's department at Amsterdam, make known to the Hon. Peter Minuit, who calls himself commissaire in the service of her royal majesty of Sweden, that the whole

South River, in New Netherlands, has been in our possession many years, and has been secured by us with forts above and below, and sealed with our blood, which has happened even during your direction of New Netherlands, and is well known to you. Whereas you now do make a beginning of a settlement between our forts, and are building there a fort, to our prejudice and disadvantage, what we shall never endure or tolerate, and which we are persuaded it never has been commanded by her royal majesty of Sweden, to build fortresses on our rivers and along our shores, so is it that we, if you proceed with the building of forts, and cultivating the lands, and trading in furs, or engage further in any thing to our prejudice, protest against all expenses, damages and losses, and will not be answerable for any mishaps, effusion of blood, troubles and disasters which your company might suffer in future, while we are resolved to defend our rights in all such manner as we shall deem proper. This done Thursday, being the 6th of May, anno, 1638.[1]

Minuit paid no attention whatever to the Governor's protest. This claim rested upon the prior discovery and occupation of the country, but they had wholly abandoned the west side of the river, and either because they regarded their claim as untenable for this reason, or for the reason that the charter of the West Indian Company prohibited the declaration of war without the consent of the States General, the Dutch submitted quietly to what they regarded as gross usurpation of the Swedes. Then too Kieft, became aware that Minuit's colony bore the commission of the Queen of Sweden, and he knew how distasteful to the Holland Government it would be, should he embroil the country with a great, powerful and warlike nation, with which they had made common cause in many momentous matters, and too there was a strong bond of sympathy between the Swedes and Dutch through their religion, both countries being Protestant. The two nationalities, however, were destined to clash seventeen years later and ultimately both to succumb to the English.

Minuit after he had made such general provisions as he deemed proper for the little band who were to garrison the fort, prepared to return to Sweden. "He left a portion of the cargo he had brought out," says Odhner's translator, "to be used in barter with the Indians, as well as twenty-three men, under the command of Lieutenant Mans Kling, the only Swede who is expressly mentioned as taking part in the first expedition,[2] and Henrik Huyghen, who seems to have been Minuit's brother-in-law or cousin. It was enjoined upon these leaders (of whom the former appears to have been entrusted with the military, the latter with the civil or economical direction) to defend the fortress and carry on traffic with the natives." These instructions appear to have been faithfully carried out, especially those in regard to trade, and the success of Swedish Indian affairs to have been established from the start.

It was probably in July that Minuit made his departure from these shores, which it was fated he should never see again. He had sent the sloop "Griffin" in advance to the West Indies to exchange the cargo brought out from Gottenburg, and he sailed upon the "Key of Kalmar" to the same place. He arrived safely at the Island of St. Christopher, succeeded in disposing of his ship's cargo, and was about to sail for Sweden, when an event occurred by which he lost his life. He went with his captain to visit a Dutch ship named "Het fliegende hert" (The Flying Deer) lying near, and while they were on board one of those terrible hurricanes, to which the West Indies are subject arose, and when it was over and accounts of the disaster could be gathered, it was found that this particular ship was among the several lost. All of the ships in the roadstead had been driven to sea and all had suffered some damage, but it so happened that Minuit's own, the Key of Kalmar, was not only among those which escaped, but one of those which sustained the least injury.[3] That Minuit was a bold, enterprising, patient man, cannot be gainsaid, and it seems cruel that he could not have been permitted to have enjoyed some of the results of his labor and at last to have slept in his native land or by the shore where he founded the first colony of New Sweden.

The "Key of Kalmar" ultimately reached a home port but not without meeting with other misfortunes than the loss of her commander. The Griffin after cruising about for a time in West India waters, returned to the little fort on the Christina. Furs had been bought there in considerable quantity from the Indians and well-laden with them, the sloop sailed for Sweden where she arrived near the close of May, 1639.

There now came about quite a change in the emigration scheme, so far as Sweden was concerned. That is, it became more national in character. The Swedish partners in the little company which sent out the Christiana colony, had from the first been united upon this policy[4], for they foresaw what importance the colony under national and political relations, would assume. Clas. Fleming became the special leader of the work in Sweden, a position for which he was well fitted both by his connection with the company and by reason of the fact that he had become president of the college of commerce, which body henceforth gave close attention to the colony. In looking about for a successor to Minuit, they went again to the great maritime Dutch nation, and chose Captain Cornelis

[1] Colonial settlements on the Delaware River (*New York Historical Records*, Vol. xii. B. Fernow) p. 19.

[2] It is probable, however, that there were a few other Swedes in the garrison.

[3] The fact of Minuit's death in the manner above described, is one of several first brought out by Odhner, the Swedish writer (relying chiefly on Bloemaert's letters). Acrelius asserted that he remained in New Sweden, and "after several years of faithful service, he died at Christiana," and Clay, Ferris, Vincent and many others have naturally enough copied the error, some even asserting circumstantially his burial in the "Old Swedes' Church" ground.

[4] *Odhner's New Sweden Pennsylvania Magazine of History*, Vol. III. p. 303.

Van Vliet, who had been for several years however in the Swedish service. Having secured him as the commander of the proposed expedition they took steps towards finding a number of colonists, which was by no means as easy a thing to accomplish as it would be at this day. There being no applicants for free emigration the government ordered that certain of its officers in the provinces of Elfsborg and Värmland should take by force such married soldiers as had deserted or committed other offenses and transport them with their wives and children to New Sweden, at the same time giving promise that they should be brought home within two years. It was ordered however that this should be done "justly and discreetly" that no serious embroilment might ensue. Thus difficult was it to obtain "emigrants for America" two hundred and fifty years ago! Procuring funds for the expedition was another not easy task, particularly as Blommaert and the Dutch partners had become impressed with the fact that the whole enterprise had been managed more in the interests of the Swedish crown than their own, and they were all, Blommaert especially, exasperated by the very natural reproaches of the other members of the Dutch West India company for placing the Swedes in their American possessions. Thus Swedish colonization affairs were complicated, embarrassed and delayed. At last, however, and again with means supplied by Dutchmen—Blommaert and Spiring, the projectors of the second expedition were able to move. Once more the "Key of Kalmar" was equipped for a voyage to America. The vessel was fitted out and supplied with a crew in Holland and sailed for Gottenburg, where the emigrants were to be taken on board Great difficulty was experienced in procuring them as had been apprehended, but finally a sufficient number were got together, and after the vessel had taken aboard cattle, horses, swine, implements for farming and a sufficient quantity of provisions she left Gottenburg, early in the fall of 1639. But she had proceeded no further than the German Ocean, when she sprang a leak,and had to put into port for repairs. Two other attempts to sail were frustrated by wind and bad seas and the incompetency of the captain, and finally the crew declared that they would not sail under such a commander as Van Vliet. He was accused both of carelessness and dishonesty in victualing the ship, and the charges being substantiated he was removed and the command given to Pouwel Jansen, "probably also a Dutchman," and a new crew was likewise provided, and after suffering several delays the "Key of Kalmar" at last made her departure from the Texel on the 7th of February, 1640. Making an unusually quick voyage she reached Christiana on the 17th of April and her immigrants were added to the little colony there, of which more must be said anon.

At the time preparations were begun for this second expedition, in 1639, Peter Hollender[1] was assigned to the office of Governor at Christina, and he sailed upon the "Key of Kalmar," when she finally was permitted to leave. The pastor, Reorus Torkillus, also undoubtedly came over at this time; certainly not with Minuit, as several writers have stated. He was the first religious teacher in New Sweden; but little is known of his history, and he sleeps in an unknown grave, probably in the burial ground of the Old Swedes church at Wilmington.[2] As to the other immigrants by this second voyage of the "Key of Kalmar," there is no exact date; but a document,[3] among the Royal Archives of Stockholm gives the names of a number who must have come either by this or the first expedition, and who were therefore the first residents at Christina. These were Anders Svensson Bonde, Per Andersson, Anders Larsson Dualbo, Sven Larsson, Peter Gunnarsson Rambo, Sven Gunnarsson, Lars Svensson Käckin, Mäus Andersson, Joen Thrusson, and Märten Gotterson,—ten in all. It is interesting to note a few facts concerning the after life of these first dwellers in Delaware. For instance:—Bonde, the first-mentioned in the list, who was born in Sweden in 1620, settled in 1644 at Tinicum, later removed to what became Philadelphia County, and in 1693 was assessed as the wealthiest inhabitant of that county west of the Schuylkill. He died between 1694 and 1696, leaving a widow (Anneka) who died in 1713, and six sons and four daughters, who perpetuated the family under the anglicized form of the name, Boon or Bond. Dualbo also moved up the river, and was the progenitor of a family which reached well down to the present. Rambo was another of those who came over in the "Key of Kalmar," of whose people the line may be traced. Many of his descendants became prominent in Pennsylvania, New Jersey and Delaware. And, again, Sven Gunnarsson left posterity, who, by the customary Swedish changes in names, came to be known as Svensson (that is Sven, son of Sven) which was soon anglicized into Swanson, the cognomen of a now very extensive family. Of several others named nothing is known beyond the first few years of their residence here, but enough has been said to show that

[1] Hollender was in name and nativity the same, according to Prof. G. B. Keen, Gilmer's translator.

[2] He was born in West Gothland in 1596, and was therefore a young man when he came to New Sweden. He married at Christina, and left a wife and one child, and therefore, as Ferris says, "Perhaps his descendants remain among us under some anglicized name." His death occurred September 7, 1643, and as he became sick February 3d of the same year, his spiritual services at Christina were very brief.

[3] Prof. G. B. Keen presents an abstract of this document as a foot-note to his translation of Gilmer, "The founding of New Sweden." *Pennsylvania Magazine of History*, Vol. III. p. 402.

the seed of the "Key of Kalmar" pioneers did not perish from the earth.

Reverting to the affairs of the now reinforced colony, it may be remarked that but little is known concerning it during the time between Minuit's departure and Hollender's arrival. The only document of local nature which has been preserved (in the Royal Archives of Sweden) is an account book kept by Henrik Huyghen from the year 1638, which yields no specific information. The colony is shown from other sources to have maintained the same healthful condition in which Hollender found it. They had been so active in the fur trade that they had damaged the Dutch trade, according to Governor Kieft himself, fully thirty thousand florins. The governor also reported that the colonists had become so distressed that they were about to leave, and had made preparations to do so, upon the very day that the Swedish vessel came to their succor,[1] but the wish was very likely father to the thought. The Dutch had been irritated by the presence of the Swedish fort upon their own Zuydt river, and had issued several orders intended to embarrass, or intimidate them and to prevent further usurpations of their domain, among them being a prohibition of sailing on the Zuydt river without license.

Governor Peter Hollender does not appear to have entertained a high opinion of the colony, or to have been able to administer its affairs without friction. The immigrants seem to have been too few and not of the right class. They may have served very well to garrison little Fort Christina and to have supported it properly as a trading station, but they knew little of agriculture, upon which the colony must largely rely to become self-sustaining. The governor says in one of his letters[2] to Chancellor Oxenstierna, "no more stupid, indifferent people are to be found in all Sweden than those that are now here." They found too, that they had brought an insufficient supply of domestic animals.

Hollender was in favor of the most pacific attitude towards the Dutch up at Fort Nassau, and he had, in fact, been instructed to follow such a policy, but Kling and Huyghen upon whom the direction of affairs had rested during the period between Minuit's departure and the governor's arrival, were in favor of employing force in the event of Dutch obstreperousness, and of ignoring the arts of diplomacy. Hollender made a little voyage up the Delaware in a sloop, on the 21st of April, 1640, and, when opposite Fort Nassau, was fired upon three times, but he ignored the proceeding and calmly continued his way, and on his return he anchored and sent an amicable communication on shore. He received no answer other than several shots fired after the sloop as it passed down the river.

Governor Hollender's mission up the river was the purchase of Indian title and it was probably at this time that the land was bought on the west side of the river as far up as Trenton, for he set up three Swedish pillars for a boundary about eight or nine Swedish (thirty-two to thirty-six English) miles above Christiana, and subsequently erected one below the fort. There is no account of further occurrences in the colony at this time and indeed very little pertaining to any portion of Hollender's period of government which expired early in 1643. In May, 1640 the "Key of Kalmar" started on her homeward voyage and arrived at Gottenburg a few weeks latter. Mans Kling, the lieutenant who had had command of Fort Christina accompanied her under orders to recruit immigrants in certain regions of Sweden for strengthening the colony.

In the mean time preparations were making for planting an independent Dutch colony in New Sweden, under the patronage of the Swedish West India Company. This came about through certain jealousies and ill feeling in Holland towards the Dutch West India Company. The Swedish Government had become anxious to have its colonization schemes carried on independently of the very Dutch element which it had been glad enough to interest at first, and through whose aid the first and second expeditions were made successful. Steps had already been taken to buy out the Holland partners "since they are a hindrance to us," although that result was not actually reached until February, 1641, when the sum of eighteen thousand gulden was paid for the purpose out of the public funds. The Swedes however had no objection to the settlement of Dutch people in New Sweden provided they were subject to Swedish rule. Thus the way was made easy for a private company formed of certain disaffected persons in the Dutch West India Company, living principally in the Province of Utrecht to form an independent settlement. One Herr van der Horst was the first to enter into negotiation with the Swedish Government, but the grant was subsequently transferred to Henrik Hoogkamer, or as it is more commonly spelled Henry Hockhammer and his associates, they as the charter states "having the intention of establishing a colony in New Sweden." This charter called "*Octroij und Priviligium*" in imitation of the concessions common with the Dutch West India Company called "patroonships," provided that the grantees might take up lands on the north (or west) side of the Delaware River, at least four or five German miles from Christiana, to hold the same under the protection of the crown of Sweden

[1] *Hazard's Annals*, pp. 56, 57, 57.

[2] *Pennsylvania Magazine of History*, Vol. III. p 463. (Korn's Translation of Odhner.)

as hereditary property and exercise over the same high and low jurisdiction and bring it into actual cultivation in ten years. They were to recognize the suzerainty of the crown of Sweden and pay as tribute three imperial gulden for every family settled. In religion they were to prefer the Augsburg Confession of Faith but besides were to be allowed the privilege of the "so called Reformed Religion," but in such a manner as to avoid all dispute. The patroons of the colony were bound to support "as many ministers and school-masters as the number of the inhabitants shall seem to require, choosing so far as possible for these offices, men who would be willing and capable in the conversion of the savages. They were to be allowed to engage in every industry, trade and commerce with friendly powers but were limited to the use of vessels built only in Sweden and were to use Gottenburg as the place for loading all goods sent to Europe. They were exempted from all taxes for a period of ten years.

A passport for the ship "Fredenburg" was granted simultaneously with this charter and also a commission for Jost van Bogardt as Swedish agent in New Sweden, probably to live in the Dutch colony to be founded under the charter—at least he is afterwards found in that position—and as commander, with a salary of five hundred florins per annum. The "Fredenburg" duly sailed under command of Captain Jacob Powelson but with Bogardt as commander of the expedition, and arrived on the Delaware November 24, 1640, the immigrants being settled, according to the best information now obtainable, about three or four (Swedish) miles below Christiana,[1] which would place it in or near what is now St. George's Hundred of New Castle County.

This enterprise must not be confounded with the third Swedish expedition. It will be remembered that Lieutenant Mäns Kling had in May, 1640, accompanied the "Key of Kalmar" to Sweden, with authority to collect immigrants for strengthening the colony. He prosecuted this work zealously, having as a co-laborer one Lieutenant-Colonel Johan Printz, the same who subsequently became governor of New Sweden, and of whom we shall therefore have more to say later. They were particularly ordered to recruit in the mining districts, also from among the "roaming Finns," who "were wont to live free of charge in the houses of the inhabitants of the Swedish forests," and among the "forest-destroying Finns," many of whom had been imprisoned by the provincial governors. Thus they secured many individuals of the lawless classes, though the body of immigrants was not so constituted as a whole. Out of thirty-two persons secured for the expedition through the personal efforts of Kling, four were criminals, "but the remainder went either as servants in the employ of the company, or to better their condition." The vessels of the expedition this time were the "Key of Kalmar" and the "Charitas," the latter made ready at Stockholm. They sailed from Sweden sometime in 1641, and arrived duly on the Delaware, but the particulars of the voyage are wanting. A paper among the archives of the Pennsylvania Historical Society gives the names of some forty odd of the immigrants (many of them with families) who came over at this time.[2] We are told that Lieutenant Kling brought with him his wife, child and a maid. There appears to have been also a priest—Herr Christoffer—(no surname is given in the original) with this expedition, but he could not have remained long in the country, for no further mention of him is found. It is stated that he came out for experience, stipulating for nothing but maintenance, although he received a present of one hundred daler copper money from the *Rikesmiral* (or admiral) upon whose recommendation he embarked. Gustaf Strahl, a young nobleman, sailed also upon the recommendation of the admiral. Michael Janesson, the burgomaster's son, from Gefle, was another adventurer. The remainder of the arrivals appear to have been actual settlers, and the brief notes which we are able to give concerning them afford in many cases interesting suggestions in regard to the conditions which governed the colonization scheme, the character of the persons themselves, and the conduct of affairs during the early years of New Sweden's history:

Mans Svensson Loom, a tailor, came out to engage in agricultural pursuits; was paid at the start five riksdaler, but drew no wages. He was accompanied by his wife, two daughters, and a little son, and was still living in New Sweden as a freeman in 1648.

Olof Persson Stille, of Penningby Manor, Länna Parish, Roslagen, a millwright, came to engage in agriculture; paid at the start fifty daler, drawing no additional wages but to be paid for whatever work he does—accompanied by his wife and two children. His place of residence in 1653 is indicated on Lindstrom's map. In 1658 and subsequently he was one of the magistrates on the Delaware. He was still living in 1664, but died prior to 1683, leaving a son, John Stille, born in 1646, the ancestor of a well-known Philadelphia family.

Mats Hansson, or Jansson, to serve as gunner in the fort, and at the same time to engage in agriculture or the cultivation of tobacco—accompanied by his wife. In 1641 a gunner at Fort Christina, in 1648 a freeman.

Anders Hansson, or Jansson, the gunner's brother, engaged by Kling as a servant of the company to cultivate tobacco, to receive as yearly wages twenty *riksdaler* and a coat; a freeman in 1648.

Axel Stille, same; naturalized in Maryland in 1661, but probably returned to the Delaware, for the name appears among those of persons living in Philadelphia County in 1683.

Olof Palsson, same, with twenty *daler* at the start.

[1] In regard to this matter however there have been some doubts, one or two writers even claiming that the colony was located on Elk River, Maryland. It is certain (in the light of subsequent events) that the locality was upon the Delaware and probable that it was *below* Christiana, but there are not wanting those who affirm that the place selected was upon or near the site of New Castle, and that it was the presence of settlers there already which gave that locality the advantage of Fort Casimir in after years.

[2] A copy of a list from the Royal Archives in Sweden. The names from this are given, together with brief notes, by Prof. G. B. Keen, in the *Pennsylvania Magazine of History*, Vol. III., pp. 462–463–464.

Per Jonasson, same.

Jan Ericsson, same; in 1648 a soldier.

Jacob Sprutt, same.

Pal Jöransson, or Jönsson, same, in 1648 a soldier.

Ewert Hindricsson, a Finn, same; in 1648 still a laborer. Banished from Upland in 1653, he settled afterwards at Crane Hook (below the Christiana) and became captain of the company there. This individual was a participant in the insurrection of the "Long Finn," for which offence he was fined three hundred guilders.

Lars Markusson, laborer.

Hindrick Mattsson, a lad, to receive ten *riksdaler* as yearly wages, with ten *daler* copper money at the start; in 1648 a soldier.

Johan Andersson, same.

Olof Erikssen, same; in 1641 a laborer, appointed to make hay for the cattle, and to accompany the Governor on the little yacht; still a laborer in 1648.

Pal Simonl, a lad; served as a soldier and set out from Christina for Sweden on the "Fama," June 29, 1644.

Carl Jansson, to accompany the expedition for punishment. He was a book-keeper in Kiexholm in Finland, and had committed some misdemeanor for which he was transported. His behaviour in New Sweden was excellent, and Governor Printz who, in 1643, placed him in charge of the storehouse, and appointed him to audit the commissary's monthly account, with a monthly salary of ten *riksdaler*, in February, 1647, urged upon the West India Company that he be permitted to return to his native country.

Mats Hansson was a servant, drawing no wages, "only to be supplied with needful apparel, because he had committed an offence and must accompany the expedition for punishment." In 1648 a freeman.

Peter Larsson Kock, born in 1611, was to serve as punishment for necessary food and clothes; in 1648 a freeman. He held several offices under the government of the colony, and died at Kipka, in Philadelphia County, by Mar 6, 1688-89. He had at least six sons and as many daughters, and left numerous descendants.

Eskil Larsson, a deserter from the army, sent by the war office as punishment; in 1648 a laborer.

Clement Jöransson, a courier and one of the "forest destroying Finns," of the parish of Lund, in Vermland, enlisted for punishment in the soldiery and permitted by a local governor to emigrate. He became a freeman by 1648.

Eskil Larsson same.

Bartel Eskilsson, son of the former, same. He became a freeman in 1648.

Hans Matsson, a trooper, same. He became a freeman in 1648.

Hindrick Mattsson, a Finn, same.

Lars Bliesson, a laborer.

Lievert, or Ewert Lievertson came as a freeman on the "Charitas" and was still in the country in 1648.

Mats Jöransson, a Finn, sent out on the "Key of Kalmar" and subsequently became a freeman.

Mats Olofsson, came on the "Key of Kalmar" as a sailor; in 1648, a wood sawyer.

Claes Claesson, a Dutch carpenter, who came on the "Charitas;" in 1648, residing on the island at Christina (Cherry Island).

Laurens Andriesson Cuyper, a Dutchman, who came on the "Charitas;" in 1644, making tobacco casks, etc., at Christina.

Lucas Persson, who came as a sailor on the "Charitas;" in 1648, engaged like Cuyper; in 1648, a sailor on the sloop in New Sweden.

Lars Thomasson, from Vechling, came as a sailor on the sloop "Charitas;" in 1648, a sailor on the sloop.

Anders Christianssen Dreyer, in 1641, a sailor at Christina.

Knut Matteusson Vass, came as a sailor; in 1644, cultivating tobacco for the company at Christina; in 1648, a freeman.

Olof Thomsson, in 1641, engaged like Vass; in 1648, still a laborer.

Lars Andersson Ulf; in 1644, engaged like Vass, in 1648, a cook upon the sloop.

Godfried Hermansson, who came as a steward on the "Charitas," in 1644, and in 1648, an assistant of the commissary.

During the year 1642 the colonization schemes of Sweden were broadened in scope, and perfected in organization; preparations were made for the fourth and greatest expedition, and a more elaborate and effective system of government for New Sweden was devised and brought into operation. The Dutchman Spiring still remained as one of the chief advisers and foremost promoters of the enterprise, and it was largely through his influence that a new company was formed of those interested, called the West India or American company, and also "*Compagnie de Nova Suecia*," with a capital of thirty-six thousand riksdaler, afterwards considerably increased. One-half of this capital was subscribed by the old Southern Ship Company, one-sixth, or six thousand riksdaler, by the Crown, one-twelfth each by the great Chancellor, "the heirs of the great chancellor of justice," and Spiring, one-twenty fourth each by Claes Fleming and the treasurer and—when, the total was enlarged—the sum of two thousand *riksdaler* by Henrick Huyghen, the commissary at Christina and twelve thousand riksdaler through the Southern Ship Company. Thus the new organization had at its disposal at least fifty thousand *riksdaler*, besides which it received a grant of the tobacco monopoly formerly bestowed upon the Southern Ship Company.

Chancellor Oxenstierna determined now, also, to appoint a governor and other officials for New Sweden and to pay their salaries out of the Crown funds. Lieutenant Colonel Johan Printz, the same whom we have seen engaged in gathering recruits for emigration, was commissioned governor on the 15th of August, 1642, and on the 30th a "budget for the Government of New Sweden" was adopted, mentioning a governor with a salary of eight hundred *riksdaler*, a lieutenant, a sergeant, a corporal, a gunner, a trumpeter and a drummer, with twenty-four private soldiers. In the civil line, provision was also made for a clerk, a barber (surgeon), a provost and a hangman! The expenses of this government, about three quarters of which were to be collected from the excises laid on tobacco, it was found, would foot up the respectable sum of three thousand and twenty *riksdaler* per year, the amounts besides that to be paid the governor, being as follows: One lieutenant governor, sixteen rix dollars per month; one sergeant-major, ten rix dollars; one corporal, six rix dollars; one gunner, eight rix dollars; one trumpeter, six rix dollars; one drummer, five rix dollars; twenty-four soldiers, at four rix dollars; one paymaster, ten rix dollars; one secretary, eight rix dollars; one barber, ten rix dollars; one provost, six rix dollars, and one ——— four rix dollars; making one hundred and eighty-five rix dollars per month. Special agents for the company were appointed in Gottenburg and Amsterdam, and Clas Fleming was placed in general charge of the whole home business of the company.

The most elaborate directions were given to the governor, contained in part in his commission, but more fully in "Instructions," issued for his guidance. His commission dated, Stockholm, August 15, 1642, to go into effect January 1, 1643, was as follows:

"Our faithful subjects having commenced visiting the West Indies, and having purchased in form, and already occupied a considerable part of that country, which they have named New Sweden, in consequence—as their laudable project, the navigation which they have undertaken, and the cultivation which they are disposed to make, cannot but

increase and facilitate commerce—to give them more vigor and extent, not only have we approved their design, and taken the country and its inhabitants under our royal protection, but again to favor and strengthen the work which they have commenced, we have given to the country and inhabitants, our subjects, a Governor, and have named as we do here, by virtue of his letter patent, our very faithful subject, the above Lieutenant of Cavalry, John Printz for Governor of New Sweden. He engages to administer and govern said country and its inhabitants against all violence and foreign attachment, and to preserve above all, that country in safe and faithful hands. He must preserve amity, good neighborhood and correspondence with foreigners, with those who depend on his government and the natives of the country; render justice without distinction, so that there shall be injury to no one. If any person behave himself grossly, he must punish him in a convenient manner; and as regards the cultivation of the country, he must in a liberal manner regulate and continue it, so that the inhabitants may derive from it their honest support, and even that commerce may receive from it a sensible increase. As to himself, he will conduct his government, so to be willing and able faithfully to answer for it before God, before us, and every brave Swede, regulating himself by the instructions given to him."

The "Instructions," containing twenty-eight articles, after reciting the advantages anticipated to follow the measures already taken and those for which preparation was being made, set forth a multiplicity of detailed directions concerning the duties of the Governor. Upon his arrival in New Sweden he was to see that—

"The frontiers of the country extend from the borders of the sea to Cape Henlopen, in returning southwest towards Gislyn's Bay, and thence towards the Great River, as far as Minquas kill, where is constructed Fort Christina, and from thence again towards South River, and the whole to a place which the savages called Sankihan,[1] which is at the same time the place where are the limits of New Sweden. This district or extent of country may be in length about thirty German miles; as to width in the interior, it has been stipulated in the contracts that the subjects of her majesty and company may take as much of the country as they wish."

With the Dutch he was to cultivate a friendly intercourse, but positively to deny their pretended right to any part of the land on the west side of the river, purchased by the Swedes from the Indians and he was authorized, in the failure of all friendly negotiation, to repel force by force, but says the document:

"Those Hollanders who have emigrated to New Sweden and settled there under the protection of her Royal Majesty and the Swedish Crown, over whom Jost van den Bogaardt has command, the Governor shall treat according to the contents of the charter and privileges conferred by her Royal Majesty, of the principles whereof the Governor has been advised; but in other respects he shall show them all good will and kindness, yet so that he shall hold them also to the same, that they also, upon their side, comply with the requisitions of their charter, which they have received. *And, inasmuch as notice has already been given them that they have settled too near to Fort Christina, and as houses are said to be built at the distance of almost three miles from that place,* they should leave that place and betake themselves to a somewhat greater distance from that fort."

The English, too, were somewhat to be feared, for they had made a settlement on the east side of the Delaware Bay,[2] and one article of the "Instructions" was devoted to the proposed treatment of those people by Printz:

"Recently and in the year last past, viz., 1641, several English families, probably amounting to sixty persons in all, have settled and begun to cultivate the land elsewhere, namely upon the last side of the above-mentioned South River, on a little stream named "Ferken's Kill,"[4] so have also the above-named subjects of Her Majesty and participants in this company, purchased for themselves, of the wild inhabitants of the country, the whole of this eastern side of the river, from the mouth of the aforesaid great river, at Cape May, up to a stream named Naraticon's Kill,[5] which extends about twelve German miles, including also the said Ferken's Kill, with the intention of drawing to themselves the English aforesaid. This purchase the Governor shall always, with all his power, keep intact, and thus bring these families under the jurisdiction and government of her Royal Majesty and of the Swedish crown, especially as we are informed that they themselves are indisposed thereto, and should they be induced, as a free people, voluntarily to submit themselves to a government which can maintain and protect them, it is believed that they might shortly amount to some hundred strong. But, however that may be, the Governor is to seek to bring these English under the government of the Swedish crown as partners in this undertaking, and they might also, with good reason, be driven out and away from said place; therefore her most Royal Majesty will, most graciously, leave it to the discretion of Governor Printz to consider and act in the premises as can be done with propriety and success."

In regard to treatment to the Indians he was counseled to "humanity and mildness," and to see that "neither violence nor injustice was done them," but he "must labor to instruct them in the Christian religion and the Divine Service, and civilize them." To disengage them from the Dutch and English, he was directed to sell at lower prices than they.

The Governor was by every means in his power to encourage the fur trade, and agriculture, to promote manufactures and to search for metals and minerals; to ascertain whether whale fisheries could not be made profitable, and to investigate the condition of the country with reference to the propagation of silk worms. He had also to dispense justice. With all these divers and diverse duties, and many more, it will readily be seen that the Governor's office was one by no means easy to fill. Printz was, besides, to build, if necessary, a fort which should "shut up the South river," or at least command it, but if he found Fort Christina adequate he was to turn his attention more particularly to agriculture, especially the cultivation of tobacco and to raise cattle and sheep, the breeds of which he was to improve by obtaining the best animals from the English and Dutch. He was allowed to choose his residence where most convenient, if a location at Fort Christina did not meet his approval.[6]

The expedition of which Printz was made the commander consisted of the ships "Fama" ("Fame" or "Renown") and "Svanen" ("Stork"). They left Stockholm August 10, 1642, and Gottenburg November 1st, arriving at Christina February 15, 1643, the time from the first named place just five months, or one hundred and fifty days, though the voyage proper from

[1] Trenton Falls, ninety miles above the mouth of Delaware Bay.

[2] This is the spelling of Acrelius. The proper rendering of the name is *Jost de van Bogart*.

[3] The location of this settlement was on Salem Creek, N. J., near the present town of the same name. Whether these English were New England or Maryland adventurers or the pioneers of Sir Edmund Plowden is disputed, but they gave no trouble to the Swedes, who were to have all they could attend to in resisting the Dutch claims. The probability is that they were from Connecticut. They were led by one Lamberton. The next year (1642) they had the audacity to settle at the mouth of the Schuylkill. "This was too much for the peppery Dutch Governor Kieft and even his less excitable council. Jans Jansen Hyndsham, commissary at Fort Nassau, was directed to expel the intruders, which he did without any ceremony, seizing their goods and burning their trading house. After this the Dutch fell upon the Salem (Ferken's Kill) settlement also and broke that up.

[4] New Salem Creek.

[5] Raccoon Creek.

[6] Acrelius, "History of New Sweden," (Pennsylvania Historical Society publication), pp. 39–40.

Gottenburg occupied but three months and a half. The Rev. John Campanius, who accompanied the expedition, has given an account of it in the work edited by his grandson. They took the usual circuitous southern course, sailing by the coasts of Portugal and Barbary, and the Canary Islands, stopping during the Christmas holidays at Antigua, where they were entertained by the Governor and resuming their voyage by way of St. Christopher, St. Martin's and other West India Islands, and thence eastward along the American coast. They were inside the Delaware Bay, off the Hoornkill on the 26th of January, and on the following day encountered a severe storm, accompanied by a blinding snow, in which the "Fame" was roughly handled, losing three anchors, a main mast, and spritsail, suffering other damages, and finally running aground, and being run off with great difficulty.[1] Printz and his fellow voyagers disembarked at Christina, but he did not long remain there, and it is probable that but few of his men did. The Governor made his home, and built a fort—at Tinicum, above Chester—higher up the river, as will be shown hereafter, and it is probable that he took with him most of the people he had brought over.

Of these colonists who came to the Delaware with Printz in the fourth Swedish expedition there exists no complete list, but some of their names have been preserved.[2] The most prominent character of all, not even excepting the Governor, was the clergyman John Campanius, made famous by the journals which he kept, pertaining to New Sweden, from which his grandson wrote the celebrated "Description of the Province of New Sweden," a highly interesting, but in some respects untrustworthy work, and notable, too, as the finest translator of Luther's catechism into the Indian language. His name often appears as John Campanius *Holm*, the last word being added to designate Stockholm, the place of his nativity.[3]

The Governor brought with him his wife and daughter Armgott, and Lieutenant Måns Kling returned to the settlement.

Among those who were destined to become prominent among this last party, were Joran Kyn Snobvit and Elias Gyllengren. The former, (a soldier, in 1644) became the chief colonist at Upland[4] and the latter, also a soldier, became celebrated for brave exploits. In May, 1654, he held the post of lieutenant and took part in the capture of Fort Casimir, by Governor Rising. "He forced his way into the fort by the order of Commander Sven Schute, took possession of the guns, and striking down the Dutch flag, raised the Swedish in its stead."[5]

Nearly all of those whose names have been preserved, came out as soldiers. Those not yet mentioned, were:

Anders Andersson Homan, born in Sweden, in December, 1629, was a soldier in the Governor's guard, at Tinicum, in 1644 and 1648. He lived at Carkuous Hook, in 1677 and at Trumpeters Creek in 1687. He left several children.

Hans Lutsenberger, a soldier in the Governor's guard at Tinicum, in 1644 and still a soldier in 1648.

Lars Andersson, same.

Nils Andersson, same.

Gregorius Van Dyck, sheriff, residing, in 1644, at Elfsborg, and holding his office until 1651.

Michel Nilsson, smith in 1641, at Upland.

Sven Andersson, drummer in 1641, at Elfsborg.

Jacob Swensson, in 1641, a soldier at Elfsborg, in 1648, a gunner at Fort Christina, in 1656, ensign.

Niklaus Beck, or Beck, in 1641 and 1648, a soldier at Elfsborg.

Johan Gustafsson, in 1641 and 1648, a soldier at Elfsborg.

Peter Meyer, same.

Isack van Eyken, same.

Cornelius Grandeogh, same.

Peter Jochimsen, same.

Jöran Nilsson Skeeblere, same.

Johan Olsson, posted at Christina, in 1641, in 1648 a soldier.

Lars Jacobsson, a soldier at Christina, in 1641 and 1648.

Thomas Jorannsson Timberman, carpenter in 1641, on the island at Christina.

Marten Martensson Glasserr, in 1641, cultivating tobacco for the company on the plantation, at Christina; in 1648 a freeman.

With the arrival of the fourth expedition and the settlement of its people, the Swedish colonies in America may be considered as fairly established, and the schemes first advocated by Gustavus Adolphus, were at last sufficiently advanced to afford a tangible promise of the rich fruition which that monarch, together with William Usselinx, Minuit and others, had fondly hoped. Printz wrote[6] "It is a remarkably fine land, with all excellent qualities a man can possibly desire on earth," and yet the outcome was far from being what this auspicious beginning would augur. The growth of the settlement, as a matter of fact, was feeble and tardy, a condition of things which is to be accounted for principally by the fact that the Swedish government did not appreciate the importance of the colonization project and was remiss in extending financial and other aid, when the struggling colony stood in sore need

During the first year of Governor Printz's administration many of the settlers died, which Printz stated in his report,[7] was due to hard work

[1] Campanius, p. 71.

[2] G. B. Keen has extracted some of the names from Swedish papers. (The Founding of New Sweden, note), *Pennsylvania Magazine of History*, Vol. III, p. 469.

[3] The Rev. John Campanius was born at Stockholm, on the 14th of August, 1601. His father was Jonas Peter, clerk of the congregation of St. Clara. He went through his studies with great reputation, and was for a long time preceptor in the Orphan's House, at Stockholm. On the 3d of February, 1642, he was called by the government to accompany Governor Printz to America, where he remained six years pastor of the congregation there. On his return home, he was made first preacher of the Admiralty, and afterwards was pastor of Frost Hultz and Herewuys Upland, where he translated Luther's catechism, with other things, into the American Virginia (Indian) language, a work which he had begun in America, and which he here perfected. He died on the 17th of September, 1683, at the age of eighty-two years, and was buried in the church of Frost Hultz, where a handsome monument was erected to his memory.—"Campanius," (condensed by Vincent), p. 183.

[4] See *Pennsylvania Magazine of History*, Vol. II., p. 323.

[5] Lindstrom's account.

[6] Letters to Chancellor Oxenstierna, April 14, 1643.

[7] The Governor's Report. *Pennsylvania Magazine of History*, Vol. VII. p. 272.

and the scarcity of proper food. Immigrants continued to arrive, and they appear to have been constituted of the same classes as in the beginning. Campanius says:

"The generality of the people who went or were sent over from Sweden to America, were of two kinds. The principal of them consisted of the company's servants, who were employed by them in various capacities; the others were those who went over to that country to better their fortunes; they enjoyed several privileges; they were at liberty to build and settle themselves where they thought proper, and to return home when they pleased. By way of distinction, they were called *freemen*. There was a third class, consisting of vagabonds and malefactors; these were to remain in slavery, and were employed in digging the earth, throwing up trenches, and erecting walls and other fortifications. The others had no intercourse with them, but a particular spot was appointed for them to reside upon.

"In the beginning of Governor Printz's administration, there came a great number of these criminals, who were sent over from Sweden. When the Europe inhabitants perceived it, they would not suffer them to set their foot on shore, but they were all obliged to return, so that a great many of them perished on the voyage. It was after this forbidden, under a penalty, to send any more criminals to America, but Almighty God should let his vengeance fall on the ships, and goods, and the virtuous people that were on board; it was said that there was no scarcity of good and honest people to settle that country; but such a great number of them had gone thither (as engineer Lindstrom says), that on his departure from hence, more than a hundred families of good and honest men, with their wives and children, were obliged to remain behind, as the ship had taken as many on board as she could hold, and yet these honest people had sold all their property, and converted it into money, not imagining that they could be so disappointed."[1]

This statement of Campanius (like many others of his) is not to be relied upon as a whole. Printz's report (1647) shows that criminals were received up to that time, and yet, they must have formed but a small portion of the community, for the whole number of colonists, in 1647, was only one hundred and eighty-three souls (and many of them have already been shown to have been "freemen," or otherwise indicated as people of respectable character). The report alluded to says, that of the total number, "twenty-eight of the freemen had made settlements," and that a part of them were provided "with oxen and cows."[2]

Printz's ideas of tact and diplomacy resembled an elephant dancing. He was a bluff, coarse soldier, well described by the shrewd, observant, caustic Pietersen De Vries, as "Captain Printz, who weighed four hundred pounds, and took three drinks at every meal." He lacked not in energy or decision of character. His alertness and aggressiveness made him a useful man in his time and place, and probably his administration was more valuable, to the colony at large, than would have been that of a really abler man, coupling with higher qualities than his greater weaknesses.

The Governor had not been long in New Sweden—and it will be remembered he landed at Christina, February 15th, 1643—before he selected a home and the seat of government. To do this he went beyond the settlement already established, and beyond the present boundaries of the State of Delaware, to the island of Tinicum (now also the township of Tinicum, Delaware County, Pennsylvania) about two miles from the eastern limits of the city of Chester, then called by the Indians Tenacong, Tenicko or Tutaœnung, "the convenient situation of which suggested its selection."[3] Here he built a fort or block-house, of which Andreas Hudde afterwards said,—"it is a pretty strong fort, constructed by laying very heavy hemlock (guenon) logs, the one on the other;"[4] a mansion for his residence—"very handsome"—and a church, which preacher Campanius consecrated to Divine use on the 4th of September, 1646.[5] Around the residence, which was called "Printz Hall,"[6] orchards and gardens were laid out, and the ground was otherwise beautified. The fort, which was named "New Gottenburg" ("*Nya* Gothborg"), had a "considerable armament." "On this island," says Campanius, "the principal inhabitants had their dwellings and plantations," and it is evident that it became the locality of chief importance in, and practically, the capital of New Sweden. Another fort was erected the same year (1643) on the east side of the Delaware, at Varkin's Kill, afterwards called by the English Salem Creek or Mill Creek. This was right alongside of the settlement of the New Haven people, on the opposite or south bank of the creek, at its confluence with the Delaware. It was named "Elfsborg" or "Wootwessung," and later was called Elsinborg or Elsingborough.[7] It had eight iron and brass guns, and one "Potshoof," and according to Hudde, was usually garrisoned by twelve men, commanded by a lieutenant. This fort which was ready for occupancy in October, 1643, commanded the channel of the Delaware. "Its principal object," says Acrelius, "was to search the Holland ships which came before it, and (which stuck very hard in their maw) to make them lower their flag." Proud and sturdy David Pietersen De Vries, the founder of the first settlement on the Delaware (the unfortunate colony of Zwaanendael at the Hoornkill), when he attempted to pass up the river in October, 1643, was compelled to halt, duck his flag and give an account of himself, and must have experienced a grim sense of the change which a few years had wrought. Hudde says: "By means of this fort . . . Printz closed the entrance of the river so that all vessels, either those arrived from hence (New Amsterdam) or other places, are compelled to cast their anchor, not excepting those of the Noble Company (the Dutch West India Company), as is

[1] "Campanius" (pp. 73, 75.) says, "This was related to me amongst other things, by an old trustworthy man, named Nils Matson Utter, who, after his return home, served his majesty's life guards."

[2] Report of Governor Printz for 1647. Translated from the Swedish by Professor G. B. Keen.—*Pennsylvania Magazine of History*, Vol. VII., page 272.

[3] Acrelius, page 42.

[4] Campanius.

[5] Ferris' original settlements on the Delaware, page 62.

[6] This hall stood more than one hundred and sixty years, and was burned down by accident since the commencement of the present century.—Fanns.

[7] Ferris, page 67.

evident from several yachts coming from the Manhattans, which, wishing to pursue their voyage towards the place of their destination without stopping often, were injured by cannon balls, and were in imminent danger of losing some of their crew; so that they must proceed with small craft, upwards of six miles, towards the aforesaid Printz, to obtain *his consent*, that they might sail higher up the river, no matter whether they are Englishmen or Netherlanders, without paying any regard to their commissions."[1]

Printz was as arbitrary and violent towards the English as to the Dutch. The latter people, it will be remembered, had expelled the New Haven settlers from Varkin's Kill, and they now returned only to experience the peculiar tender mercies of the Swedish Governor. They were led by the same Lamberton who had before been their most prominent man, and it was doubtless his purpose to replant the settlement. While Lamberton's sloop, the "Cock," was lying at anchor somewhere in the river between Fort Elfsborg and Christina, Printz induced him and two of his men to come to Fort Gottenburg where he placed them in irons, and threw them into prison. He put the irons upon Lamberton with his own hands, and he and his wife made the inferiors all drunk, and by promises of rich reward and other means, endeavored to induce them to swear that Lamberton was inciting an Indian insurrection.[2] They remained true, however, and Printz had after a few days to release his prisoners without accomplishing his purpose. Lamberton, before regaining his liberty, had to pay a "weight of beaver," and receive a vigorous cursing from the burly and irascible governor.[3] Printz expelled all of the English who would not take the oath of allegiance to the crown of Sweden, and the proceeding led to a long series of negotiations between the New England authorities, and the Swedish and Dutch governors.

Printz was swollen with the "insolence of office," and in 1645, when the Dutch placed Andreas Hudde in the position of commissary at Fort Nassau, he found that he had a more vigorous official to deal with than the deposed Jan Jansen Van Ilpendam. Hudde was quick to protest against everything that the Swedes did which might be construed as adverse to Dutch interests, and Printz either paid no attention whatever, to such protests, or upon their reception committed acts even more outrageous than those which had called them forth. When Hudde, upon Kieft's orders, purchased from the Indians some lands on the west shore of the river (where afterwards was built Philadelphia), and set up there the arms of Holland, Printz sent Commissary Henrik Huyghens, of Fort Christina, to throw the insignia down. Thereupon Hudde arrested Huyghens, threw him into the guard-house, and sent word to Printz of what he had done. Some correspondence ensuing, the irate Governor contemptuously tossed aside Hudde's communication, regarding the rights of his company, and seizing a musket threatened to shoot the messenger. Printz was certainly irritatingly insolent towards those whom he regarded as intruders upon Swedish soil. Hudde says that when visiting him at his own house, at table and in the presence of his own wife, in reply to his remark that the Dutch were the first settlers on the Delaware, Printz said that "the Devil was the oldest possessor of hell, but that he sometimes admitted a younger one," which was certainly not diplomatic language, or calculated to create or cement friendship.

The Governor had completely closed the Schuylkill[4] to the Dutch by the erection of a fortification at its mouth called "Manayunk," one at Kingsessing and another at Passayunk, called "Korsholm," and had besides, put a fort almost contiguous to the Dutch Fort Beversede, between it and the water, rendering it entirely useless. About midway between Christina and New Gottenburg, a colony was founded comprising houses and a fort,[5] called Upland. North of this, also, several scattered settlements were gradually established. Printz built the first water-mill on South River, at a place called Karakung, otherwise Water-Mill Stream (Amesland or Carkoen's Hook), on what is now Cobb's Creek, near the bridge on the Darby road, at the old Blue Bell tavern, near Philadelphia. This was put up instead of the old wind-mill, which, Printz says, never would work and was "good for nothing." This mill ground both meal and flour, and found constant work.

Printz's zeal was rewarded by his government with the grant of New Gottenburg, as a perpetual possession for himself and his heirs forever. It passed to his daughter, married to Johan Papegoja, and often afterwards is spoken of as her property.

Through their Governor's energetic action the Swedes effectually became masters of the river and the greater part of the neighboring territory. He was prudent enough to keep on a good footing with the Indians and cut the Dutch off from their trade. The credit enjoyed with the natives by the Swedes was, indeed, so great that when, in

[1] Hudde's report (November, 1645), "Colonial Settlements on the Delaware" (*New York Historical Records*, Vol. XII., B. Fernow), page 29.

[2] Substance of depositions made at New Haven.

[3] The court that tried Lamberton assembled on July 10, 1663, at Fort Christina, and was composed of the following persons: "Captain Christian Boy, Captain Mons. Kilingh, Henderick Huyghen, Commissary Jan Jansen, Commissary Schipper Wessel Evertsen, Schipper Sander Leverton, Oloff Stille, Evert Stevens, Carl Jansen, David Davidson."

[4] This stream was named by the Dutch *Scuil kill* or hidden creek, from the fact that its mouth was so concealed that they at first sailed by without noticing it.

[5] These forts were commonly mere block-houses, intended especially for protection against the Indians.

the spring of 1644, some of the Minqua nation were murdered by the savages, sachems presented themselves before Printz to offer compensation and sue for peace. He closed the Schuylkill to the Dutchmen, adopted a policy of non-intercourse and sold the Indians arms and ammunition, thus securing not only their good will but insuring larger returns of furs. He also persecuted or expelled every Dutchman in New Sweden who would not take the oath of allegiance to his sovereign.

The Swedish colonists, however, had great difficulties to contend with, not being able to produce their daily bread, with which they were provided partly at the cost of the company. The novelty of the climate and the various privations suffered caused the death of many persons (during 1643 not less than twenty-five), according to the Dutch account reducing the number of male inhabitants in 1645 to eighty or ninety. The situation of the survivors, however, rapidly improved; tobacco was diligently cultivated, and the raising of corn and breeding of cattle were duly promoted by the Governor.

In the spring of 1644 the ship "Fama" arrived from Sweden, having been equipped at the expense of the Crown and setting sail the previous year, bringing, it is presumed, both emigrants[1] and merchandise, although we have not found any definite information concerning this, the fifth Swedish expedition to the Delaware. The vessel was despatched back to Sweden, June 20, 1644, carrying a cargo of two thousand one hundred and thirty-six beaver skins and twenty thousand four hundred and sixty-seven pounds of tobacco for the company, besides seven thousand two hundred pounds sent over by the Governor to be sold for his own account.

The ascension of Queen Christina upon the throne of Sweden, in 1644, and changes in the system of government largely contributed to the decay and final ruin of New Sweden on the Delaware. From June, 1644, until October, 1646, communication was suspended with the mother country. Governor Printz was, however, zealously endeavoring to promote his enterprise. We have already seen how, by the action of Nya Korsholm, he secured the mouth of the Schuylkill; he also considered it necessary to guard the route of traffic with the Minquas still farther to the interior. To this intent he caused to be built some distance inland a strong block-house, "capable of defence against the savages by four or five men, well supplied with powder and shot." The place received the name of "Wasa," and several "freemen" settled there. A quarter of a mile beyond, in the same "path of the Minquas," was constructed a similar house where other peasants also settled. This spot was called "Mölndal,"[2] because, says Printz, "I had a water-mill erected there, running without intermission, to the great advantage of the country." It was, as heretofore stated, the first within the limits of Pennsylvania. Further improvements were also made at the old places, Christina, Elfsborg and Korsholm. On the 25th of November, 1645, Fort New Gottenburg was set fire to by a gunner and it was destroyed in an hour. The Governor and people suffered great loss; the company's goods consumed by the fire were valued at four thousand riksdaler. Notwithstanding this great calamity to the infant colony, on the 4th of September, 1646, Campanius consecrated the first Swedish church on the spot, and Printz afterwards built his dwelling there.

The colony was largely reinforced on the 1st of October, 1646, by the arrival of the ship "Gyllene Hajen" ("Golden Shark") with the sixth Swedish expedition. The voyage had occupied four months, the vessel losing near all her sails and the entire crew being sick. The cargo consisted of Holland goods intended for barter with the Indians for furs. On February 20, 1647, the ship "Gyllene Hajen" sailed with a return cargo, consisting of twenty-four thousand one hundred and seventy-seven pounds of tobacco, only six thousand nine hundred and twenty pounds of which was raised by the colony, the remainder having been purchased in Virginia.

Being in a condition to revive his languishing beaver trade, Printz now sent Huyghen and Van Dyck, with eight soldiers fifty miles into the interior among the Minquas, with presents of all kinds, to induce them to trade with the Swedes. The jealousy which had existed between the Swedes and Dutch from the beginning of the settlement, having broken out in open rupture in 1646, the following extract from Governor Printz's report "to the Most Honorable West India Company," gives a fair idea of the relations which then existed between the rival colonists on the Delaware:

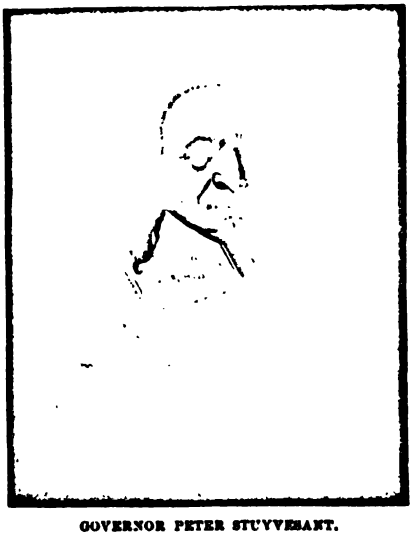
"It is of the utmost necessity for us to drive the Dutch from the river, for they oppose us on every side. (1) They destroy our trade everywhere. (2) They strengthen the savages with guns, shot and powder, publicly trading with them against the edict of all Christians. (3) They stir up the savages against us, who, but for our prudence, would already have gone too far. (4) They begin to buy land from the savages within our boundaries, which we had purchased already eight years ago, and have the impudence in several places to erect the arms of the West India Company, calling them their arms; moreover, they give New Sweden the name of New Netherland, and dare to build their houses there, as can be learned from the Dutch Governor's letter, here annexed, and by my answer to it; in short, they appropriate to themselves alone every right, hoist high their own flags, and would surely not pay the least attention to Her Majesty's flags and forts, were they not reminded by cannon shot. They must be driven from the river, either by mutual agreement or other means; otherwise they will disturb our whole work.

[1] Besides Johan Papegoja, only five are mentioned in a list of persons living in New Sweden March 1, 1648, viz.: The barber, Hans Jancke, from Königsberg, who "settled in New Sweden in the service of the Crown, March 31, 1644;" Jan Mattson, gunner at Fort Elfsborg; Andere Joensson, soldier, engaged by Papegoja December 1, 1643; Wolle Lobe, soldier, ditto; Sven Svensson, a lad.—*Pennsylvania Magazine*, Prof. G. B. Keen, translator, Vol. VII., page 419.

[2] Called by the Indians Kakarikonk. It was near the present Cobb's Creek, a branch of Darby Creek.

The better to accomplish their intention, some of the Hollanders have entirely quitted the Christiana, resorting to the Minquas, behaving with much more unconcerness than the savages themselves. I have written several times to their Governor about all these improprieties, and also caused their arms to be cut down, but it did not make any difference; they see very well that we have a weak settlement; and, with no earnestness on our side, their malice against us increases more and more."

Notwithstanding these difficulties the colony seemed to prosper, for it was successfully engaged in agriculture and trade, and numbered one hundred and eighty-three souls. It was greatly in need, however, of skilled mechanics and soldiers, "and, above all, unmarried women as wives for the unmarried freemen and the rest." In consequence of Printz's report, on the 25th of September, 1647, the seventh expedition set sail from Gottenburg, on the ship "Svanen," Captain Steffen Willemsen, carrying emigrants and a valuable cargo. Among the former were two Lutheran clergymen, Lars Carlsson Loock (Laurentius Lockenius) and Israel Fluviander, Printz's sister's son, with Johan Papegoja who had returned to Sweden. On the 16th of May, 1648, the ship "Svanen" sailed from New Sweden with a return cargo, and after a remarkably short voyage of thirty days, arrived at Helsingör, and on the 3d of July, at Stockholm.



GOVERNOR PETER STUYVESANT.

In 1647 the Dutch Director-General Kieft was succeeded by Peter Stuyvesant, who began his administration on May 27th. Printz found him a very different man from Kieft. When the two governors finally met on May 25th, 1651, the Dutch director-general, while quite as soldierly, bluff, and irascible as Printz, showed himself to be head and shoulders above the latter in diplomacy. During all these disputes and high-handed dealings in the period of Printz's administration, the Dutch had sedulously pursued the policy of acquiring, by public and private purchase, Indian titles to all the lands on both sides the Delaware from Salem and Christinaham up. The Swedes had latterly adopted the same policy, but with less success. Stuyvesant came to the South River in person in 1651, "to preserve and protect the company's rights and jurisdiction." He sent proofs to Printz of the company's rights in the premises, and demanded in return that the Swedish governor should produce proof of what lands he had purchased and his authority to hold them. Printz could merely define the limits of his territory, and say that his papers were on file in the chancellory of Sweden. Then Stuyvesant is said to have detected Printz in an attempt to secretly buy title from an Indian sachem called Waspang Zewan, whereupon the Dutch governor forthwith dealt with the Indians himself, and was by them presented with a title to both sides of the Delaware from Christiana Creek to Bombay Hook, they at the same time denying that they had ever sold any lands to the Swedes. Finally, Stuyvesant determined that he would build another fort, Fort Nassau being too much out of the way, and in spite of Printz's protests he built Fort Casimir on the Delaware side of the river, about one Dutch mile from Fort Christina and near the present city of New Castle, where he stationed a garrison, with cannon and two ships. The central point of the Dutch power on the Delaware, was now transferred to Fort Casimir, and soon after Fort Nassau was abandoned. Printz and Stuyvesant had several interviews with each other, and the final result was that "they mutually promised to cause no difficulties or hostility to each other, but to keep neighborly friendship and correspondence together, and act as friends and allies."

It will be observed that all through these controversies, while there were many high words and some kicks and cuffs, the Dutch and Swedes never came to actual hostilities, and always maintained a *modus vivendi* with one another. This was not because they hated each other less, but because they dreaded a third rival more. Both Dutch and Swedes were terribly apprehensive of English designs upon the Delaware. As was laid down in the instructions to Governor Risingh, who succeeded Printz in New Sweden, speaking of the new Fort Casimir, if Risingh could not induce the Dutch to abandon the post by argument and remonstrance and without resorting to hostilities, "it is better that our subjects avoid resorting to hostilities, confining themselves solely to protestations, and suffer the Dutch to occupy the said fortress, than that it should fall into the hands of the English, *who are the most powerful and of course*

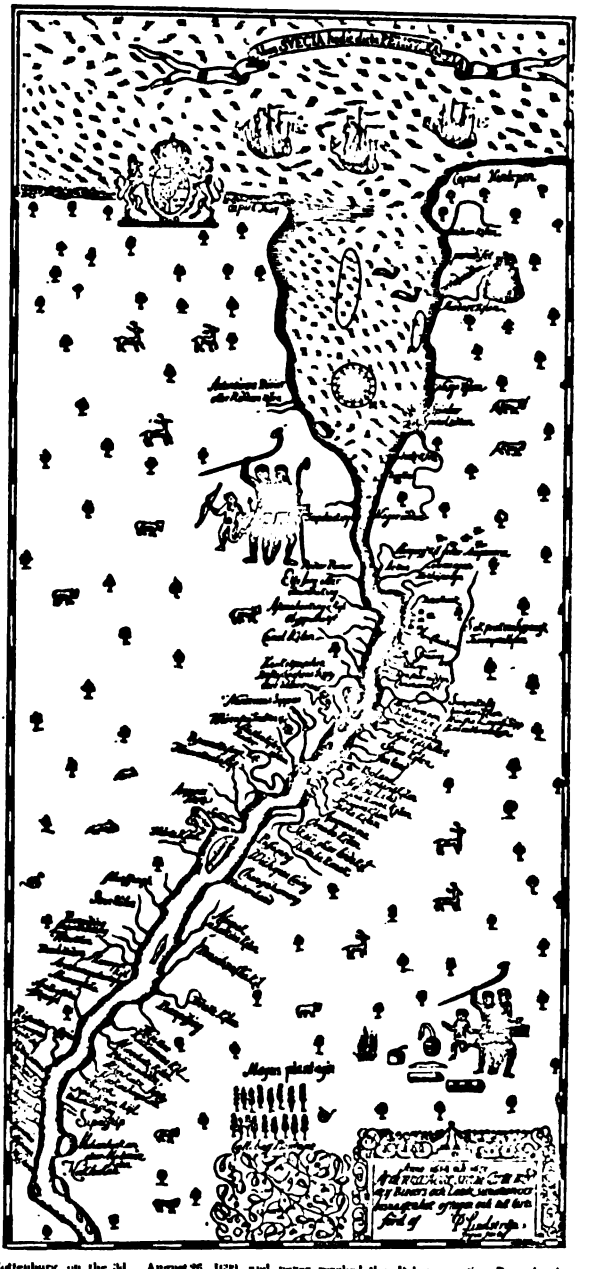
the most dangerous in that country." In the same way, after Stuyvesant had met the English at Hartford, Conn., treated with them, and settled a mutual boundary line, so that all was apparently peace and friendship between the Dutch and the New Englanders, the New Haven Company thought they would be permitted without dispute to resume the occupancy of their purchased Indian lands on the New Jersey side of the Delaware Bay at Salem, whence they had been twice expelled. Accordingly, Jasper Graine, William Tuthill, and other inhabitants of New Haven and Sotocket, to the number of about fifty, hired a vessel and sailed for that destination. On the way they considerately put into Manhattan to notify Stuyvesant of their errand, and consult with him as to the best way of accomplishing it. Stuyvesant took their commission away from them, clapped the master of the vessel and four others into prison, and refused to release them until "they pledged themselves under their hands" not to go to Delaware, informing them likewise that if any of them should afterwards be found there he would confiscate their goods and send them prisoners to Holland. At the same time he wrote to the governor of New Haven that the Dutch rights on the Delaware were absolute, and that he meant to prevent any English settlement there "with force of arms and martial opposition, even unto bloodshed." The Swedes were so much impressed with this firm attitude and with their own unprotected condition (this was probably during the interregnum between Printz's departure and the arrival of Risingh, when Papegoja, Printz's son-in-law, was acting governor, and there was no news from the mother-country) that they asked Stuyvesant to take them under his protection. The director-general declined to do so without instruction from home, and the directors of the company when he consulted them left the matter to his own discretion, simply suggesting that while population and settlement should be encouraged by all means as the bulwark of the State, it would be advisable that all settlers should yield allegiance to the parent State, and be willing to obey its laws and statutes in order to obtain protection.

The difficulties between Printz and Stuyvesant came before the Royal Council of Sweden in March, 1652, and pending its negotiations Governor Printz fell into still greater straits. On August 30, 1652, he wrote to the Chancellor of the Kingdom: "The Puritans threaten us with violence, and the Dutch are pressing upon us on all sides; they have ruined the fur trade; the savages are troubling us, having brought cargoes of strangers; the people are beginning to desert the colony in despair; forty Dutch families have settled east of the river, who have absolutely no provisions, and do not sow or plough, desiring to live by the traffic with the natives, which they themselves have destroyed." During the following year the situation was not improved. Stuyvesant had now assembled his force at Fort Casimir, where already in the beginning of 1653 no less than twenty-six Dutch families had settled, and more still were expected. Nevertheless, he did not venture yet to make any attempt against the Swedes, chiefly for fear of the English, but felt obliged to conform to the admonition of his Directors, to endeavor as far as possible to avoid dissensions with them; "not to increase the number of the Company's enemies during that critical period." Not a word was heard from Sweden to relieve the anxiety of Printz, although he urgently applied for aid in his letters to his superiors. He insisted on his dismissal, and many other inhabitants of the colony, particularly persons in the service of the company, desired to return to their native country, while some removed to Maryland, and others besought Stuyvesant to allow them to settle among the Dutch, a privilege he dared not grant. In consequence of a war between two neighboring Indian tribes no fur trade could be carried on, and the non-arrival of any succor gradually caused the colonists (hitherto in the enjoyment of the great consideration accorded to the Swedish nation) to be regarded "as abandoned wanderers, without a sovereign."[1] To give further weight to his complaints, in July, 1653, the Governor sent home his son, Gustavus Printz, who had been a lieutenant in the colony of New Sweden since 1648. Governor Printz himself now feared that the colony had been abandoned to its fate, as he had not received any letters or orders from the mother country for six years. His commands were no longer obeyed and he resolved to go home, after having promised the settlers, for their fidelity to the Crown of Sweden, to come back in ten or twelve months from September, 1653, or, at least, to procure the sending of a ship if only to inform them as to the condition of their enterprise. He appointed Johan Papegoja Provincial Vice-Governor, and in company with his wife and children, Henrik Huyghen and a portion of the colonists, he sailed early in November, and, crossing the ocean in a Dutch vessel, December 1st, reached Rochelle, from whence he wrote to the Chancellor. Early in 1654 he went to Holland, and in April arrived once more in Sweden. After his return he was appointed colonel in the Swedish army, and in 1658 governor of the province of Jönköping. He died in 1663.

In the meantime Printz's representations at home, put fresh life into measures for the relief of the colony. Her Majesty renewed her mandate to

[1] History of the Colony of New Sweden, by Carl K. Sprinchorn, translated and ably annotated by Professor Gregory B. Keen.—*Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, Vol. VIII., page 29.

the Admiralty concerning the equipment of a ship for New Sweden, "that the enterprise might not altogether come to naught." The general management of Swedish affairs on the Delaware had now passed to the charge of the "General College of Commerce," of Stockholm, of which Erik Oxenstjerna was president. He issued the necessary instructions and the ship "Örnen" (the "Eagle")John Bockhom, commander, was assigned to take out emigrants and supplies. Sven Schute was commanded to enlist fifty soldiers for the reinforcement of the colony, and to proceed to Värmland and Dal, and collect families and single persons living in the forests, to the number of two hundred and fifty souls, "the majority to be good men, with some women." In accordance with Printz's request to quit the colony, Johan Klaesson Rising, the secretary of the college, was commissioned as his assistant on December 12, 1653, at an annual salary of one thousand two hundred *daler silfver*. The ninth[1] Swedish expedition left Stockholm, on the 8th of October, on the ship "Örnen," but was delayed at Gottenburg, taking on cargo, etc., until the 2d of February, 1654, when she sailed. The settlers were accompanied by Peter Lindstrom, a military engineer of some distinction, who had been appointed to serve in a professional capacity in the colony. He afterwards, in 1654–56, made a very interesting map of "Nya Swerige," to accompany Campanius' history. A *facsimile* of it appears in the text, with the Indian or Swedish names for all the sites on South river. Associated with him were two preachers, Petrus Hjort and Matthias Nertunius, who had made an attempt to reach the colony in 1649, with the unfortunate expedition which sailed in the "Kattan." After great suffering and danger the emigrants



[1] The eighth expedition which sailed from Gottenburg on the 3d of July, 1649, in the "Kattan" (the "Cat"), under the command of Captain Hans Amundsson, was wrecked and plundered at Porto Rico, August 26, 1649, and never reached the Delaware.—See *Pennsylvania Magazine*, Vol. VIII., page 29.

arrived in the Delaware Bay on the 18th of May, and two days afterwards arrived at Fort Elfsborg, which was now deserted and in ruins. On the 21st of May, being Trinity Sunday, the "Ornen" cast anchor off Fort Casimir, and discharged a Swedish salute.

Rising's instructions under date of December 15, 1653, and signed by Erik Oxenstjerna and Korster Bonde, show that the Swedes intended to re-establish power in the colony. He and the Governor were to administer justice, and promote trade and the professions—fishing, husbandry, attracting members of neighboring nations, who might be able to give them aid. Especially were they required to seek "to rid the place of the Dutch, who had erected a fort there, exercising, however, all possible prudence," and above all, taking care that the English did not obtain a foothold. They were also to endeavor to enlarge the limits of the settlement, and try to get all trade on the river out of the hands of foreigners by building, if need be, another fort at the mouth of the Delaware.

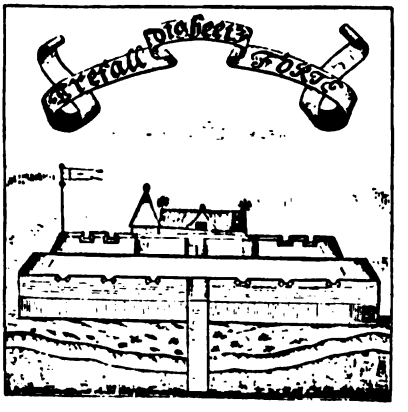
Immediately upon Rising's arrival off Fort Casimir, he sent Sven Schute, with twenty soldiers, to the shore, to demand the surrender of the garrison, and not receiving an answer to his signal, fired at the fort from two of the heaviest guns on his ship. Taken by surprise Gerrit Bikker, the Dutch commander dispatched four men with a request for three days' respite, which was refused, and when the latter inquired the terms of the Swedes, they were told that they should be informed of these the following day at Fort Christina. Meanwhile, Lieutenant Gyllengren, under orders of Schute, pressing in with some men through a gate, overpowered the sentinels, disarmed the garrison, and triumphantly displayed the Swedish flag above the fort. The force which held it consisted of barely a dozen soldiers, although not less than twenty-two houses, inhabited by Dutch settlers, lay round about. After a body of Swedes, under the command of Schute, had entered Fort Trinity (named after Trinity Sunday, because it was captured on that day), the Dutch soldiers received permission to stay or go, as they pleased.[1]

[1] Lindstrom's Journal and letters, and Rising's Journal. The Dutch gave a different narrative of the capture of Fort Casimir.

Gerrit Bikker, commandant of Fort Casimir, in a letter to Governor Stuyvesant, of 8th June, 1654, communicates as follows: "On the last day of May, we perceived a sail; not knowing who she was, or where from, Adriaen Van Tienhoven, accompanied by some free persons, were sent towards her to investigate, who, on the next day, contrary to hoping and trusting, returned here in the roads about two hours before the arrival of the ship, with the following news: that it was a Swedish ship, full of people, with a new governor, and that they wanted to have possession of this place and the fort, as they said it was lying on the Swedish government's land. About an hour after receiving this news, the Swedish government's captain, Swensko, with about 20 soldiers, came on shore with the ship's boat. We bade them welcome as friends, judging, that in case they intended to attempt any thing, they would at least give us notice; but contrary to this, he made his people likewise come in, and then demanded, at the point of the sword, the surrender of the river, as well as the fort. This transaction was so hurried as hardly to afford delay enough for two commissioners to proceed on board, to demand of the governor his commission and some little time for consultation; but before the commissioners had got on board, there were two guns fired over the fort charged with ball, as a signal, after which our people were immediately deprived of their side-arms, and likewise aim taken on them, ready to fire, because they did not deliver up their muskets, which were immediately snatched from them, and likewise men were immediately stationed at the pieces of ordnance at the points. Those who had been sent off returned, and brought us information that there was no desire to give one hour delay, that his commission was on board the vessel, and that we would immediately perceive the consequences of it. The soldiers were immediately chased out of the fort, and their goods taken in possession, as likewise my property, and I could hardly, by entreaties, bring it so far to bear that I, with my wife and children, were not likewise shut out almost naked. All the articles which were in the fort were confiscated by them, even the corn, having hardly left us as much as to live on, using it sparingly, &c. The governor pretends that her Majesty has license from the States-General of the Netherlands, that she may possess this river provisionally."—Holl. Doc., Vol. VIII., pages 85, 87, *Hazard's Annals* pages 148–9.

On the day following the capture of Fort Casimir the "Ornen" sailed up to Christina, where the three hundred emigrants were landed—the largest body that had ever reached New Sweden at one time.

On the following day all the people at Christina



FORT CASIMIR OR TRINITY FORT.
[From Campanius' "New Sweden."]

assembled to take the oath of allegiance to Sweden and the West India Company, and Papegoja resigned his office as Governor into the hands of Rising, notwithstanding the latter had not yet been duly appointed to that charge. Papegoja and Schute continued to be the Governor's principal assistants in the direction of the colony. On the 3d of June a similar meeting was held at Printzhof on Tennakong, and the Dutch commandant at Fort Casimir and the majority of his garrison swore fealty to Sweden. Afterwards the Governor, in company with engineer Lindstrom, made a journey around the rest of the Swedish settlement to become acquainted with the region; and finally he called the neighboring Indians together with a view to make them his allies. The joint council was held at Tinnecum, (then called Printzhof) on June 17th, at which ten Indian

chiefs were present, and Rising offered many presents, distributed wine and spirits, and spread a great feast of suppaun; the old treaties were read, mutual vows of friendship exchanged, and the Indians became allies of the Swedes, whom they strongly counseled to settle at once at Passayunk.

On July 3d Rising sent an open letter to all the Swedes who had gone off to Maryland and Virginia, inviting them to return, when, if they would not remain at the settlement, they should receive permission and be provided with a pass to betake themselves wherever they wished. Fort Trinity was rebuilt from its foundations and armed with four fourteen-pounder cannon taken from the "Ornen." The land nearest to Christina was divided into building lots for a future town of Christinahamn (Christinaport), from whence traffic was to be carried on with the Provinces of Virginia and Maryland, with which intent, also, Rising planned the widening of the Swedish territory to the west by means of a new settlement, no limit ever having been set to it in that direction. Finally a map of the river and Swedish possessions was prepared by Lindstrom, with an accurate description of the region. In an "ordinance concerning the people and the land," etc., dated July, 1654, he decreed the first anti-slavery act adopted in America: "Whoever bespeaks of the company any slave over fourteen years in service shall give, besides the passage money received, twenty-four rikslaler, and the slave shall serve him six consecutive years, obtaining his food, shoes, and so forth every year; after six years a slave shall be absolutely free."

Rising selected for himself a piece of land south of Trinity Fort, a quarter of a mile in length, and in a letter to Chancellor E. Oxenstjerna dated June 11, 1654, he solicits "His Excellency to find him a good wife and send her over." He assigned Petrus Hjort, one of the ministers who came out on the "Ornen," to a home in Fort Trinity, while his companion, Matthias Nertunius, dwelt at Upland.

The Dutch and Swedish population on the Delaware at this time, according to a census taken by Rising, was three hundred and sixty-eight persons. This is probably exclusive of many Swedes who had gone into the interior and crossed the ridge towards Maryland. But little agriculture was attended to besides tobacco planting, and the chief industry was the trade in peltries, which was very profitable. In this trade the Indians had acquired as great skill as in trapping the beaver and drying his pelt. The price of a beaver-skin was two fathoms of "seawant," and each fathom was taken to be three ells long. An ell was measured (as the yard still is in country places), from one corner of the mouth to the thumb of the opposite arm extended. The Indians, tall and long-limbed, always sent their longest armed people to dispose of beaver-skins, and the Dutch complained at Fort Nassau that the savages outmeasured them continually.

The "Ornen" returned to Sweden in July, 1654, with a cargo of Virginia and Maryland tobacco, and carrying as passengers some of the older colonists including Johan Papegoja. Arriving at home the government was engaged in fitting out at Gottenburg the "Gyllene Hajen" (the "Golden Shark"), for another expedition to the Delaware. On the 12th of September the "Gyllene Hajen" arrived off the American coast, and "through rashness, or perhaps malice, of the mate," entered a bay believed to be the Delaware, but in fact the North River, or Hudson, the blunder not being discovered until she had reached Manhattan.

It was not to be expected that a man of Stuyvesant's heady temperament would permit an outrage, such as the capture of Fort Casimir, to go unrevenged, even if the directors of the West India Company had passed it by. But they were quite as eager as Stuyvesant himself, for prompt and decisive action on the Delaware. The time was auspicious for them. Axel Oxenstierna, the great Swedish chancellor, was just dead, Queen Christina had abdicated the throne in favor of her cousin Charles Gustavus, and England and Holland had just signed a treaty of peace. The directors insisted upon the Swedes being effectually punished, and ordered Stuyvesant, not only to exert every nerve to revenge the injury, not only to recover the fort and restore affairs to their former situation, but to drive the Swedes from every side of the river, and allow no settlers except under the Dutch flag. He was promised liberal aid from home, and was ordered to press any vessel into his service that might be in the New Netherlands. Stuyvesant meanwhile was not idle on his own side. He seized and made prize of the "Gyllene Hajen" at Manhattan, and placed her captain under arrest, as soon as he heard the news from Fort Casimir. He received five armed vessels from Amsterdam, and ordered a general fasting and prayer, and then hastened to set his armaments in order. On the 30th of August, Stuyvesant's forces, consisting of seven ships and six hundred men, entered Delaware Bay and cast anchor before the former Elfsborg. On the following day the Dutch fleet was off the late Fort Casimir, now Fort Trinity. The fort was summoned to surrender. The garrison, under Captain Sven Schute, which numbered only forty-seven men, and their commander, surrendered them on honorable terms before a gun was fired. Stuyvesant marched on the following day to Fort Christina, where Risingh was in command, and invested it on every side. Risingh pretended great surprise, resorted to every little diplomatic contrivance he could think of, and then on the 14th

of September, surrendered also, before the Dutch batteries opened. In truth his fort was a weak and defenseless one, and he had scarcely two rounds of ammunition.

In accordance with the terms[1] agreed to, the little Swedish garrison marched out, "colors flying." The Dutch went up the river to Tinnecum, where they laid waste all the houses and plantations, killed the cattle and plundered the inhabitants.

PLAN OF THE TOWN AND FORT CHRISTINA, BESIEGED BY THE DUTCH IN 1655.

[From Campanius' "New Sweden."]

A, Fort Christina. B, Christina Creek. C, Town of Christina Hamm. D, Tennehong Land. E, Fish Kill. F, Slangenborg. G, Myggenborg. H, Rottenborg. I, Flingenborg. K, Timber Island. L, Kitchen. M, Position of the besiegers. N, Harbor. O, Mine. P, Swamp.

A great many Swedes came in and took the oath[2] of allegiance to the Dutch.

All such were suffered to remain undisturbed in their possessions. A few who refused to take the oath were transported to Manhattan, while others crossed into Maryland, and permanently settled in Cecil and Kent Counties, where their family names are still preserved; but the Dutch yoke undoubtedly sat very lightly upon Swedish shoulders.

This was the end of the Swedish rule on the Delaware. Stuyvesant obeying instructions from the West India Company, made a formal tender of redelivery of Fort Christina to Risingh, but that hero was in the sulks, refused to receive it, and went home in November, by way of New Amsterdam, swearing at the Dutch "in frantic mood."

While these events were transpiring the authorities in Sweden succeeded in fitting out the tenth and last expedition to New Sweden. The *Mercurius* sailed on the 16th of October, 1655, bearing the last hope of safety for the enterprise on the Delaware, which had already come to an ignominious end. She arrived in the Delaware, March 24, 1656, the emigrants first learning the changes that had occurred when they were prevented from landing, by the Dutch Vice-Governor Paul Jacquet, until the receipt of further orders from Manhattan. Stuyvesant sent instructions forbidding them to land, and directed that they should be sent to Manhattan, to lay in provisions, etc., for their voyage home. The emigrants refusing to return to Sweden, they took the vessel past Fort Casimir, and up the river to Mantas Huck, where they landed. The *Mercurius* returned to Guttenborg, arriving there in September of the same year.

Upon the conquest of New Sweden, Stuyvesant appointed Captain Derrick Schmidt as commissary, who was quickly succeeded as we have seen, by John Paul Jacquet, in the capacity of "Vice-Director of the South River," with a Council consisting of Andreas Hudde, vice-director, Elmerhuysen Klein, and two sergeants. Fort Christina became Altona, Fort Casimir resumed its old name, and a new settlement grew up around it which was named New Amstel, the first actual town upon the river.

It must be confessed that if the Swedes on the Delaware were not a happy people it was their own fault. But they were happy. Come of a primitive race not yet spoiled by fashions, luxury, and the vices of civilization, and preferring agriculture and the simplest arts of husbandry to trade, they found themselves in a new, beautiful, and fertile region, with the mildest of climates and the

[1] See *Hazard's Annals*, pages 183, 185, 187, 189. Also, *Pennsylvania Magazine*, Vol. VIII., page 152.

[2] "Oath.—I, undersigned, promise and swear, in presence of the omnipotent and almighty God, that I will be true and faithful to their high and mighty lords and patrons of this New Netherland province, with the director-general and council already appointed, or who may be appointed in future, and will remain faithful, without any act of hostility, sedition, or intention, either by word or deed, against their high sovereignty, but that I will conduct myself as an obedient and faithful subject, as long as I continue to reside on this South River in New Netherland. So help me God Almighty.

Signed,

"Jan Hoffel.	Harmen Jans.
"Claes Peterson.	Johan Anies.
"Constantinus Gruberson.	Olofe Tranzen.
"Abraham Jansen.	Lambert Michielsen.
"Barent Jansen.	Simon Hindes.
"Martin Martens.	Jan Ecbert.
"Samuel Peterse.	Thomas Brett.
"William Morris.	Andries Jansen.
"Claes Tomasen.	Jan Jansen.
"Molens Andriessen.	Matheus Eldriss."

[3] Acrelius says, "The Swedes suffered great hardships from the Dutch. The flower of their troops were picked out and sent to New Amsterdam; though under pretext of their free choice, the men were forcibly carried aboard the ships. The women were ill treated in their houses, the goods pillaged, and the cattle killed. Those who refused allegiance were watched as suspicious. That this ill usage took place, appears from the testimony given by Rysingh to those who had suffered, several of which were preserved in the original. The Dutch have in vain endeavored to defend their aggressions by allegations that the Swedish establishment was by a private company, because the whole was undertaken under the authority and protection of the government."

One of these certificates given by Rysingh, is copied on the records of the Swedes' Church at Wicacco; it is "a passport given by Rysingh to Nicholas Mattson. "I do by these presents certify, that the bearer has, during my whole time, behaved as an honest, faithful servant of the crown. He was brought on board the enemy's vessel, and captured, for three weeks, with the other prisoners, continually in insults. In the same time his house was plundered, and his wife stripped of her very garments."

kindliest of souls. Government, the pressure of laws, the weight of taxation they scarcely knew, and their relations were always pleasant, friendly, and intimate with those savage tribes the terror of whose neighborhood drove the English into sudden atrocities and barbarities. Very few Swedes ever lost a night's rest because of the Indian's war-whoop. They were a people of simple ways, industrious, loyal, steadfast. In 1693 some of these Delaware Swedes wrote home for ministers, books, and teachers. This letter says, "As to what concerns our situation in this country, we are for the most part husbandmen. We plow and sow and till the ground; and as to our meat and drink, we live according to the old Swedish custom. This country is very rich and fruitful, and here grow all sorts of grain in great plenty, so that we are richly supplied with meat and drink; and we send out yearly to our neighbors on this continent and the neighboring islands bread, grain, flour, and oil. We have here also all sorts of beasts, fowls, and fishes. Our wives and daughters employ themselves in spinning wool and flax and many of them in weaving; so that we have great reason to thank the Almighty for his manifold mercies and benefits. God grant that we may also have good shepherds to feed us with his holy word and sacraments. We live also in peace and friendship with one another, and the Indians have not molested us for many years. Further, since this country has ceased to be under the government of Sweden, we are bound to acknowledge and declare for the sake of truth that we have been well and kindly treated, as well by the Dutch as by his Majesty the King of England, our gracious sovereign; on the other hand, we, the Swedes, have been and still are true to him in words and in deeds. We have always had over us good and gracious magistrates; and we live with one another in peace and quietude." [1]

One of the missionaries sent over in response to the touching demand of which the above quoted passage is part, writing back to Sweden after his arrival, says that his congregation are rich, adding, "The country here is delightful, as it has always been described, and overflows with every blessing, so that the people live very well without being compelled to too much or too severe labor. The taxes are very light; the farmers, after their work is over, live as they do in Sweden, but are clothed as well as the respectable inhabitants of the towns. They have fresh meat and fish in abundance, and want nothing of what other countries produce; they have plenty of grain to make bread, and plenty of drink. There are no poor in this country, but they all provide for themselves, for the land is rich and fruitful, and no man who will labor can suffer want." All this reads like an idyl of Jean Paul, or one of the naive, charming poems of Bishop Tegner. It is a picture, some parts of which have been delightfully reproduced by the poet John G. Whittier in his "Pennsylvania Pilgrim."

[1] Annals of the Swedes on the Delaware. By Rev. J. C. Clay, D.D.

CHAPTER VI.

SIR EDMUND PLOWDEN AND NEW ALBION.

BEFORE the grant of the Province of Maryland to Cecilius Calvert, second Lord Baltimore, in 1632, Sir Edmund Plowden, an Englishman of distinguished ancestry, with Sir John Lawrence and others, petitioned Charles the First for a grant of Long Island and thirty miles square, to be called Syon. This was modified in another petition to the king, asking permission to occupy "an habitable and fruitful Island named Isle Plowden, otherwise Long Isle," "near the continent of Virginia, about sixty leagues northwards from James City, without the Bay of Chesapeake," and "forty leagues square of the adjoining continent, as in the nature of a County Palatine or body politick, by the name of New Albion, to be held of your Majesty's Crown of Ireland, exempted from all appeal and subjection to the Governor and Company of Virginia." One month after the Province of Maryland was given to Cecilius Calvert, King Charles ordered his secretary, John Coke, to request the Lords Justices of Ireland to grant to the petitioners the island "between thirty-nine and forty degrees of latitude," and forty leagues adjacent on the adjoining continent, with the name of New Albion. This grant, which was enrolled in the city of Dublin, where Sir Edmund Plowden chose to have it registered, being a Peer of Ireland,[2] conveyed to him the following uncertain-bounded territory:

SIR EDMUND PLOWDEN.

"Our south bound is Maryland north bound, and beginneth at Aquinis or the southermost or first cape of Delaware Bay in thirty-eight and forty minutes, and so runneth by, or through, or including Kent Isle, through Chesapeack Bay to Pas-ataway; including the Isle of Pawlomecke river to the head or northernmost branch of that river, being three hundred miles due west, and thence northward to the head of Hudson's river fifty leagues, and so down Hudson's river to the Ocean, sixty leagues; and, thence of the Ocean and Isles across Delaware Bay to the South Cape fifty leagues; in all seven hundred and eighty miles. Then all Hudson's river, Isles, Long Isle, or Pamunke, and all Isles within ten leagues of the said Province." [3]

Shortly after New Albion was granted to Sir

[2] *Pennsylvania Magazine*, Vol. vii., page 326.
[3] *Force's Historical Tracts*, Vol. ii. page 25.

Edmund Plowden, Captain Thomas Young, a son of Gregory Young, of York, received a special commission from the king, which is printed in Rymer's "Fœdera," and dated September 23, 1633, authorizing him to fit out armed vessels for the voyage to Virginia and adjacent parts; to take possession in the king's name of all territory discovered, not yet inhabited by any Christian people; to establish trading posts with sole right of trade, and to make such regulations and to appoint such officers as were necessary to establish civil government.

In the spring of 1634 the exploring expedition departed, the lieutenant of which was Robert Evelyn, a nephew of Young; Evelyn's father, of Godstone, Surrey, having married Susan, the captain's sister. Among other officers was a surgeon named Scott, and the cosmographer was Alexander Baker, of St. Holborn's Parish, Middlesex, described by Young as "skilful in mines and trying of metals." The great object of Captain Young was to ascend the Delaware River, which he called Charles, in compliment to the king, until he found a great lake, which was said to be its source, and then to find a Mediterranean Sea, which the Indians reported to be four days' journey beyond the mountains. He entered Delaware Bay on the 25th of July, 1634, and on the 29th of August had reached the Falls of the Delaware River. On the first of September Lieutenant Robert Evelyn was sent in the shallop "up to the rocks both to sound the water as he went and likewise to try whether the boats would pass the rocks or no." Meeting a trading vessel there from Manhattan, Young ordered Evelyn to see the Hollanders outside of Delaware Bay and then to go and discover along the Atlantic coast. He was sent as far as Hudson's River, and then returned to Young on the Delaware. Captain Young writes: "As soon as he was returned I sent him presently once more up to the falls, to try whether he could pass those rocks at a spring-tide, which before he could not do at a neap-tide; but it was then also impossible with any great boats, whereupon he returned back to me agayne."[1]

After this expedition Young, still being in the Delaware River, where he traded with the Indians at Fort Eriwoneck, Robert Evelyn was sent with dispatches to England, where he remained until the fall of 1636, when he returned to Virginia and the next year was one of the councillors and surveyors of that colony. At this time George, his brother, came to Kent Island, in Maryland, as the agent of the London partners of William Claiborne.

When Robert Evelyn again returned to England he was induced, in 1641, to write a small quarto with the title "Direction for Adventurers, and true Description of the healthiest, pleasantest, richest plantation of New Albion, in North Virginia, in a letter from Master Robert Eveline, who lived there many years." The description was in the form of a letter and addressed to Plowden's wife.[2]

Sir Edmund Plowden's first visit to America was in 1642. Robert Evelyn, who had also returned on the 23d of June of the same year, was commissioned by the authorities of Maryland "to take charge, and command, of all or any of the English in, or near about, Piscataway, and levy, train and master them."

During the year 1642 Plowden appears to have sailed up the Delaware and visited "the fort given over by Captain Young and Master Evelyn," which seems to have been in or near the Schuylkill. His residence was chiefly in Northampton County, Virginia,[3] and he brought some servants of his family from England.[4]

[1] Young's letter in *Mass. Hist. Society Collections*, Fourth Series, Vol. iii., page 81.

[2] Rev. Edward D. Neill, President of Macalester College, Minnesota, who has given much time and thought to early American history, in his very interesting paper on Sir Edmund Plowden, published in the *Pennsylvania Magazine*, Vol. vii., page 106, to which we are indebted for most of the facts embodied in this chapter, says: "When Evelyn was in England in A.D. 1634, Edmund Plowden was living at Wanstead by no means happy, and causing those who were in any way dependent upon him to feel most miserable. His harsh treatment of others, and ungovernable temper, made him a pest in the neighborhood. About this time, also, he left the Church of Rome, and conformed to the Church of England. His wife, Maiel, to whom he had been married twenty-five years, on account of his cruelty was at length obliged to make complaint. The court sustained her, and Plowden was ordered to pay the expenses of suit and provide alimony. Another complaint was lodged against him on May 3, 1639, for beating the wife of Rev. Philip Oldfield, Rector of Lashams, who was about to become a mother, because Plowden and the clergyman had disagreed upon the terms of a certain lease. As late as November 11, 1639, he manifested 'passion,' 'obstinate lying,' and persisted in contempt of court, by refusing to pay his wife's alimony. It had become evident that if he should sail for America, his absence would not be deplored."

Sir Edmund Plowden was the lineal descendant of Edmund Plowden, the learned and honorable pleader, who died in 1585, whose commentaries on law, Chief Justice Coke called "exquisite and elaborate." About the year 1610, Plowden was married to Maiel, daughter of Peter Mariner, of Wanstead, Hampshire. In the Calendar of State Papers of 1634-35, there is a notice of five pounds and sixteen shillings of ship-money assessed upon Sir Edmund's tenants in Hampshire.

[3] In the manuscript records of Northampton County, Virginia, there are some particulars in the life of Sir Edmund Plowden, Kn't. It appears when he sailed for America with a friend he brought two letters of introduction from William Webb, of London, one addressed to "Thomas Copley at his plantation in Maryland," he being at that time the temporal coadjutor of the Jesuit Mission, and the other was addressed to the head of the Mission, "To his Noble Reverend Mr. Andrew White, Esq., at Maryland." There is an account against Plowden by the clerk of the Northampton Court of three hundred pounds of tobacco for taking depositions, making copies, etc. There are other brief notices of him on the records showing his residence in the county, among others a verdict between "Capt. Thomas Burlinge plaintiff and Edmund Plowden," dated March 6, 1642-43.—*Pennsylvania Magazine*, Vol. x., page 180.

[4] In the manuscript records of Maryland, in the Land Office at Annapolis, there is a notice of Margaret Brent, the intimate friend of Governor Leonard Calvert, visiting the Isle of Kent, in the Chesapeake Bay, accompanied by Anne, a lame maid-servant of Sir Edmund Plowden. In 1643 Nathan Pope petitioned the Provincial Court of Maryland to have three maid servants of Sir Edmund Plowden delivered to him, so that he could convey them to Sir Edmund in Virginia. On July 17, 1643, William Ettonhead made oath before the same court that in June, 1642, in Setter Lane, London, Jane and Eleanor Stevenson did contract with Sir Edmund Plowden, Kn't, to serve him for five years in New Albion, in Delaware Bay, and were to have fifty pounds sterling per annum, and they find themselves clothes. On January 15, 1643, "Robert Ellyson, barber-chirurgeon, demanded of Sir Edmund Plowden, Knt, 1156 lbs. of tobacco, due by account of chirurgery and physick this last summer for Ellen and Jane Stevenson, maid-servants of the said Sir Edmund"; and he attached Sir Edmund Plowden's right of service until the bill was paid. Sir Edmund afterwards sued his two maid-

John Printz, the third governor of New Sweden, arrived on the 15th of February, 1643, at Fort Christina on the Delaware. He appears to have resisted the claims of Plowden. In the "Remonstrance of New Netherlands," published in 1650, is the following:

"We cannot omit to say that there has been here, both in the time of Director Kieft and in that of General Stuyvesant, a certain Englishman who called himself Sir Edmund Plowden, and, styling himself Earl Palatinate of New Albion, pretended that the country on the west side of the North River as far as Virginia, was his property under a grant from James, [Charles I.] King of England; but he remarked that he would have no misunderstanding with the Dutch, but was much offended with, and bore a grudge against, John Printz, the Swedish Governor in the South River, in consequence of receiving some affronts which were too long to record, but which he would take an opportunity of resenting and possessing himself of the South River."[1]

It appears by the statement of Charles Varlo[2] that Sir Edmund Plowden, with his wife and two children, came over to New Albion to enjoy his property. Finding that it was occupied, and claimed by the Swedes and Dutch, he took up his residence for six years in Northampton County, Virginia, and on Kent Island and other portions of Maryland, which he claimed were included in his grant. He brought over with him numerous servants and settlers, and went to great expense and labor, in endeavoring to establish his claims. He leased to Lord Mason 5,000 acres, who was to settle it with 50 men; to Lord Sherrard he leased 1000 acres, who was to settle it with 100 men; to Sir T. Dandy he leased 1000 acres, who was to settle it with 100 men; to Mr. Heltonhead 5000 acres, who was to settle it with 50 men; to Mr. Heltonhead's brother 5000 acres, who was to settle it with 50 men; to Mr. Bowls 4000 acres, who was to settle it with 40 men; to Captain Wm. Clayborne 5000 acres, who was to settle it with 50 men, and to Mr. Muskery 5000 acres, who was to settle it with 50 men.

SIR EDMUND PLOWDEN'S ARMS.

According to Evelyn's account of New Albion, a splendid palatinate was projected—the banks of the Delaware were set off into manors—all the earl's children received titles, and a chivalric order was instituted under the imposing name of The Albion Knights of the Conversion of the twenty-three Kings. His grant as we have shown, embraced all of the territory now comprised within New Jersey, regardless of the prior grant of a large portion thereof, to the New England Company, all of Delaware, and parts of Maryland, Pennsylvania and New York. By the liberal grant which Plowden procured from his sympathetic monarch, he was invested with the title of Earl Palatine, which drew after it very great privileges to the grantee; for Bracton, "the ancientest of lawyers," as Plantagenet calls him, defines an Earl Palatine to be one who has regal power in all things, save allegiance to the King. The first of the manors, called Watcessit, the earl reserved for himself. It was situated about the site of Salem, N. J., at the southern end of what Plantagenet calls "the mountless plain, which Master Evelin voucheth to be twenty miles broad and thirty long, and fifty miles washed by two fair navigable rivers; of three hundred thousand acres fit to plow and sow all corn, tobacco and flax and rice, the four staples of Albion." Three miles as was estimated from Watcessit, lay the domain of "Lady Barbara, Baroness of Richneck, the mirror of wit and beauty," adjoining Cotton River (now Alloway's Creek), "so named of six hundred pounds of cotton wilde on tree growing," says our historian; who further sets forth the value of the seat awarded to the Earl's favorite daughter, by adding that it was of "twenty-four miles compasse,

servants for one thousand pounds of tobacco for trequas for departing unlawfully out of his service in Virginia. Ellen Stevenson afterwards married William Brathwaite, a prominent citizen of St. Mary's County, Maryland. Anne Fletcher, who had contracted with Sir Edmund Plowden in England to serve as a waiting maid for his lady and daughters in New Albion, sued him for her wages in February, 1643, and, not liking the country, desired him to pay the expense of her transportation home. George Binx, about the same time, demanded of Sir Edmund one thousand pounds of tobacco "for pains and physick last winter for cure of Anne Fletcher, maid-servant to the said Sir Edward." Hazard, and others, note a purchase, in 1643, of a half interest in a bark, by Sir Edmund, which was then used by him.

[1] The following interesting report of Sir Edmund Plowden is to be found in the second report of John Printz, Governor of New Sweden, to the Swedish West India Company, dated Christina, June 20, 1644:

"In my former communications concerning the English knight, I have mentioned how last year, in Virginia, he desired to sail with his people, sixteen in number, in a barque, from Heckensak [Accomack] to Kikathans [or Kecoughtan, the present Hampton]; and when they came to the bay of Virginia, the captain (who had previously conspired with the knight's people to kill him) directed his course not to Kikathan, but to Cape Henry, passing which, they came to an isle in the high sea called Smith's Island, when they took counsel in what way they should put him to death, and thought it best not to slay him with their hands, but to set him, without food, or clothes, or arms, on the above-named island, which was inhabited by no man or other animal save wolves and bears; and this they did. Nevertheless, two young noble retainers, who had been brought up by the knight and who knew nothing of that plot, when they beheld this evil fortune of their lord, leaps from the barque into the ocean, swam ashore, and remained with their master. The fourth day following, an English sloop sailed by Smith's Island, coming so close that the young men were able to hail her, when the knight was taken aboard (half dead and as black as the ground) and conveyed to Hackensak, where he recovered. The knight's people, however, arrived with the barque May 8, 1643, at our Fort Elfsborg, and asked after ships to Old England. Hereupon I demanded their pass, and inquired from whence they came; and as soon as I perceived that they were not on a proper errand, I took them with me (though with their consent) to Christina, to bargain about flour and other provisions, and questioned them until a maid-servant (who had been the knight's washer woman) confessed the truth and betrayed them. I at once caused an inventory to be taken of their goods, in their presence, and held the people prisoners until the very English sloop which had rescued the knight arrived with a letter from him concerning the matter, addressed not alone to me, but to all governors and commandants of the whole coast of Florida. Thereupon I surrendered to him the people, barque and goods (in precise accordance with the inventory), and he paid me 425 rikslaler for my expenses. The chief of these traitors the knight has had executed. He himself is still in Virginia and (as he constantly professes) expects vessels and people from Ireland and England. To all ships and barques that come from thence he grants free commission to trade here in the river with the savages; but I have not yet permitted any of them to pass, nor shall I do so until I receive order and command to that effect from my most gracious queen, her Royal Majesty of Sweden."—*Pennsylvania Magazine*, Vol. vii, page 50.

[2] "Nature Displayed," London, 1794, page 142, et seq

of wood, huge timber trees, and two feet black mould, much desired by the Virginians to plant tobacco." The manor of Kildorpy, at the falls of Trenton, was unappropriated. Bolalmanack, or Belvedere, on the Chesapeake shore of Delaware State, was given to Plantagenet under the lord's seal, as a reward for his pains in exploring the country.

How far this scheme was realized we cannot tell. It is said that the New Haven settlers at Salem were visited by Master Miles, who swore their officers to fealty to the Palatine before their expulsion by the Dutch and Swedes. When the Earl himself came to New Albion, in 1643, it is said he "marched, lodged and cabinned together among the Indians."

The Knights of the Conversion, composed originally of Sir Edmund Plowden, and the seven persons with whom he conferred, partook strongly of the fantastic spirit which marked the Hudibrastic age. Whatever selfish motive might have influenced them in reality in their organization, they professed to have at heart only a desire for the conversion of the twenty-three Indian tribes living within the limits of Sir Edmund's grant. Hence upon the badge of their order we find their own and Plowden's arms, supported by the right hand of an Indian kneeling, around which are twenty-two crowned heads; the whole being enriched by the legend *Doceba iniquos vias tuas, et impii ad te convertentur.* The knight's device was a hand holding a crown upon the point of a dagger, above an open Bible; and the Palatine's arms, two flowers upon the points of an indented belt, with the legend *virtus beat sic suos.*

Of the mode intended to be pursued by these knights in proselyting the Indians, Plantagenet has left us a hint, for he tells us that any gentleman who was out of employ, and not bent to labor, might come to New Albion "and live like a devout apostolique soldier, *with the sword and the word*, to civilize and convert them to be his majesty's lieges, and by trading with them for furs, get his ten shillings a day," which he thought much better than contracting with the government at home "to kill Christians for five shillings a week."

But notwithstanding the "apostollic blows and knocks," which the Knights of the Conversion thus meditated for the good of their red brothers' souls, the Earl himself intended no such logic for his English subjects. He meant by an act of his parliament to require an observance of some of the fundamental creeds, but there was to be "no persecution to any dissenting, and to all such as the Walloons free chapels." The government he had projected was, excepting his own exorbitant powers, as liberal as his church. Its officers were "the Lord, head governor, a deputy-governor, secretary of estate or seal keeper, and twelve of the council of state, or upper house; and these, or five of them, were also a court of chancery." His lower house consisted of thirty burghers freely chosen, who were to meet the lords in Parliament annually on the tenth of November, to legislate for the palatinate. Any lawsuit under forty shillings, or one hundred pounds of tobacco in value, was to be "ended by the next justice at one shilling charge." The jurisdiction of the county courts, consisted of four justices, and meeting every two months, began at ten pounds sterling, or fifteen hundred weight of tobacco; and the costs of no case tried herein were to exceed four shillings. Appeals lay from these courts first to chancery and then to parliament; and our author concludes

THE MEDAL AND RIBBON OF THE ALBION KNIGHTS.

his exposition of the Earl's judiciary by saying: "Here are no jeofails nor demurrers; but a summary hearing and a sheriff, and clerk of court with small fees, and all for the most part in a few words."

After the dispersion of the New Albion subjects (as Plantagenet claims the settlers on Varcken's Kill, in 1642, to have been) the land embraced in their purchase of the Indians was the cause of much controversy between the Dutch governor of New Amsterdam, and the commissioners of the united colonies of New England. On the 19th of September, 1650, all difficulties were apparently removed by a treaty concluded at Hartford, between Stuyvesant and the said commissioners, by which it was agreed "to leave both parties in

statu quo prius, to plead and improve their just interests at Delaware, for planting or trading as they shall see cause."[1]

Having failed to induce the emigration of the "viscounts, barons, baronets, knights, gentlemen, merchants, adventurers and planters" to the hopeful colony, and having studied minutely the character and peculiarities of his twenty-three kings, and as Waterssit had fallen, and disgusted with the treachery of the men he had loaded with titles and promises, Sir Edmund Plowden determined to return to England. In the summer of 1648 he visited Boston on his return home. Governor Winthrop in his journal writes: "Here, arrived one Sir Edmund Plowden who had been in Virginia about seven [six] years. He came first with a patent of a County Palatine for Delaware Bay; but wanting a pilot for that place, he went to Virginia, and there having lost the estate he brought over, and all his people scattered from him; he came hither to return to England for supply, intending to return and plant Delaware, if he could get sufficient strength to dispossess the Swedes."

Arriving in England, Plowden determined to make another effort to stock the country with settlers. Accordingly "A Description of the Province of New Albion" was issued, and on Tuesday, June 11, 1650, a pass was granted for about "seven-score persons, men, women and children to go to New Albion," but there is no evidence that the party ever sailed. The effort to awaken an interest in New Albion failed, and when the Dutch Commissioners, in the fall of 1659, visited Secretary Philip Calvert in Maryland, they argued that Lord Baltimore had no more right to the Delaware River than "Sir Edmund Plowden, in former time would make us believe he hath unto, when it was afterward did prove, and was found out that he only subuptiff and obreptiff hath something obtained to that purpose which was invalid." To this it was replied by Calvert "That Plowden had no commission, and lay in jail in England on account of his debts; that he had solicited a patent for Novum Albium from the king, but it was refused him, and he thereupon applied to the Vice Roy of Ireland, from whom he had obtained a patent, but that it was of no value."

Plowden signed his will on the 29th of July, 1655, in which he styles himself "Sir Edmund Plowden, Lord Earl Palatinate, Governor and Captain-General of New Albion in North America," and devised his possessions in America to his son Thomas, and made William Mason, Esq., of Gray's Inn, his trustee. He directed that his body should be buried in Ledbury Church in Salop, with "brasse plates of my eighteene children had affixed to the said monument at thirty or fourty powndes charges, together with my perfect pedigree as is drawne at my house."[2]

In his will which was proved July 27, 1659, he says he "resided six" years in New Albion. Sir Edmund Plowden's son Thomas died in 1698, and in his will which was signed on the 16th of May, and proved on the 10th of September, 1698, he bequeathed to his wife New Albion, the patent of which he said had been wrongfully detained for years to his great loss and hindrance, by his son-in-law Andrew Wall, of Ludshott, in the county of Southton.[3]

Before the War for Independence Charles Varlo, of London, purchased one-third of the charter of New Albion, and spared no expense to secure the property, by registering his title deeds under the great seal of London. He also sent printed copies of the charter to be distributed among the inhabitants of East and West Jersey. After the close of the Revolution, in May, 1784, Mr. Varlo secured an appointment as governor of the province of New Albion, and embarked with his family for America. He took steps to recover the estate by a suit in chancery, and pursued other measures but failed, and after the expenditure of much time and treasure—he returned to Europe. He there petitioned to the king but received no answer. He then applied to the treasury to secure compensation which was then usually paid to loyalists, but he failed to obtain redress because there was no act of Parliament authorizing his special payment. He then sought the Prince of Wales to use his influence with the king to make some "restitution for the heavy losses I have had, in perusing an unconstitutional act, arising from a crowned act." In all these efforts Mr. Varlo failed, and upon the acknowledgment of the independence of the colonies as free and independent states, all the rights of the heirs of Sir Edmund Plowden were swallowed up by the occupants of the territory.

CHAPTER VII.

DELAWARE UNDER THE DUTCH.

AFTER the conquest of the Swedish settlements on the Delaware, Director Stuyvesant left for New Amsterdam, leaving the administration of justice and the superintendence of public interests in the

[1] "Reminiscences of Old Gloucester, N. J., by Isaac Mickle, page 23.

[2] A writer in the first series, 4th volume, of *London Notes and Queries*, asserts "that Sir Edmund died at Wanstead, County of Southampton, in possession of large estates in eleven parishes of England, and that to each of these parishes by his will, A. D. 1655, he left money [£10 apiece] to be paid eight days after his decease, and directs to be buried in the chapel of the Plowdens at Lydbury, in Salop, and a stone monument with an inscription in brass bearing the name of his children, and another with his correct pedigree, as drawn out in his house at Wanstead."

[3] *Pennsylvania Magazine*, Vol. VII., page 52.

hands of John Paul Jacquet, who he afterwards confirmed as vice-director. Andries Hudde was made secretary and surveyor, and Elmerhuysen Klein counselor. These three officers, with two of the "most expert freemen," were to form the Court of Civil Justice. Fort Casimir, now regaining its original name, was to be the seat of government, above which no trading vessels were to go, unless they received a permit. In the settlement of the country, the colonists were to concentrate themselves in families of sixteen to twenty in number, and were to pay annually for their lands twelve stivers a morgen in lieu of tenths. The town lots were forty feet by fifty, and the streets from four to five rods in breadth.[1] The Swedes were to be closely watched, and if any should be found disaffected, they were to be sent away "with all imaginable civility," and, if possible, be induced to come to Manhattan. The vice-director was also required to "maintain and protect the Reformed religion, as it is learned and taught in this country, in conformity to the Word of God and the Synod of Dordrecht, and to promote it as far as his power may extend." The whole number of inhabitants consisted, at the time, of about a dozen families. Police regulations were adopted, and a liberal commercial treaty was arranged with the Indians with the assistance of the inhabitants.

New Sweden ceased to be the name of the territory, as it was now part of the Dutch territories of New Netherlands, and went by that name. The Delaware River was called the South River.

Meanwhile, information reached the States General, through their ambassador at the Court of London, of the fall of Fort Christina, and of the expulsion of the Swedes from the Delaware. The Swedish government remonstrated with their High Mightinesses at Amsterdam, but the protest was of no avail. The Swedes could not follow up their protests with a sufficient force to command respect, for "they had their hands full" of the war they were then waging against Poland. On May 26, 1656, the Directors communicated to Stuyvesant their approbation of his conduct, "though they should not have been displeased had such a formal capitulation not taken place;" for "what is written is too long preserved, and may be produced when not desired, whereas words not recorded are in the lapse of time forgotten, or may be explained away."

The Dutch West India Company being much in debt, caused by its operations in Brazil and Guinea, now became embarrassed by the aid it extended Stuyvesant in recovering South River. In order to liquidate the debt which the company owed to the city of Amsterdam for the aid which that city afforded in the expulsion of the Swedes, and to strengthen the southern boundaries of New Netherland, it proposed to cede Fort Casimir and a proportionate tract in its vicinity to the Burgomasters of Amsterdam." Conferences followed, the result of which was that the above fort, with all the country from the west side of the Minquas, or Christina Kill, to the mouth of the Delaware Bay (named "Boomtye's Hoenck" by the Dutch, now corrupted into "Bombay Hook," and Canaresse by the Indians), inclusive, and so far as the Minquas land extended, became, with the Company's rights and privileges, the property of the city of Amsterdam, and was erected into a colony of the first class, under the title of Nieuwer Amstel, named after one of the suburbs belonging to the city, between the River Amstel and the Haerlem Sea. Six commissaries were appointed by the Burgomasters to manage the colony, who were "to sit and hold their meetings at the West India House on Tuesdays and Thursdays." A set of "conditions" was drawn up, offering a free passage to colonists,

SEAL OF NEW NETHERLANDS, 1655–1664.

lands on the river side for their residence, and provisions and clothing for one year. The city engaged to send out "a proper person for a schoolmaster, who shall also read the holy Scriptures in public and set the Psalms." The municipal government was to be regulated "in the same manner as here in Amsterdam. The colonists were to be exempted from taxation for ten years; after that time they should not "be taxed higher than those who are taxed lowest in any other district under the government of the West India Company in New Netherland." Specific regulations were adopted with respect to trade; and besides the recognitions payable to the West India Company on goods exported from Holland, four per centum was to be paid in New Netherland.

All these arrangements were ratified and confirmed by the States General, upon condition that a church should be organized and a clergyman established as soon as there were two hundred in-

[1] This laying out of lots was the beginning of the town of New Amstel, now New Castle. For a long time it was the most important town on the banks of the Delaware. On the 5th of February, 1658, Jacobus Crabbe presented a petition to the Council "respecting a plantation near the corner, where brick and stone are made and baked."

habitants in the colony. Preparations were immediately made to organize the colony, of which Jacob Alrichs, an uncle of Beck, the vice-director at Curaçoa, was appointed director. Martin Kregier, of New Amsterdam, upon Stuyvesant's "good report," was commissioned as captain of a company of sixty soldiers, and Alexander d'Hinoyossa, who had formerly served in Brazil, was made lieutenant. Ordinances were also passed requiring the colonists to take an oath of allegiance to the States General, the burgomasters of Amsterdam, and the director and council of New Netherland, and likewise to promise faithfully to observe the articles which defined their duties and obligations to the city. These, among other things, required them to remain four years at New Amstel, unless they gave satisfactory reasons for leaving, or repaid, within the proper time, the expenses incurred on their account.

The West India Company informed Stuyvesant of all these arrangements, and instructed him to transfer the territory which the city had purchased to Alrichs on his arrival in New Netherland. At Forts Christina and New Gottenburg, "now called by us Altona and the island of Kattenberg," he was to maintain for the present a small garrison. "The confidence which we feel," they added, "about the success and increase of this new colony, and of which we hope to see some prominent features next spring, when, to all appearance, large numbers of the exiled Waldenses, who shall be warned, will flock thither as to an asylum, induces us to send you orders to endeavor to purchase, before it can be accomplished by any other nation, all that tract of land situated between the South River and the Hook of the North River, to provide establishments for these emigrants."[1]

About 167 colonists embarked on December 25, 1656, in the ships "Prince Maurice," the "Bear," and the "Flower of Guelder," and set sail from the Texel for South River. The emigrants, after suffering many discomforts, arrived in the South River early in 1657. Alrichs' arrival on April 21, terminated the official career of Jacquet. Upon his return to Manhattan on account of this misgovernment, he was arrested and prosecuted.

In a few days after the arrival of the first colonists, Stuyvesant, in obedience to the orders of the Dutch West India Company, formally transferred to Alrichs "the Fort of Casimir, now named New Amstel, with all the lands dependent on it, in conformity with our first purchase from and transfer by the natives to us on the 19th of July, 1651." Upon his arrival at Fort Casimir, Alrichs received from Jacquet a surrender of his authority, and the colony of New Amstel was formally organized. The region north of Christina Kill remained under the jurisdiction of the West India Company, in obedience to whose orders the name of Fort Christina was changed to that of "Altona."

During the few months of Alrichs' directorship, New Amstel prospered. The municipal government was remodeled, the town was laid out, buildings were rapidly erected, a bridge was placed over the creek near Fort Casimir, a magazine erected, the fort repaired, a guard house, bake house and forge built, together with residences for the clergymen and other public officers;[2] industry promised success, and thirty families were tempted to emigrate from Manhattan to the flourishing colony on South River.[3] At the end of the first year, New Amstel was "a goodly town of about 100 houses!"[4]

An inevitable consequence, however, of the establishment of the city's colony was the increase of smuggling. Large quantities of furs were exported without payment of duties, which caused the regular traders to complain, and the revenue suffered severely. To remedy these irregularities, at his suggestion, Director-General Stuyvesant was sent by the council of New Amsterdam, in company with Peter Tonneman, to South River. On his arrival at Altona, the Swedes were called upon to take the oath of allegiance which was required of all the other colonists, and they were allowed to choose their own officers. Upon his return to New Amsterdam, Stuyvesant informed the council that "many things are there not as they ought to be," and to maintain the rights of the company he appointed William Beekman Vice Director of that district. His instructions required him to live at first at Altona, but to have his permanent residence at or near New Amstel, where he could more conveniently attend to the collection of the revenue. He was invested with all the powers of the company on the whole of the South River, except the district of New Amstel, and was bound to maintain the Reformed religion.

The prosperity of New Amstel had, meanwhile, become clouded. The colonists had planted in hope; but heavy rains setting in, their harvest was

[1] Broadhead's History of New York, vol. I, p. 611.

[2] A city-hall for the burghers was also erected. It was a big building, two stories high, and twenty feet square. The whole of the buildings were inclosed within a square.

[3] Salt works are referred to in the records at this period. Forty cows were, at the same time, introduced in the colony, which were purchased by Alrichs at prices ranging from one hundred and twenty-eight to one hundred and thirty guilders per head, or about $7[illegible] each.

[4] Alrichs, in one of his letters, thus speaks of the government of New Amstel, before and after his arrival: "I found the government to consist of a military council over the soldiers, who were here of old. The difference between the old settlers, who consisted of about twelve or thirteen families, were decided by the commander and two persons acting as schepens, and a secretary appointed from among the inhabitants, by the general, on the part of the West India Company. These expressed a desire, now that the place had changed hands, that a burghers-like government should be continued, according to the conditions, as it was under the director-general and the West India Company; as it was, and they continued to decide all differences between burgher and burgher. All affairs appertaining to the city and military matters were disposed of by me and the council, and differences between the city's servants, soldiers, trainbands and freemen, until the arrival of the "Balance," (this day,) when seven city councillors were elected, and from them three new schepens were chosen; another secretary and school were also appointed, two elders and two deacons, for the management of church affairs." - *Hol. Doc.* quoted in note by O'Call. Vol. II., p. 447.

ruined, and food became scarce and dear. An epidemic fever broke out; the surgeon and many children died; and most of the inhabitants suffered from a climate to which they were not accustomed. While the disease was yet raging, the ship "Mill" arrived from Holland, after a disastrous voyage, bringing many new emigrants, among whom were several children from the Orphan House at Amsterdam. The population of New Amstel now exceeded six hundred; but its inhabitants were "without bread," and the ship which brought the new emigrants brought no supply of provisions. Industry was crippled, while wages advanced. Commissary Ryavelt and many "respectable" inhabitants perished, and a long winter stared the famished survivors in the face.

On the 25th of April, 1658, Evert Pieterson, whose official position was that of schoolmaster and comforter of the sick, landed at New Amstel. He is the first schoolmaster of whom there is any record on the Delaware. He at once commenced keeping school, and had twenty-five scholars on the 10th of August following. In a letter of his to the Commissioners of Amsterdam, he states that "wharves were already laid out" at New Amstel, "and almost built." He also says that he "found twenty families, mostly Swedes," in the City's Colony (that portion of Delaware south of the Christina), "and not more than five or six belonging to our (the Dutch) nation."

New Amstel was in deep distress early in 1659. Disease and famine had almost decimated its population, and the heat of the summer had enfeebled the unacclimated survivors. The wife of Alrichs was one of the victims. Everyone had been occupied in building houses and in preparing gardens, so that little grain was sown; and the emigrants from Holland brought very scanty supplies of provisions. "Our bread magazine, our pantry room, our only refuge is to Manhattan," wrote the despondent Alrichs to Stuyvesant. The conditions of settlement were also altered at this time by the burgomasters of Amsterdam, which only added difficulties to the colony. The despairing colonists began to leave South River, the soldiers of the garrison deserted, and took refuge in Virginia and Maryland. To add to the alarm of the distressed settlers, intelligence was received that the English in Maryland claimed the property on South River, and that persons would soon be sent to claim possession. The panic caused by the last report had not had time to subside before Col. Nathaniel Utie with a suite of six persons from Maryland arrived. He spent some days in sowing "seditious and mutinous seed among the community," and finally peremptorily commanded the Dutch to leave South River, or else declare themselves subject to Lord Baltimore.

Two days afterward, Lord Baltimore's agents returned to Maryland, and rumors soon spread that five hundred men were to march upon the South River. Messengers were despatched to New Amsterdam for re-enforcements and Director General Stuyvesant sent overland sixty soldiers under the command of Captain Kreiger, who, with Secretary Van Ruyven, was commissioned to act as general agents for the service of the company. August Heermans and Resolved Waldron, were also despatched on an embassy to the government of Maryland, to settle the difficulties. They proceeded, with a small escort, from New Amstel, and after many embarrassing adventures, arrived in a week at Patuxent. After being hospitably entertained, and meeting Governor Fendall and his council, and Secretary Calvert, and discussing the merits of the respective claims to the property in dispute, the commissioners returned, having failed in their mission.

Pending these discussions, anxiety and alarm prevailed among the Dutch colonists; business was suspended, and every one prepared for flight. Within a fortnight, fifty persons, including several families, removed to Maryland and Virginia. Scarcely thirty families remained at New Amstel. The colony was overwhelmed with debt; of the soldiers who had been sent out from Holland, but five remained at the Horekills, and ten at New Amstel. At the close of the year 1659, the inhabited part of the colony of the South River did not extend beyond two Dutch miles from the fort.[1] In the midst of these troubles, vice-director Alrichs died, having intrusted the government to Alexander D'Hinoyossa, with Gerrit Van Sweringen and Cornelis Van Gezel as councillors. On assuming the government of New Amstel in January, 1660, Hinoyossa, by his indiscreet conduct, produced

[1] About this time one of the Swedish ministers attempted to preach in the City's Colony—in the town of New Amstel. The commissioners of the colony would not permit this on account of the difference between the religious faiths of the Dutch and Swedes. In a letter to Alrichs they say: "The bold undertaking of the Swedish parson to preach in the colony without permission does not greatly please us. No other religion but the reformed can or may be tolerated there, so you must, by proper means, put an end to prevent such presumption on the part of other sectaries."

In a letter dated August 16th, to the Commissioners at Amsterdam, Alrichs gives the following unflattering account of the settlers at New Amstel.

"In the 'Prince Maurice,'" said he, "were 35 colonists, free handicraft's men, amongst them some workmen, but the major part tradesmen, who did not learn their trades very well, and ran away from their masters too early, in consequence of their own viciousness. Also 47 soldiers, 10 civil servants, 74 women, children and maid servants. Those who arrived in the vessels 'De Waig,' 'De Swane,' 'De Muelen' were of no good repute, scarcely three good farmers among the whole lot. The total was 137 tradesmen and servants, 70 soldiers and civil servants, 300 women and children, and the maid servants of the married women and children, &c., who came here as single women.

The wages for labor, at this time, on the Delaware, according to Alrichs' letters, were, for laborers, three guilders a day; for mechanics, four guilders a day.

In 1660 the following mechanics were employed at New Amstel. They are the first named as following these trades in this State, viz.: Andries Andriessen, a carpenter; Theunis Servaes, of Harlem, a cooper; Cornelius Theunissen, a smith; William Van Rasenberg, a surgeon; Thys Jacobsen, a boy working at carpentering with Andries Andriessen; he is the first carpenter's apprentice recorded. There were also Joost, of Amsterdam, and Antony Williamsen, of Vreedlandt, masons.

great discords, which were increased when news of the proposed retransfer of the colony to the West India Company reached the South River. With Beekman his relations were scarcely pleasant; and complaints were constantly made to New Amsterdam of his haughty and insolent demeanor, and his contempt of the provincial regulations respecting the sale of liquors to the savages.

The hostile attitude of the Maryland authorities had, in the mean time, been under the consideration of the Amsterdam directors, who ordered Stuyvesant to oppose their encroachments, "first warning them in a civil manner not to usurp our territory; but if they despise such kind entreaties, then nothing is left but to drive them from there, as our claims and rights on the lands upon South River are indisputable." But while the company was thus strenuous in asserting its territorial rights to the whole South River, it declined to receive back from the city of Amsterdam the colony of New Amstel; and the city's commissaries, obliged to continue their reluctant support, appointed Hinoyossa director in place of Alrichs.[1]

In 1661, public attention was drawn toward the South River, and various plans of emigration were proposed. Finally, a colony of Mennonists, or Anabaptists, established themselves at the Horekill. Pieter Cornelis Plockhoy was principal leader of the colony.[2]

The Dutch West India Company, seeing the impossibility of its colonial enterprise on the South River, proposed favorable terms to the city of Amsterdam for the surrender of "the whole of the Delaware from the sea upwards as far as the river reached, with the territory on the east side, three Dutch miles into the interior, and on the west as far as the country extended toward the English, saving the rights of the settlers and proprietors in the neighborhood." After formal, and somewhat lengthy negotiations, it was at length determined, on the 12th of February, 1663, that the Company should confer on the city the entire South or Delaware River. By this grant, the "high and low jurisdiction" which the city of Amsterdam possessed formerly over the colony of New Amstel alone was now extended over the whole territory on the river. The formal transfer of the territory on the Delaware to the city of Amsterdam did not take place until December 22, 1663, when a deed for the whole territory was executed by Stuyvesant to Alexander D'Hinoyossa, who became sole commandant, or vice-director; and William Beekman, left without position on the Delaware, was afterwards appointed Sheriff or Schout of a district on the North River.

In the meantime Hinoyossa, who had arrived at Amsterdam, induced the burgomasters to appropriate large sums of money for the vigorous prosecution of the work of colonization. He represented the Maryland authorities, with whom he had communicated, as anxious to promote intercolonial commerce; that the Swedes, Finns and others had already one hundred and ten plantations, and thousands of cattle and swine, besides horses and sheep; that the city had already two or three breweries, and more were wanted to supply the English with beer, who, in return, could furnish a thousand tubs of tobacco a year; and that ten thousand furs and other articles could be annually procured from the Indians, and exported from the colony. These representations had their effect. The next month Hinoyossa set sail for the South River with about one hundred and fifty colonists, and arrangements were made to dispatch another ship. Not long afterwards he arrived, and Beekman, in obedience to the company's orders, immediately recognized him as chief of the Dutch on the South River. His administration, however, was of short duration, extending from December 28, 1663 to October 1, 1664. During this limited period, arrangements were made for extending the fur and tobacco trade; a governmental revenue was provided for by the imposition of a tax on imported goods, and upon tobacco and furs exported, and to prevent trouble from savage excess, the brewing and distilling of liquors was prohibited in the colony.

The relations between the English in Maryland and the Dutch on the Delaware during all this time were far from being harmonious. Hardly had Charles II. reached the throne of England, before Lord Baltimore instructed Captain James Neale, his agent in Holland, to require of the West India Company to yield up to him the lands on the south side of the Delaware. Neale, accordingly, made a formal demand for the surrender of New Amstel, and informed the directors that Lord Baltimore would use all lawful means to defend his rights and subject the Dutch to his authority. The Amsterdam Chamber referred the question to the College of the XIX. who resolved, on Sept. 1, 1660, that they would defend their rights with "all the means which God and nature had given them."

Doubts had, meanwhile arisen in the council of Maryland, whether New Amstel was really within the limits of that province, and all further demonstrations were delayed until Lord Baltimore obtained from the king a confirmation of his

[1] Brodhead's History of New York, vol. 1, p. 682.

[2] The association was to consist of married males and single men who had attained the age of twenty four years, who were not bound to service or indebted to the association. No superiority or office was to be sought for; but all persons were to obey the ordinances for the "maintenance of peace and concord." No minister of the gospel was to be allowed in the association; for being composed of persons of various religious opinions, no one minister could preach in accordance with the sentiments of the whole of their community, and to get one of each sect, it was argued, would not only be impossible, "but an inevitable pest to all peace and union." The number that agreed to settle was thirty-five men. The city of Amsterdam agreed to loan each of them one hundred guilders. The whole community were to be secured for this loan. Thus every man was surety for all the rest.

patent. Pending these proceedings, the two colonies concluded a treaty of peace with the Indians at the head of Apoquinimy creek. The Marylanders, at the same time, proposed to deliver two or three thousand hogsheads of tobacco annually to the Dutch in return for negroes and merchandise.

In 1663, news came that the heir of Lord Baltimore was about to visit Altona, and Beekman, finding that "here on the river not a single draught of French wine is obtainable," requested Stuyvesant to send him some from Manhattan, "to treat the nobleman with." The next month, Lord Baltimore's son, Charles Calvert, came to New Amstel and Altona with a suite of twenty-six or twenty-seven persons. Beekman entertained him, not as a proprietary, but as a guest, and their intercourse was pleasant and harmonious. In conjunction with Van Sweringen, the schout of New Amstel, Calvert renewed the treaty with the savages, but when it was proposed to define the limits of the two colonies, he replied that he would communicate with Lord Baltimore. The young nobleman took leave of his Dutch hosts in all good feeling, and proposing to visit Boston the next spring, by way of Manhattan, he desired Beekman to convey his thanks to Stuyvesant for his "offer of convoy and horses."[1]

[1] Brodhead's History of New York, vol. 1, p. 717.

In the early part of June a battle took place between the Minqua and Seneca Indians. "The Senecas, to the number of eight hundred, blockaded the Minquas in their fort whilst a large proportion of their numbers were out hunting. When the Senecas approached, three or four men were dispatched to the fort with the offer of peace, while their force remained at a distance; but a Minqua returning from hunting discovered the Senecas, so that the next day three in the fort concluded to meet them with twenty or thirty men. The other Minquas at the same time, with their forces, made an attack, put the Senecas to flight, and pursued them for two days, retaking ten prisoners and killing ten Senecas." The Governor of Maryland assisted the Minquas with two cannon and four men to manage them. The accounts of this battle handed down to us are confused. It is more than probable the assistance rendered by the Marylanders contributed to the Minqua victory. The site of the battle is not definitely known; but it is supposed to have been within the limits of the State,—probably in the neighborhood of Iron or Chestnut Hill, near Newark, as the Minquas fort was situated on a high mountain. These hillsanswer best to the description given by Campanius as the site of the Minquas stronghold.

On the South River at this time, according to the report of the Commissioners of the city of Amsterdam, the Swedes, Finns and other nations had established about 110 good boweries or farms, which had a stock of 200 cows and oxen, 20 horses, 80 sheep, and several thousand swine. It was recommended that no Hollander should be employed in agriculture; but that Swedes, Finns and other foreign nations should be induced to emigrate to the South River for that purpose. The city was to offer to lend such people suffficient to pay their passage and purchase agricultural implements. Most of the emigrants who arrived in the "Paradaisd Vlacht" with D'Hinoyossa were Swedes and Finns, who were aided by the city of Amsterdam in this manner.

The Dutch of the Delaware at this time brewed a great deal of strong beer, which was sold to the Marylanders (who did not manufacture any) for tobacco.

On the 4th of November, Andreas Hudde, who figured so prominently in the early part of our history, died at Appoquiniminy, which was then the name of Appoquinimink. He had been a faithful servant of the Dutch for many years, and his services were appreciated by them; but he had been robbed and all his property destroyed by the Indians, and he had sunk from the position of commissary, or governor, to that of clerk. He petitioned for his discharge as clerk, and it being granted, had left Altona on the 1st of November, and was going by the way of Appoquinimy to Maryland, where he intended engaging in the brewing business; but he died before he reached there of an "ardent fever." His first service under the Dutch was as surveyor at Manhattan, 1642, from which station he was removed; in 1645 he was commissary at Fort Nassau, since which time he had been identified with the Dutch on South River.—*Vincent's History of Delaware*, pp. 402, 403-409.

The circumstances which led to the overthrow of the Dutch in the New Netherlands, do not demand any long recital. The facts are few, and there is no stirring episode in connection with them. No revolution could have been more tame, no transfer of an empire more apathetic. The Dutch had always had the sagacity to know that the English were their worst enemies in this continent. New Netherland lay like a wedge between Virginia and New England, separating and weakening those colonies, while at the same time it kept both from access to the best soils, the most desirable and salubrious climates, and the boldest navigable waters in America. From the time of Lord Baltimore's settlement on the Chesapeake (1634), the pressure which the Dutch felt so much upon their eastern frontier was repeated with an added strain on the southern. Baltimore's charter called for all the land north of the Potomac and south of the fortieth parallel. This line would have included the present site of Philadelphia, and Baltimore was urgent in asserting his claim. As has been stated, he sent Col. Nathaniel Utie to New Amstel (now New Castle) to give notice of his rights and how he meant to enforce them, and his ambassador went among the simple-hearted, timid Dutch and Swedes like a hectoring constable armed with a distraint warrant. Utie and others assisted the Indians who were at war with those tribes who were clients and allies of the Dutch, and Fendall and Calvert repeatedly made it appear that they meant to invade the South River colony and overthrow the Dutch power, either by sailing in at the mouth of the Delaware or by an invasion overland by way of Elk River. So great was the pressure put upon them that the Dutch abandoned their settlements about the Horekills, and withdrew farther up the bay. As a further precaution, and to erect "a wall between them and the English of Maryland," the Dutch West India Company, as we have shown, ceded to the city of Amsterdam, to which it owed heavy debts, its entire jurisdiction over the South River colony.

But the English to be dreaded did not live in the colonies but at home. The Stuarts were in power again, and so greedy were they and their followers, after their long fast during the period of the Commonwealth and the Protectorate, that England, though clean stripped, did not furnish spoils enough to "go round." Charles II., moreover, had no liking for the Dutch, and it had already become the policy of Great Britain to obtain control of the North American continent. On March 12, 1664 (O. S.), the king granted to his brother James, Duke of York and Albany (afterwards King James II.), a patent for all the land embraced between the St. Croix River on the north

and the Delaware Bay on the south. This covered all of New England, New York, and New Jersey, but it did not include the west side of the Delaware River and Bay, showing clearly that the king respected his father's charter conveying this territory to Calvert. All of the land granted by this patent, from the St. Croix River to the Passaic, had been previously conceded to the Plymouth or North Virginia Company by King James I. The duke, in July, sold or granted the territory between the Hudson and Delaware Rivers—the whole of New Jersey, in fact—to Lord Berkeley and Sir George Carteret. War between the English and Dutch broke out two months after the Duke of York received his patent, and the latter, who was lord high admiral of the British navy, at once (May 25, O. S.) fitted out an expedition to capture the New Netherlands—in other words, to take possession of the country patented to him by his brother. The expedition, consisting of four vessels, with one hundred and twelve guns and three hundred soldiers, besides the ships' crews, was under command of Col. Richard Nicholls, who was accompanied by Sir Robert Carr, Kt., George Cartwright, and Samuel Maverick, commissioners to the several English colonies to hear complaints, redress grievances, and settle the "peace and security of the country." Their instructions bound them first to reduce the Dutch colonies, as the fountain of sedition and sanctuary of discontent and mutiny, to "an entire obedience." The massacres of Amboyna were cited in proof that the Dutch were not fit to be intrusted with great power, and it was declared to be "high time to put them without a capacity of doing the same mischief in America, by reducing them to the same rule and obedience with the English subjects there." Submission to English authority was all that was to be required of them, and no man who submitted was to be "disturbed or removed from what he possessed."

The Dutch, both at home and in New Netherland, were acquainted with the expedition and its objects, but took no real measures of defense. The first vessel of the expedition arrived at the outer bay of New Amsterdam August 25th, and a proclamation was at once issued, offering protection to all who submitted. Stuyvesant repaired the walls of his fort, but he could not rally the people to reinforce the garrison. They would not leave their villages and bouweries, their wives and children, upon any such venture. On the 30th, Col. Nicholls demanded the surrender of the fort and island, replying to Stuyvesant's commissioners that he was not there to argue questions of title, but to obey orders, and the place must surrender to him without debate, or he would find means to compel it to do so. Stuyvesant was still disposed to argue, to temporize, to fight if he could, but the frigate ran up alongside the fort, broadside on, and demanded an immediate surrender. The people assembled in town-meeting and declared their helplessness, the dominies and the old women laid siege to Stuyvesant, and on the 9th of September, 1664, New Amsterdam surrendered, the Dutch marching out of their fort with all their arms, drums beating, and colors flying. The terms of the capitulation were very liberal, considering that no defense was possible. In fact, the English did not want any war. They sought territory, and they knew that that takes half its value from being in a pacific state.

After arranging affairs at New Amsterdam, the name of which was now changed to New York, Sir Robert Carr, with two frigates and some soldiers, was sent to the Delaware to receive the submission of the Dutch there. They reached New Amstel on September 30th. The inhabitants at once yielded, but the truculent D'Hinoyossa, with Alrichs and Van Sweringen, threw himself into the fort, and declined to come to terms. Carr landed some troops, made his frigates pour two broadsides into the fortress, and then incontinently took it by storm, the Dutch losing three men killed and ten wounded, the English none. The result of D'Hinoyossa's foolhardiness was the sack of the fort, the plunder of the town, the confiscation of the governor's property, as well as that of several of his supporters, and the selling of the Dutch soldiers into Virginia as slaves. A good many negro slaves also were confiscated and sold, a cargo of nearly three hundred of these unhappy beings having just landed at South Amboy and been run across the Delaware with the idea of escaping the English in New York. The name of New Amstel was changed to New Castle, and D'Hinoyossa retired to Maryland, where he was naturalized and lived for several years in Talbot County, but finally finding he could not recover his property, which had been taken by Carr and others, he returned to Holland, entered the Dutch army, and fought in the wars against Louis XIV.[1]

[1] Vincent says: "After the capture of the town and fort of New Amstel a general scene of plunder took place. All the soldiers and many of the citizens of New Amstel were sold as slaves to Virginia (for white slavery or forced service then existed, as well as black). The negroes he caught he (the "Gideon") and ran across New Jersey by Alrichs were forfeited, and mostly divided among his captors, save those that the Dutch managed to conceal. Several were taken belonging to Alrichs. Fifteen were returned to him some four years afterwards by Lieut. Arthur Stock as a free gift. They also took from the Dutch all the produce of the land for that year, and amongst other things were 1,00 sheep, 50 of 40 horses, 5 to 60 cows and oxen, a brew-house and still belonging to it, and a saw-mill ready to put up. (This is the first mention we have of a saw-mill in Delaware.) They also plundered the settlement of the Mennonists at the Hoornkill, leaving the inhabitants there (to use the words of Van Sweringen) "not even a nail." Stuyvesant also, in writing of this affair, says, "That although the citizens of New Amstel made no resistance, 'they were stripped' and 'utterly plundered.'" He also confirms the selling of the citizens and soldiers as slaves. The amount of plunder obtained amounted to £[illegible]. Carr, notwithstanding the amount of sheep and cattle taken from the unfortunate citizens of New Amstel, in writing to Colonel Nicholls giving an account of the expedition, says: "That nothing was to be had on the Delaware but what was purchased from other places and that to supply the wants of

In May, 1667, Nicholls was superseded by Sir Francis Lovelace as governor of the Dutch settlements on the North and South Rivers, and in July of that year peace was made between the Dutch and English on the basis of the *uti possedetis*. On the Delaware, the government remained in charge of Sir Robert Carr, with Capt. Robert Needham acting as military commander. In May, 1672, the town of New Castle was erected into a corporation, and Capt. Edmund Cantwell was appointed the first High Sheriff, and Peter Alricks Bailiff, or chief magistrate, for the town and river. In August, 1669, some disturbance arose on the Delaware in consequence of the conduct of a Swede called "the long Finn," who gave himself out as the son of General Count Konigsmark, made seditious speeches, and tried to incite some sort of a rebellion. He is thought to have had the countenance, if not the active support, of Printz's daughter, Armgart Pappegoja. He was arrested, put in irons, tried, convicted, and sentenced to be publicly whipped, branded on the face and breast, and sent to the Barbadoes to be sold, all of which was done as set forth.

In 1673 war again broke out between the Dutch and English in consequence of the malign influence of Louis XIV. upon Charles II. The French king invaded the Netherlands with two hundred thousand men, and there was a series of desperate naval battles between the combined French and English fleets, with one hundred and fifty ships, and the Dutch fleet of seventy-five vessels, under De Ruyter and the younger Tromp. The last of these battles, fought off the Helder, resulted in the defeat of the allied squadrons, and the Prince of Orange at once dispatched several vessels under Binckes and the gallant Evertsen to recover possession of New Netherlands. The British made but little resistance, while the Dutch welcomed their old friends. Lovelace fled, and in a few days the Dutch had resumed control of all their old provinces in North America.

GOV. ANDROSS' SEAL.

Captain Anthony Colve was made governor, but there were only a few administrative changes, though a general confiscation act was passed against the English. In 1674, February 10th (O. S.), the treaty of Westminster was signed, and peace again made between the Dutch and English, with a proviso enforcing the restitution of all countries taken during the late war. Under this treaty, the English resumed their conquests of 1664. The Duke of York's patents were renewed, and the duke appointed Sir Edmund Andross governor over the whole country from the west side of the Connecticut River to the east side of the Delaware. Andross arrived out November 10th, and at once proceeded to restore the *statu quo ante bellum* as far as he could. He was an astute, well-informed man, of good habits, with the tact of a practiced courtier, and many of the rare accomplishments of a statesman. Under his administration and that of his deputies on the Delaware, Capt. Cantwell,[1] Capt. Collier, and Christopher Billop, the settlements on the South River prospered, and grew rapidly in population, resources, and in sympathy and fellow-feeling with the other colonies.

the garrison he had to send into Maryland some negroes belonging to D'Hinoyossa, which he sold for 'beef, pork, and salt,'" and, to use his own words, "other small conveniences," which, he said, "the place affordeth not."

[1] Captain Edmund Cantwell and William Zorn were authorized to take possession of the fort at New Castle, and see to the preservation of all stores of war at that place, or any part of the river. The former was appointed Sheriff, or Schout, and the latter Secretary, or clerk. Both, in conjunction, were ordered to collect the quit-rents and other duties established by the English, before the coming of the Dutch. The officers of the government on the Delaware, at this time, were, therefore, as follows: Sheriff, or Schout, Captain Edmund Cantwell; Secretary, William Zorn; Magistrates of New Castle, Hans Block, John Moll, Foppe Outhout, Joseph Chew, Dirck Alberts. Magistrates on the river, Peter Cock, Peter Rambo, Israel Helms, Lars Adricson, Woolle Swain.

The government continued thus constituted until the 23d of September, 1676, when Cantwell and Zorn were relieved by the appointment of Captain John Collier, as Commander on Delaware River and Bay, and of Ephraim Hermans as Secretary. The following Magistrates were also commissioned: For New Castle, John Moll, Henry Ward, William Zorn, Foppe Outhout, Jean Paul Jacquett, Gerrit Otto. For the River, Peter Cock, Peter Rambo, Israel Helms, Lars Adricson, Woolle Swain, Otto Earnest Cock.

On the 13th of August, 1677, Captain John Collier was relieved by Governor Andross, of the command of affairs on the Delaware, by the appointment, in his place, of Captain Christopher Billop, as Chief Officer. Billop continued as Commander, or Chief Officer, on the Delaware, until the latter part of 1679, when he was removed for misconduct. We have no record of the appointment of his successor. By the Governor's proclamation, introducing the Duke of York's laws upon the Delaware; three judicial districts upon the river were also established, viz.: One at New Castle, one at Upland, and one at the Whorekill. In 1680, a fourth district was established, by a division of the Whorekill, which was called St. Jones. *Duke of York's Book of Laws*, pp. 454, 455, 457.

Hazard, under date of 1678, says: "It appears, from a reference on the New Castle Court Records, to '*proceedings of a court held in New Castle*, March 21, 1674,' (1675,) that courts were established here as early, or perhaps prior to this date. The records are, at present, not among those at New Castle, where the earliest that we have seen are October, 1676. We have seen no evidence of courts in the time of Lovelace, though there must, no doubt, have been some legal proceedings. Courts were held 'at a place now called Troy on Jones's Creek, near Dover, for Jones's, now Kent, at Whorekill, now Lewistown, for the county of Deal, now Sussex county.'" *Annals of Pennsylvania*, p. 616.

CHAPTER VIII.

WILLIAM PENN AND HIS GOVERNMENT.

After the Restoration of the Stuarts the attention of the court as well as the people of England was directed in a much larger measure than formerly to the American colonies. Men who were weary of strife, discontented with the present aspect of affairs or apprehensive of the future, sought relief and peace in emigration. The hardship of the wilderness, the perils of Indian warfare, the depressing diseases of a new climate and unbroken soil were as nothing to those in compari-

son with the blessings of political and religious liberty secured by emigration. As far as the court was concerned, Charles wanted provinces to give way to his favorites, while his cabinets, both under Clarendon, the Cabal, and Danby, had strong political reasons for putting the colonies more immediately under the control of the crown in order to check their manifest yearning for self-government and comparative independence. Thus the representatives of prerogative were compelled likewise to give an enlarged attention to colonial affairs. The Council for Foreign Plantations was given new powers and a greater and more exalted membership in 1671, and in 1674 this separate commission was dissolved and the conduct of colonial affairs intrusted to a committee of the Privy Council itself, which was directed to sit once a week and report its proceedings to the council. This committee comprised some of the ablest of the king's councilors, and among the members were the Duke of York and the Marquis of Halifax.

William Penn, who was a great favorite with the Duke of York, and the founder of Pennsylvania and Delaware, was born in London, in St. Catharine's Parish, hard by the Tower, October 14, 1644. His father was Vice Admiral Sir William Penn; his mother Margaret Jasper, daughter of a well-to-do Rotterdam merchant. They were united June 6, 1643, when the elder Penn, though only twenty years old, had already received his commission as post-captain in the royal navy, and William was their first child. It is probable that the stories of Admiral Penn about the conquest of Jamaica and the tropical splendors of that beautiful island first turned the attention of the younger Penn to our continent.

William Penn received his first education at the free grammar-school of Chigwell, Essex, where he experienced strong religious impressions and had visions of the "Inner Light," though he as yet had never heard Fox's name mentioned. He was not a puny child, though he must have been a studious one. He delighted and excelled in field-sports, boating, running, hunting and athletic exercises. At the age of twelve he was removed from Chigwell to receive private instruction at home, and three years later entered Christ Church College, Oxford. Penn studied assiduously, he joined the "serious set," he went to hear Thomas Loe preach the new gospel of the Society of Friends, he resented the discipline which the college attempted to put upon him and his intimates in consequence, and he was expelled from the university for rejecting the surplice and rioting in the quadrangle. His father beat him, relented, and sent him to France, where he came home with the manners and dress of a courtier, but saturated with Genevan theology. He had shown in Paris that he could use his rapier gallantly, and his father took him to sea to prove to the court, when he returned as bearer of dispatches, that he was capable of beginning the career of office. The plague of London set him again upon a train of serious thinking, and his father, to counteract this, sent him to the Duke of Ormond, at the same time giving him charge of his Irish estates. Penn danced in Dublin and fought at Carrickfergus equally well, and he even applied for a troop of horse. He was a very handsome young fellow, and armor and lace became him mightily. But at Cork he met Thomas Loe again and heard a sermon upon the text "There is a faith which overcomes the world, and there is a faith which is overcome by the world." Penn came out of this meeting a confirmed Quaker. His father recalled him, but could not break his conviction; and then again he was driven from home, but his mother still found means to supply his needs. He now joined the Quakers regularly, and became the most prominent of the followers of that singularly eccentric but singularly gifted leader of men, George Fox. Penn's affection for Fox was deep and strong. He repeatedly got "the man in the leather breeches" released from jail, and he gave him a thousand acres of land out of the first surveys made in Pennsylvania. Penn preached in public as Fox was doing, and so well that he soon found himself a prisoner in the Tower of London, where, when brought up for trial, he defended himself so ably as to prove that he could have become a great lawyer had he so chosen.

Penn married in 1672, his wife being Gulielma Springett, daughter of Sir William Springett, a lady of lovely person and sweet temper. He did not spend many weeks to his honeymoon. He was soon at his work again wrestling for the truth, and, it must be said, wrestling still more lustily as one who wrestles for victory with the oppressors of the faithful. In this cause he went to court again, resumed his relations with the Duke of York and secured that prince's influence in behalf of his persecuted sect. This semi-alliance of Penn with the duke led up directly to the settlement of Pennsylvania and Delaware. Penn realized the fact that the Friends could not escape persecution nor enjoy without taint their peculiar religious seclusion, nor could his ideal commonwealth be planted in such a society as that of Europe. It must seek new and virgin soil, where it could form its own manners and ripen its own code. Then, in 1672, came home George Fox,[1] fresh from his

[1] Hazard says, "This year [1672] the celebrated Friend, George Fox, visited this part of the country. He arrived from Jamaica, in Maryland, and, accompanied by John Burnyeat, Robert Withers and George Pattison, on their way to New England, by land, they touched at New Castle, and from thence, with much difficulty, crossed the Delaware. On their return, they again visit New Castle, swimming their horses by the sides of canoes, and underwent many difficulties. At New Castle, they met with a handsome reception from Governor Carr, and had a pretty large

journey through the wilderness and his visits to the Quaker settlements in New Jersey and Maryland, in which latter province the ancient meetings of Anne Arundel and Talbot Counties were already important gatherings of a happy people entirely free from persecutions. We may imagine how eagerly and closely Penn read Fox's journals and the letters of Edmondston, Wenlock Christison, and others about their settlements.

In 1675, when his disgust with European society and his consciousness of the impossibility to effect radical reform there had been confirmed and deepened, Penn became permanently identified with American colonial affairs, and was put in the best possible position for acquiring a full and accurate knowledge of the resources and possi-

HOUSE OF YORK.

bilities of the country between the Susquehanna and the Hudson. As has already been stated, on March 12, 1664, King Charles II. granted to his brother James, Duke of York and Albany, a patent for all the lands in New England from the St. Croix River to the Delaware. This patent, meant to lead directly up to the overthrow of the Dutch power in New Netherland, was probably also intended no less as a hostile demonstration against the New England Puritan colonies, which both the brothers hated cordially and which latterly had grown so independent and had so nearly established their own authority as to provoke more than one charge that they sought presently to abandon all allegiance due from them to the mother-country. At any rate, the New England colonies at once attempted to organize themselves into a confederacy for purposes of mutual defense against the Indians and Canadian French, as was alleged, but for divers other and weighty reasons, as many colonists did not hesitate to proclaim.[1] The Duke of York secured New York, Pennsylvania and Delaware to himself as his own private possessions. That part of New Netherland lying between the Hudson and the Delaware Rivers was forthwith (in 1664, before Nicolls sailed from Portsmouth to take New York) conveyed by the duke, by deeds of lease and release, to Lord John Berkeley and Sir George Carteret. The latter being governor of the Channel Islands at the time, the new colony was called New Jersey, or rather *Nova Cæsarea*, in the original grant. In 1675 Lord Berkeley sold, for one thousand pounds, his undivided half-share in New Jersey to John Fenwick, in trust for Edward Billinge and his assigns. Fenwick and Billinge were both Quakers, and Billinge was bankrupt. Not long after this conveyance Fenwick and Billinge fell out about the property, and, after the custom of the Friends, the dispute was submitted to arbitration. The disputants fixed upon William Penn as arbitrator. When he made his award Fenwick was not satisfied and refused to abide by Penn's decision, which, indeed, gave Fenwick only a tenth of Lord Berkeley's share in the joint tenancy, reserving the remaining nine-tenths to Billinge, but giving Fenwick a money payment besides. Penn was offended at Fenwick's recalcitrancy, and wrote him some sharp letters. "Thy days spend on," he said, "and make the best of what thou hast. Thy grandchildren may be in the other world before the land thou hast allotted will be employed." Penn stuck to his decision, and, for that matter, Fenwick likewise maintained his grievance. He sailed for the Delaware at the head of a colony, landed at Salem, N. J., and commenced a settlement. Here he carried matters with such a high hand, patenting land, distributing office, etc., that he made great trouble for himself and others also. His authority was not recognized, and for several years the name of Major John Fenwick fills a large place in the court records of New Castle, Upland, and New York, where he was frequently imprisoned and sued for damages by many injured persons.

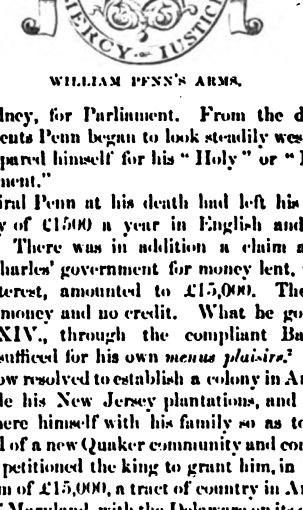
Billinge's business embarrassments increasing he made over his interest in the territory to his creditors, appointing Penn, with Gawen Lawrie, of London, and Nicholas Lucas, of Hertford, two of the creditors, as trustees in the matter. The plan was not to sell, but to improve the property for the benefit of the creditors. To this end a partition of the province was made, a line being drawn through Little Egg Harbor to a point

meeting there, it being the first ever held in that place; thence they returned to Maryland."—*Annals of Pennsylvania.*

[1] This was a revival of the old New England confederacy of 1643, of late crippled and made ineffective by inter-colonial dissensions. It finally fell to pieces through the destruction of local self-government and the substitution of royal governors in the New England colonies between 1661 and 1684. See Richard Frothingham's "Rise of the Republic," chap. ii.

near where Port Jervis now is. The part of the province on the right of this line, called East New Jersey, the most settled portion of the territory, was assigned to Carteret. That on the left, West New Jersey, was decded to Billinge's trustees. A form of government was at once established for West Jersey, in which Penn's hand is distinctly seen. The basis was liberty of person and conscience, "the power in the people," local self-government and amelioration of the criminal code. The territory was next divided into one hundred parts, ten being assigned to Fenwick and ninety to Billinge's trustees, and the land was opened for sale and occupancy, being extensively advertised and particularly recommended to Friends. In 1677 and 1678 five vessels sailed for West New Jersey, with eight hundred emigrants, nearly all Quakers. Two companies of these, one from Yorkshire, the other from London, bought large tracts of land, and sent out commissioners to quiet Indian titles and lay off the properties. At Chygoes Island they located a town, first called Beverly, then Birdlington, then Burlington.[1] There was a regular treaty with the Indians, and the Friends not only secured peace for themselves but paved the way for the pacific relations so firmly sealed by Penn's subsequent negotiations with the savages. The Burlington colony prospered, and was reinforced by new colonists continually arriving in considerable numbers. In 1680, Penn, as counsel for the trustees of West New Jersey, succeeded, by means of a vigorous and able remonstrance, in getting the Duke of York, then proprietary of New York, to remove an onerous tax on imports and exports imposed by the Governor of New York and collected at the Horekill. The next year Penn became part proprietor of East New Jersey, which was sold under the will of Sir George Carteret, then deceased, to pay his debts. A board of twenty-four proprietaries was organized, Penn being one, and to them the Duke of York made a fresh grant of East New Jersey, dated March 14, 1682, Robert Barclay becoming Governor, while Penn's friend, Billinge, was made Governor of West New Jersey. Both these governments were surrendered to the crown in Queen Anne's reign, April 15, 1702.

While Penn was thus acquiring knowledge of and strong property interests in America, two other circumstances occurred to intensify his impatience with the state of affairs in England. One was the insensate so-called "Popish plot" of Titus Oates, the other the defeat of his friend, Algernon Sidney, for Parliament. From the date of these events Penn began to look steadily westward, and prepared himself for his "Holy" or "Divine Experiment."



WILLIAM PENN'S ARMS.

Admiral Penn at his death had left his son a property of £1500 a year in English and Irish estates. There was in addition a claim against King Charles' government for money lent, which, with interest, amounted to £15,000. The king had no money and no credit. What he got from Louis XIV., through the compliant Barillon, hardly sufficed for his own *menus plaisirs*.[2] Penn being now resolved to establish a colony in America alongside his New Jersey plantations, and to remove there himself with his family so as to be at the head of a new Quaker community and commonwealth, petitioned the king to grant him, in lieu of the claim of £15,000, a tract of country in America north of Maryland, with the Delaware on its east, its

[1] The value of Indian lands at that time to the savages may be gathered from the price paid in 1677 for twenty miles square on the Delaware between Timber and Oldman's Creeks, to wit: 30 match-coats (made of hairy wool with the rough side out), 20 guns, 30 kettles, 1 great kettle, 30 pair of hose, 20 fathoms of duffels (Duffield blanket cloth, of which match coats were made), 30 petticoats, 30 narrow hoes, 30 bars of lead, 15 small barrels of powder, 70 knives, 30 Indian axes, 70 combs, 60 pair of tobacco tongs, 60 pair of scissors, 60 tinshow looking-glasses, 120 awl-blades, 120 fish-hooks, 2 gimpes of red paint, 120 needles, 60 tobacco-boxes, 120 pipes, 200 bells, 100 jews harps, and 6 anchors of rum." The value of these articles probably did not exceed three hundred pounds sterling. But, on the other hand, the Indian titles were really worth nothing, except so far as they served as a security against Indian hostility. It has been said that there is not an acre of land in the eastern part of Pennsylvania the deeds of which cannot be traced up to an Indian title, but that in effect would be no title at all. Mr. Lawrence Lewis, in his learned and luminous "Essay on Original Land Titles in Philadelphia," denies this absolutely, and says that it is "impossible to trace with any accuracy" the titles to land in Philadelphia derived from the Indians. Nor is it necessary to trace a title which is of no value. The Indians could not sell land to individuals and give valid title for it in any of the colonies; they could sell, if they chose, but only to the government. Upon this subject the lawyers are explicit. All good titles in the thirteen original colonies are derived from land-grants, made or accepted not by the Indians, but by the British crown. Thus Chalmers (Political Annals, 677) says, "The law of nations strictly disregarded the possession of the aborigines, because they had not been admitted into the society of nations." At the Declaration of Independence (see Dallas' Reports, ii 470) every acre of land in this country was held, mediately or immediately, by grants from the crown. All our institutions (Wheaton, viii. 588) recognize the absolute title of the crown, subject only to the Indian right of occupancy, and recognize the absolute title of the crown to extinguish that right. An Indian conveyance alone could give no title to an individual. (The references here given are quoted from the accurate Frothingham's "Rise of the Republic.")

[2] Not to be wondered at when we find in Charles' book of secret service money such entries as the following: "March 28th. Paid to Duchess of Portsmouth [king's mistress] £11,841 10s. 4½d. in various sums June 14th. Paid to Richard Yates, son of Francis Yates, who conducted Prince Charles from the field of Worcester to Whyte Ladies after the battle, and suffered death for it under Cromwell, £10 10s."

western limits the same as those of Maryland, and its northern as far as plantable country extended. Before the Privy Council Committee Penn explained that he wanted five degrees of latitude measured from Lord Baltimore's line, and that line, at his suggestion, was drawn from the circumference of a circle, the radius of which was twelve miles from New Castle as its centre. The petition of Penn's was received June 14, 1680. The object sought by the petitioner, it was stated, was not only to provide a peaceful home for the persecuted members of the Society of Friends, but to afford an asylum for the good and oppressed of every nation on the basis of a practical application of the pure and peaceable principles of Christianity. The petition encountered much and various opposition. Sir John Werden, agent of the Duke of York, opposed it because the territory sought was an appendage to the government of New York, and as such belonged to the duke. Mr. Burke, the active and untiring agent of Lord Baltimore, opposed it because the grant asked by Penn would infringe upon the territory covered by Baltimore's charter. At any rate, said Mr. Burke, in a letter to the Privy Council Committee, if the grant be made to Penn, let the deed expressly state lands to the north of Susquehanna Fort, "which is the boundary of Maryland to the northward." There was also strong opposition in the Privy Council to the idea of a man such as Penn being permitted to establish plantations after his own peculiar model. His theories of government were held to be Utopian and dangerous alike to Church and State. He was looked upon as a Republican like Sidney. However, he had strong friends in the Earl of Sunderland, Lord Hyde, Chief Justice North, and the Earl of Halifax. He had an interview with the Duke of York, and contrived to win him over to look upon his project with favor, and Sir J. Werden wrote to the secretary, saying, "His royal Highness commands me to let you know, in order to your informing their lordships of it, that he is very willing Mr. Penn's request may meet with success." The attorney-general, Sir William Jones, examined the petition in view of proposed boundaries, and reported that with some alterations it did not appear to touch upon any territory of previous grants, "except the imaginary lines of New England patents, which are bounded westwardly by the main ocean, should give them a real though impracticable right to all those vast territories." The draught of the patent, when finally it had reached that stage of development, was submitted to the Lords of Trade to see if English commercial interests were subserved, and to the Bishop of London to look after the rights of the church. The king signed the patent on March 4, 1681, and the venerable document may now be seen by the curious, framed and hung up in the office of the Secretary of State, at Harrisburg. The name to be given to the new territory was left blank for the king to fill up, and Charles called it Pennsylvania. Penn, who seems to have been needlessly squeamish on the subject, wrote to his friends to say that he wanted the territory called New Wales, and offered the Under Secretary twenty guineas to change the name, "for I feared lest it should be looked on as a vanity in me." However, he consoled himself with the reflection that "it is a just and clear thing, and my God, that has given it me through many difficulties, will, I believe, bless and make it the seed of a nation. I shall

EMBELLISHMENT ON THE CHARTER OF PENNSYLVANIA, GRANTED TO WILLIAM PENN IN 1681.

have a tender care to the government that it be well laid at first."

The charter, which is given complete in "Hazard's Annals," consists of twenty-three articles, with a preamble reciting the king's desire to extend his dominions and trade, convert the savages, etc., and his sense of obligation to Sir William Penn:

I. The grant comprises all that part of America, islands included, which is bounded on the east by the Delaware River from a point on a circle twelve miles northward of New Castle town to the 43° north latitude if the Delaware extends so far; if not, as far as it does extend, and thence to the 43° by a meridian line. From this point westward five degrees of longitude on the 43° parallel; the western boundary to the 43th parallel, and thence by a straight line to the place of beginning.

II. Grants Penn rights to and use of rivers, harbors, fisheries, etc.

III. Creates and constitutes him Lord Proprietary of the Province, saving only his allegiance to the king, Penn to hold directly of the kings of England, "as of our castle of Windsor in the county of Berks, in free and common socage, by fealty only, for all services, and not in capite, or by Knight's service, yielding and paying therefore to us, our heirs and successors, two beaver skins, to be delivered at our castle of Windsor on the 1st day of January every year," also one-fifth of precious metals taken out. On these terms Pennsylvania was erected into "a province and seignlory."

IV. Grants Penn and his successors, his deputies and lieutenants "free, full, and absolute power" to make laws for raising money for the public use of the Province and for other public purposes at their discretion, by and with the advice and consent of the people or their representatives in assembly.

V. Grants power to appoint officers, judges, magistrates, etc., to pardon offenders, before judgment or after, except in cases of treason, and to

have charge of the entire establishment of justice, with the single proviso that the laws adopted shall be consonant to reason and not contrary nor repugnant to the laws and statutes of England, and that all persons should have the right of appeal to the King.

VI. Prescribes that the laws of England are to be in force in the Province until others have been substituted for them.

VII. Laws adopted for the government of the Province to be sent to England for royal approval within five years after their adoption, under penalty of becoming void.

VIII. Licenses emigration to the new colony.

IX. Licenses trade between the colony and England, subject to the restrictions of the Navigation Acts.

X. Grants permission to Penn to divide the colony into the various minor political divisions, to constitute fairs, grant immunities and exemptions, etc.

XI. Similar to IX., but applies to exports from colony.

XII. Grants leave to create seaports and harbors, etc., in aid of trade and commerce, subject to English customs regulations.

XIII. Penn and the Province to have liberty to levy customs duties.

XIV. The Proprietary to have a resident agent in London, to answer in case of charges, etc., and continued misfeasance to void the charter and restore the government of the Province to the King.

XV. Proprietary forbidden intercourse or correspondence with the enemies of England.

XVI. Grants leave to Proprietary to pursue and make war on the savages or robbers, pirates, etc., and to levy forces for that end, and to kill and slay according to the laws of war.

XVII. Grants full power to Penn to sell or otherwise convey lands in the Province.

XVIII. Gives title to persons holding under Penn.

XIX. Penn may erect manors, and each manor to have privilege of court-baron and frank-pledge, holders under manor-title to be protected in their tenure.

XX. The King not to lay taxes in the Province "unless the same be with the consent of the Proprietary, or chief Governor, or Assembly, or by act of Parliament of England."

XXI. The charter to be valid in English courts against all assumptions or presumptions of ministers or royal officers.

XXII. Bishop of London may send out clergymen if asked to do so by twenty inhabitants of the Province.

XXIII. In cases of doubt the charter is to be interpreted and construed liberally in Penn's favor, provided such constructions do not interfere with or lessen the royal prerogative.

On the 2d of April, after the signing of the charter, King Charles made a public proclamation of the fact of the patent, addressed chiefly to the inhabitants of the territory, enjoining upon them to yield ready obedience to Penn and his deputies and lieutenants. At the same time Penn also addressed a letter to the inhabitants of the province, declaring that he wished them all happiness here and hereafter, that the Providence of God had cast them within his lot and care, and, though it was a new business to him, he understood his duty and meant to do it uprightly. He told the people that they were not now at the mercy of a Governor who came to make his fortune out of them, but "you shall be governed by laws of your own making, and live a free and, if you will, a sober and industrious people. I shall not usurp the right of any or oppress his person. God has furnished me with a better resolution and has given me his grace to keep it." He hoped to see them in a few months, and any reasonable provision they wanted made for their security and happiness would receive his approbation. Until he came he hoped they would obey and pay their customary dues to his deputy.

That deputy was Penn's cousin, William Markham, a captain in the British army, who was on April 20, 1681, commissioned to go out to Pennsylvania, and act in that capacity until Penn's arrival. He was given power to call a Council of nine, of which he was to be president; to secure a recognition of Penn's authority on the part of the people; to settle bounds between Penn and his neighbors; to survey, lay out, rent, or lease lands according to his instructions; to erect courts, make sheriffs, justices of the peace, and other inferior requisite officers, so as to keep the peace and enforce the laws; to suppress disturbance or riot by the *posse comitatus*, and to make or ordain any ordinary ordinances or do whatever he lawfully might for the peace and security of the province. Markham was particularly instructed to settle, if he could, boundaries with Lord Baltimore, and Penn gave him a letter to that neighbor of his. The deputy soon after sailed for Pennsylvania, on what day is not definitely known, but he was in New York on June 21st, when he obtained from the Governor, Anthony Brockholls, a proclamation enjoining upon the inhabitants of Pennsylvania that they should obey the king's charter and yield a ready obedience to the new proprietary and his deputy. When Markham arrived at Upland he found Lord Baltimore there; the boundary question at once came up, and was as quickly let drop when Markham found that the lines could not be run according to the two charters respectively without giving to Baltimore some lands which Penn was resolved to keep as his own.

It is not supposed that Markham took out any emigrants with him. His business was to get possession of the province as speedily as possible, so as to insure the allegiance of the people, secure the revenue, and prepare the way for Penn. It is probable, therefore, that he sailed in the first ship offering for New York or Boston, without waiting for company. Meanwhile, even before Markham's departure, Penn began to advertise his new province and popularize what information he had concerning it. This was the business part of "the Divine Experiment," and Penn was very competent to discharge it. He published a pamphlet (through Benjamin Clark, bookseller, in George Yard, Lombard Street), entitled "Some account of the Province of Pennsylvania in America, lately granted under the Great Seal of England to William Penn, etc. Together with privileges and powers necessary to the well-governing thereof. Made public for the information of such as are or may be disposed to transport themselves or servants into those parts." This prospectus shows the extent of the knowledge Penn had already gleaned concerning his province, and how closely he had studied the methods by which he proposed to secure its prompt and effective planting and settlement. It is not necessary to incorporate the whole of such a pamphlet in this narrative, but some of its salient points must be noted. It was written, we must remember, in April, 1681, a month after the signing of the patent. Penn

begins with an excursus upon the benefit of plantations or colonies in general, to "obviate a common objection." "Colonies," he says, "are the seeds of nations, begun and nourished by the care of wise and populous countries, as conceiving them best for the increase of human stock and beneficial for commerce." Antiquity is then searched through for examples needless to repeat, but all brought in to prove that colonies do not weaken or impoverish the mother-country. Indeed, this part of his argument reads as if it were Penn's brief while his petition was before the Privy Council, and as if he drew it up in reply to objections there urged against conceding him the patent. He shows how colonies and foreign plantations have contributed to the benefit of England's commerce and industry, and might be expected to continue to do so. He denies that emigration has depopulated the country, but says that the increase of luxury has drawn an undue proportion of the rural communities into cities and towns, and that the increased cost of living thus brought about tends to prevent marriage and so promotes the decay of population. For this and the many attendant evils emigration, he suggests, is the only effective remedy. He then proceeds to speak of his province, the inducements it offers to colonists, and the terms on which he is prepared to receive them.

"The place," he says, "lies six hundred miles nearer the sun than England," so far as difference of latitude goes, adding, "I shall say little in its praise to excite desires in any, whatever I could truly write as to the soil, air and water; this shall satisfy me, that by the blessing of God and the honesty and industry of man it may be a good and fruitful land." He then enumerates the facilities for navigation by way of the Delaware Bay and River, and by way of Chesapeake Bay also; the variety and abundance of timber; the quantity of game, wild fowl, and fish; the variety of products and commodities, native or introduced, including "silk, flax, hemp, wine, sider, wood, madder, liquorish, tobacco, pot-ashes, and iron, ... hides, tallow, pipe-staves, beef, pork, sheep, wool, corn or wheat, barley, rye, and also furs, as your peltree, mincks, racoons, martins, and such like store of furs which is to be found among the Indians that are profitable commodities in England." Next, after explaining the channels of trade,—country produce to Virginia, tobacco to England, English commodities to the colonies,—he gives assurance that under his liberal charter, paying due allegiance to the mother-country, the people will be able to enjoy the very largest proportion of liberty and make their own laws to suit themselves, and that he intends to prepare a satisfactory constitution.

Penn states explicitly in this pamphlet the conditions of immigration into his province. He looks to see three sorts of people come,—those who will buy, those who will rent, and servants. "To the first, the shares I sell shall be certain as to number of acres; that is to say, every one shall contain five thousand acres, free from any incumbrance, the price a hundred pounds, and for the quit-rent but one English shilling, or the value of it, yearly, for a hundred acres; and the said quit-rent not to begin to be paid till 1684. To the second sort, that take up land upon rent, they shall have liberty so to do, paying yearly one penny per acre, not exceeding two hundred acres. To the third sort, to wit, servants that are carried over,[1] fifty acres shall be allowed to the master for every head, and fifty acres to every servant when their time is expired. And because some engage with me that may not be disposed to go, it were very advisable for every three adventurers to send over an overseer with their servants, which would well pay the cost."[2]

Penn next speaks of his plan for allotments or dividends, but as his scheme was not then, as he confesses, fully developed, and as he later furnished all the details of this scheme as he finally matured it, we will pass that by for the present. It is enough to say that the plan is very closely followed to-day in Eastern Europe to promote the sale of government bonds.

The persons, Penn says, that "Providence seems to have most fitted for plantations" are "1st, industrious husbandmen and day laborers that are hardly able (with extreme labor) to maintain their families and portion their children; 2, laborious handicrafts, especially carpenters, masons, smiths, weavers, taylors, tanners, shoemakers, shipwrights, etc., where they may be spared or low in the world, and as they shall want no encouragement, so their labor is worth more there than here, and there provisions cheaper." 3, Penn invites ingenious spirits who are low in the world, younger brothers with small inheritances and (often) large families; "lastly," he says, "there are another sort of persons, not only fit for but necessary in plantations, and that is men of universal spirits, that have an eye to the good of posterity, and that both understand and delight to promote good discipline and just government among a plain and well-intending people; such persons may find room in

[1] Called "redemptioners," because they sold their services for a term of years to pay or *redeem* the money advanced to "carry them over."

[2] On this basis, if we suppose the servant allotments to pay the same quit-rent as other tenants, Penn's colonists would be amused about thus:

Manors.—50 0 acres @ £1 0, int. 5 per cent	£5
50 servants to a manor, giving it 2500 acres more, total quit-rent @ 1s. per 100 A.....	3 10
(Equal to 27¼ pence per 100 A. per annum).....	£8 10s.
Tenants.—100 A @ 1d per A.....	
5000 A., 25 tenants, 25 servants, 1250 A., 6250 A. @ 1d.	26
Servants.—75 servants @ 50 A., equal to 3750 A. @ 1d.....	15 12½

Thus Penn, in placing 17,500 acres, proposed to get £100 cash and yearly rents amounting to £45 2s., or 5s. 2d. nearly per 100 acres, the greater part of the burden falling upon the smaller tenants of course. The purchaser of 5000 acres had, moreover, a further advantage in sharing in the allotments, or "dividends," as Penn calls them.

colonies for their good counsel and contrivance, who are shut out from being of much use or service to great nations under settled customs; these men deserve much esteem and would be hearken'd to."

Very considerately Penn next tells all he knows about the cost and equipments for the journey and subsistence during the first few months, "that such as incline to go may not be to seek here, or brought under any disappointments there." He mentions among goods fit to take for use or for sale at a profit "all sorts of apparel and utensils for husbandry and building and household stuff." People must not delude themselves, he says, with the idea of instant profits. They will have a winter to encounter before the summer comes, "and they must be willing to be two or three years without some of the conveniences they enjoy at home, and yet I must needs say that America is another thing than it was at the first plantation of Virginia and New England, for there is better accommodation and English provisions are to be had at easier rates." The passage across the ocean will be at the outside six pounds per head for masters and mistresses, and five pounds for servants, children under seven years old fifty shillings, "except they suck, then nothing." Arriving out in September or October, "two men may clear as much ground by spring (when they set the corn of that country) as will bring in that time, twelve months, forty barrels, which makes twenty-five quarters of corn. So that the first year they must buy corn, which is usually very plentiful. They must, so soon as they come, buy cows, more or less, as they want or are able, which are to be had at easy rates. For swine, they are plentiful and cheap, these will quickly increase to a stock. So that after the first year, what with the poorer sort sometimes laboring to others, and the more able fishing, fowling, and sometimes buying, they may do very well till their own stocks are sufficient to supply them and their families, which will quickly be, and to spare, if they follow the English husbandry, as they do in New England and New York, and get winter fodder for their stock." Finally, the candid Penn recommends that none should make up their minds hastily, all get the consent of their friends or relatives, and all pray God for his blessing on their honest endeavors.

During all the rest of this year and of 1682 and up to the moment of his embarkation for Europe, William Penn was most busily and absorbingly engaged in the multifarious preparations for his new plantations. He drew up a great variety of papers, concessions, conditions, charters, statutes, constitutions, etc., equal to the average work of half a dozen congressional committees. In addition to work of this sort, requiring concentrated and abstracted thought and study, his correspondence was of the most voluminous character, and he was further most actively employed in disposing of lands and superintending the sailing of ship-loads of his colonists. The first of these papers on concessions and conditions was prepared indeed on the eve of the sailing of the first vessels containing his "adventurers." This was in July, and the vessels arrived out in October. Every paper he published called forth numerous letters from his friends, who wanted him to explain this or that obscure point to them, and he always seems to have responded cheerfully to these exhaustive taxes upon his time. His work seems to have attracted great attention and commanded admiration. James Claypoole writes (July 22d), "I have begun my letter on too little a piece of paper to give thee my judgment of Pennsylvania, but, in short, I, and many others wiser than I am, do very much approve of it and do judge William Penn as fit a man as any one in Europe to plant a country." Penn had also been busily negotiating with the Duke of York for the lands now constituting the State of Delaware, which were the duke's property, and which Penn wanted to possess in order to insure his own province the free navigation of the Delaware, and perhaps, also, to keep this province from falling into the hands of his neighbor, Lord Baltimore, who claimed it under his charter. But Sir John Werden, the duke's agent, still held off and gave Penn much trouble and uneasiness. The latter had received a tempting offer from a company of Marylanders of six thousand pounds cash, and a two-and-a-half per cent. royalty for the monopoly of the Indian (fur) trade between the Delaware and Susquehanna rivers, but he refused it upon noble grounds.

So also Penn refused to abate the quit-rents even to his most intimate friends, "intending," as Claypoole wrote, "to do equal by all," but he did reduce them from a penny to a half-penny in favor of servants settling on their fifty-acre lots, after having served their time. Subsequently, as we shall see, Penn was less rigidly moral in his land contracts. In lieu of the proposed monopoly Penn made many liberal concessions of land and privileges to another company, "The Free Society of Traders," whose plans he favored, and whose constitution and charter he helped to draw.

The charter to the Pennsylvania Company, the Free Society of Traders, bears date March 24, 1682. The incorporators named in Penn's deed to them were "Nicholas Moore of London, medical doctor; James Claypoole, merchant; Philip Ford (Penn's unworthy steward); William Sherloe, of London, merchant; Edward Pierce, of London, leather-seller; John Symcock and Thomas Brassey, of Cheshire, yeoman; Thomas Baker, of London, wine-cooper; and Edward Brooks, of London, grocer." The deed cites Penn's authority

under his patent, mentions the conveyance to the company of twenty thousand acres, erects this tract into the manor of Frank, "in free and common soccage, by such rents, customs and services as to them and their successors shall seem meet, so as to be consistent with said tenure," allows them two justices' courts a year, privilege of court-baron and court-leet and view of frank-pledge, with all the authority requisite in the premises. The society is authorized to appoint and remove its officers and servants, is given privilege of free transportation of its goods and products, and exempted from any but state and local taxes, while at the same time it can levy all needful taxes for its own support within its own limits. Its chief officers are commissioned as magistrates and charged to keep the peace, with jurisdiction in case of felony, riot, or disorder of any kind. It is given three representatives in the Provincial Council, title to three-fifths of the products of all mines and minerals found, free privilege to fish in all the waters of the province, and to establish fairs, markets, etc., and the books of the society are exempt from all inspection. The society immediately prepared and published an address, with its constitution and by-laws, in which a very extensive field of operation is mapped out.[1]

In the regulations for colonists set forth in his statement of "certain conditions or concessions agreed upon by William Penn, proprietary and Governor of Pennsylvania, and those who are the adventurers and purchasers in that province the 11th of July, 1681," the system of plantation is plainly described. First, a large city is to be laid off on navigable water, divided into lots, and purchasers of large tracts of lands (five thousand acres) are to have one of these city lots assigned them, the location determined by chance. It was Penn's original plan to have his great city consist of ten thousand acres, divided into one hundred lots of one hundred acres each, one of these lots to be awarded (by lot) to each purchaser of a tract of manorial proportions, who was to build in the centre of his lot and surround his house with gardens and orchards, "that it may be a green country town," he said, "which will never be burnt and always be wholesome." Of course no great city could be built on any such plan, and Penn himself abandoned it or greatly modified it even before he sailed, the commissioner and surveyor finding it impossible to observe the conditions, especially when vessels began to be numerous along the water-front and business sprang up. This system of great farms, with a central township divided into minor lots, Penn proposed to extend all over the province. His road system was excellent. Roads were to be built not less than forty feet wide from city to city, on air-lines as nearly as possible; all streets were to be laid off at right angles and of liberal width, and no buildings were to be allowed to encroach on these, nor was there any irregular building to be permitted. This rule of symmetry, amounting almost to formality, could not be carried out any more than the great city plan. It was not Penn's notion, probably, for he was not a precisian in anything, and it looks much more like a contrivance borrowed by him for the nonce from Sir William Petty, Sir Thomas Browne, or some other hare-brain among his contemporaries. Penn's system of quit-rents and of manors also, the foundations of a great fortune, resembled closely that of Lord Baltimore in Maryland. It is likely that Penn got the idea where Lord Baltimore derived his, from Ireland, that form of irredeemable ground-rent being an old and familiar Irish tenure.[2] The quit-rent system caused almost immediate discontent in Pennsylvania, and undoubtedly injured the proprietary's popularity and interfered with his income. His large reservations of choice lots in every section that was laid out, contributed to this also.

Every person was to enjoy access to and use of water-courses, mines, quarries, etc., and any one could dig for metals anywhere, bound only to pay for damages done. Settlers were required to plant land surveyed for them within three years. Goods for export could only be bought or sold, in any case, in public market, and fraud and deception were to be punished by forfeiture of the goods. All trading with Indians was to be done in open market, and fraud upon them prevented by inspection of goods. Offenses against Indians were to be punished just as those against the whites, and disputes between the two races to be settled by a mixed jury. Indians to have the same privileges as the whites in improving their lands and raising crops. Stock not marked within three months

[1] In this society votes were to be on basis of amount of stock held, up to three votes, which was the limit. No one in England was allowed more than one vote, and proxies could be voted. The officers were president, deputy, treasurer, secretary, and twelve committee-men. Five, with president or deputy, a quorum. Committee-men to have but one vote each in meetings, with the casting vote to the president. Officers to hold during seven years on good behaviour; general election and reopening of subscription books every seventh year; general statement at the end of each business year. The officers to live on society's property. All the society's servants were bound to secrecy, and the books were kept in society's house, under three locks, the keys in charge of president, treasurer, and oldest committee-man, and not to be intrusted to any person longer than to transcribe any part in daytime and in the house, before seven persons, appointed by committee. The society was to send two hundred servants to Pennsylvania the first year to build two or more general factories in Pennsylvania, one on Chesapeake Bay, one on Delaware or elsewhere; to aid Indians in building houses, etc., and to hold negroes for fourteen years' service, when they were to go free, "on giving the society two-thirds of what they can produce on land allotted to them by the society, with a stock and tools; if they agree not to this, to be servants till they do." The leading object of the society at the outset seems to have been an extensive free trade with the Indians.

[2] Instructions to commissioners for settling the colony, Oct. 19, 1681. This has been conclusively shown in some opinions (published in the Maryland Reports) of the judges of the Maryland Court of Appeals. These opinions were given in interpretation of leases "for ninety-nine years, renewable forever." It was decided that these leases were perpetual, and their historical relation to the Irish leases was demonstrated in order to establish the fact of their irredeemable character.

after coming into possession of planters to be forfeited to the Governor. In clearing land, one-fifth to be left in wood, and oak and mulberry trees to be preserved for ship-building. To prevent debtors from furtively absconding, no one was to leave the province until after three weeks' publication of the fact.

On April 25th he published his "frame of government," or, as James Claypoole called it in his letters, "the fundamentals for government,"—in fact, the first constitution of Pennsylvania.

The document is entitled "The frame of the government of the province of Pennsylvania, in America, together with certain laws agreed upon in England by the governor and divers freemen of the aforesaid province, to be further explained and continued there by the first provincial council that shall be held, if they see meet."

The "preface" or preamble to this constitution is curious, for it is written as if Penn felt that the eyes of the court were upon him. The first two paragraphs form a simple excursus upon the doctrine of the law and the transgressor as expounded in St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans: "For we know that the law is spiritual: but I am carnal, sold under sin," etc. From this Penn derives, not very perspicuously, however, "the divine right of government," the object of government being twofold, to terrify evil-doers and to cherish those that do well, "which gives government a *life beyond corruption* [*i. e.*, divine right], and makes it as durable in the world as good men shall be." Hence Penn thinks that government seems like a part of religion itself, a thing sacred in its institution and end.

In the Constitution, which follows the preamble, Penn begins by confirming to the freemen of the province all the liberties, franchises, and properties secured to them by the patent of King Charles II. The government of the province is to consist of "the Governor and freemen of the said province, in form of a Provincial Council and General Assembly, by whom all laws shall be made, officers chosen, and public affairs transacted." The Council, of seventy-two members, is to be elected at once, one-third of the members to go out, and their successors elected each year, and after the first seven years those going out each year shall not be returned within a year. Two-thirds of the Council are required to constitute a quorum, except in minor matters, when twenty-four will suffice. The Governor is always to preside over the session of Council, and is to have three votes "The Governor and Provincial Council shall *prepare and propose* to the General Assembly hereafter mentioned *all bills* which they shall at any time think fit to be passed into laws within the said province, . . . and on the ninth day from their so meeting, the said General Assembly, after reading over the proposed bills by the clerk of the Provincial Council, and the occasion and motives for them being opened by the Governor or his deputies, shall give their affirmative or negative, which to them seemeth best, . . . and the laws so prepared and proposed as aforesaid that are assented to by the General Assembly shall be enrolled as laws of the province, with this style: 'By the Governor, with the assent and approbation of the freemen in the Provincial Council and General Assembly.'" Here is the fatal defect of Penn's Constitution, a defect which robs it of even any pretence of being republican or democratic in form or substance. The Assembly, the popular body, the representatives of the people, are restricted simply to a veto power. They cannot originate bills; they cannot even debate them; they are not allowed to think or act for themselves or those they represent, but have nothing to do except vote "yes" or "no." To be sure, the Council is an elective body too. But it is meant to consist of the Governor's friends. It is the aristocratic body. It does not come fresh from the people. The tenure of its members is three years. Besides, for ordinary business, twenty-four of the Council make a quorum, of whom twelve, with the Governor's casting vote, comprise a majority. The Governor has three votes; the Society of Free Traders has six votes; if the Governor have three or four friends in Council, with the support of this society he can control all legislation. It seems incredible that William Penn should have of his own free will permitted this blemish upon his Constitution, which he claimed gave all the power of government and law-making into the hands of the people.

Aside from this fatal piece of subservience there is much to praise in Penn's Constitution and something to wonder at, as being so far in advance of his age. The executive functions of Governor and Council are carefully defined and limited. A wholesome and liberal provision is made for education, public schools, inventions, and useful scientific discoveries.[1]

The Provincial Council, for the more prompt dispatch of business, was to be divided into four committees,—one to have charge of plantations, "to situate and settle cities, posts, and market-towns and highways, and to have and decide all suits and controversies relating to plantations," one to be a committee of justice and safety, one of trade and treasury, and the fourth of manners, education, and arts, "that all wicked and scan-

[1] In the preamble Penn lays down a doctrine now universally recognized, and the general acceptance of which, it is believed, affords the surest guarantee for the perpetuity of American institutions, that virtue and wisdom, "because they descend not with worldly inheritances, must be carefully propagated by a virtuous education of youth, for which age will owe more to the care and prudence of founders and the successive magistracy than to their parents for their private patrimonies." No great truth could be more fully and nobly expressed than this.

dalous living may be prevented, and that youth may be successfully trained up in virtue and useful knowledge and arts."

The General Assembly was to be elected yearly, not to exceed two hundred members, representing all the freemen of the province. They were to meet in the capital on "the 20th day of the second month," and during eight days were expected to freely confer with one another and the Council, and, if they chose, to make suggestions to the Council committees about the amendment or alteration of bills (all such as the Council proposed to offer for the adoption being published three weeks beforehand), and on the ninth day were to vote, "not less than two-thirds making a quorum in the passing of laws and choice of such officers as are by them to be chosen." The General Assembly was to nominate a list of judges, treasurers, sheriffs, justices, coroners, etc., two for each office, from which list the Governor and Council were to select the officers to serve. The body was to adjourn upon being served with notice that the Governor and Council had no further business to lay before them, and to assemble again upon the summons of the Governor and Council. Elections were to be by ballot, and so were questions of impeachment in the Assembly and judgment of criminals in the Council. In case the proprietary be a minor, and no guardian has been appointed in writing by his father, the Council was to appoint a commission of three guardians to act as Governor during such minority. No business was to be done by the Governor, Council, or Assembly on Sunday, except in cases of emergency. The Constitution could not be altered without the consent of the Governor and six-sevenths of the Council and the General Assembly. (Such a rule, if enforced, would have perpetuated any Constitution, however bad). Finally Penn solemnly declared "that neither I, my heirs nor assigns, shall procure or do anything or things whereby the liberties in this charter contained and expressed shall be infringed or broken; and if anything be procured by any person or persons contrary to these premises it shall be held of no force or effect."

On May 15th Penn's code of laws, passed in England, to be altered or amended in Pennsylvania, was promulgated. It consists of forty statutes, the first of which declares the charter or Constitution which has just been analyzed to be "fundamental in the government itself." The second establishes the qualifications of a freeman (or voter or elector). These include every purchaser of one hundred acres of land, every tenant of one hundred acres, at a penny an acre quit-rent, who has paid his own passage across the ocean and cultivated ten acres of his holding, every freeman who has taken up fifty acres and cultivated twenty, "and every inhabitant, artificer, or other resident in the said province that pays scot and lot to the government." All these electors are also eligible to election both to Council and Assembly.

Elections must be free and voluntary, and electors who take bribes shall forfeit their votes, while those offering bribes forfeit their election, the Council and Assembly to be sole judges of the regularity of the election of their members.

"No money or goods shall be raised upon or paid by any of the people of this province, by way of public tax, custom, or contribution, but by a law for that purpose made." Those violating this statute are to be treated as public enemies and betrayers of the liberties of the province.

All courts shall be open, and justice shall neither be sold, denied, or delayed. In all courts all persons of all (religious) persuasions may freely appear in their own way and according to their own manner, pleading personally or by friend; complaint to be exhibited fourteen days before trial, and summons issued not less than ten days before trial, a copy of complaint to be delivered to the party complained of at his dwelling. No complaint to be received but upon the oath or affirmation of complainant that he believes in his conscience his cause to be just. Pleadings, processes, and records in court are required to be brief, in English, and written plainly so as to be understood by all.

All trials shall be by twelve men, peers, of good character, and of the neighborhood. When the penalty for the offense to be tried is death, the sheriff is to summon a grand inquest of twenty-four men, twelve at least of whom shall pronounce the complaint to be true, and then twelve men or peers are to be further returned by the sheriff to try the issue and have the final judgment. This trial jury shall always be subject to reasonable challenge.

Fees are required to be moderate, their amounts settled by the Legislature, and a table of them hung up in every court-room. Any person convicted of charging more than the lawful fee shall pay twofold, one-half to go to the wronged party, while the offender shall be dismissed. All persons wrongly imprisoned or prosecuted at law shall have double damages against the informer or prosecutor.

All prisons, of which each county is to have one, shall be work-houses for felons, vagrants, and loose and idle persons. All persons shall be bailable by sufficient security, save in capital offenses "where the proof is evident or the presumption great." Prisons are to be free as to fees, food, and lodging.

All lands and goods shall be liable to pay debts, except where there is legal issue, and then all goods and one-third of the land only. (This is meant in

case a man should die insolvent.) All wills in writing, attested by two witnesses, shall be of the same force as to lands or other conveyances, being legally proved within forty days within or without the province.

Seven years' quiet possession gives title, except in cases of infants, lunatics, married women, or persons beyond the seas.

Bribery and extortion are to be severely punished, but fines should be moderate and not exhaustive of men's property.[1]

Marriage (not forbidden by the degrees of consanguinity or affinity) shall be encouraged, but parents or guardians must first be consulted, and publication made before solemnization; the ceremony to be by taking one another as husband and wife in the presence of witnesses, to be followed by a certificate signed by parties and witnesses, and recorded in the office of the county register. All deeds, charters, grants, conveyances, long notes, bonds, etc., are required to be registered also in the county enrollment office within two months after they are executed, otherwise to be void. Similar deeds made out of the province were allowed six months in which to be registered before becoming valid.

All defacers or corrupters of legal instruments or registries shall make double satisfaction, half to the party wronged, be dismissed from place, and disgraced as false men.

A separate registry of births, marriages, deaths, burials, wills, and letters of administration is required to be kept.

All property of felons is liable for double satisfaction, half to the party wronged; when there is no land the satisfaction must be worked out in prison; while estates of capital offenders are escheated, one-third to go to the next of kin of the sufferer and the remainder to next of kin of criminal.

Witnesses must promise to speak the truth, the whole truth, etc., and if convicted of willful falsehood shall suffer the penalty which would have been inflicted upon the person accused, shall make satisfaction to the party wronged, and be publicly exposed as false witnesses, never to be credited in any court or before any magistrate in the province.

Public officers shall hold but one office at a time; *all* children more than twelve years old shall be taught some useful trade; servants shall not be kept longer than their time, must be well treated if deserving, and at the end of their term be "put in fitting equipage, according to custom."

Scandal-mongers, back-biters, defamers and spreaders of false news, whether against public or private persons, are to be severely punished as enemies to peace and concord. Factors and others guilty of breach of trust must make satisfaction, and one-third over, to their employers, and in case of the factor's death the Council Committee of Trade is to see that satisfaction is made out of his estates.

All public officers, legislators, etc., must be professors of faith in Jesus Christ, of good fame, sober and honest convictions, and twenty-one years old. "All persons living in this province who confess and acknowledge the one Almighty and Eternal God to be the Creator, Upholder, and Ruler of the world, and that hold themselves obliged in conscience to live peaceably and justly in civil society, shall in noways be molested or prejudiced for their religious persuasion or practice in matters of faith and worship; nor shall they be compelled at any time to frequent or maintain any religious worship, place, or ministry whatever." The people are required to respect Sunday by abstaining from daily labor. All "offenses against God," swearing, cursing, lying, profane talking, drunkenness, drinking of healths, obscenity, whoredom and other uncleanness, treasons, misprisions, murders, duels, felony, sedition, maimings, forcible entries and other violence, all prizes, stage-plays, cards, dice, May-games, gamesters, masks, revels, bull-baitings, cock-fightings, and the like, "which excite the people to rudeness, cruelty, looseness, and irreligion, shall be respectfully discouraged and severely punished, according to the appointment of the Governor and freemen in Council and General Assembly."

All other matters not provided for in this code are referred to "the order, prudence, and determination" of the Governor and Legislature.

The most admirable parts of this code, putting it far ahead of the contemporary jurisprudence of England or any other civilized country at the time,[2] are the regulations for liberty of worship

[1] "Contenements, merchandise, and wainage," says the text,—the land by which a man keeps his house, his goods, and his means of transportation

[2] But we must except the Catholic colony in Maryland, founded by Sir George Calvert, whose charter of 1632, and the act of toleration passed by the Assembly of Maryland, in 1649, under the inspiration of Sir George's son, Cecilius, must be placed alongside of Penn's work. Two brighter lights in an age of darkness never shone. Calvert's charter was written during the heat of the Thirty Years' religious war, Penn's constitution at the moment when all Dissenters were persecuted in England and when Louis XIV. was about to revoke the Edict of Nantes. The Virginians were expelling the Quakers and other sectaries. In New England the Puritan separatists, themselves refugees for opinion's sake, martyrs to the cause of religious freedom, were making laws which were the embodiment of doubly distilled intolerance and persecution. Roger Williams was banished in 1635, in 1656 the Baptists were sent to the whipping-post, in 1634 there was a law passed for the expulsion of Anabaptists, in 1647 for the exclusion of Jesuits, and if they returned they were to be put to death. In 1656 it was decreed against "the cursed sect of heretics lately risen up in the world, which are commonly called Quakers," that captains of ships bringing them in were to be fined or imprisoned, Quaker books, or "writings containing their devilish opinions," were not to be imported, Quakers themselves were to be sent to the house of correction, kept at work, made to remain silent, and severely whipped. This was what the contemporaries of Calvert and Penn did. We have seen Penn's law of liberty of conscience. Calvert's was equally liberal. The charter of Calvert was not to be interpreted so as to work any diminution of God's sacred Christian religion, open to all sects, Protestant and Catholic, and the act of toleration and all preceding legislation, official oaths, etc., breathed the same spirit of toleration and determination, in the words of the oath of 1637, that none in the colony, by him-

and the administration of justice. Penn's code on this latter point is more than a hundred years in advance of England. In the matter of fees, charges, plain and simple forms, processes, records, and pleadings, it still remains in advance of court proceedings and regulations nearly everywhere. The clauses about work-houses and about bailable offenses are also far in advance of even the best modern jurisprudence.

Notwithstanding all these and many other heavy and pressing engagements, Penn seems to have found time to attend to his work as a preacher and a writer of religous tracts and pamphlets. He went on a mission tour into the West of England, he wrote on "Spiritual Commission," he mediated between dissenting Friends, and healed a breach in his church; his benevolent endeavors were given to aid and encourage the Bristol Quakers, then severely persecuted, and he barely escaped being sent to jail himself for preaching in London at the Grace Church Street meeting.

Penn had expected to go out to Pennsylvania himself late in the fall of 1681, but the pressure of all these concerns and the rush of emigrants and colonists delayed him. He found he would have settlers from France, Holland, and Scotland, as well as from England, and few besides servants would be ready to go before the spring of 1682. "When they go, I go," he wrote to his friend James Harrison, "but my going with servants will not settle a government, the great end of my going." He also said in this letter that in selling or renting land he cleared the king's and the Indian title, the purchaser or lessee paid the scrivener and surveyor. In October Penn sent out three commissioners, William Crispin, John Bezar, and Nathaniel Allen, to co-operate with Markham in selecting a site for Penn's proposed great city, and to lay it out. They also were given very full, careful, and explicit instructions by Penn, particularly as to dealing with the Indians, some Indian titles needing to be extinguished by them. He wrote a letter to the Indians themselves by these commissioners, which shows he had studied the savage character very carefully. It touched the Indian's faith in the one universal Great Spirit, and finely appealed to his strong innate sense of justice. He did not wish to enjoy the great province his king had given him, he said, without the Indian's consent. The red man had suffered much injustice from his countrymen, but this was the work of self-seekers; "but I am not such a man, as is well known in my own country, I have a great love and regard for you, and I desire to win and gain your love and friendship by a kind, just, and peaceable life, and the people I send are all of the same mind, and shall in all things behave themselves accordingly, and if in anything any shall offend you or your people, you shall have a full and speedy satisfaction for the same by an equal number of just men on both sides, that by no means you may have just occasion of being offended against them." This was the initiatory step in that "traditional policy" of Penn and the Quakers towards the Indians which has been so consistently maintained ever since, to the imperishable honor of that sect.

As the year 1682 entered we find Penn reported to be "extraordinarily busy" about his province and its affairs. He is selling or leasing a great deal of land, and sending out many servants. A thousand persons are going to emigrate along with him. He gets Claypoole to write to his correspondent in Bordeaux for grape-vines, fifteen hundred or two thousand plants, to carry out with him, desiring vines that bear the best grapes, not the most. Claypoole has himself bought five thousand acres, wants to go out and settle, but doubts and fears. He don't feel sure about the climate, the savages, the water the vermin, reptiles, etc.

By June 1st Penn had made the extraordinary *sale* of five hundred and sixty-five thousand five hundred acres of land in the new province, in parcels of from two hundred and fifty to twenty thousand acres. Penn's mother died about this time, causing him much affliction. The Free Traders' Society is organized, Claypoole makes up his mind at last to emigrate, the site for Philadelphia is determined, and Markham buys up Indian titles and settlers' land upon it, so as to have all clear for the coming great city. August 31st the Duke of York gives Penn a protective deed for Pennsylvania, and on the 24th the Duke finally concedes New Castle, and twelve miles about it, and Horekill (Delaware), between New Castle and Cape Henlopen, to him by deed of feoffment.[1] This concludes the major part of Penn's business in England, and he is ready to sail Sept. 1st, 1682, in the ship "Welcome," three hundred tons, Captain Robert Greenway, master. It is then that he writes the touching letter to his wife and children, in which he says, "remember thou wast the love of my youth and much the joy of my life; the most beloved as well as the most worthy

self or other directly or indirectly, will "trouble, molest, or discountenance any person professing to believe in Jesus Christ for or on account of his religion."

[1] It would appear from the following, that very soon after receiving the charter for Pennsylvania, William Penn was negotiating for New Castle, and probably for the remaining portion of the territory below.

"Sir John Werden wrote to Mr. Penn, that the duke was not yet disposed to grant the lands about New Castle. He, at the same time, informed him that he thought his claims to the islands in the Delaware ill-founded, because they were not included by the words of the patent, and were not intended to be granted. He immediately warned Dongan, Governor of New York, to prevent Penn's encroachments on his province, or its dependencies, giving a reason, which shows the opinions of men who had done so much business with him, that he was very intent on his own interests in those parts, as you observe."—Chalmers, p. 644.

of all my earthly comforts; and the reason of that love was more thy inward than thy outward excellences, which yet were many." He embarked at Deal with a large company of Quakers, and from the Downs sent a letter of "salutation to all faithful friends in England."

CHAPTER IX.

DELAWARE UNDER WILLIAM PENN.

PENN was very well represented in the new province and his interests intelligently cared for from the time that Lieut-Gov. Brockholls, of New York, surrendered the colony, until he himself arrived and took formal possession. His cousin, Capt. William Markham, Deputy-Governor, as has been seen, arrived out in October, 1681. Markham was in New York on June 21st, but the first record we have of his appearance on the Delaware is the following:

"Obligation of Councillmen:" "Wherea, wee whose hands and Seale are hereunto Sett are Choosen by Wm Markham (agent to Wm. Penn, Esq., Proprietor of ye Province of Pennsylvania) to be of the Councill for ye st province, do hereby (in Lieu) receives by our hands and Seals, that wee will neither act, nor advise, nor Consent unto anything that shall not be according to our own Consciences the best for ye true and well Government of the st province, and Likewise to Keep Secret all ye votes and acts of us, The st Councell, unless Such as by the General Consent of us are to be published. Dated at Vpland ye third day of August, 1681.

"Robert Wade, Morgan Drewet, Wm. Woodmanse, (W. W. The mark of) William Warner, Thomas Fairman, James Sandlonse, Will Clayton, Otto Earnest Kock, and ye mark (L) of Lacy (or Lasse) Cock."

In September Upland Court appears to have been reorganized under Markham's instructions and jury trials instituted. The justices present at the meeting of this newly-organized court were William Clayton, William Warner, Robert Wade, William Byles, Otto Ernest Cock, Robert Lucas, Lasse Cock, Swen Swenson, and Andreas Rankson, five of them being members of Markham's Council. The clerk of the court was Thomas Revell, and the sheriff's name was John Test. The first jury drawn in this court—the first drawn in Pennsylvania—was in the case of assault and battery (Peter Earicksen *vs.* Harman Johnson and wife), and their names were Morgan Drewet, William Woodmanson, William Hewes, James Browne, Henry Reynolds, Robert Schooley, Richard Pittman, Lasse Dolboe, John Akraman, Peter Rambo, Jr., Henry Hastings, and William Oxley; two more of the Deputy-Governor's Council being on this jury. At the next meeting of Upland Court, in November, Markham was present, and he attended all the subsequent sessions up to the time of Penn's arrival.

A petition to Markham, dated from "Pesienk (Passyunk), in Pennsylvania, 8th October, 1681," would tend to show that the Indians of that day could not see the merits of "Local Option." It is signed by Nanne Seka, Keka Kappan, Jong Goras, and Espon Ape, and shows that

"Whereas, the selling of strong liquors [to Indians] was prohibited in Pennsylvania, and not at New Castle; we find it a greater ill-convenience than before, our Indians going down to New Castle, and there buying rum and making them more debauched than before (in spite of the prohibition). Therefore we, whose names are hereunto written, do desire that the prohibition may be taken off, and rum and strong liquors may be sold (in the foresaid province) as formerly, until it is prohibited in New Castle, and in that government of Delaware."

This petition appears to have been renewed after Penn's arrival, for we find in the minutes of the Provincial Council, under date of 10th of Third Month (May 20, 1683), that "The Gov'r [Penn] Informs the Councill that he had Called the Indians together, and proposed to Let them have rum if they would be contented to be punished as y' English were; which they agreed to, provided that y' Law of not Selling them Rum be abolished." The law was in fact declared to be a dead letter, but in 1684 Penn besought the Council to legislate anew on the subject so at least as to arrest indiscriminate sales of spirits to the savages. This subject of selling rum to the Indians is continually coming up in the Colonial Records.

Penn's ship, the "Welcome," sailed from "the Downe's" (the road-tend off Deal and Ramsgate, where the Goodwin Sands furnish a natural breakwater) on or about Sept. 1, 1682. Claypoole writes on September 3d that "we hope the 'Welcome,' with William Penn, is gotten clear." The ship made a tolerably brisk voyage, reaching the capes of the Delaware on October 24th, and New Castle on the 27th, being thus fifty-three days from shore to shore. The voyage, however, was a sad one, almost to the point of disaster. The small-pox had been taken aboard at Deal, and so severe were its ravages that of the one hundred passengers the ship carried, thirty, or nearly one-third, died during the passage. The terrible nature of this pestilence may be gathered from one striking fact, and that is this: antiquarians, searching for the names of these first adventurers who come over with Penn,—a list of names more worthy to be put on record than the rolls of Battell Abbey, which preserves the names of the subjugators of England, who came over with William the Conqueror,—have been able to find the most of them attached as witnesses or otherwise to the wills of the well-to-do burghers and sturdy yeomen who embarked with Penn on the "Welcome" and died during the voyage. The list of passengers, derived chiefly from Mr. Edward Armstrong's address before the Pennsylvania Historical Society at Chester in 1851 (his authorities being there given in full), begins with

JOHN BARNES and Elizabeth, his wife. He was a "first purchaser," and made his will on board the "Welcome."

WILLIAM BRADFORD, first printer of Philadelphia and earliest government printer of New York.[1]

[1] We have examined with care the evidence both for and against the assumption that Bradford came over in the ship with Penn, and our

William Buckman and Mary, his wife, with Sarah and Mary, their children, of Billinghurst, Sussex.

John Carver and Mary, his wife, of Hertfordshire, a first purchaser.[1]

Benjamin Chambers, of Rorbester, Kent. Afterwards sheriff (in 1683) and otherwise prominent in public affairs.

Thomas Chorlesdale (Crosdale) and Agnes, his wife, with six children, of Yorkshire.

Ellen Cowgill and family.

John Fisher, Margaret, his wife, and son John.

Thomas Fitzwalter and sons, Thomas and George, of Ramworth, Middlesex. (He lost his wife, Mary, and Josiah and Mary, his children, on the voyage.) Member of Assembly from Bucks in 1683, active citizen, and eminent Friend.

Thomas Gilley.

Robert Greenaway, master of the "Welcome."

Cuthbert Hauthwaite, his wife and family, of Essington, Rolland, Yorkshire, a first purchaser.

Thomas Herbert, of Hurst-Pier-Point, Sussex. First purchaser.

John Hey.

Richard Ingels. Clerk to Provincial Council in 1683.

Isaac Ingram, of Gatton, Surrey.

Giles Knight, Mary, his wife, and son Joseph, of Gloucestershire.

William Lightfoot.

Hannah Moorhouse.

Joshua Morris.

David Oxley, "Probably from London."

Evan Oliver, with Jane, his wife, and children,—David, Elizabeth, John, Hannah, Mary, Evan, and Seaborn, of Rednor, Wales. (The last, a daughter, born at sea, within sight of the Delaware Capes, Oct. 24, 1682.)

—— Pearson, emigrant from Chester, Penn's friend, who renamed Upland after his native place. His first name probably Robert.

John Rowland and Priscilla, his wife, of Billinghurst, Sussex. First purchaser.

Thomas Rowland, Billinghurst, Sussex. First purchaser.

John Schiffelbey, of Chillington, Sussex. First purchaser. (Some say from Cuckfurst, or Hitchingfield, Sussex.) Devoted to Penn. Member of first and subsequent Assemblies. A writer and preacher of distinction among the Friends.

John Stackhouse and Margery, his wife, of Yorkshire.

George Thompson.

Richard Townshend, wife Anna, son James (born on "Welcome" in Delaware River), of London. First purchaser. A leading Friend and eminent minister. Miller at Upland and on Schuylkill.

William Wade, of Hankton parish, Sussex.

Thomas Walmesley, Elizabeth, his wife, and six children, of Yorkshire.

Nicholas Waln, of Yorkshire. First purchaser. Member from Bucks of first Assembly. Prominent in early history of province.

Joseph Woodmore.

Thomas Wrightworth and wife, of Yorkshire.

Thomas Wynne, chirurgeon, of Cwrtwja, Flintshire, North Wales. Speaker of first two Assemblies. Magistrate for Sussex County. "A person of note and character." (Chestnut Street, in Philadelphia, was originally named after him.)

Derrick Rochford and Mary, his wife, John Herbert's daughter. From Kinnetstey, Wexford, Ireland. Also their two daughters, who died at sea. Rochford was a member of Assembly in 1683.

John Dutton and wife.

Philip Theodore Lehman (afterward Lehman), Penn's private secretary.

Bartholomew Green.

Nathaniel Harrison.

Thomas Jones.

Jeane Matthews.

William Smith.

Hannah Townshend, daughter of Richard.

Dr. George Smith, in the "History of Delaware Co., Pa.," specifies the following as having probably come about the time of William Penn, some before and others immediately afterwards, and before the end of 1682:

Richard Barnard, of Sheffield, settled in Middletown.

John Beales, or Bales, who married Mary, daughter of William Clayton, sr., in 1682.

John Blunston, of Derbyshire, his wife Sarah, and two children. A preacher of the Society, member of the Assembly and of Council, and speaker of the former body.

judgment is that it is by no means proven, but, on the contrary, that the preponderance is against the assumption. The evidence is conflicting.

[1] Their daughter Mary, who married Isaac Knight, of Abingdon, is stated to have been "one of the first children born of English parents in Pennsylvania." She was born on the 25th of October, 1682, the day of Penn's landing at New Castle.

Michael Blunston, Little Hallam, Derbyshire.

Thomas Bradshaw (or Bracy), of Wilmston, Cheshire. Representative of the Society of Free Traders, member of First Assembly.

Samuel Bradshaw, of Oxton, Nottinghamshire.

Edward Carter, of Brampton, Oxfordshire, member of the first English jury impanelled at Chester.

Robert Carter, son of the foregoing.

John Churchman, of Waldron, Essex.

William Cobb, who gave his name to Cobb's Creek. He took the old Swede's mill on the Karakung

Thomas Cobden, his wife Elizabeth, and their sons, William and Joseph, from Cashel, Ireland.

Richard Cubby, of London.

Elizabeth Fearne, widow, with son Joshua and daughters Elizabeth, Sarah, and Rebecca, of Derbyshire.

Richard Few, of Lovington, Wiltshire.

Henry Gibson, with wife Helen and family, of Parridge, Derbyshire.

John Goodson, chirurgeon, of Society of Free Traders. Came in the ship "John and Sarah" or "Bristol Factor."

John Hastings and Elizabeth, his wife.

Joshua Hastings and Elizabeth, his wife. He was on the first grand jury.

Thomas Hood, of Breasson, Derbyshire.

Valentine Hollingsworth, of Cheshire. Ancestor of the Hollingsworth family of Philadelphia (and Maryland).

William Howell and Margaret, his wife, of Castlebight, Pembrokeshire, Wales.

Elizabeth Humphrey, with son Benjamin, and daughters Anne and Goldtha, of Llangrin, Merionoeth, Wales.

Daniel Humphrey, of same place as foregoing.

David James, his wife Margaret and daughter Mary, of Llangeley and Gisecum, Radnorshire, Wales.

James Kimberley, of Cheshire.

Henry Lewis, his wife Margaret and their family, of Narbeth, Pembrokeshire.

Mordecai Maddock, of Lorm Hill, Cheshire.

Thomas Minshall and wife Margaret, of Stoke, Cheshire.

Thomas Powell, of Rudberth, Cheshire.

Caleb Pusey and wife Ann, and daughter Ann.

Samuel Sellers, of Belper, Derbyshire.

John Sharpless, Jane, his wife, and children,—Phebe, John, Thomas, James, Caleb, Jane, and Joseph, of Hudderston, Cheshire.

John Simcock, of Society of Free Traders, from Ridley, Cheshire. A leading man in the province.

John Simcock, Jr., son of the foregoing. Jacob Simcock, ditto.

Christopher Taylor, of Shipton, Yorkshire.

Peter Taylor and William Taylor, of Sutlin, Cheshire.

Thomas Usher.

Thomas Vernon, of Stoutherne, Cheshire.

Robert Vernon, of Stoaks, Cheshire.

Randall Vernon, of Sandyway, Cheshire.

Ralph Withens, of Bishop's Canning, Wiltshire.

George Wood, his wife Hannah, his son George, and other children, of Bonsall, Derbyshire.

Richard Worrell (or Worulll, of Oare, Berkshire.

John Worrell, probably brother of foregoing.

Thomas Worth, of Oxton, Nottinghamshire.

The passengers by the "John and Sarah" and "Bristol Factor," so far as known, include William Crispin, who died on the way out, John Bezar and family, William Haigo and family, Nathaniel Allen and family, John Otter, Edmund Lovett, Joseph Kirkbridge, and Gabriel Thomas.

During the trial and affliction which the passengers and crew of the "Welcome" were subjected to on their voyage to the Delaware, when the natural instincts of man are turned to terror and selfish seclusion, Penn showed himself at his best. His whole time, and that of his friends, was given to the support of the sick, the consolation of the dying, the burial of the dead. Richard Townshend, a fellow-passenger, said, "his good conversation was very advantageous to all the company. His singular care was manifested in contributing to the necessities of many who were sick with the smallpox. . . . We had many good meetings on board." In these pious services Penn had the cor-

dial help of Isaac Pearson, to whom, in return, he gratefully gave the privilege of rebaptizing the town on the Delaware at which some of the survivors landed, and thus the significant and appropriate name of Upland, applied by the Swedes to their second colony, was lost in the euphonious but meaningless and inappropriate cognomen of Chester.

The record of Penn's arrival at New Castle is as follows: "October 28. On the 27th day of October, arrived before the town of New Castle, in Delaware, from England, WILLIAM PENN, Esq., proprietary of Pennsylvania, who produced two certain deeds of feoffment from the illustrious prince, James, Duke of York, Albany, etc., for this town of New Castle, and twelve miles about it, and also for the two lower counties the Whorekill's and St. Jones's, which said deeds bear date the 24th August, 1682; and pursuant to the true intent, purpose, and meaning of his royal highness in the same deeds, he, the said William Penn, received possession of the town of New Castle, the 28th of October, 1682."[2] This delivery was made, as the records show, by John Moll, Esq., and Ephraim Herman,[1] gentlemen, attorneys, constituted by his royal highness, of the town of Delaware otherwise called New Castle; the witnesses to the formal ceremony in which the key of the fort was delivered to Penn by one of the commissioners, "in order that he might lock upon himself alone the door," and which was accompanied with presents of "turf and twig, and water and soyle of the river Delaware," were Thomas Holme, William Markham, Arnoldus de la Grange, George Forman, James Graham, Samuel Land, Richard Tugels, Joseph Curles, and John Smith.[3] Penn at once commissioned magistrates[4] for the newly-annexed counties, and made Markham his attorney

[1] Ephraim and Casper Herman, who prominently figure in the history of Delaware, were both sons of Augustin Herman, a Bohemian adventurer of great accomplishments; a soldier, scholar, surveyor, sailor, and diplomatist, who, after serving in Stuyvesant's Council in New Amsterdam, and conducting an embassy from him to Lord Baltimore, incurred the haughty director's displeasure, and was cast into prison. He escaped, went into Maryland, surveyed and made a map of the Chesapeake Bay and the province, and was paid with the gift of a territory in Kent and Cecil Counties, which he called Bohemia Manor. It was intersected by a river of the same name. A part of this tract was sold by Herman to a congregation of Labadists, who settled upon it. Ephraim Herman, who was born in 1651, lived chiefly among the Swedes in New Amstel and Upland. He was clerk of the court here in 1676. In 1679 he married Elizabeth von Rodenburg a daughter of the Governor of Curaçoa, and took her to Uplands, where he shortly afterwards deserted her to join the Labadists. He returned to her, however, after a while, and was in Upland on the day of Penn's arrival.

[2] The inhabitants of New Castle also made a pledge of obedience to Penn on October 28, 1682, and "solemnly promise to yield to him all just obedience, and to live quietly and peaceably under his government." It was signed by Arnoldus de la Grange, J. de Haes, H. V. D. Brieth, Wm. Simphill, John Holmes, Hendrick Lemmens, Joseph Moore, James Parmen, Jonas Aranine, Giles Barrotts, Pieter Cleasen, Samuel Land.

[3] The original commission is preserved at Harrisburg, in the Land Office, from which we have copied the following:

"William Penn, Esq., proprietor and governor of Pennsylvania, New Castle, St Jones, Whorekills, alias Deal, with their proper liberties—I do, in the king's name, hereby constitute and authorise you, John Moll, Peter Alricks, Johannes de Haes, William Simple, Arnoldus de la Grange, and John Cann, to be justices of the peace, and a court of judicature, for the town of New Castle, upon Delaware, and twelve miles north and west of the same, to the north side of Duck Creek, whereof

to receive possession of the lower counties from Moll and Herman. This was done on November 7, 1682.

He also recommended a court to meet at New Castle on November 2d. On that day Penn was present with the justices, and Markham, Holme, Haige, Symcock, and Brassey, of the Provincial Council.[1] The lower counties gave in their allegiance to Markham for Penn on November 7th. In the interval between his arrival and the meeting of court, October 29th, Penn went to Upland to pay a short visit. It was between November 2d and the 8th that Penn arrived in Philadelphia.

Penn was not idle while his people were getting ready for the winter. He sent off two messengers to Lord Baltimore "to ask of his health, offer kind neighborhood, and agree upon a time the better to establish it." He issued a writ on November 18th, to Peter Baucomb, the sheriff of Jones County, to summon all freeholders on the 20th "and elect out of themselves, seven persons of most note for wisdom, sobriety, and integrity to serve as their deputies and representatives in General Assembly, to be held at Upland, in Pennsylvania, December 6th, next, and then and there to consult with him for the common good of the inhabitants of that province, and adjacent counties of New Castle, St. Jones and Whorekill, *alias* Deal, under his charge and jurisdiction." On the same day John Vines was appointed sheriff of Whorekill and Penn directed him to hold an election for seven representatives. Similar notices were issued to the other counties. Penn's province was then divided into three counties,—Philadelphia, Bucks, and Chester, —and the territories into New Castle, Jones, and Whorekills, *alias* Deal. The names of the two last were, towards the close of the year (December 25th), again changed,—Deal to Sussex, and Jones to Kent,—and Penn directed that Cape Henlopen be called Cape James.

At a meeting of the Deputy-Governor and justices in New Castle, on a commission directed to them by the proprietary, "touching the keeping a weekly constant market," it was resolved, "that Saturday, the 18th instant, shall be the first market-day, to be continued on every future Saturday, for this town, when all persons are desired to repair with their commodities to the fort in the market-place, at present appointed for the same, and that the sheriff shall proclaim the same to begin at 10 o'clock in the morning, and continue till 4 o'clock P.M."

After Penn had laid off his province, he took a horse and rode to New York, to see the Governor there, and look into the affairs of his friend, the Duke of York's province. When he returned he met the Assembly, on December 4th, at Upland. Nicholas More was president. The first day was devoted to organization and the selection of committees; on the second day the credentials of members and contested election cases were disposed of, and the House proceeded to adopt a series of rules and regulations for its government. These have no special interest, except that they show the Lower House had set out to become a deliberative body, and was prepared to originate bills as well as vote upon them. The three lower counties sent in a petition signed by seven persons from New Deal, six from St. Jones, and five from New Castle, asking for annexation and union, and the Swedes, Finns, and Dutch another, asking that they might be made as free as the other members of the province, and have their lands entailed upon them and their heirs forever. The same day a bill for annexation and naturalization came down from the Governor and was passed, and on the next day the Legislature passed Penn's "Great Law," so called, and adjourned or was prorogued by the Governor for twenty-one days. It never met again.

The act of union "of the counties of New Castle, Jones's, and Whorekill, alias Deal," and naturalization "of all foreigners in the province and counties aforesaid," after reciting Penn's different titles to Pennsylvania and the three lower counties or Delaware Hundreds, and the reasons there were in favor of a closer union and one government for the whole, enacts that the counties mentioned "are hereby annexed to the province of Pennsylvania, as of the proper territory thereof, and the people therein shall be governed by the same laws and enjoy the same privileges in all respects as the inhabitants of Pennsylvania do or shall enjoy." To further the purpose of this act of union, it is also enacted that "all persons who are strangers and

any four of you shall make a quorum, to act in the said employment and trust, for the preservation of the peace and justice of the province, according to law, hereby willing and charging all persons within the said limits to take notice hereof, and accordingly to yield you all due and just obedience in the discharge of the said trust. And this commission to be in force for the space of one whole year, or until further ordered. Given under my hand and seal, in New Castle, this 20th day of October, 1682. WILLIAM PENN.

"For my being friends, John Moll, Peter Alricks, Johannes de Haes, William Semple, Arnoldus de la Grange, and John Cann, whose acceptance and obligation, signed by themselves, is also preserved as follows:

"We, whose names are here subscribed, being by William Penn, Esq., proprietor and governor of the province of Pennsylvania and New Castle, &c., appointed justices of peace for the town of New Castle, upon Delaware, and twelve miles north and west of the same, to the north side of Duck Creek, do hereby, in the presence of God, declare and solemnly promise that we will, by the help of God be just and true, and faithfully discharge our trust, in obedience to the same commission, and act therein according to the best of our understandings. Witness our hands and seals. Given at Delaware, the 20th October, 1682." [Signed by all of them.]

[1] In his speech in open court directed to the inhabitants in general, he requested them to bring in at the next court to be held in New Castle, "all their patents, surveys, grants, and claims, which they had to their lands, livings, tenements, and possessions, promising to ascertain, adjust, and confirm not only those as had a sufficient title and right, but also those as yet wanted a certain right to the same, so far forth as equity, justice, and reason could require." He also recommended them to take inspection, view and look over their town plots, to see what vacant room may be found therein for the accommodating and seating of newcomers, traders, and handicraftsmen therein. The proprietary was evidently afraid of being crowded at Philadelphia, where as yet but very little building had been done.

foreigners that do now inhabit this province and counties aforesaid," and who promise allegiance to the King of England, and obedience to the proprietary and his government, "shall be held and reputed freemen of the province and counties aforesaid, in as ample and full manner as any person residing therein;" other foreigners in the future, upon making application and paying twenty shillings sterling, to be naturalized in like manner. This act, says Penn, in a letter written shortly afterwards, "much pleased the people. . . . The Swedes, for themselves, deputed Lacy Cock to acquaint him that they would love, serve, and obey him with all they had, declaring it was the best day they ever saw." An "act of settlement" appears to have been passed at the same time, in which, owing to "the fewness of the people," the number of representatives was reduced to three in the Council and nine in the Assembly from each county, the meetings of the Legislature to be annually only, unless an emergency should occur in the opinion of Governor and Council.

Penn's "Great Law," passed as above recited, contained sixty-nine sections.[1] It represents the final shape in which the proprietary's "frame of government" and code of "laws agreed upon in England" conjointly were laid before the Legislature. The variations from the original forms were numerous, some of them important. The language of the revised code is much improved over the first forms, both in dignity and sustained force. The preamble and first section are always quoted with admiration, and they should have their place here:

"THE GREAT LAW; OR, THE BODY OF LAWS OF THE PROVINCE OF PENNSYLVANIA AND TERRITORIES THERUNTO BELONGING, PASSED AT AN ASSEMBLY AT CHESTER, ALIAS UPLAND, THE 7TH DAY OF THE 10TH MONTH, DECEMBER, 1682.

"Whereas, the glory of Almighty God and the good of mankind is the reason and end of government, and therefore government, in itself, is a venerable ordinance of God; and forasmuch as it is principally desired and intended by the proprietary and Governor, and the freemen of the Province of Pennsylvania and territories thereunto belonging, to make and establish such laws as shall best preserve true Christian and civil liberty, in opposition to all unchristian, licentious, and unjust practices, whereby God may have his due, Cæsar his due, and the people their due from tyranny and oppression of the one side and insolency and licentiousness of the other, so that the best and firmest foundation may be laid for the present and future happiness of both the governor and the people of this province and territories aforesaid, and their posterity. *Be it therefore* enacted by William Penn, proprietary and governor, by and with the advice and consent of the deputies of the freemen of this province and counties aforesaid in assembly met, and by the authority of the same, that these following chapters and paragraphs shall be the laws of Pennsylvania and the territories thereof:

"I. Almighty God being only Lord of conscience, father of lights and spirits, and the author as well as object of all divine knowledge, faith, and worship, who only can enlighten the mind and persuade and convince the understanding of people in due reverence to his sovereignty over the souls of mankind; it is enacted by the authority aforesaid that no person now or at any time hereafter living in this province, who shall confess and acknowledge one Almighty God to be the creator, upholder, and ruler of the world, and that profoundly him or herself obliged in conscience to live peaceably and justly under the civil government, shall in anywise be molested or prejudiced for his or her conscientious persuasion or practice, nor shall he or she at any time be compelled to frequent or maintain any religious worship, place, or ministry whatsoever contrary to his or her mind, but shall freely and fully enjoy his or her Christian liberty in that respect without any interruption or reflection; and if any person shall abuse or deride any other for his or her different persuasion and practice in matter of religion such shall be looked upon as a disturber of the peace, and be punished accordingly. But to the end that licentious, irreligious, and atheism may not creep in under pretence of conscience in this province, be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, that according to the good example of the primitive Christians, and for the ease of the creation every first day of the week, called the Lord's Day, people shall abstain from their common toil and labor that, whether masters, parents, children, or servants, they may the better dispose themselves to read the scriptures of truth at home, or to frequent such meetings of religious worship abroad as may best suit their respective persuasions."

The second article of the code requires that all officers and persons "commissionated" and in the service of the Commonwealth, and members and deputies in Assembly, and "*all that have the right to elect such deputies* shall be such as profess and declare they believe in Jesus Christ to be the Son of God and Saviour of the world," etc. This was not perhaps illiberal for Penn's day, but under it not only atheists and infidels, but Arians and Socinians, were denied the right of suffrage. Swearing "by the name of God or Christ or Jesus" was punishable, upon legal conviction, by a fine of five shillings, or five days' hard labor in the House of Correction on bread and water diet. Every other sort of swearing was punishable also with fine or imprisonment, and blasphemy and cursing incurred similar penalties. Obscene words one shilling fine or two hours in the stocks.

Murder was made punishable with death and confiscation of property, to be divided between the sufferer's and the criminal's next of kin. The punishment for manslaughter was to be graduated according to the nature of the offense. For adultery the penalty was public whipping and a year's imprisonment at hard labor; second offense was imprisonment for life, an action for divorce also lying at the option of the aggrieved husband or wife; incest, forfeiture of half one's estate and a year's imprisonment; second offense, the life term; sodomy, whipping, forfeiture of one-third of estate, and six months in prison; life term for second offense; rape, forfeiture one-third to injured party or next friend, whipping, year's imprisonment, and life term for second offense; fornication, three months' labor in House of Correction, and if parties are single, to marry one another after serving their term; if the man be married he forfeits one-third his estate in addition to lying in prison; polygamy, hard labor for life in House of Correction.

"XIV. Drunkenness on legal conviction, fine of five shillings, or five days in work-house on bread and water; second and each subsequent offense, double penalty. 'And be it enacted further, by the authority aforesaid, that they who do suffer such excess of drinking at their houses shall be liable to the same punishment with the drunkard.' Drinking health, as conducive to hard drinking, is subject to fine of five shillings.

[1] There is a discrepancy here which it is difficult to make clear. The text follows Hazard; but Mr. Linn, in his work giving the "Duke of York's laws," shows that the "Great Law" as adopted contained only sixty-one sections, and Mr. Hazard's classification is pronounced to be "evidently erroneous." In fact, it is said in Council Proceedings of 1689, that a serious lack of agreement was discovered between the Council copy of laws and the enrolled parchment copies in the hands of the Master of the Rolls. Mr. Linn also claims that Mr. Hazard is in error in regard to the date of the passage of the "Act of Settlement," which was adopted not in 1682, but on March 10, 1683.

The penalty for selling rum to Indians is a fine of five pounds. Arson is punished with amercement of double the value destroyed, corporal punishment at discretion of the bench, and a year's imprisonment. House-breaking and larceny demand fourfold satisfaction and three months in work-house; if offender be not able to make restitution, then seven years' imprisonment. All thieves required to make fourfold satisfaction; forcible entry to be treated as a breach of the peace, and satisfaction to be made for it. Rioting is an offence which can be committed by three persons, and is punished according to common law and the bench's discretion. Violence to parents, by imprisonment in work-house at parent's pleasure; to magistrates, fine at discretion of court and a month in work-house; assaults by servants on masters, penalty at discretion of the court, as also with assault and battery.

"XXVII. Challenges to duels and acceptance of challenge demand a penalty of five pounds fine and three months in work-house. Rude and riotous sports, 'prizes, stage-plays, masks, revels, bull-baits, cock fighting, with such like,' are treated as breaches of the peace; penalty, ten days in work-house, or fine of twenty shillings. Gambling, etc., fine of five shillings, or five days in the work-house. Spoken or written sedition incurred a fine of not less than twenty shillings; slighting language of or towards the magistracy, penalty, not less than twenty shillings, five or ten days in the work-house.

"XXXII. Slanderers, scandal-mongers, and spreaders of false news are to be treated as peace-breakers; persons clamorous, scolding, or railing with their tongue, when convicted "on full proof," are to go to the House of Correction for three days.

"XXXIV. The statute for the encouragement of marriage is as it was quoted above in the laws adopted in England, 'but' (XXXV.) 'no person, be it either widower or widow, shall contract marriage, much less marry, under one year after the decease of his wife or her husband.'

"XXXVI. 'If any person shall fall into decay and poverty, and be unable to maintain themselves and children with their honest endeavor, or who shall die and leave poor orphans, upon complaint to the next justice of the peace of the said county, the said justice finding the complaint to be true, shall make provision for them in such way as they shall see convenient till the next county court, and then care shall be taken for their comfortable subsistence.'

"XXXVII., etc. 'To prevent exaction in public-houses,' strong beer and ale of barley-malt shall be sold for not above two pennies per Winchester quart; noisome beer one penny; a bushel must contain eight gallons, Winchester measure, all weights to be avoirdupois of sixteen ounces to the pound; all ordinaries must be licensed by the Governor, and, to insure reasonable accommodation, travelers must not be charged more than sixpence per head for each meal, including meats and small-beer; footmen to pay not over two pence per night for beds, horsemen nothing, but the charge for a horse's hay to be sixpence per night.

"XL. 'The days of the week and the months of the year shall be called as in Scripture, and not by heathen names (as are vulgarly used), as the first, second, and third days of the week, and first, second, and third months of the year, etc., beginning with the day called Sunday, and the month called March.'

"Sections XLI. to LXIX. and the end of this code are substantially repeated from the code of laws adopted in England, which have already been analyzed on a preceding page. They relate to the administration of justice, the courts, testamentary law, registration, and the purity of elections. Only a few additions and changes have been made, and these simply for the sake of more perspicuity and clearer interpretation."

After the meeting of the Assembly, Penn set out on December 11th to go to visit Lord Baltimore, with whom he had an appointment for the 19th. The meeting took place at West River, where Penn was courteously and hospitably entertained. Nothing was accomplished, however, in the way of settling the boundary dispute, beyond a general discussion of the subject. Baltimore contended for what his charter gave him; Penn holding firm upon his purchase, the King's letter, and the phrase of the Calvert charter confining its operations to lands hitherto unoccupied, a position in which Penn and the Virginian Claiborne took common ground. The issue of fact as to whether the Delaware Hundreds were settled or unsettled in 1634, could not be determined then and there, even if the contending parties should agree to rest their case upon that point, as neither would do. The proprietaries finally parted, agreeing to meet again in March, and each went home to write out his own views and his own account of the interview to the Lords of the Committee of Plantations. On his way to Chester, Penn stopped to visit the flourishing settlement of Friends in Anne Arundel and Talbot Counties, Maryland, reaching his destination on the 29th.

The year 1683 was a very busy one for William Penn. A great number of colonists arrived, building was very actively going on, division of land among purchasers was a source of much care and perplexity, the lines and bounds and streets of the new city required to be readjusted, the Council and Assembly had to be newly elected and organized, with much important legislative business before them, and there were besides, the boundary question and interviews with Lord Baltimore, Indian land treaties with their tedious preliminary councils and pow-wows, and in addition to all this an extensive and exacting correspondence. Penn, however, was equal to it all, and maintained his health, spirits, and energy remarkably well. He even found time to make an extensive tour through his territories, visited the Indian tribes in friendship with them, curiously studied their manners and customs, and even picked up a smattering of their tongue. Penn was more and more pleased with his province the more he saw of it, and was elated with the great work he had set in motion, even while he could not conceal from himself that his new province was going to prove difficult for him to govern, and that his liberal expenditures in behalf of its settlement would eventually plunge him deep in pecuniary embarrassments.

The Governor appointed new sheriffs for the several counties, and ordered them to issue writs for a new election of members of the Provincial Council and General Assembly. The "act of settlement," or frame of government provisionally adopted by the first Legislature in its brief session at Upland, or Chester, had arranged for the election of a Council of twelve persons from each county, and a General Assembly to consist of not more than two hundred freemen. The people of the counties, however, thought that this would be too heavy a drain upon a scattered and as yet scanty population, especially at times when labor seemed to be of more value than law-making, and accordingly they simply went outside the charter and elected twelve members from each county, three of whom were designated to serve in the Provincial Council, the rest to act as members of the General Assembly.

The Legislature met for the first time in Philadelphia, the Council and Governor coming together on the 10th of March, 1683, the General Assembly two days later. The members of the Council were: William Markham, Thomas Holme, Lasse Cock, Christopher Taylor, James Harrison, William Biles, John Simcock, William Clayton, Ralph Withers, William Haige, John Moll, Edmund

Cantwell, Francis Whitwell, John Richardson, John Hilliard, William Clark, Edward Southrin, and John Roads. The members of the Assembly, from the three lower counties on the Delaware, were: *New Castle.*—John Cann, John Darby, Valentine Hollingsworth, Gasparus Herman, John Dehraef, James Williams, William Guest, Peter Alrichs, Hendrick Williams. *Kent.*—John Briggs, Simon Irons, Thomas Hasold, John Curtis, Robert Bedwell, William Windsmore, John Brinkloe, Daniel Brown, Benoni Bishop. *Sussex.*—Luke Watson, Alexander Draper, William Fletcher, Henry Bowman, Alexander Moleston, John Hill, Robert Bracy, John Kipshaven, Cornelius Verhoof.

At the first meeting of the Council in Philadelphia, March 10, 1683, Penn took the chair and sixteen of the eighteen councilors were present. The sheriffs of the different counties (Edmund Cantwell for New Castle, Peter Baucomb for Kent, and John Vines for Sussex) were called in and made their returns respecting the election. The rules were of the simplest: the Governor ordered those speaking to do so standing, one at a time, and facing the chair, and the members agreed upon a *viva voce* vote in all except personal matters.

SEAL OF PHILADELPHIA IN 1683.

When these arose the vote was to be by ballot. The question of the power of electors to change the number of representatives without modifying the charter at once arose, when Penn answered that they might "amend, alter, or add for the Publick good, and that he was ready to settle such Foundations as might be for their happiness and the good of their Posterities, according to ye powers vested in him." Then the Assembly chose a Speaker, and there was an adjournment of Council till the 12th. At the session of Council of that day nothing seems to have been done beyond compelling Dr. Nicholas More, president of the Society of Free Traders, to appear and apologize for having abused Governor, Council, and General Assembly "in company in a publick house, . . . as that they have this day broken the charter, and therefore all that you do will come to nothing & that hundreds in England will curse you for what you have done & their children after them, and that you may hereafter be impeacht for Treason for what you do." Dr. More's apologies were ample, as became such a determined conservative. The next day's session was occupied with improvement of the rules and suggestions as to amending the charter. It was obvious that the freemen of the province were determined this should be done, in spite of Dr. More's suggestion about impeachment. On the 15th, John Richardson was fined for being "disordered in Drink," and reproved. The question of giving Governor and Council authority to prepare all bills was finally settled affirmatively, but apparently only after considerable debate. On the 16th, Dr. More, of the Society of Free Traders, wrote to ask such an interpretation of the law against fornication as applicable to servants as would be "more consistent wth the Mr. & Mrs. Interest." This was the first utterance of a corporation in Pennsylvania, and it was not on the side of humanity or morality, but of the "master and mistress' interests,"—the society did not care how severely servants were punished for their vices, so that the punishment was not such as to deprive the corporation of their services.

Among the earliest bills prepared for submitting to the General Assembly were the following: A bill for planting flax and hemp, for building a twenty-four by sixteen feet House of Correction in each county, to hinder the selling of servants into other provinces and to prevent runaways, a bill about passes, about burning woods and marshes, to have cattle marked and erect bounds, about fencing, showing that servants and stock gave the settlers more concern than anything else. The country was so large and free that it was difficult to retain people in any sort of bondage, and, where nineteen-twentieths of the land was uninclosed and free to all sorts of stock, it was necessary to fence in improved and cultivated tracts to save the crops from destruction. These bills and other matters were given in charge of the various committees into which the Council now began to divide itself. On the 19th the Speaker and a committee of the Assembly reported the bill of settlement (charter or Constitution), with "divers amendments," which were yielded to by the Governor and Council, and other amendments suggested. The Duke of York's laws and the fees charged in New York and "Delaware" were also considered in this connection; finally, on the 20th, there was a conference between the Governor and the two Houses, "and then the question being asked by the Govr whether they would have the old charter or a new one, they unanimously desired there might be a new one, with the amendm^ts putt into a Law, w^h is past." Other bills introduced at this time looked to regulating county courts, protested bills of exchange, possessions, "sailor's wracks," acts of oblivion, "Scoulds," seizure of goods, limits of courts in criminal cases, marriage by magistrates, executors and administrators, limiting the credit public-houses may give to twenty shillings, protecting landmarks, earmarks, and cattle-brands. Also bills requiring hogs to be ringed, coroners to be appointed in each county, regulating wages of servants without in-

dexture, bail-bonds, and summoning grand juries. There were offered likewise a law of weights, and a bill fixing the punishment for manslaughter, and it was ordered that the seal of Philadelphia County be the anchor, of Bucks County a tree and vine, of Chester a plow, of New Castle a castle, of Kent three ears of Indian corn, and of Sussex a sheaf of wheat. The pay of Councilors was fixed at three shillings, and Assemblymen two shillings sixpence per diem, the expenses of government to be met by a land-tax. On April 2, 1683, "the Great Charter of this province was this night read, signed, sealed and delivered by y^e Govr to y^e inhabitants, and re-

SEAL OF KENT CO., 1683.

SEAL OF SUSSEX CO., 1683.

ceived by y^e hands of James Harrison and y^e Speaker, who were ordered to return y^e old one wth y^e hearty thanks of ye whole house, which accordingly they did." Then on the 3d, after passing some minor laws, the chief of which was to prohibit the importation of felons, the Assembly adjourned "till such time as the Governor and Provincial Council shall have occasion for them."

The new charter, Constitution, bill of settlement, or frame of government was modeled upon the plan originally proposed by Penn. It retained in the hands of Governor and Council the authority to originate bills, but in other respects it deviated materially from the conditions of the old charter. The Council was to consist of three, and the General Assembly of six members from each county. The members of Council served one, two, and three years respectively. A provision was introduced looking to increase of representation in proportion to the growth of population. The whole legislative body was to be called the General Assembly, and all bills becoming acts were to be called acts of such Assembly, and the Lower House was not to adjourn until it had acted upon the business before it. It was, moreover, distinctly implied in the language of the charter that some of the rights and prerogatives enjoyed by Penn under it were to cease with his life; they were concessions to his character and his labors for the province, and not a final surrender of freemen's rights. In return Penn confirmed all in all their liberties, and pledged himself to insure to all the inhabitants of the province the quiet possession and peaceable enjoyment of their lands and estates.

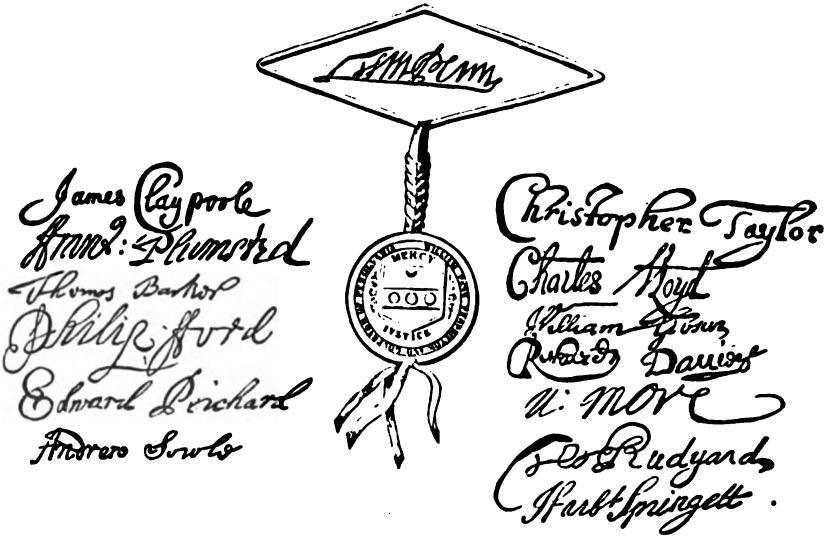
The Governor and Council were in what may be called continuous session, since the charter required that the Governor or his deputy shall always preside in the Provincial Council, "and that he shall at no time therein perform any act of State whatsoever that shall or may relate unto the justice, trade, treasury, or safety of the province and territories aforesaid, but by and with the advice and consent of the Provincial Council thereof." The Assembly, however, did not meet again until October 24th, when, after a two days' session, devoted to business legislation and providing that country produce could be taken in lieu of currency, it adjourned. The business before the Council during 1683 was mainly of a routine character. The people and officials were too busily occupied in out-door work—building, planting, surveying, laying off manors and townships and treating with Indians—to have time to spare for records and debates. Nicholas More, of the Society of Free Traders, was made president of Council.

At the Council held in Philadelphia on the 29th of January, 1683, John Moll represented New Castle County in the Council, Francis Whitwell, Kent, and William Clarke, Sussex. The committee of the Assembly were James Williams, of New Castle County; Benony Bishop, Kent; and Luke Watson, Sussex. The next Assembly met at Lewes on the 2d of March, but only routine business was transacted. Early in the year 1684 a number of the inhabitants of Kent County refused to pay their taxes to Penn, and expressed disloyal sentiments against his government, which gave him much concern. The leaders of the revolt appear to be John Richardson, Thomas Heather and Thomas Wilson, who made complaint against the government in the General Assembly. Francis Whitwell and John Hilliard, who were members of the Council with John Richardson, were also implicated in the rebellion.

To conciliate the disaffected in the three lower counties of the Delaware, the General Assembly met at New Castle on the 10th of March, 1684, at which William Penn was present. The minutes of this session of the Assembly contain a singular record as illustrative of the character and methods of Penn, and what he meant by creating the office of peacemaker or arbitrator, who might stand between the people and the courts and save them the expenses and heart-burnings of litigation. "Andrew Johnson, *Pl.*, Hance (Hans) Petersen, *Deft.* There being a Difference depending between them, the Govr & Councill advised them to shake hands, and to forgive One another; and Ordered that they should Enter in bonds for fifty pounds apiece for their good abearance; wch accordingly they did. *It was also Ordered that the Records of Court concerning that Business should be burnt.*" This

simple, naked record of how the differences between Jan Jansen and Hans Petersen were settled is one of the most impressive examples of practical ethics applied to jurisprudence that was ever known.

William Penn had been long parted from his family, and his affairs in England were not in a good condition. He had done much for his province, which, at this time, had a population of seven thousand. He now thought it good for him to return for a season to England, especially as there was the place in which he might more safely hope to effect a settlement of the vexatious boundary disputes with Lord Baltimore, whose agents had invaded the lower counties, built a fort within five miles of New Castle, and were collecting taxes and rents and dispossessing tenants in that section. Calvert himself had gone to England in March, and Penn wrote to the Duke of York that he meant to follow him as fast as he could. Accordingly, he prepared to leave the province, reorganizing the church discipline of his co-religionaries, and looking after the fiscal system of his civil government in a practical and able way. The ketch "Endeavor," just arrived from England with letters and dispatches, was got ready to carry the Governor back again. He commissioned the Provincial Council to act in his stead while he was away, intrusting the great seal to Thomas Lloyd, the president. Nicholas More, William Welch, William Wood, Robert Turner, and John Eckly were made provincial judges for two years; Markham was secretary of Council, and James Harrison was steward of the house and manor of Pennsbury. He embarked at and sailed from Philadelphia August 12, 1684, sending from on board the vessel ere she sailed a final letter of parting to Lloyd, Claypoole, Simcock, Christopher Taylor, and James Harrison, in which he expresses the deepest affection for those faithful friends, and sends them his prayers and blessings. They had many responsibilities upon their shoulders, and he hoped they would do their duty. The letter concluded with a fervent prayer for Philadelphia, "the virgin settlement of the province, named before thou wert born." Penn arrived in England on the 3d of October, and did not again see his virgin city and his beloved province until 1699.



FACSIMILE OF WILLIAM PENN'S AUTOGRAPH AND SEAL AND THE AUTOGRAPHS OF ATTESTING WITNESSES TO THE CHARTER OF 1682.

The proceedings of Council and Assembly between 1684 and 1699, while they might fill several pages in a volume of annals, may be summed up in a few paragraphs in a history such as this.[1] The

[1] On February 1, 1685, Peter Alricks was appointed ranger of New Castle County. On the 13th of March, 1686, the freemen of New Castle petitioned the Assembly to keep a fair in the town twice a year. On the 21st of September 1686, fairs were ordered to be held on the 3d and 4th of May in New Castle County, and on 3d and 4th of September in each year.

transactions were, as a rule, not very important, and the major part of the record, outside of the regular routine of appointments, etc., is taken up with the quarrels of public officers among themselves and the complaints of the people against Penn and the government generally. A French ship with irregular papers was seized, condemned, and sold by order of Council under the English navigation laws. There must have been a great many vessels on the coast and in the bays at this time which could not give a good account of themselves, and complaints of piracy are loud and frequent, the colonial governments being sometimes accused of undue leniency in their dealings with the freebooters. Governor Fletcher, of New York, who was also Governor of Pennsylvania during the suspension of Penn's authority in May, 1693, was on friendly terms with Kidd and others, and Nicholls, one of his Council, was commonly charged with being agent of the sea-rovers. Governor Markham's alleged son-in-law, James Brown, was denied his seat in the Assembly and put in prison for sailing in a pirate's vessel. The people of Lewes openly dealt with Kidd, exchanging their provisions for his fine goods. Teach, called Blackbeard, was often about the Delaware, and it was charged that he and the Governor of North Carolina and other officials of that State were altogether too intimate.

Penn's noticeable tact and skill as a peacemaker and composer of personal difficulties were sadly missed after his departure for England. The Assembly and Council got into a serious squabble in consequence of a difference about the prerogatives and dignity of the two bodies. Chief Justice Nicholas More, though an able and probably upright man, was dictatorial and arbitrary, as well as quarrelsome. He was not a Quaker, but he used very plain language sometimes, and was free-spoken. Him the Assembly formally impeached before Council on June 15, 1685, upon the ground of various malpractices and misdemeanors, chiefly technical, or growing out of his blunt manners.

Penn at this time, besides his grave concerns at court, was busy looking after the home interests of his province on one side and its external interests on the other, now shipping wine, beer, seeds, and trees to Pennsylvania, anon publishing in London accounts and descriptions of the province and excerpts of letters received from its happy settlers. The proprietary was never fatigued even by the most minute details in any matter in which he desired to succeed, and his letters show that he anticipated and thought about every thing. His supervision was needed, for Council, Assembly, and Governor seem to have been equally incompetent to do anything besides quarrel and disagree in regard to privilege. In fact, underneath these trivial bickerings a great struggle was going on between the representatives of the freemen of the province and the sponsors for Penn's personal interests and his proprietary prerogative. This contest lasted long, and Penn's friends in the end, without serving his political interests materially, contrived to deal his personal interests a cruel blow, by exciting the people of the province to hostile feelings against him, and provoking them to withhold rents and purchases, and reduce his income in every possible way. Penn himself wrote to Lloyd, in 1686, that the ill fame the province had gained on account of its bickerings had lost it fifteen thousand immigrants, who would have gone thither had its affairs appeared more settled, but as it was they went to North Carolina instead.

In February, 1687, Penn took the executive power away from the Council and intrusted it to a commission of five persons,—Thomas Lloyd, Nicholas More, James Claypoole, Robert Turner, and John Eckly, any three to have power to act. He sent over many instructions to his board, among others to compel the Council to their charter attendance or dissolve them without further ado and choose others, "for I will no more endure their most slothful and dishonorable attendance." The commissioners were enjoined to keep up the dignity of their station, in Council and out, and not to permit any disorders either in Council or Assembly, and not to allow any parleys or conferences between the two Houses, but curiously inspect the proceedings of both. They were further in Penn's name to disavow all laws passed since his absence, and to call a new Assembly to repeal, modify, and alter the laws. When this commission was received, in February, 1688, both More and Claypoole were dead. Their places were supplied by Arthur Cook and John Simcock, and the new elections ordered gave Samuel Richardson the appointment of member of Council for three years, while Thomas Hooten, Thomas Fitzwalter, Lasse Cock, James Fox, Griffith Owen, and William Southerby were chosen members of Assembly. The contests for privilege between Council and Assembly were at once renewed; the Assembly swore its members to divulge no proceedings, and practically made its sessions secret; the Council asserted its ancient prerogatives; in short, the quarrel was interminable except by what would be practically revolution, for on one side was a written charter and a system of iron-bound laws, on the other the popular determination, growing stronger every day, to secure for the freemen of the province and their representatives a larger share in the major concerns of government and legislation. The commission, in fact, would not work upon trial, and before the year was out Penn sent over a Governor for the province, an old officer under the Commonwealth and Crom-

well, and son-in-law of that Gen. Lambert who at one time was Monk's rival,—by name John Blackwell.

Governor Blackwell had a troublesome career in office. For a peaceable, non-resistant people, the Pennsylvania settlers had as many domestic difficulties on their hands as ever any happy family had. As soon as Blackwell was inducted he was brought in collision with Thomas Lloyd, who would not give up the great seal of the province, and declined to affix it to any commissions or documents of which he did not approve. As the misunderstanding grew deeper, the old issue of prerogative came up again, and it was declared that Blackwell was not Governor, for the reason that, under the charter, Penn could not create a Governor, but only appoint a Deputy-Governor. An effort was made to expel from the Council a member who had insisted upon this view of the case; it failed, the Governor dissolved the Council, and at the next session the people re-elected John Richardson, the offending member, whom, however, Blackwell refused to permit to take his seat. From this the quarrel went on until we find Lloyd and Blackwell removing and reappointing officers, and the public officers declining to submit their records to the Council and the courts. Lloyd was elected member of Council from Bucks County, and Blackwell refused to let him take his seat, which brought on a violent controversy. The general discussion of privilege and prerogative in connection with these differences led Bradford, the printer, to print for general use an edition of the "Form of Government and the Great Law," so that everybody might see for himself the right and the wrong of the matters in dispute. The expense of the publication, it is said, was borne by Joseph Growdon, a member of Council. It was considered a dangerous and incendiary act, and Bradford was summoned before the Council and closely interrogated, but he would not admit that he had printed the document, though he was the only person in the province who could have done it. There was a Council quarrel over this thing too, some men quoting Penn as favoring publicity for the acts of Assembly, another proclaiming his dread of the press, because the charter, in fact, made him a sort of independent prince. The result was the Council broke up in confusion, and for some time could not get a quorum together. The Assembly, meeting May 10th, was suddenly adjourned for the same reason, the popular party having discovered that by a negative, non-resistance policy of this sort the Governor's plans and purposes were paralyzed. There were no meetings of either Council or Assembly from the latter part of May till the last of August. Then Blackwell sprung upon the Council a great rumor of terrible things in store for the province; the Indians and Papists had leagued together; the Northern Indians were coming down the Susquehanna, and the lower counties were already mustering to resist the invasion of an army of nine thousand men on their way from Maryland to destroy Philadelphia. Blackwell wanted instant authority to levy a force for defense, but the Quakers took things rather more quietly. They did not want an army and they did not believe the rumors. Clarke said if any such scheme of invasion had ever been entertained it was now dead. Peter Alrichs said there was nothing to be scared about. John Simcock did not see "but what we are as safe, keeping peaceable, as those who have made all this strife." Griffith Jones said there was no cause of danger if they kept quiet. In fact, the Council not only objected to a levy, but they laughed at Blackwell's apprehensions. Markham said that all such talk had no effect but to scare the women and children. The Governor found he could do nothing, and adjourned the Council.

Next came news that James II. was dethroned and William of Orange made king of England. The Council was called together, and the honest Quakers, not feeling sure which king they were under, determined neither to celebrate nor wear mourning, but to wait events, the Council amusing themselves in the mean time by keeping up their old feuds. Shrewsbury's letter announcing the new king's intention to make immediate war on the French king was laid before Council Oct. 1, 1689, and was accompanied with the usual warning about defensive measures and the need for commercial vessels to sail in company and under the protection of convoys. William and Mary were at once formally proclaimed in the province, and a fresh discussion arose in regard to the proper defensive measures and the necessity for an armed militia. The Quakers were utterly opposed to any sort of military preparations. If they armed themselves, it was urged, the Indians would at once rise. "As we are," said sensible Simcock, "we are in no danger but from bears and wolves. We are well and in peace and quiet. Let us keep ourselves so. I know naught but a peaceable spirit and that will do well." Griffith Jones, moreover, showed how much the thing would cost and how it would increase taxation. Finally, after long discussions, the Quakers withdrew from active opposition, and the preparations for defense were left to the discretion of the Governor. William Penn himself was now in deep difficulties and partly a fugitive in hiding. He was afraid to act openly any longer as the Governor of the province. Accordingly he made another change, and when Governor Blackwell called the Council together

on Jan. 1, 1690, it was to inform them that he had been relieved of his office. He seemed glad to be free.

The Council, acting upon Penn's instructions and commission on January 2, 1690, elected Thomas Lloyd president and *de facto* Deputy-Governor. The lower Delaware counties were envious of the growth of Philadelphia, Bucks, and Chester. The traditions and manners of the different sections had little similarity. Finally the bad feeling grew so strong as to lead to secession, which is more fully treated in a succeeding chapter. The Delaware counties (or "territories," as they were called) held a separate Council, elected their own judges, and finally compelled Penn, in 1691, much against his will, to divide the government, which he did by continuing Lloyd as Deputy-Governor of the province, and appointing Markham Deputy-Governor of the territories. George Keith also had at this time begun to agitate in behalf of his schism.

The French and Indian hostilities on the frontier, the apathy and non-resistance of the Quakers, and the ambiguous position of Penn, lurking in concealment, with an indictment hanging over his head, were made the pretexts for taking the government of Penn's province away from him. His intimate relations with the dethroned king, and the fact that his province, as well as the Delaware Hundreds, had been James' private property, and were still governed to some extent by "the Duke of York's laws," probably had much to do with prompting this extreme measure. Governor Benjamin Fletcher, of New York, was made "Captain-General" of Pennsylvania on October 24, 1692, by royal patent. He came to Philadelphia April 26, 1693, had his letters patent read in the market-place, and offered the test oaths to the members of the Council. Thomas Lloyd refused to take them, but Markham, Andrew Robeson, William Turner, William Salway, and Lasse Cock all subscribed. Fletcher made Markham his Lieutenant-Governor, to preside over Council in the captain-general's absence in New York. He reunited the Delaware Hundreds to the province, but did not succeed in harmonizing affairs in his new government. The Council and he fell out about the election of representatives to the Assembly. When the Legislature met, Fletcher demanded men and money to aid New York in carrying on the war with the French and Indians. The Assembly refused to comply unless the vote of supplies was preceded by a redress of grievances. Fletcher tried to reason with them. "I would have you consider," he said in his speech to the Assembly, "the walls about your gardens and orchards, your doors and locks of your houses, mastiff dogs and such other things as you make use of to defend your goods and property against thieves and robbers, are the same courses that their majesties take for their forts, garrisons, and soldiers, etc., to secure their kingdom and provinces, and you as well as the rest of their subjects." But the Quakers were not to be convinced by any such arguments. Fletcher had reduced the number of Assemblymen, and when the Legislature met on May 16th, the first thing before the Assembly was a proposition to raise money by taxation,—the first tax levied in Pennsylvania and Delaware,—and an act was passed levying a penny a pound on property for the support of the government. The sum thus raised amounted to seven hundred and sixty pounds, sixteen shillings. Thus far Fletcher succeeded, only to fail, however, when he attempted to secure the passage of a law providing for organizing the militia. The Assembly did pass an act providing for the education of children, and also one for the establishment of a post-office. A good deal of practical local legislation was done also, probably under Markham's influence, for he was an active, energetic man, and knew the town, the people, and their wants better than any other person could do.

In the winter of 1693, Penn was acquitted by the king of all charges against him and restored to favor, his government being confirmed to him anew by letters patent granted in August, 1694. Penn would probably have returned to his province immediately after his exoneration, but his wife was ill, and died in February, 1694. This great affliction and the disordered state of his finances detained him in England several years longer. After his government was restored to him, his old friend and deputy, Thomas Lloyd, having died, Penn once more appointed his cousin, William Markham, to be Deputy-Governor, with John Goodson and Samuel Carpenter for assistants. These commissions reached Markham on March 25, 1695.

In the mean time Governor Fletcher, with his deputy (this same Markham), had been encountering the old difficulties with Council and Assembly during 1694-95. The dread of French and Indians still prevailed, but it was not sufficient to induce the Quakers of the province to favor a military *régime*. Indeed, Tammany and his bands of Delawares had given the best proof of their pacific intentions by coming into Philadelphia and entreating the Governor and Council to interfere to prevent the Five Nations from forcing them into the fight with the French and Hurons. They did not want to have anything to do with the war, but to live as they had been living in concord and quiet with their neighbors the Friends. There is no evidence that the league of amity, implied or written, had ever been seriously broken. The Indians would sometimes be drunk and disorderly, and sometimes would steal a pig

or a calf, but that was all. As Tammany said in this conference with Fletcher and Markham, "We and the Christians of this river have always had a free roadway to one another, and though sometimes a tree has fallen across the road, yet we have still removed it again and kept the path clear, and we design to continue the old friendship that has been between us and you." Fletcher promised to protect the Delawares from the Senecas and Onondagas, and told them it was to their interest to remain quiet and at peace. When the Legislature met (May 22, 1694), Fletcher, who had just returned from Albany, tried his best to get a vote of men and money, or either, for defensive purposes. He even suggested that they could quiet their scruples by raising money simply to feed the hungry and clothe the naked, but this roundabout way did not commend itself to Quaker simplicity and straightforwardness. A tax of a penny per pound was laid to compensate Thomas Lloyd and William Markham for their past services, the surplus to constitute a fund to be disbursed by Governor and Council, but an account of the way it went was to be submitted to the next General Assembly. Further than this the Assembly would not go. Fletcher wanted the money to be presented to the king, to be appropriated as he chose for the aid of New York and the defense of Albany. He objected likewise to the Assembly naming tax collectors in the act, but the Assembly asserted its undoubted right to control the disposition of money raised by taxation, and thereupon the Governor dissolved it.

In June, 1695, after Markham was well settled in his place as Penn's Deputy-Governor, there were again wild rumors of French designs upon the colonies and of squadrons already at sea to assail them, and this was so far credited that a watch and lookout station was maintained for several months at Cape Henlopen. In the latter part of this same month Markham informed the Council that Governor Fletcher had made a requisition upon him for ninety-one men and officers, or the funds for maintaining that number for the defense of New York. This matter was pressed by Fletcher, but the Council decided that it was too weighty a business to be transacted without consulting the General Assembly, which would not meet before the second week of September. Markham suggested an earlier day for meeting, but the Council thought the securing of the crops a more important business than any proposition that the ex-captain-general had to lay before them. When the Assembly did meet, in September, it at once revealed the cause of the continual discontents which had vexed the province, and gave Deputy-Governor Markham the opportunity to prove that he was an honest man. It voted a tax of a penny per pound and six shillings per capita (from which probably £1500 would have been realized), proposing out of the receipts from the levy to pay Markham £300, contribute £250 towards the maintenance of government, and assign the surplussage to the payment of debts of the government. But the members accompanied this bill with another, a new act of settlement, in which the Assembly secured to itself the privileges which they had sought to obtain from Penn in vain. It was, as has justly been remarked, a species of "log-rolling." It had long been practiced with success by Parliament upon the impecunious monarchs of England, and in these modern times has been reduced to a science by nearly all legislative bodies. Markham, however, refused the bait. He declined to give his assent to both bills; the Assembly refused to divorce them, and the Deputy-Governor, in imitation of Fletcher's summary method, at once dissolved them in the very teeth of the charter he was refusing to supersede.

After Markham's first failure to walk in Fletcher's footsteps, he appears to have dispensed with both Council and Assembly for an entire year, governing the province as suited himself, with the aid of some few letters from Penn, made more infrequent by the war with France. On the 25th of September, 1696, however, he summoned a new Council, Philadelphia being represented in it by Edward Shippen, Anthony Morris, David Lloyd, and Patrick Robinson, the latter being secretary. The home government, through a letter from Queen Mary (the king being on the continent), it appeared, complained of the province for violating the laws regulating trade and plantations (probably in dealing with the West Indies). The Council advised the Governor to send out writs of election and convene a new Assembly on the 26th of October. He complied, and as soon as the Assembly met a contest began with the Governor. Markham urged that the queen's letter should be attended to, asking for supplies for defense, and also called their attention to William Penn's pledge that, when he regained his government, the interests of England should not be neglected. The Assembly replied with a remonstrance against the Governor's speech and a petition for the restoration of the provincial charter as it was before the government was committed to Governor Fletcher's trust. That Governor was still asking for money and relief, and Markham entreated that a tax might be levied, and, if conscience needed to be quieted in the matter, the money could be appropriated for the purchase of food and raiment for those nations of Indians that had lately suffered so much by the French. This proposition became the basis of a compromise, the Assembly agreeing to vote a tax of one penny per pound, provided the Governor convened a new Assembly, with a full number of representatives according to the old charter, to meet March 10, 1697, to serve in Provincial

Council and Assembly, according to charter, until the lord proprietary's pleasure could be known about the matter; if he disapproved, the act was to be void. Markham yielded, his Council drew up the supply bill and a new charter or frame of government, and both bills became laws.

Markham's new Constitution, adopted November 7, 1696, was couched upon the proposition that "the former frame of government, modeled by act of settlement and charter of liberties, is not deemed in all respects suitably accommodated to our present circumstances." The Council was to consist of two representatives from each county, the Assembly of four; elections to take place on the 10th of March each year, and the General Assembly to meet on the 10th of May each year. The Markham charter goes into details in regard to the oaths or affirmations of officials of all classes, jurors, witnesses, etc.; it sets the pay of Councilmen and members of Assembly, and is on the whole a clear and more satisfactory frame of government than the one which it superseded, while not varying in many substantive features from that instrument. The Assembly secured at least one-half what the framers of the province had so long been fighting for, to wit: That the representatives of the freemen, when met in Assembly, *shall have power to prepare and propose to the Governor and Council all such bills as they or the major part of them shall at any time see needful to be passed into law within the said province and territories.*" This was a great victory for the popular cause. Another equally important point gained was a clause declaring the General Assembly indissoluble for the time for which its members were elected, and giving it power to sit upon its own adjournments and committees, and to continue its sessions in order to propose and prepare bills, redress grievances, and impeach criminals.

There is not much more to say about the history of this period. The Colonial Records furnish a barren tale of new roads petitioned for and laid out; fires, and precautions taken against them and preparations to meet them; tax-bills, etc. William Penn sailed from Cowes on September 9, 1699, for his province. He had arranged his English affairs; he brought his second wife and his daughter and infants with him; probably he expected this time at least to remain in the province for good and all. He reached Philadelphia December 1st, and took lodgings with Robert Wade. The city of his love was quiet, sad, gloomy. It was just beginning to react after having been frightfully ravaged by an epidemic of yellow fever, attended with great mortality, and the people who survived were sober and quiet enough to suit the tastes of the most exacting Quaker.

The first Council attended by Penn met on December 21, 1699, and the issue between the Admiralty Court and the provincial government was given immediate prominence. Col. Quarry was invited to attend the next day's Council meeting, and it was resolved that a proclamation should be forthwith published discouraging piracy and illegal trade. Quarry's charge against Penn's government was that the justices of Philadelphia Court had issued a writ of replevin, and sent the sheriff (Claypoole) to seize goods which were in the custody of the marshal of the Admiralty Court, at New Castle, having been legally seized in the name of the crown; that the justices had been offensive and insolent to Judge Quarry, challenging his commission and claiming that their jurisdiction was co-extensive with his and their authority to unloose fully as great as his to bind; that the sheriff made a pretence of keeping certain pirates in custody, while in fact they were at large every day. This led to a long conference, and it had the result that the Assembly to be called would come prepared to agitate the question of constitutional amendment, as well as that of piracy and illicit trade. It was decided to call the old Assembly to meet on January 25th, a new election being ordered in New Castle County, which had neglected to choose representatives for the last Assembly. At the time named the Assembly came together.

The sheriff of New Castle County returned, in answer to the Governor's writ, that Richard Halliwell and Robert French were elected members of the Council, and John Healy, Adam Peterson, William Guest, and William Houston members of Assembly. The writ for this election is interesting from its unusual form:

"To R. Halliwell, Jn. Donaldson, and Robt French, of Newcastle: Inclosed I send you a writ for ye County of Newcastle, to return their Representative for a Council and Assembly, that I am forced to call with all possible speed. Pirackes and Illegal trade have made such a noise in Eng^d, and ye jealousies of their being so much encouraged in these Ame^ca parts, such an impression on the minds of sev^ll great ones, that I think myself obliged to give them earlier Demonstrations of our Zeal against all such Practices than an expectation of ye next Assembly (wch comes not on till the Spring), or a full consideration of the Constitution and present frame of Governm^t will admit of. The business of this I now call will be very short, and soon over, & ye new Assembly meets soon after, in which I hope to take such effectual measures for the future & better settlem^t of this Governm^t as will give full satisfaction to all.

"Yr. Dear.

"Philad^a, 12 mo, 1699-1700."

Some of the New Castle people complained that they did not have any sufficient notice of this election. Penn said the sheriff should be punished for his neglect, but in the mean time there would be no business before the present session except what was named in the writ, in which he hoped all would concur, without making the New Castle case a precedent for the future. Committees of Council and Assembly were appointed to consider the subject of the two proposed bills, which, after several conferences and some debate, were passed. The Assembly did not like the clause forbidding trade with Madagascar and Natal; these places, it was explained, had become retreats and

retiring-places of the pirates, and trade with them was accordingly forbidden for three years. Penn then dissolved the Assembly, after informing them that he intended to call the next General Assembly according to charter at the usual annual session. Penn had not signified to the Assembly whether or not he approved of the charter granted by Markham in 1696. Nor did he ever formally approve it, for the charter finally granted by Penn in 1701 appeared as if it were an amendment to or substitute for the charter of 1683. Penn apparently was not on very good terms with Markham at this time, or else the latter's ill health (he died in 1704 after a long illness) no longer suffered him to take an active part in government affairs.[1]

Penn showed himself determined at this time to break up the piracy in the Delaware. He even went a little into the detective and private inquiry business himself. He wrote to Luke Watson: "Thy Son's Wife has made Affidavit to-day before me of what she saw & knows of Geo. Thomson having East India goods by him about ye time Kidd's Ship came to yor Capes: Thy Son doubtless knows much more of the business; I desire therefore thee would cause him to make affidavit before thee of what he knows either of Georges Goods or any of ye rest." To the magistrates at New Castle he wrote that he had information that pirates or persons suspected of piracy had "lately landed below, on this and t'other side the River, & that some hover about New Castle, full of Gold. These are to desire you to use your utmost Endeavor and Diligence in discovering and app'hending all such p'sons as you may know or hear of that may be so suspected, according to my Proclamation." A similar letter was sent to Nehemiah field and Jonathan Bailey.

Birch, collector of customs at New Castle, wrote to Penn under date of May 28, 1700, complaining of vessels having gone down from and come up to Philadelphia without reporting to him. Penn answered he was sorry that masters were so lacking in respect. There was a bill now before the Assembly to make the offense penal. But he thinks a customs collector ought to have a boat, if he wanted to secure the enforcement of the laws, which were all on his side. "Thou canst not expect that any at Philadelphia, 40 miles distant from you, can putt Laws in execution at N. Castle, without any care or vigilance of officers there, if so there needed none in the place, especially since no place in the River or Bay yields ye prospect y^t is at New Castle of seeing 20 miles one way and a dozen the other, any vessel coming either up or down." Penn confesses he thinks the particular care he had taken of the interests of the king and his immediate officers deserved a better return "than such testy expressions as thou flings out in thy Letters both to myself and of one to ye members of Council." Birch is reminded that he has forgotten the respect due to the proprietary's station and conduct, and that he should not make Penn a sufferer on account of his pique against the collector at Philadelphia, a matter with which he neither had nor wanted anything to do. "*Let your Masters at home decide it; what comes fairly before me I shall acquitt myself of, with Hon^r & Justice to ye best of my understanding w^out regard to fear or favour, for those worldly passions shall never move ye Proprietr & Govr of Pensilvania.*" But Penn was not done with Mr. Birch yet. In a postscript he says he hears that the collector talks of writing home, and making he knows not what complaints "*I hope thou wilt be cautious in that point lest I should write too, which, when I doe, may prove loud enough to make thee sensible of it at a distance. If thou understands not this, it shall be explained to thee at our next meeting, when I am more at Leisure.*" This letter, full of conscious power, was palpably meant for Quarry quite as much as Birch. Penn sent the whole correspondence to the Lords of Trade, and when Birch died shortly afterwards, Penn himself appointed his successor *pro tem.*, in order, as he said, to protect His Majesty's interests,—in other words, implying that those

[1] Watson, in his "Annals of Philadelphia," says that Markham was but twenty-one years of age when he came out to Pennsylvania, but this must be a mistake, as it would make him only forty-five when he died. At that time he was spoken of as the "old gentleman," and he had two grandchildren. Besides, he died of rheumatic gout, seldom fatal at such an early age. His knowledge of affairs and the confidential positions given him would imply a much older man. He left a widow, a daughter, a son-in-law, two grandchildren, and a "daughter-in-law," at his death. It is probable that Markham's retirement was on account of suspicious circumstances connecting him with the pirates, who, since the French Admiral Pointis had driven them away from the Caribbean Sea, were become active in Northern waters. Kidd harbored about New York, Avery and Blackbeard about the Delaware; some of Avery's men were in prison in Philadelphia, and Colonel Quarry complained more than once that their confinement was a farce, as they could go when and where they chose. It is certain that Markham suffered some of these men (who had their pockets full of gold) to be treated very leniently. One of Avery's men, Birmingham by name, had intrusted his money to Markham's keeping, and he was allowed by Sheriff Claypoole to walk the streets in summer in custody of a deputy, and in winter to have his own fire. Another person suspected of connection with Avery was James Brown, member of the Assembly from Kent in 1699, and then expelled on account of his relations to the pirates. Penn had him arrested in 1699 for having come over with Avery. He was sent to Boston to be tried by the Earl of Bellamont, Governor of New York. This man is usually suspected of having been Markham's son-in-law, the husband of his daughter, "Mrs. Ann Brown." Penn's letter to Markham, dated 26th January, 1699-1700, is generally supposed to refer to him. It is as follows: "Cousin Markham,—When I was with thee to-day thou offered to be bound for thy son in law should he bring thee into trouble, it is all the Portion I believe he has with thy daughter. What thou hast I may venture to say thou had gott by this Govern^ment. I think it strange y^t'fore thou shouldst make a Difficulty in binding thy Executrs with thyself for his appearance. Should another be bound, no man will take thy Bond for thy own Life, only for a counter security. Thou knowest it is Contrary to the form of all Obligations, & I cannot but take it hard thou should be so unwilling to venture so much for thy own Credit as well as that of the Government and for the Husband of thy only Child from those I am not concerned with. I expect a more express answer than thou hast yet given and remain thy affect^ionate Kinsman,—W. P."—(*Penn's Archives*, i. 126.)

Gordon says the pirates were largely reinforced after the peace of Ryswyk, and they made harbor on the Delaware, because they could easily impose on the unarmed, pacific Quakers. They sacked the town of Lewes, and captured many vessels off the Delaware capes. There is nothing improbable in the supposition that Markham was retired on account of the ineffective means employed by him for the suppression of these public plunderers.

interests were not served by either Birch or Quarry.

At the session of the Assembly and Council, in October, 1700, at New Castle, there was a general revision of laws, and a tax bill was passed to raise two thousand pounds. One hundred and four acts were passed at this session of the General Assembly, the most of them being modifications of existing laws, or acts of local character and minor importance. The purchase of land from Indians without consent of the proprietary was forbidden; better provision was made for the poor. Dueling and challenging to combat visited with three months' imprisonment; bound servants forbidden to be sold without their consent and that of two magistrates, and at the expiration of their term of service were to have clothes and implements given them. An act relating to roads gave the regulation of county roads to county justices, and the king's highway and public roads to the Governor and Council; inclosures were to be regulated, corn-field fences to be made pig-tight and five feet high, of rails or logs; when such fences were not provided, the delinquent to be liable to all damages from stock. The counties were to provide railed bridges over streams at their own expense, and to appoint overseers of highways and viewers of fences. A health bill was also passed, providing quarantine for vessels with disease aboard.

A new Assembly was called to meet on the 15th of September, 1701. The proprietary told them he would have been glad to defer the session to the usual time, but he was summoned away to England by news seriously threatening his and their interests. A combined effort was making in Parliament to obtain an act for annexing the several proprietary governments to the crown. A bill for that purpose had passed a second reading in the House of Lords, and it was absolutely necessary for Penn to be on the spot to prevent the success of these schemes. When the Assembly met, Penn told them he contemplated the voyage with great reluctance, "having promised myself the Quietness of a wilderness," but, finding he could best serve them on the other side of the water, "neither the rudeness of the season nor the tender circumstances of my family can overrule my intention to undertake it." At the first regular session of the Assembly since his return (April, 1700) Penn had addressed them on the subject of reforming the charter and laws. Some laws were obsolete, he said, some hurtful, some imperfect and needing improvement, new ones to be made also.

All this, however, was simply preliminary. The Assembly made a remonstrance and petitions of the people of Philadelphia which had been presented to Governor Markham in April, 1697, and again brought before Penn, were made the occasion for an address to the proprietary.[1] This address was in twenty-one articles, embracing the substance of what the Assembly conceived should be entertained in any new charter. It was made up of specific demands for political privileges and territorial concessions, and, as Gordon observes, was "the germ of a long and bitter controversy." The political privileges demanded were that in case the proprietary left the province, due care should be taken to have him represented by persons of integrity and considerable known estate, with full power to deal with lands and titles, that an ample protective charter should be granted, that all property questions should be settled in the courts, and no longer allowed to go before Governor and Council, and that the justices should license and regulate ordinaries and drinking-houses. The rest of the articles were in reference to the land question, and the freedom of the demands provoked the Governor, who said, on hearing the articles read, that if he had freely expressed his inclination to indulge them, "they were altogether as free in their cravings," and there were several of the articles which could not concern them "as a House of Representatives conven'd on affairs of Gov'm't." In fact, the Assembly demanded (1) that the proprietary should cease to exercise the right of reviewing and altering the land contracts made in his name by the Deputy-Governor, and that the latter should have power to remedy all shortages and over-measures; (2) that the charter should secure all titles and clear all Indian purchases; (3) that there should be no more delay in confirming lands and granting patents, and the ten in the hundred should be allowed as agreed upon; (4) no surveyor, secretary, or other person to take any extra fees beyond the law's allowance; (5) the ancient land records, made before Penn's coming, should be "lodged in such hands as y' Assembly shall judge to be most safe;" (6) a patent office should be created, like that of Jamaica; (7) that the original terms for laying out Philadelphia were clogged with rents and reservations contrary to the design of the first grant, and these should be eased; (8) "that the Land lying back of that part of the town already built remain for common, and that no leases be Granted, for the future, to make Inclosures to the damage of the Publick, until such time as the respective owners shall be ready to build or Improve thereon, and that the Islands and flats near the Town be left to the Inhabitants of this town to get their winter fiddler;" (9) that the streets of the town should be regulated and bounded, the ends on Delaware and Schuylkill to be unlimited and left free, and free public landing-

[1] It was a protest against the right of the Assembly and Council, as then constituted, to pass laws and raise taxes. It was signed by Arthur Cook and one hundred and thirteen leading citizens of the place. Penn referred it to Robert Turner, Griffith Jones, Francis Rawle and Joseph Wilcox.

places be confirmed at the Blue Anchor Tavern and the Penny Pot-House; (10) the deeds of enfeoffment from the Duke of York for the lower counties should be recorded in their courts, and all lands not disposed of then be letted at the old rate of a bushel of wheat the hundred acres; (11) New Castle should receive the one thousand acres of common land promised to it, and bank-lots these to be confirmed to owners of front lots at low-water mark, at the rent of a bushel of wheat per lot; (12) all the hay marshes should be laid out for commons, except such as were already granted; (13) that all patents hereafter to be granted to the territories should be on the same conditions as the warrants or grants were obtained, and that people should have liberty to buy up their quit-rents, as formerly promised.

Penn informed the Assembly that their address was solely on property, and chiefly in relation to private contracts between him and individuals, whereas he had recommended them to consider their privileges, the bulwark of property. He would never suffer any Assembly to intermeddle in his property. The Assembly retorted that they were of opinion they had privileges sufficient as Englishmen, and would leave the rest to Providence. As to the king's letter demanding a subsidy, the country was too much straitened of late by the necessary payment of their debts and taxes; other colonies did not seem to have done anything, and they must, therefore, beg to be excused.

Penn now made answer to the address, article by article; he would appoint such deputies as he had confidence in, and he hoped they would be of honest character, unexceptionable, and capable of doing what was right by proprietary and province; he was willing to grant a new charter, and to dispense with delays in granting patents; fees he was willing should be regulated by law, but hoped he would not be expected to pay them; the custody of the records was as much his business as the Assembly's; if the Jamaica patent law would improve things he was willing to have it adopted; the claim for town lots was erroneous; the reservations in the city were his own, not the property of the inhabitants; improvements of bed of streets conceded; license proposition conceded; the deeds for Delaware counties were recorded by Ephraim Herman; the other propositions, in substance, so far as they were important, were negatived or referred for revision.

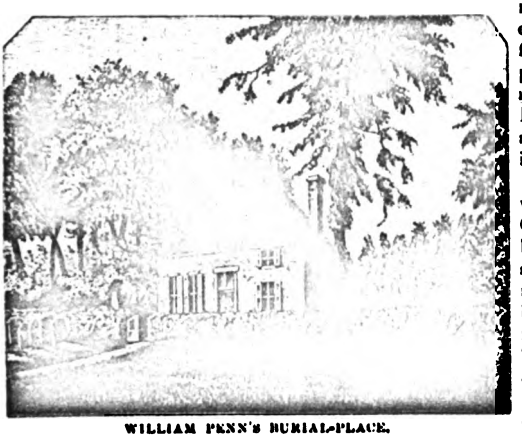
In the course of the discussions the representatives of the lower counties took offense and withdrew from the Assembly; they objected to having the Assembly confirm and re-enact the laws passed at New Castle, since they regarded these as already permanent and established. This was only preliminary to the final separation of the Delaware counties from Pennsylvania. Finally the Assembly was dissolved on Oct. 28, 1701, the Governor having signed an act to establish courts of judicature for the punishment of petty larceny; for minor attachments; for preventing clandestine marriages; for preventing fires in towns; for preventing swine from running at large; for the destruction of blackbirds and crows, and against selling rum to the Indians. Penn also signed the Charter of Privileges, "with a Warrant to Affix the Great Seal to it, wch was delivered with it to Thomas Story, Keeper of the said Seal, and master of the Rolls, to be Sealed and Recorded."

The Charter of Privileges, after a specific preamble, begins by confirming freedom of conscience and liberty of religious profession and worship in ample terms, as had been done in the earlier form of government; it provided for an Assembly of four members from each county, to be elected by

SEAL OF THE INROLMENT OFFICE OF PENNSYLVANIA, 1683.

the freemen each year on October 1st, and meet in General Assembly October 14th, at Philadelphia. The Assembly to choose its own Speaker and officers, judge the qualification and election of its own members, sit upon its own adjournments, appoint committees, prepare bills in or to pass into laws, impeach criminals and redress grievances, "and shall have all other powers and privileges of an Assembly, according to the rights of the freeborn subjects of England, and as is usual in any of the King's Plantations in America." The freemen of each county, on the election day for Assemblymen, were to select two persons for sheriff and two for coroner, the Governor to commission a sheriff and a coroner, each to serve for three years, from the persons so chosen for him to select from. If the voters neglected to nominate candidates for these offices, the county justices should remedy the defect. "*Fourthly*, that the Laws of this Govrm^t shall be in this stile, vizt. [By the Governour with the Consent and Approbation of the freemen in General Assembly mett] and shall be, after Confirmation by the Governour, forthwith Recorded in the Rolls office, and kept at Philadia, unless the Govr. and Assembly shall agree to

appoint another place." "*Fifthly*, all criminals to have the same privilege of witness and counsel as their accusers; complaints as to property not to be heard anywhere but in courts of justice, unless upon appeal lawfully provided for; no licenses for ordinaries, &c., to be granted but upon recommendation of the County Justices, who also can suppress such houses for disorder and misconduct; suicide was not to work escheat of property nor affect its regular descent to legal heirs; no forfeiture of estates to proprietary in consequence of accidents." The charter was not to be amended or altered in any way but by consent of the Governor and six-sevenths of the Assembly, and the first article, guaranteeing liberty of conscience, "shall be kept and remain without any alteration, Inviolably forever." The Assembly, by this charter, at last secured what it had been contending for ever since



WILLIAM PENN'S BURIAL-PLACE.

the first session at Upland,—the parliamentary privilege of originating bills, which must be inherent in every properly constituted legislative body. Penn, in fact, conceded everything but the margin of acres for shortage, the town lots, and the quit-rents. To expedite the conveyance of patents, titles, and land-grants he created a commission of property, consisting of Edward Shippen, Griffith Owen, Thomas Story, and James Logan, with power to grant lots and lands and make titles. The new charter did away with an elective Council, and the legislative power was vested exclusively in the Assembly. But Penn commissioned a Council under his own seal to consult and assist him or his deputy or lieutenant in all the public affairs of the province. The Council thus commissioned were to hold their places at the Governor's pleasure, the Deputy-Governor to have the power to appoint men where there was a vacancy, to nominate a president of Council, and even to increase the number of members. The Council as nominated by Penn consisted of Edward Shippen, John Guest, Samuel Carpenter, William Clarke, Thomas Story, Griffith Owen, Phineas Pemberton, Samuel Finney, Caleb Pusey, and John Blunston, any four of them to be a quorum.

On or about November 1, 1701, William Penn, with his wife Hannah, his daughter Letitia, and his infant son John, embarked on board the ship "Dalmahoy" for England. Penn commissioned Andrew Hamilton, formerly Governor of East and West New Jersey, to be his Lieutenant-Governor; and he made James Logan provincial secretary and clerk of Council. While the ship dropped down the river the proprietary wrote his letter of instructions to Logan, from which extracts have been given above. And so Penn passed away from the province he had created, never to return to it again. He died on the 30th of July, 1718 (O. S.), in the seventy-fourth year of his age. The funeral took place August 5th, in the burial-ground at Jordan's Quaker meeting-house, in Buckinghamshire, where his first wife and several of his family were already interred.

After Penn's departure from the Delaware the proceedings of the Governor, Council, and Assembly of the province became monotonous and dreary. A constant struggle was going on, but it had no variations. The same issues were being all the time fought out, over the same familiar ground and by the same parties. The interests of the crown, the interests of the proprietary, the interests of the people, did not harmonize; there was a continual and incessant clash, and yet nothing was settled. The Governors were of inferior metal, the people vexed and complaining, the Penns wanted money, the crown wanted supplies and money, was jealous and solicitous about prerogative, everything seemed to be at odds and outs, yet the colony grew and prospered amazingly. The various and conflicting interests did not disturb a people who were peacefully reaping the fruits of their labors on a kindly soil in a gentle climate, almost untaxed and almost ungoverned, and immigration flowed in like a steady mountain tide.

On July 10, 1701, in advance of official instructions, Lieutenant-Governor Andrew Hamilton and Council ordered Anne of Denmark to be proclaimed Queen of Great Britain, principally because war had been declared with France and Spain, and the use of the sovereign's name was necessary in calling out the militia for defense. This determination to involve the colony in military measures at once provoked the passive resist-

ance of the Quakers. When the time came (November 14, 1701) for the Assembly to meet, the lower counties on the Delaware were not represented. An adjournment was had, elections held, and new representatives chosen, but they likewise refused to go to Philadelphia, and so the Quakers of that county, Bucks and Chester had things all their own way.

SEAL OF PHILADELPHIA IN 1701.

Hamilton died April 20, 1703, and was succeeded, on February 2, 1704, by John Evans, Penn's new Governor. He failed in procuring the return of the representatives of the lower counties to the Assembly, alienating them more completely still, and irritating the represented counties by his methods of procedure.

CHAPTER X.

PIRATES AND PRIVATEERS.

Among the many hardships with which our forefathers had to contend in the early colonial period were the incursions and depredations of pirates, freebooters and privateers. As soon as they succeeded in building their quiet little townships along the coast, and, through their thrift and energy, established themselves in comfortable homes ready to start out in life in the New World, they fell an easy prey to pirates, allured by the comfortable and frugal appearance of their homesteads. They suffered not only at the hands of strangers and foreigners, but frequently adventurers would go out from their own midst, disappointed or dissatisfied with American soil, and, in collusion with friends who remained on shore, would make regular attacks on the habitations of their former friends. A vast quantity of material is in existence bearing on this phase of colonial life, to be found chiefly in the depositions of witnesses before the Councils of the Governors, the regulations passed in the colonies or the instructions sent from England with a view to suppress these nuisances. But notwithstanding the interest attaching to it, the matter has not as yet received the careful attention of historians, and writers have thus far preferred to use the subject as the basis of romances and fabulous tales of adventure such as are pleasing to juvenile tastes.

As early as 1653 we find accounts of the piratical excursions of Thomas Baxter, a resident of New Amsterdam. Holland and England were then at war, and it was Baxter's plan to pillage the Dutch vessels and towns and then take refuge in the harbors of the English settlers, who protected him from his Dutch pursuers. Others followed the example of Baxter, and the condition of affairs was such that acts of piracy could be committed with absolute impunity. The Dutch retaliated on the English and offered their ports as places of refuge for those who had plundered the English. The region about Long Island and the shores of the East River finally became so infested with these robbers that both the English and the Dutch found it to their advantage to take measures to suppress them. Stuyvesant raised a force, a part of which was always on guard. Yachts were kept plying along the coast keeping a vigilant watch for pirates, and severe penalties were inflicted on those who offered protection to suspicious characters; and it was only after these measures were rigidly enforced that the New Netherlanders were relieved of the excesses practiced by these freebooters.

Being thus driven from the scene of a profitable occupation, they were forced to find a new field in which to carry on their daring operations, and it is doubtless due to this interruption that we find them a few years later perpetrating their outrages along the coast of Delaware.

Delaware being then a part of Pennsylvania, it is, therefore to the records and archives of the latter State that we must look for information and light upon this subject. The earliest appearance of pirates off the coast of Delaware, of which we have any definite knowledge was about 1685, but for the first two years they were not aggressive, and satisfied themselves with occasional sallies, accompanied by no great damage. In 1687, however, they suddenly became bolder and more audacious, and their hostile exhibitions were so frequent and devastating as to demand the attention of the government in England. Deeming it best to deal with them mildly at first, James II. issued an order requiring the colonial authorities to use every precaution to check the abuses and sent a fleet to aid them in the work; but he authorized the pardon of any pirate who, having been captured within twelve months of the date of the instructions (August 21, 1687), should give security to keep the peace in the future.

This last provision of the order had an effect

that was little expected or still less desired. The colonial officers used their newly-acquired prerogative of pardon for the most venal purposes, and the most notorious pirates, who were able to purchase their immunity, went free and unmolested, while those whose booty had not been sufficient to satisfy the avarice of the officers suffered the full penalty of the law. Moreover, they were extremely careless in the legal processes which the less fortunate freebooters were compelled to undergo, and many were convicted unjustly, through a desire of those in power to seem zealous in their enforcement of the King's commands. But complaints soon reached the ears of those in London, and a second letter was written, this one addressed to William Penn himself and dated October 13, 1687. The King requested his servants in the colonies to remedy the abuses named, mentioning particularly the unfair trials. He went further, however, and removed from them all original authority in the case of captured pirates, who were henceforth to be imprisoned until His Majesty's will should be known. In addition to this, Sir Robert Holmes was appointed a commissioner whose duty it was to decide in what cases pardon should be granted in pursuance of the first letter of instructions. In November the Privy Council met, published an order against pirates, and placed Sir Robert Holmes in command of a squadron to be sent out for the defense of the colonies, and as a reward for his services he was granted all property which might be taken from pirates within three years of the date of his commission. Early in the following year the King issued a royal proclamation condemning the pirates in the most severe terms and urging their hasty extirpation, commanding that those who, in contempt of His Majesty's orders, continue their abominable practices, be pursued "until they and every one of them be utterly destroyed and condemned."

Through these precautions the outrages perpetrated by the rovers of the sea were almost entirely abolished, and for a few years the inhabitants along the coast were able to manage their affairs in peace and contentment. Still, there was always cause for anxiety, and in the commission creating Benjamin Fletcher Governor of Pennsylvania, in 1693, he was given authority to raise forces to protect the colonists against pirates. Later in the same year the Governor recommended the erection of a fort on the Delaware River near New Castle for the security and defense of trade and the inhabitants, to which the Council readily assented.

When once the surveillance was relaxed, however, pirates again made their appearance. At a meeting of the Council held at Philadelphia in 1697, the Governor, William Markham, presented a letter from Penn, who was then in London complaining of certain rumors which had reached England, to the effect that the colonists had not only been lax in their opposition to the pirates but had even harbored and protected them. The Council submitted this to a committee for investigation, and it was reported that these rumors were without foundation, that several of the crew of a pirate ship commanded by Avery (one of the most famous pirate captains) had been imprisoned and escaped to New York, but beyond this there could be no cause for complaint.

During the two years following, the audacity and impudence of the pirates continued to increase. On a September afternoon in 1698 there appeared off the cape at the eastern extremity of Sussex County a small sloop, which, although it had been noticed by the inhabitants, was not suspected of having evil designs upon the village. Early the next morning, however, it suddenly bore down upon Lewistown and landed fifty men well armed and thoroughly equipped for sacking the place. They plundered almost every house, using force to secure an entrance, and battering to pieces every chest and box, after they had once obtained admittance. All money or valuables of whatever nature were carried off, and one of the townsmen remarked, in his plaintive wail before the Governor's Council, that they were left with "scarce anything in the place to cover or wear." They killed a number of sheep and hogs and forced a number of the chief men of the town to assist them in carrying their booty on board, and even took the village carpenter prisoner. After having thus terrified and ruined the people they quietly sailed out into the bay and lay at anchor without fear of being attacked until a small brig appeared and tempted them to offer chase. The particulars of this occurrence were reported to the Council by four of the prominent citizens of Lewistown—Luke Watson, John Hill, Thomas Oldman, Jonathan Baily—who explained the dangers to which the town was exposed and asked for greater protection. The Council investigated the matter further, and it was learned that the sloop had been taken from John Redwood, of Philadelphia, as he was coming out of Cinnepuxon Inlet, by a pirate named Canoot, who abandoned his own vessel for a fleeter one. Many other crimes of similar nature were traced to Canoot and his pirate ship, and the Council at once empowered the Lieutenant-Governor to muster such forces as should be required to defend the coast towns and pursue their enemies. The expense required for this work was ordered to be raised by provincial tax, but the daring Canoot made good his escape. Nevertheless, several convictions of other pirates soon followed these new prudential measures, one of the most noteworthy being that of David Evans, who was accused of belonging to Avery's crew. This conviction was due largely to

the efforts of Robert Snead, who industriously sought to secure any evidence attainable against men suspected of piracy. On one occasion, however, his zeal carried him too far, and he was summoned before the Council for having advised the English authorities that Pennsylvania had become the greatest refuge for pirates in America, and that the officers refused to seize them, even when an opportunity presented itself. Although Snead promptly denied having written such reports, it appears that they were not altogether unwarrantable, or, at least, the precautions taken were not such as would be in accord with more modern ideas of guarding prisoners. The cases of Robert Brandingham and William Stanton will furnish an apt illustration These two men were imprisoned in the county jail of Philadelphia under suspicion of piracy, and the Lieutenant-Governor having heard that they were allowed too great liberty, demanded an explanation from the sheriff. That functionary admitted that the prisoners were allowed to stroll about the town, but never without his leave and a keeper, and added, by way of apology, that he thought this might be allowed in "hot weather." Notwithstanding, the stern Lieutenant-Governor was not to be moved by humanitarian scruples, the sheriff was instructed to keep his prisoners in close confinement thereafter.

About the same time the Council delivered a severe reprimand to one of the Admiralty judges, Quarry, who had on his own account apprehended two pirates and sent them to West Jersey; his only excuse being that he was extensively engaged in trade, and acted purely in self-defense.

Toward the close of the year 1699, the inhabitants of the county of New Castle, presented a petition to the Council setting forth their grievances, from which many points of interest regarding the pirates may be gleaned. They mention the plundering of Lewistown in the preceding year, and also the capture of the brigantine "Sweepstakes," belonging to Col. Webb, a former Governor of Providence. This vessel, already laden and prepared for a voyage to England, was lying off the town of New Castle. On the night previous to the day set for her departure she was attacked by thirteen pirate ships, and carried off, with crew and cargo. The petition went on to mention the unfortunate situation of the town, the inability of the citizens to protect themselves from these onslaughts, and finally, the insufficiency of the fortifications. But despite all this, they met with little sympathy. The board laid all the blame for the delay in the construction of a fortress at the feet of the inhabitants themselves, they having long since secured permission to build it. As for a militia, they considered this a matter to be considered by a general Assembly, and they refused to grant even a hearing to their request for such aid, since the people of New Castle had neglected to send representatives to the last meeting of the Assembly, which would have been the proper place to discuss matters concerning the good and safety of the government. Besides, the Council did not regard the prosperity of the colony as sufficiently great to warrant a large expenditure, and they had learned that in the neighboring and more flourishing colonies of Maryland and Virginia, where extensive fortifications had been erected and ships-of-war were continually plying, the pirates continued in their nefarious work, apparently unconscious of the presence of any opposition. In fact, the pirates would not infrequently attack the men-of-war with a vigor greater than usual, and seemed to find special delight in murdering His Majesty's marines. Consequently, with the exception of one or two new laws on the statute books, the citizens of New Castle secured very little redress or satisfaction.

In April, 1700, the famous Capt. Kidd honored the people of Delaware with a brief visit. He doubtless considered that the spoils to be gathered from an attack on the towns would not repay the trouble requisite, and therefore did not molest them. He had, earlier in his career, made many attacks on the colonists, and Captains Kidd and Avery were the only men exempted from the privilege of pardon in the instructions sent from London some time previously. Although on this occasion he satisfied himself with anchoring at some distance from the coast, his visit was nevertheless the means of involving a number of the inhabitants in serious difficulty. Kidd had just returned from the East Indies, where he had been eminently successful in his depredations, and brought back a vessel heavily and richly freighted with the choicest products of the East. The importation of these goods into the colonies was strictly prohibited, but in direct antagonism to these laws, Wm. Orr, George Thompson, Peter Lewis and two others, all residents of Lewistown, boarded Kidd's vessel and purchased a large quantity of his plunder. They were successful in eluding the vigilance of Lowman, the collector at Lewistown, and had already managed to dispose of their goods before any information reached the ears of the authorities. Penn, who was at the time both proprietor and Governor, immediately on the discovery of the facts, secured their apprehension as accessories to the pirates and promoters of illegal trade. These cases attracted so much attention that once more the colonists received instructions from England regarding the suppression of piracy. This led Penn to call a special meeting of the Assembly to prepare a bill against pirates. He also appointed a committee of Council consisting of Edward Shippen, David Lloyd, Phineas Pemberton, Wm. Rodney and Caleb Pusey, who, in conjunction with an Assembly committee, were to draw up a

bill, and after debating for three weeks it was finally passed. This law was undoubtedly the most stringent that had yet been enacted. It was followed by a proclamation requiring all strangers traveling in the colony to show passes, which could only be secured after the identity of the person had been established beyond a doubt. All inn-keepers were required to give notice to a magistrate immediately upon the arrival of a stranger, or in case there happened to be no magistrate near by, "two housekeepers of the neighborhood" were to be notified. Even the ferrymen on the Delaware River were not permitted to transport a stranger or suspicious character, and were forced to give security, pledging themselves to abide by this provision. The Council also treated New Castle with less severity, paying for boats and liquors sent to that town when it was reported that French pirates threatened the town. The colonists had at last thoroughly awakened to the enormity of the offenses committed around them, and the jeopardy by which they were surrounded. They accordingly demanded appropriate legislation. The measures above mentioned were soon followed by an order making it the duty of the magistrates of Sussex County to keep a constant watch on the cape near Lewistown, and as soon as any vessel should appear off the capes, which, on any reasonable grounds, might seem to appear suspicious in its movements, they were forthwith to report to the sheriff of the county with an accurate description of the vessel. The sheriff of Sussex was to forward this information to the sheriff of Kent County, and it was to pass by special messenger from sheriff to sheriff through every county, until it reached the Governor at Philadelphia, who directed what action should be taken. The sheriffs were empowered to use horses for the messengers, and to avoid delay, the magistrates were to attend to these dispatches in the absence of the sheriff, and any expenses thus arising were to be paid by a provincial tax, levied for the purpose

These several laws, proclamations and orders grew more salutary in the results produced by them, than any that had preceded. During the first eight years of the eighteenth century, the coast of Delaware remained unmolested by the pirates, while the people, undisturbed by their old oppressors, increased and prospered In 1708, however, the troubles were once more renewed. The character of the water thieves had slightly, although not materially, changed, but the burden was, if anything, more difficult to bear. The dangers now to be guarded against were chiefly from French privateers, but the Dutch, Spanish and other nations were also engaged in similar occupations. In the year just mentioned, the masters of three vessels were taken by a privateer of great boldness named Castrau. They were Captains Philips, of Boston, taken on his way homeward from North Carolina; Moody, of Pennsylvania; and Young, of London, who was captured within sight of land as he was sailing for the coast of Sussex County. Castrau and six other privateers spent their entire time sailing between Egg Harbor and Sinnepuxent, and navigation between those points was soon rendered so dangerous that it became necessary to appeal again to England for assistance. The Governor of Pennsylvania called a joint session of the Council and Assembly, and presented in writing his views on the new sources of peril. The misfortunes with which the people were now beset exceeded anything they had experienced in the past. The coast of what is now Delaware, furnished the theatre for the most violent of these excesses. Navigation became almost impracticable, and the bravest sailors dared not leave or approach the coast and trade was, as a natural consequence, brought to a complete standstill. The Governor stated his opinion to be that, while the laws were quite rigid enough to suppress the evil, the officers through whom they were enforced were not sufficiently numerous to properly carry them into execution, and he warmly appealed to the Assembly to increase the number, and grant money supplies for any action that it might be necessary to take at once. The Assembly, however, were slow in levying a new tax, and remonstrated with the Governor, charging him with being derelict in his duty for not having reported the matter to the admiral before they came to their present deplorable condition; moreover, they insinuated that the taxes had not been applied as economically or as wisely as might have been possible. These complaints they forwarded to the Lieutenant-Governor, John Evans, who in turn submitted them to the Council. To this the Lieutenant-Governor prepared an elaborate reply, in which he showed that the only hope of relief rested in what the colonists were willing to do for themselves. Governor Seymour, of Maryland, the vice-admiral of the province, had no forces at his command which he could send to the assistance of his neighbors, nor was there any reason to suppose that aid might be expected from the Governors of any of the adjoining colonies. A detailed explanation of the manner in which the funds were disposed of was also incorporated in the response, and after again picturing the seriousness of the situation, a second appeal was made to the members of the Assembly. The letter elicited from the Assembly by this was based on a new line of argument. While admitting that the jurisdiction of the proprietary extended over a wide stretch of territory, they asserted that the legislative powers of the Assembly were limited to that portion of the province bounded by the Delaware River, and "goes no further down than twelve miles on this side New Castle." Moreover, they

cited decisions in the English Court of Exchequer, by which they attempted to prove that all authority on the high seas was in absolute possession of the crown, and the colonial officers had no power to encroach thereon. In their opinion, the only proper course to be pursued by the Governor was to communicate with the vice-admiral, who was not Governor Seymour, as he had stated, but Lord Cornbury, Governor of the Jerseys, who had always willingly granted them all the assistance in his power. This controversy between the Governor and the Assembly continued for three months, and was not terminated until it had resulted in causing an irremediable breach between the contending parties, and precipitated the retirement of Governor Evans. The importance of this dispute is of chief interest in so far as it widened the breach between the province and the counties comprising Delaware. New Castle, Sussex and Kent were, on account of their situation, more directly concerned in these contentions than those situated north of them. The continual recurrence of these quarrels produced no other effect than an irritability between the counties on the coast and those in the interior, and they may be considered an important factor in the events which brought about the final separation.

The unsettled condition of affairs which existed during the close of Governor Evans' administration was only made worse by a projected war against Canada by the English. Taking advantage of this, the pirates and privateers were more frequent than ordinarily in their visits, and at this time (1708-9) records are to be found of many attacks on both Lewistown and New Castle. Penn's secretary, James Logan, wrote to him in June, 1708, that the "coasts begin to be intolerably infested," and has "become a nest of privateers." He reported that in four days three vessels had been burnt and sunk in the river or off the capes. Three French men-of-war were stationed at Port Royal, one of fifty, one of forty-five and a third of twenty-six guns, with orders from the King to ply along the coast. They had brought over one hundred families with which to settle a French colony, and whatever booty they gathered in their cruises, from the British colonists, was used for the support of the new settlement. Logan humorously complained that "we have now four English men-of-war on these coasts, but they very exactly observe the late practice of the navy, that is, carefully to keep out of the enemy's way. They always see the privateers, but always something happens that they cannot fight them." The condition of affairs was at this time such that advices were sent to England to send no vessels direct to the Delaware, but first to Maryland, until it is learned whether it would be safe to enter the bay. Lewistown was again plundered in 1709, this time by about one hundred men sent on shore by a French privateer. Additional troubles were caused by these attacks, owing to the refusal of the Quakers to bear arms, even in defense, which naturally caused the other inhabitants much displeasure.

Fortunately, Governor Evans' successor, Governor Charles Gookin, was not long in ingratiating himself with the people, and soon succeeded in inducing the Assembly to grant a liberal sum for the protection of the coast. Almost immediately after the Assembly had taken this action, tidings were received that the Queen had dispatched a number of men-of-war to assist in the work of saving her colonies from the grasp of pirates and

GOVERNOR SIR WILLIAM KEITH.

privateers. The co-operation of these two forces proved for a time an effectual blow to the plundering incursions and thieving attacks which the early settlers of Delaware continually suffered, and for nearly a decade the coast was undisturbed and free from hostile invasions.

In 1717 we again find the pirates forcing their objectionable presence upon the attention of the colonists. The renewal of their predatory atrocities necessitated the enactment of further measures of defense. On the recommendation of Lieutenant-Governor Keith, the Council willingly concurred in publishing a proclamation with a view of diminishing the number of their old tormentors. A tempting reward was offered to any person who should furnish the Governor or any magistrate with information leading to the conviction of any pirate

or other person who had interfered with the people in the peaceful pursuit of their affairs. Rewards were also offered for the capture of accessories and suspicious characters, and the Governor promised to exert himself to the utmost to secure the pardon of pirates who would surrender themselves or their accomplices. The proclamation had hardly been issued, when five pirates from the sloop "William's Endeavor," appeared before the Council, surrendered themselves, and demanded the pardon offered by the proclamation. The prisoners were John Collison, Hance Dollar, John Reynalds, Benjamin Hutchins and John Bell. Strangely enough, instead of remanding the prisoners to jail, until they were proved worthy of immunity, they were ordered not to be prosecuted until it might be learned that the crimes which they had acknowledged were such as to exempt them from the benefits of the proclamation. Such evidence was never procured, and the pirates were consequently not prosecuted.

In July, 1718, particulars reached the Council of far more serious piratical work A number of mariners now appeared before the Governor and asked his protection. They had been employed in the merchant service, but had recently escaped from a pirate ship in which they had been held captives. When summoned to appear before the Council, they gave their names as Richard Appleton, John Robeson, William Williams, John Ford, Benjamin Hodges, John Barfield, James Mathews, Samuel Barrow, Gregory Margoveram, Renold Glorence, Walter Vincent and Timothy Harding. Appleton acted as spokesman, and narrated the trials and sufferings they underwent before they escaped, making an interesting and thrilling story of adventure. They had sailed from Jamaica early in the year in a ship fitted out for working wrecks. Death soon deprived them of their captain, and they met with little luck in their expedition. Meeting with another sloop, they willingly listened to the importunities of its captain, one Greenway, to mutiny, and place themselves under his command. They took Captain Greenway on board their own sloop, which was the better of the two, and put their own master on the other. Greenway had also brought his crew with him, and the arrangement had scarcely been completed when they informed their new associates that they were pirates, and had no other object in view in making the change than to secure additional men to assist them in their robberies. The men thus betrayed, were forced to serve their pirate masters in spite of all protests. This lasted several months before an opportunity was presented to escape. Their sloop had attacked an English vessel, and Greenway and several of his old crew boarded it to secure the booty. Those of the old crew who remained on board were drunk, and it was an easy matter to bind them and set them adrift in a boat. Once freed, the captives hastily put out, and although Greenway made a desperate attempt to overtake them, they escaped unhurt, and at length reached the hospitable shores of the Delaware, where they put in for refuge. After hearing the story, Governor Keith ordered an inventory to be taken of whatever was found on their vessel. Captain Hardy was deputized for this work, and reported the sloop well equipped with powder, shot, guns, pistols, muskets, blunderbusses, cutlasses and other materials and implements necessary for the ocean encounters in which Greenway had been engaged, as well as a numerous collection of articles promiscuously gathered from his victims. Whatever was perishable was immediately sold and used for the protection of the people against pirates, while the rest was held subject to the order of the Admiralty Courts, and the men were suitably rewarded.

Other cases were continually reported, and the depredations again began to excite much alarm. It was reported that the famous pirate Teach, also known as Blackbeard, was in the vicinity, and the Governor at once issued a warrant for his arrest, but the rumor proved to be without foundation. It nevertheless became necessary to take special measures for the protection of the lower counties. Captains Raymond and Naylor were sent out with two sloops to clear the capes of the pirates, and did their work very effectually, while many prosecutions against the pirates were conducted in the courts.

After these attacks a respite was secured from the piratical invaders, but it was more to the gradual increase of the population than to the Governor's proclamations that the termination of the excesses was due. As long as the pirates were leniently dealt with, and allowed to go free on little more than their own promises of future repentance, they amused themselves by hoodwinking the officials, and without any scruples of conscience continued in their old trade They either re-engaged in it by taking an active part themselves, or else kept their former comrades thoroughly informed of whatever action was taken against them, and furnished them with advice as to the best time to pounce upon their prey. The authorities finally discovered that they must deal summarily with the culprits, and promptly hung them as they were convicted. After the first quarter of the eighteenth century the visits from the pirates were few and desultory, but more trouble was suffered at the hands of the privateers. In 1732 the pirates were evidently reappearing, as the Council was obliged to furnish extra clothes during the winter for some who were lodged in gaol, but that they had lost the boldness which characterized their former exploits is quite clear.

By 1739 the privateers had begun to make their

raids at regular intervals on the coast, and the Assembly of the lower counties took the matter in hand. The Governor was empowered to appoint two well qualified persons or officers to keep a constant watch at Lewistown. Each inhabitant was required to keep himself armed with a musket, cartridge-box, twelve charges of gunpowder and ball, three flints, and a worm and priming-wire, and every one was instructed to yield absolute obedience to the commands of the officers in everything pertaining to the watch or defense, under penalty of a fine of five shillings. The officers called together all the inhabitants once a month between the 1st of April and 1st of October, and once every three months during the remaining period, for the purpose of drilling them and examining their arms and ammunition. The firing of three guns successively and the beating of a drum was the signal for calling the people together in the market-place with their muskets, ready to defend the town at the command of the officers. The Quakers were exempted by special provision, as were also all persons under fifteen and over sixty-three. Pilots were prohibited from boarding an inward bound vessel without a permit from the Governor, to prevent their possible assistance to an enemy or pirate In the province, the appearance of privateers in the bay brought on the old trouble with the Quakers, who controlled a majority in the Assembly. In 1740, Governor Thomas urged them continually to decrease the dangers of navigating in the Delaware, and a long controversy resulted. The Governor was greatly enraged, and in a message to the Assembly indignantly asked them: "If your principles will not allow you to pass a bill for establishing a militia, if they will not allow you to secure the navigation of the river by building a fort, if they will not allow you to provide arms for the defense of the inhabitants, if they will not allow you to raise men for His Majesty's service, and on His Majesty's affectionate application to you for distressing an insolent enemy, if they will not allow you to raise and appropriate money to the uses recommended by His Majesty, is it a calumny to say that your principles are inconsistent with the ends of government at a time when His Majesty is obliged to have recourse to arms, not only to protect the trade of Great Britain and its dominions, but likewise to obtain redress for the injuries done to his subjects?" But with the exception of raising seven small companies, there was nothing further done at the time.

The wars in which the mother country became involved shortly after this gave an impetus to privateering expeditions on both sides. George II. issued a special proclamation, praying his subjects to fit out privateers for action against his enemies, which was read throughout the British Empire. Governor Thomas announced it in Pennsylvania, and earnestly requested the people to exert themselves to the utmost in maintaining as many privateers as possible and promising his personal assistance whenever it would avail the least. As was to be expected, the French and Spanish retaliated, and the American coast swarmed with them, the people suffering the insults and gibes of their enemies, as well as losing their property. These outrages assumed their worst form on the Delaware during the summer of 1747. It became necessary late in June to place vessels bearing flags of truce under rigid restrictions before they could come up the bay, in order to guard against every possibility of surprise. Pilots were not permitted to conduct any ship up the Delaware River or Bay without a permit from the Council, and any ship coming up without obeying the regulations fixed was subject to capture. But it was impossible to keep the privateers out of the way. On July 12th a company of about fifteen or twenty men, either French or Spaniards, landed near New Castle and plundered the houses of James Hart and Edmund Liston, carrying off most of their property and slaves. About one o'clock in the afternoon the party came on shore in an open boat and landed about four miles above Bombay Hook, near Liston's house. They ran to a place where his daughter and a negro girl were crabbing and seizing the negress, bound her and put her in the boat; they then went up to Liston armed with guns, cutlasses and pistols, and admitting they were privateers, demanded his negroes, money and keys. He quickly complied, and they went through the place, taking clothes, bedding, furniture and whatever else they discovered, as well as a negro woman and two children. Having put these in the boat, they placed their pistols against Liston's breast and compelled him to lead them to Hart's plantation, about a half a mile distant. Hart saw them coming and closed his house and bolted the doors. They first chased a negro girl until they caught her, and then called out to Hart that unless he admitted them they would fire the house. He still refused and they commenced to bombard the house. A bullet struck his wife in the hip, and she bled so profusely that he surrendered and opened the doors. He was securely bound and the marauders then plundered the house, taking away the negro, all the wearing apparel, some gold buttons and other articles, valued in all at about seventy pounds. They forced Hart to return with them to Liston's, and after packing up all the booty gathered at both places they set out again for their boat. Liston and Hart at once informed Messrs. John Curtis and John Finney of the affair, and the particulars were dispatched to President Anthony Palmer and the Council. Several members of the Assembly of the province were summoned,

including Messrs. John Kinsey, the Speaker, Thomas Leech, Joseph Trotter, James Morris and Oswald Peele. A conference was held between these members and the Council and measures necessary for defending the inhabitants were taken under discussion. As the Assembly controlled the funds, the Council was powerless to take any step incurring expense without their assent, and they had been summoned to state what measures they were willing to take. But the scruples of the Quakers again proved a stumbling block. The members of the Assembly at first refused to act at all, asserting that as they were then without authority from their Assembly, it would be useless to act in their private capacity, and on being pressed by the members of the Council, only gave the vaguest notions of what they might be willing to do. The privateers continued in their work without meeting with sufficient opposition to inconvenience them in the least. One of them manned a Cape May pilot-boat and sent it up the bay as far as Bombay Hook, plundering several of the best plantations in the lower counties on its trip.

Governor Reading, of New Jersey, was requested to give the New Jersey pilots instructions similiar to those issued in Pennsylvania respecting the license required by vessels bearing flags of truce, and accounts of the troubles were also sent to the proprietaries, with a request for assistance. In the mean time the enemy continued plundering the colonists. The party who had robbed Hart and Liston, in sailing out of the bay, met a valuable ship bound for Philadelphia from Antigua, and carried her off. The Council continued to ask assistance from the Assembly of the province, as it was feared that at any moment the enemy might sail up to Philadelphia and sack the town. In their messages to the Assembly they pictured the effect of such an event in the most vivid manner, reminding them of the ruin and bloodshed that would follow; but the Assembly was not easily moved. They admitted that the enemy had been bold and ruthless in its actions, but thought it would "be difficult, if not impossible, to prevent such accidents." The length of the river and bay they considered ample guarantee against the destruction of Philadelphia, and they reminded the Council that their continuing to spread abroad reports of the "defenseless condition of the province," by sending messages to the Assembly, would have a great tendency to induce the enemy to attack them.

But no measures which the Assembly or Council or proprietaries took could prevent the pilots from refusing to earn a fee by objecting to conduct vessels into the bay, whether they were enemies or not. These pilots were, in fact, more willing to serve the enemy than the British, since the former were always willing to pay a larger sum for being led through the capes. In September the watch at Lewistown was kept busy for several weeks expecting an attack, and on one day they reported two sloops putting up the bay, each attended by a pilot. Sometimes, however, even the well-intentioned pilots were deceived by the false colors of the privateer, and by the British seamen on board, some of whom were always ready to turn traitor for money. Several cases of this sort came under the notice of the Council. In one instance they learned of the particulars through the deposition of William Kelly, late in 1747. Kelly had been taken from the sloop "Elizabeth," off the coast of North Carolina, by a French privateer, "Marthel Vodrolt," Captain Lebay. The vessel was of about ninety or a hundred guns, and after Kelly's capture, took six English prizes, one a sloop, about fifteen leagues off the capes of Delaware, and two ships in Delaware Bay, commanded respectively by Captains Lake and Oswald Eves. The privateer put into Cape May, and hoisted the English colors. There were Englishmen, Irishmen and Scotchmen in the crew, and when they were met by Pilot William Flower, the captain sent one of the Englishmen to give instructions. The pilot was naturally deceived, and obeyed his instructions, taking them into Cape Henlopen. Kelly informed him that the vessel was a privateer, but it was then too late, in the mind of the pilot; but nevertheless he promised to take the ship so near to the shore that Kelly might make his escape by swimming to land. When coming around towards Cape Henlopen they were boarded by another pilot, Luke Shields, who proved to be quite a different character He and Flower were jointly placed in command of the privateer, but he refused to go near enough to shore to let Kelly escape, declaring that he proposed to take the vessel where she could capture the most prizes, since that was the purpose for which she had come, and no persistence on the part of Kelly could induce him to desist from this. It would therefore appear that to the venality of their own pilots the colonists could attribute much of their annoyance by the privateers. The pilots were no doubt doubly rewarded for leading the vessels clear of all opposition to those points most likely to contain a prize, and least apt to be defended.

During the summer of 1747 these attacks continued, keeping the inhabitants in the lower counties in a constant state of dread and terror. One or two incidents occurred to show the barbarous cruelty of these scoundrels, who spared no man's feelings and left nothing behind which it was possible to carry off. John Aris, a Philadelphia pilot, was coming up the bay one evening, having taken a ship beyond the capes, when he was hailed by some one on board a pilot-boat, when about ten miles below Reedy Island. A boat soon came alongside, and a number of Spaniards came on

board, and, with little ceremony, took his ring from his finger, his buckles and over three pounds in money. They also carried off his clothes, all the food on board, and all the sails belonging to the boat. They left him some mouldy bread and greasy water, and then retired, firing at him as they left. It was a curious coincidence that nearly every one who reported having suffered at the hands of the privateers reported that while a majority of their assailants were usually foreigners (Spanish or French), yet there was always some one in the party who used good English. It was concluded from this that there were many of the colonists, or perhaps British sailors, who were acting with the enemy,—a fact which might also have accounted for the successful manner in which their expeditions usually terminated. These cowardly and traitorous proceedings were carried on to an alarming extent, as the experience of the ship "Mary," of London, will illustrate. The captain, Bernard Martin, was just entering the Delaware capes, when he was hailed by a privateer of ten guns. He managed to elude her, however, but was met by a pilot-boat, which he knew, as well as the captain, who had often taken him up the bay. Martin allowed her to come alongside and threw him a rope, seeing no one on board except three or four Englishmen. But suddenly about thirty five Frenchmen and Spaniards sprang from the hatches, where they had been concealed, and boarded the ship, driving the crew before them at the points of their pistols. Martin offered some resistance, but they at once opened fire on him, wounding him in the cheek, in the arm and side and then knocked him down. They took command of the vessel, cruised off the capes for a few days and then placed Captain Martin and seven men on the pilot-boat and abandoned them.

As the winter of 1747 approached, the stress of weather put a check upon the privateering operations for a brief season. Most of them sought shelter in the West Indies, but reports continually reached the Delaware that a great raid was being planned for the opening of spring. The Philadelphians were especially alarmed at this. Associations were formed to defend the city, and application was made to secure cannon to be placed at proper places along the river. But the Assembly remained inexorable. Several companies were formed within the province and the lower counties and the construction of batteries was begun at different points on the river.

In April, 1748, the pilots of Sussex County sent in a petition to the Council, asking them to repeal the orders issued as to pilots conducting inward bound vessels, in order to enable them to earn a legitimate living in competition with the traitors who refused to obey the proclamations. This was signed by William Field, Luke Shield, Samuel Rowland, Samuel Rowland, Jr., William Rowland, Simon Edwards, John Baily, John Maul, John Adams, all pilots at Lewistown. They also requested that influence might be brought to bear on the Governor of New Jersey to prevent the Jersey pilots from carrying on the same abuses. Both of their requests were complied with, but the restrictions in New Jersey remained loose and inoperative. As spring approached the privateers reappeared, and for three months their incessant attacks rendered matters worse than they had been on any previous occasion. As early as the 15th of May, Captain Pyramus Green was chased off Cape Henlopen by a French privateer, mounting fourteen carriage and sixteen swivel guns, and with a crew of one hundred and seventy-five men. His schooner, the "Phœnix," was laden with bread and Indian corn, and after the privateer had captured him they took the bread on board their own boat and threw the Indian corn overboard. They then placed about ten Frenchmen on board the schooner and sailed up the bay, stopping to attack a brigantine. While the men were boarding this the ropes gave way, and Captain Green was left in charge of his boat and made his escape. An account of this was sworn to before John Finny, David Bush, James Armitage and Wm. Patterson, of New Castle County, and sent to the Council. On this the Council made another attempt to secure assistance from the Assembly, but for a reply that body quietly stated that they did "not see what prudence or policy could be done in the present emergency. To send a vessel in pursuit of a privateer supposed to be at the capes, a late example may convince us that the privateers might and very probably would be out of reach before any vessel could get thither. And to keep a vessel constantly at our capes to guard our coast must be introductive of an expense too heavy, as we conceive, for the province to bear." And so they did nothing. About the middle of May His Majesty's sloop, the "Otter," arrived under Captain Ballet, with instructions from the Admiralty to cruise off the Delaware capes and protect the coast from the privateers. On his voyage, however, he had encountered one of the enemy in a four hours' engagement and was so much disabled that it required some time to make the necessary repairs. In the mean time the outrages continued. Toward the end of May a privateer captured the sloop "Three Brothers" off the capes. They took off all but the captain, George Porteous, his wife and son and an old man, and put on board three Frenchmen. They steered for the capes, accompanied by the privateer, but were separated from her in a storm. Porteous, his son, and the old man managed to secure the Frenchmen, and put into Lewistown for a pilot, bringing the three prisoners up the bay with them. Soon afterwards New Castle was threatened with de-

struction by the arrival of a Spanish privateer brig of fourteen guns and one hundred and sixty men. She had anchored off Elsenburg, about ten miles below New Castle, giving an English prisoner, George Proctor, an opportunity to escape by swimming to shore. He proceeded to New Castle, and informed the authorities that the captain of the brig, Don Vincent Lopez, had entered the river with the intention of capturing the large ship then lying near New Castle, and afterwards plunder and destroy the town. He had already been cruising off the capes and had captured several vessels and a pilot-boat, but was now in pursuit of larger prey. The privateer came up under English colors, within gun-shot of New Castle, but the people were prepared and opened fire from several guns. Lopez finding that his reception would be rather warm if he ventured nearer, slipped his cables and dropped down the river, huzzaing as he left, and hoisting the Spanish colors in place of the English. But this was not the last that was heard from Lopez. Captain Nathaniel Ambler reported shortly afterwards meeting with the Spaniard, that resulted more favorably for the latter than his New Castle expedition. On May 25th Ambler was anchored off Reedy Island, in company with three Boston sloops, which had been driven in by the privateers. Late in the evening three boats, from the Spanish privateer, approached them and captured all four sloops, stripping the crew and taking off all their clothes, only leaving each captain a pair of breeches. Captain James White also had an encounter with Don Lopez's men, about thirty of whom boarded his schooner off the high land of Bombay Hook, with pistols and cutlasses, plundered her and took the captain and his men on board the privateer. The long list of outrages of this character was daily increased by reports of others more daring and impudent. About the 1st of June, Abraham Wiltbank, a pilot of Lewistown, was appointed to command an intelligence boat He plied up and down the river and bay from the capes to Philadelphia, reporting the force and movements of all privateers within sight. At New Castle there was, to be sure, a fort, but there were only four guns to be raised in the whole town. This number was increased by four six-pounders from Philadelphia, where they could ill be spared. The defenseless condition of the coast can therefore be well understood, and it is not to be wondered at that the privateers entertained no fear of whatever opposition might be offered.

In July a whole fleet appeared off the southern coast of the American colonies, under the leadership of Don Pedro, and for a time navigation was completely at a standstill. A part of the British squadron in New England was sent down and captured several of the privateers, and manned them to oppose their old allies, and in this way the robbers were once more dispersed. At Wilmington preparations to meet them were made by the erection of a bomb-proof magazine and battery on the rocks of Christiana. In a note to President Palmer, of the Council, from David Bush, John McKinly and Charles Bush, they state that the battery had been viewed by many, and the universal opinion was that it equaled, if not exceeded, "any on the continent for strength and beauty." But to the two men-of-war, the "Hector" and "Otter," was really due the credit of finally clearing the bay and capes of Delaware of the privateers. They captured a number and disabled others, so that before the close of the year 1748 those that remained unhurt had sought more hospitable regions and the people were once more relieved from the strain incident upon the almost continuous presence of their enemies for two years. This was the last of the attempts, either of pirates or privateers, to make any concerted attack on Delaware, practically blockading the mouth of the bay. At rare intervals thereafter they would apparently spring out of the bosom of the waves and sweep down on an unsuspecting vessel; but they no longer acted with their former audacity, and scarcely ever came within reach of shore. As late as 1788 we learn of James McAlpine being convicted of piracy on the Delaware, but with this the curtain falls on this romantic and interesting phase of the history of Delaware.

CHAPTER XI.

BOUNDARY DISPUTES AND SETTLEMENT.

THE State of Delaware to-day could not well be made the subject of a boundary controversy, with its stiff, straight lines on the south and west, its short, regular curve on the north, and Delaware River and Bay and the ocean on the east, to mark its separation from any grasping neighbors. It lies between latitude 38° 28′ and 39° 47′ N. and longitude 74° 56′ and 75° 46′ W. This is indeed definite enough, but the disputes and contests between the several claimants of the territory, and the letters, documents and depositions that arose out of the boundaries of the territory upon Delaware, forms the story of a long and bitter struggle, which, on some occasions, did not fall short of bloodshed. If any palliating reasons are to be sought, we can only trace the origin of these troubles to the numerous changes in the proprietorship of the disputed ground, which took place so frequently for nearly a century after Hudson's advent, in 1609, and so deeply entangled had the claims and counter-claims become, that a second century was

drawing rapidly to a close before a pacific arrangement was finally agreed upon. In its checkered passage from the hands of the aborigines to the Dutch, then to the Swedes, and once more to the Dutch, then to the Duke of York and finally to Penn, it was more than likely that the title to this valued property should not remain indisputable. Surveying was rendered doubly difficult by the unexplored condition of the country, and inaccuracies in this quarter furnished a frequent source of controversy. But, above all, when grants and titles were issued by authorities three thousand miles distant, without facility for receiving any other information except the testimony of the applicant, it was not improbable that a single strip of land might be granted to two or even a greater number of petitioners.

The zeal of the Dutch in settling their newly-discovered territories, which extended from Delaware Bay almost to Cape Cod, naturally excited the British, who were interested in the Plymouth and Virginia charters. As early as 1621 they complained to James I. of the encroachments of the Dutch. At this early period it was a simple protest of the British against the title of the Dutch to the New Netherlands, which included New York, New Jersey and Delaware. The matter was brought to the attention of the States-General of Holland, but on the death of King James the affair was still badly complicated. Under Charles I. the dispute continued. The New Netherlands had now come under the management of the Dutch West India Company, but now, in their turn, they were much annoyed by the bold encroachments of the English. One of their largest vessels was seized; they placed the matter in the hands of the States-General, who decided to firmly maintain the rights of the company. The English were equally positive in their determination to resist the Dutch aggressions, and the trouble over the boundaries gave rise to intense feeling on both sides. The addition of new purchasers, who might be possible disputants, had no tendency to unravel the entangled claims. Godyn and Bloemart had bought a strip of land from the natives in 1629, extending thirty-two miles inland from Cape Henlopen, and two miles in breadth. De Vries started a small colony near the Cape in 1631, and in the same year new purchases were made from the Indians on the east side of the Bay. The year 1632, however, stands out as a prominent landmark in the history of the disputes, for it was then that the famous charter was granted to Lord Baltimore, on which he afterwards based his claims to the land on the west side of the river Delaware. It was granted on June 20, 1632, and contained the following terms: "We (Charles I.) do give, grant and confirm unto Cecilius, Baron of Baltimore, his heirs and assigns, all that part of the peninsula, or chersonese, lying in the part of America between the ocean on the east and the Chesapeake on the west, divided from the residue thereof by a right line, drawn from the promontory or headland called Watkins Point, situate upon the bay aforesaid, near the river Wigheo on the west unto the main ocean on the east, and between that boundary on the south unto that part of the Bay of Delaware on the north which lieth under the fortieth degree of north latitude, from the equinoctial, where New England is terminated, and all the tract of that land within the metes underwritten—(that is to say) passing from the said bay called Delaware Bay, in a right line by the degree aforesaid, unto the true meridian of the first fountain of the river of Potomac, thence verging towards the south unto the farther bank of the said river, and following the same on the west and south unto a certain place called Cinquack, situate near the mouth of the said river, where it disembogues into the aforesaid bay of Chesapeake, and thence by the shortest line unto the aforesaid promontory or place called Watkins Point."[1] The petition of Lord Baltimore, in compliance with which the grant had been issued, set forth that the territory was "not then cultivated and planted, though in some parts thereof inhabited by a certain barbarous people having no knowledge of Almighty God," and it was this declaration which was afterwards made an important factor in the struggle. These limits included not only the present State of Maryland, but all of Delaware and a part of Pennsylvania and Virginia. The remonstrance came first from the last quarter, but that controversy does not bear upon the matter in hand with sufficient import to warrant our entering upon details.

The arrival of the Swedes in the Delaware, in 1638, marks another epoch in the narrative. We have seen in the chapter on the Swedish settlements that Usselinx, disgusted at his treatment by the Dutch, had entered the service of Sweden, and with Peter Minuit had superintended the expedition of 1638. Opposition was at once elicited from the Dutch through William Kieft, Director-General of the New Netherlands, but Minuit persisted, and the erection of Fort Christina gave definite shape to his plans. Two years later the first English settlements on the Delaware were begun by the purchase of land on both sides of the bay by Captain Turner, the agent for New Haven.[2] The purchases of the English continued for several years, and their possessions soon aggregated a considerable quantity of land, although they were forced to contend with the attacks of the Dutch and Swedes.[3] It can now be readily seen that by

[1] The river Wigheo was the same as that now known as the Pocomoke, and Cinquack is now Smith's Point.

[2] Hazard's "Annals of Pennsylvania," p. 58.

[3] Brodhead's "History of New York," vol. I., p. 355.

the middle of the seventeenth century the territory now known as Delaware was subject to many owners, each trying to interfere with and prevent the advance of the others. In 1650 the first important conference over the boundaries was convened at Hartford, for the purpose of settling the disputes between the Dutch and the English of New Haven, who had purchased land on the Delaware. The meeting was called at the suggestion of the commissioners of the United Colonies, and Stuyvesant willingly assented. The negotiations were at first conducted in writing; but this method proved irksome, and consumed so much time that a new plan was soon adopted. Each of the parties involved appointed two commissioners to represent them, the four to form a board of arbitration to settle the disputed questions. Stuyvesant appointed Ensign George Baxter, and Captain Thomas Willett, while the New England commissioners selected Symon Bradstreet and Thomas Prence. Their deliberations, however, resulted in no definite conclusion. The New Englanders asserted that the Dutch had encroached on their land, and that they had in consequence suffered damages to the extent of £1000. Stuyvesant denied this, but stated that as these alleged invasions of English rights had occurred during the administration of Governor Kieft, he was unable to deal with the matter intelligently. Both parties at length agreed to refer the decision to England and Holland, and in the mean time agreed to pursue their interests on the Delaware without interfering with one another.[1] The New Haven people started out soon afterwards with a new colony to settle on their lands in the Delaware, but, touching at New Amsterdam on their voyage, they were all placed under arrest. They insisted that they had no intention of settling elsewhere than on their own land, which was their privilege, according to the agreement of the arbitrators. The Director-General thought that they had come with a view to extending their territory, and refused to let them proceed, and the trouble over the boundaries was once more opened between the English and the Dutch.

In the same year, 1651, an attempt was made to reach an agreement about the extent of the lands held by the Swedes and Dutch on the Delaware. The Swedes had suddenly exhibited an exceedingly bold spirit, committing many acts of violence upon the Dutch with the evident purpose of dispossessing them of the whole river. Being unsuccessful at this, they endeavored to purchase land from the Indians, who refused to sell, but gave the Dutch all the land from Bombay Hook to Christina Creek.[2] Another unsuccessful attempt was made by Stuyvesant in 1653 to adjust the differences with the New Haven owners of property on the Delaware, by appointing three new commissioners to meet a like number to be named by the United Colonies. The negotiations had hardly been begun, however, before the Dutch agents abruptly departed without any instructions from their Governor, leaving the matter in its old shape. An epistolary attempt to come to an agreement was then begun by a letter from Stuyvesant to the New England commissioners, but they held that the seizure of the vessel at New Amsterdam had been too great an affront for them to consider any further arrangement with the Dutch It was they, however, who reopened the discussion a year later by writing to Governor John Rising, the newly-arrived Swedish agent, but again without result. The affair had now been brought to higher authorities and correspondence was conducted between England and Holland relative to the subject of boundaries on the Delaware, and this was equally barren of results. In 1655 John Cooper and Thomas Munson applied to the court of New Haven for the protection of two magistrates and also a supply of guns and ammunition, to take with them in an attempt to settle on their land in the Delaware. The court agreed to this, but the discouraging reports which were brought from the Delaware at this time dampened the ardor of the new colonists, although some were still willing to make a start, but nothing came of the expedition.

The capture of Fort Casimir by the Dutch in 1655 practically settled the disputes between the Dutch and Swedes, leaving the former complete masters of the situation. The history of the colony under the Dutch has already been treated at length. The severity of Alricks' administration at New Amstel drove six soldiers to desert from the Dutch service and seek refuge in Maryland. At a meeting of the Council of New Amstel in 1659 it was decided to request Governor Fendall, of Maryland, to return the deserters. The Dutch now began to fear that the English would encroach upon them from a new quarter, as they had hitherto been doing from New Haven. A letter was dispatched to Colonel Utie, the leading magistrate of Maryland and a member of the Governor's Council, requesting that it be forwarded to the Governor. Colonel Utie consented, but at the same time informed the messenger that the Governor and Council of Maryland had already issued instructions in January ordering him to "repair to the pretended Governor of a people seated on the Delaware Bay and inform them that they were seated within his lordship's province with his notice."[3] He further stated that Lord Baltimore had ordered the land within the limits of his charter of 1632 to be resurveyed, with a view to assuming defin-

[1] Hazard's "Annals of Pennsylvania," pp. 120-122. Vincent's "History of Delaware," pp. 208-211.

[2] O'Callaghan's "History of the New Netherlands," vol. ii p. 166.

[3] McMahon's "History of Maryland," p. 23.

ite jurisdiction over the whole. The receipt of this intelligence produced great consternation at New Amstel, and Stuyvesant writes that in a short time "fifty persons, including several families, removed to Maryland and Virginia," leaving scarcely thirty families in the town, while other places were day by day growing worse and worse. This was the first claim entered by Lord Baltimore to the territory over which a heated struggle was destined to rage for more than a century. The affair was brought before the Maryland Council on August 3rd (O. S.), and Utie was further instructed "that, in case he find an opportunity, he insinuate into the people there seated (on the Delaware) that in case they make their application to his Lordship's Governor here, they shall find good conditions, according to the conditions of plantations granted to all comers into this province, which shall be made good to them, and that they shall have protection in their lives, liberty and estates, which they shall bring with them." On the same day the Governor of Maryland wrote to the Governor of the territory of the Delaware giving him notice to depart. With reference to the disputed lands he said: "I can by no means acknowledge any for Governors there but myself, who am by his lordship appointed lieutenant of his whole province, lying between these degrees, 38 and 40, but do by these require and command you presently to depart forth of his lordship's province, or otherwise desire you to hold me excused if I use my utmost endeavor to reduce that part of his lordship's province unto its due obedience unto him."

Colonel Utie reached New Amstel in September, with Major Jacob De Vrintz and several others who made up the commission. Several days were spent in reconnoitering and questioning the settlers, and on the 8th a conference was held with Alrichs and Commissary William Beekman. Three of the fugitives were handed over, and Utie then plainly stated that the people must either leave or declare themselves the subjects of Lord Baltimore, and if they refused to submit to either of these alternatives he could not hold himself "responsible for the innocent blood that might be shed on that account." Alrichs remonstrated that they had been in possession for many years, and held their land by an octroi of the States-General and the directors of the West India Company. The Marylanders were obstinate and irritable and refused to argue, but demanded an immediate and positive statement from the Dutch as to what they proposed to do. Alrichs now endeavored to secure delay by a proposition to submit the whole question to the mother countries. Failing in this, he requested three weeks in which to confer with the Director-General of the New Netherlands, to which Colonel Utie reluctantly consented. The next day, however, the Dutch submitted a written protest signed by Alrichs, Beekman, Alexander D'Hinoyossa, John Willemson, John Crato, Hendrick Ripp and G. Van Swerigen, the secretary of the Council. They complained that the citizens of the Delaware has been enticed into Maryland by alluring promises, some of whom had thus escaped service which they were bound to render, and others had left behind them heavy pecuniary obligations. Objection was also made to the form of the instructions held by Utie, which were simply signed by Philip Calvert, secretary, but contained neither place nor date; but Utie paid little attention to this. The particulars of the affair were forwarded at once to Stuyvesant, who replied on the 23d, censuring Alrichs and Beekman for allowing Utie to proceed as far as he had already done and also for promising to reply within three weeks. He severely reprimanded them for recognizing Utie at all, with the defective credentials which he brought, and by way of reproof removed the management of the affair from their hands and appointed instead Captain Martin Krygier and Cornelius Van Ruyven to have entire control of the controversy with Maryland. Krygier was at the same time commissioned as commander of all the militia on the Delaware, and sixty men were placed under him to repel any inroads from Maryland. The new agents were also instructed to treat Utie as a spy unless, on his return, his papers were less defective than when first exhibited.

Rumors soon came from Maryland that Utie, who had returned on the 11th, was preparing to return to New Amstel with a force of five hundred men. Stuyvesant thereupon appointed two commissioners, in the persons of Augustine Heermans and Resolved Waldron, to proceed to Maryland with a letter and orders to request, in a "friendly and neighborly way, the redelivery and restitution of such free people and servants as for debt and other ways have been fled, and as to us is given to unstand that for the most part are residing in his honor's government, especially about a year since have gone out of this colony of the high, well esteemed lords governors of the city of Amsterdam; which if you do, we are ready to assure you, that in maintaining of good justice and neighborly duty, to do the same beside all those that may come runaways to us out of any of your neighbor governments." If Governor Fendall refused to comply the commissioners were to inform him that the Dutch would retaliate by offering full protection to whatsoever fugitives might seek refuge on the Delaware. With regard to Colonel Utie's expedition, the letter bitterly complained both on the ground of the absence of all justice and the harsh manner in which it was conducted, and the commissioners were instructed to demand full reparation for the injuries "already sustained by his frivolous demands and bloody

threatening." On the 30th of September Heermans and Waldron set out on their journey to Maryland. Their guides were savages, and with a small convoy of soldiers they set out on what was then a rather perilous trip They had not progressed far when the Indians declined to proceed. They finally induced them to advance a little, but as soon as a river was reached they dismissed all but one. They embarked in an old, dried-up boat, which they found on the shore, but were forced to calk it with rags, and one man was constantly employed in bailing it out. Thus they reached the Elk River, and after a brief rest in the woods, proceeded to the Sassafras. Here they found one or two deserters, who, on promise of a pardon, agreed to return to New Amstel within a month, but met with much opposition from others. At the mouth of the Sassafras, which they reached on October 2d, they heard a heavy fusilade at Colonel Utie's place, and supposed that this was a company preparing for an attack on the Delaware settlements. On the 3d they stopped for a while with Captain Wilke, one of the magistrates of Kent Island, and a considerable discussion ensued on the issues between the two governments, but in a friendly way. Here they secured a new boat and guide at forty pounds of tobacco a day, and on the 7th arrived at Secretary Calvert's house, at Patuxent. They dined together on the next day, and discussed the subject of their mission, and the same programme was also carried out on the 12th, this time the argument becoming rather heated. On the 16th the Governor announced his readiness to meet them, and two horses were sent to convey them to the house of Mr. Bateman at Potask, about eighteen miles distant, where the meeting was to take place. After a pleasant dinner the papers were produced and the negotiations were begun with the Governor and Council. The preliminaries were quietly conducted, but Colonel Utie, who was also present, soon became excited and declared that if "the Governor and Council would be pleased to renew his commission, he would do once more what he had done before." The New Netherlanders mildly replied that if that were done, he would be considered a disturber of the public peace and would be treated as such. This brought on a heated battle of words, which lasted some time. The Dutch had put in a claim for all land between the degrees of 38° and 42° north latitude, and the Marylanders finally broke up the meeting by asserting that they were unable to take any further action without consulting Lord Baltimore. The friendly relations were once more resumed after the meeting adjourned, and the matter discussed by all parties unofficially. On the 17th a copy of Lord Baltimore's grant was submitted to the Dutch at their request, and they now for the first time discovered that passage in which Lord Baltimore asked for a charter over a region "*hitherto uncultivated, and partly occupied by savages having no knowledge of the Divine Being.*" When they reassembled in the evening, this passage was urgently put forward by the Dutch as being quite sufficient to invalidate Baltimore's present claim, since the region had undoubtedly been settled by civilized people prior to 1632, when the charter was granted. Governor Fendall replied that this was known to the King, and demanded the charter by which the Delaware territory was held, but Heermans and Waldron refused to exhibit it. It had now become so evident that no permanent arrangement could be concluded at this time, that very little effort was made after this, and on the 20th the commissioners left, Waldron returning to New Amstel at once, while Heermans proceeded to Virginia to obtain the opinion of the Governor of that colony on the subject of dispute. O'Callaghan, in his "History of the New Netherlands"[1] expresses the following opinion of the action of the Dutch commissioners at their meeting with the Maryland Council in 1659: "They evinced a tact and shrewdness of a high order; and it is doubtful now whether, in the prolonged suit which occurred subsequently between the patentees of Maryland and Pennsylvania, any solid plea was brought forward against the Baltimore claim that was not already anticipated in the Dutch papers. And no man can rise from a perusal of the whole of the pleadings without being convinced of this—that if the State of Delaware now occupies an independent rank in this great republic, she is indebted mainly for that good fortune and high honor to the stand taken by the Dutch in 1659."

As soon as was possible Stuyvesant acquainted the directors of the West India Company of the trouble with the English and in 1660 received a letter in which they expressed the opinion that "if they (the English) won't be persuaded, they must be dislodged." Lord Baltimore, who was at this time in London, issued orders to his agent in Holland, Captain James Neal, to demand of the company the surrender of all lands on Delaware Bay. On September 1st, Neal conferred with the Council of Nineteen with regard to the matter, but their response was merely the firm expression to maintain their rights to territory which they claimed by purchase and priority of possession. The Council of Nineteen then prepared an address to the High Mightinesses of the States-General, requesting them to send an appeal to the King of England to command Lord Baltimore to desist in his encroachments. In May, 1661, at a meeting of the Council of Maryland, the whole trouble was settled for a short while by the passage of the following resolution: "That as it is a matter of doubt whether New Amstel lies below the 40th degree of north lat-

[1] Vol. ii., pp. 367-368.

tude, and as the West India Company appears resolved to maintain their possessions by force, and there is no prospect of aid from the other colonies in any attempts which they might make to reduce them, all further efforts for their subjugation should be delayed until the will of the proprietary can be ascertained and that in the mean time some effort should be made to determine whether the settlement was located within the limits of the grant." Lord Baltimore nevertheless took the additional precaution of securing a confirmation of his patent from the King, on July 2, 1661, so as to be better prepared to meet Dutch claims in the future.

The boundary disputes were now allowed to remain undisturbed for a few years, but with the transfer of the New Netherlands to the Duke of York, in 1664, a new factor was introduced. The accession of an English Governor somewhat appeased the desires of Lord Baltimore, and he was during a brief period a source of no annoyance to the proprietors of the Delaware region. That his claims were not completely dropped is evident from a minute of the Council in 1672, from which it can be inferred that in that year the Marylanders had again sent their agents to the Delaware, who, without any ceremony, had proceeded to survey the land with the apparent purpose of asserting their authority over Whorekill. Later in the year a Marylander named Jones created a considerable disturbance there by plundering the people and magistrates, and the affair was taken up by the Governors of the two provinces. This it was feared was another attempt to gain possession of the territory for Maryland, but it appears to have been no more than an outrage by private parties. A similar attack was made in 1674. These were quite sufficient to make the Marylanders a constant object of dread and suspicion to the inhabitants on the Delaware. This is illustrated by an incident in 1677. It was learned that Colonel Coursey was going to New York as an agent from Maryland, and would pass through New Castle. When it was heard, however, that he would be accompanied by a number of others, a special meeting of the commander and justices was called and the militia was summoned to appear with arms and ammunition, under Captain Cantwell, and await the arrival of Colonel Coursey. But it was nevertheless ordered that in case the colonel should announce his arrival and business, that he be hospitably received. It was in 1678 that the boundaries were agreed upon between Upland and New Castle Counties. The decision was reached on November 22d between the Upland Court and President John Moll, of the New Castle Court, and declared the "county of Upland to begin from the north side of Oole Fransen's creek, otherwise called Steenkill, lying on the *bight* above the *Verdrietige Hoek*, and from the said creek over to the *single tree point* on the east side of this river."

In 1640 Penn's petition came up before the Lords of Trade and Plantation, praying for a grant to certain lands in America. The petition was submitted at once to Lord Baltimore's agents to learn to what extent, if any, his lordship's property was co-extensive with the territory asked for by Penn. Messrs. Barnaby Dunch and Richard Burk, the agents referred to, replied that "it is desired, that if the grant pass unto Mr. Penn, of the lands petitioned for by him, in America, that it may be expressed to be land that shall be north of Susquehana fort, also north of all lands in a direct line between the said fort, for said fort is the boundary of Maryland northward. It is further desired that there may be contained general words of restriction as to any interest granted to the Lord Baltimore and saving to him all rights granted." A letter was also received from Sir John Werden, secretary of the Duke of York, in response to an inquiry sent by the Lords of Plantations, in which he stated that the boundaries of the territory petitioned for by Mr. Penn agreed with "that colony or plantation which has been hitherto held as an appendix and part of the government of New York, by the name of *Delaware Colony*, or more particularly *New Castle Colony*, that being the name of a principal place in it." The Duke of York had willingly assented to the grant, and efforts were now made to so arrange matters that a permanent check should be given to disputes over the extent of territory occupied by the various proprietors in America. We shall see subsequently with what little success this was done. After considerable parleying the charter was issued to Penn, on March 4, 1681, and granted to Penn, in consideration of the services of his father,

"All that tract or part of land in America, with the islands therein contained, as the same is bounded on the east by the Delaware River, from twelve miles distance northward of New Castle town, unto the three and fortieth degree of northern latitude, if the said river doth extend so far northward; but if the said river shall not extend so far northward, then by the said river so far as it doth extend; and from the head of the said river, the eastern bounds are to be determined a meridian line to be drawn from the head of the said river unto the said forty-third degree. The said land to extend westward five degrees in longitude, to be computed from the said eastern bounds, and the said lands to be bounded on the north by the beginning of the three and fortieth degree of northern latitude and on the south by a circle drawn at twelve miles distance from New Castle, northward and westward, unto the beginning of the fortieth degree of northern latitude, and then by a straight line westward to the limits of longitude above mentioned."

This singular definition of the southern boundary left it an open question whether this boundary circle was to be a circle of twelve miles in circumference, or to be drawn around a diameter of twelve miles passing through New Castle, or with a radius of twelve miles beginning in New Castle, and was therefore the principal source of the future contention between Baltimore and Penn.

Penn's deputy, Captain William Markham, arrived in America towards the end of August to take

charge of the newly-acquired territory.[1] He at once visited Lord Baltimore, bearing letters from both Penn and the King requesting an early settlement of the boundaries. Baltimore expressed his desire to accomplish this, and fixed upon October 16th as the date in which he would hold a conference; but this engagement was subsequently canceled owing to Markham's indisposition. Baltimore gave him firmly to understand, however, in the first interview that he possessed an undisputed title to all land up to the fortieth degree of north latitude, and at this same time it was learned, to the surprise of all, that Upland was situated several miles below that limit.

In the mean time Penn induced the Duke of York to deed New Castle to him, and two deeds were issued by His Highness in 1682, one conveying Pennsylvania and the other "the town of New Castle and all that tract of land lying within the compass or circle of twelve miles about the same," and all that tract of land extending southward from it, along the Delaware, to Cape Henlopen. This latter deed, however, it was clear, would be certain to provoke great opposition from the Marylanders, since the Duke's patents did not include the territory granted away.[2] Armed with the two documents, Penn set sail and reached New Castle on October 27, 1682 In December he held his first interview with Lord Baltimore at the house of Colonel Thomas Tailler, in Anne Arundel County. Baltimore insisted on 40° as being Penn's southern boundary, but the latter endeavored to satisfy him with 37° 51′, which offer was politely rejected. It was not the northern boundary, however, so much as Penn's purchase of the lower counties from the Duke of York, which irritated Baltimore, and fixed him in his determination to secure them if possible.[3] For we find him remarking, in the course of the conference, "Mr. Penn, you did, I remember, once propose to me in England that you had offers made you of that part of Delaware from his Royal Highness (the Duke of York) which I lay claim to; but you would not, as you then said accept thereof because you knew it was mine. The same, I hear, you have now possessed yourself of. I only desire to know what you claim." Penn evaded the point, and the conference closed without any approach to an arrangement, and the next meeting between them, held at New Castle in May, 1683, ended similarly. In June Baltimore wrote to England in the following terms:

"That which I now presume to beg at your hands is that you'll favor me so far that, should Mr. Wm. Penn move his majesty for any further order and commands in relation to the bounds of Maryland and Pennsylvania, that nothing be granted until I am heard at the council board, and that nothing be obtained by Mr. Penn to the prejudice of my interest on Delaware River, where Mr. Penn pretends to hold a great part of my province by a title (as he saith) from his highness the Duke of York. In May or June next I will make my personal appearance and make my defence."[4]

Penn in his turn forwarded a long letter to the Lords of Trade and Planting setting forth his version of the controversy, and asking for an interpretation of the question at issue favorable to himself. Lord Baltimore had now begun to be somewhat aggressive, and issued a proclamation inviting colonists to settle in the lower counties and take patents from him, offering exceedingly low prices as inducements. In addition to this, he appointed his cousin, George Talbot, in September, 1683, as a commissioner to demand of Penn all land on the Delaware south of the fortieth degree of north latitude.[5] Talbot delivered his demands in writing and Penn replied in a document of great length reviewing the whole situation, and denying all rights to the intruders, and here the matter was allowed to drop once more. But it was with this visit to Talbot that we may associate the beginning of Lord Baltimore's attempts to stir up rebellion in the lower counties, which we have seen in a subsequent chapter (on Colonial History, 1704–75) entered as an important element among the causes which led to the separation in 1704.

About this time some correspondence was exchanged with the Jersey authorities relative to lands, but the disputes were never of great importance, the bay and river forming a very distinct line of division. As early as 1678 complaints were lodged against Major Fenwick and others who had interfered with the people on the Jersey shore in the rightful possession of their lands, and the authorities at New Castle were ordered to check any further abuses of a similar character. In 1683, however, the relation between the two governments had assumed a new phase. In that year Penn appointed a commission, consisting of Christopher Taylor, James Harrison, Thomas Holmes and Thos. Winne, to confer with the Governor and Council of West Jersey, respecting "certain great wrongs and injustice done to me and this province by some of the inhabitants of their colony." The commissioners were instructed to demand satisfaction for the misdemeanors of certain individuals. Penn then adds that "after all this is ended, insist upon my title to the river, soil and islands thereof according to grant, and if they will deliver up peaceably the islands of Matinicum and Sepassing, return one-half of the island of Matinicum before the town, according to my former clemency." The documents relating to these controversies between Pennsylvania and New Jersey are unfortunately incomplete, and it only appears as a definite fact that the inhabitants of the lower counties and their opposite neighbors on the Jersey shore, had been at various times encroaching on each other's

[1] *Pennsylvania Magazine*, vol. vi. p. 414.
[2] Chalmers' "Annals," p. 643.
[3] *Pennsylvania Magazine*, vol. ix., p. 256.
[4] Report of Virginia Commissioners on Maryland and Virginia Boundaries, 1873, p. 243.
[5] Proud's "History of Pennsylvania," vol. i. p. 274.

property.[1] But no serious dispute ever resulted from these early misunderstandings, as both parties seemed desirous of reaching a just settlement.

The dispute between Penn and the authorities of Maryland assumed an alarming aspect at the beginning of 1684, from a hostile invasion of the lower counties. Colonel Talbot was again at the head of this expedition with a force armed with guns and axes. They terrified the people throughout New Castle County with threats, but their main object was plainly to disaffect the inhabitants from any sympathy with Penn's government. This was fully appreciated by the Pennsylvanians, for when Penn issued a commission to William Welsh, John Simcock and James Harrison to defend the lower counties, they were instructed to put down all "rebellious practices," as well as to put down the riots of the Marylanders. An instance of Talbot's proceedings was furnished to the Council at Philadelphia in a letter from Samuel Land, of New Castle, dated May 30th. He acquainted them that the colonel had visited the houses of Jonas Erskine, Andrew Tille and a widow named Ogle, all residing near New Castle; and, accompanied by three musketeers, to add force to his demands, had informed them that unless they would acknowledge Lord Baltimore as their proprietor within three weeks, and pay their rents to him in the future, they would be dispossessed of their land and turned out of their homes. The testimony of Joseph Bowle before the Council, recounting his experience with Talbot, gives a vivid idea of the extent to which the abuses were carried. Bowle, who lived at Iron Hill, about eight miles distant from New Castle, attested that "Colonel Talbot ridd up to his house and was ready to ride over him, and said, 'Dam you, you Dogg, whom do you seat under here, you dogg! You seat under noe body; you have noe Warrt from Penn no my Lord; therefore gett you gon or Else I'le sent you to St. Murry's;' and I being frighted, says he, 'you Brazen-faced, Impudent, Confident Dogg, I'l Sharten Penn's Territories by and by.'"

This latest outrage elicited a declaration against Lord Baltimore from Penn, reciting the whole history of the trouble between the two proprietors. This was forwarded to the Lords Commissioners of Trade and Plantations. Penn and Baltimore both went to England and the matter was taken in hand by the King's officers. The arguments on both sides were submitted with great force. Lord Baltimore was content with the positive terms of his charter. Penn, in his turn, arrayed a long series of objections, with greater vigor than ever before, against the validity of his opponent's claim. His own grant of Pennsylvania was the first weapon used for the attack; he followed this up with the grant of the Duke of York, but neither of these arguments availed. He was forced to find more powerful means of assailing his enemy, and his search was in the end highly successful. He now asserted that the Delaware lands had been purchased and *settled* by the Dutch before Lord Baltimore's charter was granted. It will be remembered that Lord Baltimore's charter of 1632 had in express terms declared that he had prayed for lands which were uncultivated and uninhabited, except by savages. If it were now proved that this disputed territory was not only cultivated, but inhabited by a civilized people at the time of the granting of the charter, the Marylander's case would certainly receive a severe blow, and this was shown to be the case by Penn to the satisfaction of the Lords of Trade and Plantations. Not even at this point did the inexorable Penn rest his case, but further insisted that Baltimore being entitled to an extent of territory covering but two degrees of latitude, his northern boundary should be determined by measuring two degrees of sixty miles each from Watkins Point, the acknowledged southernmost limit. It was the third point, however, which influenced the arbiters in their decision, for we find their opinion to be that "Lord Baltimore's grant included only lands uncultivated and inhabited by savages, and that the territory along the Delaware had been settled by Christians antecedently to his grant, and was therefore not included in it." Their ultimate verdict was not however, a complete acknowledgment of the justice of Penn's claim, but partook rather of the nature of a compromise, and in November, 1685, a decree of King James' Council was issued ordering "that for avoiding further differences, the tract of land lying between the bay of Delaware and the eastern sea on the one side, and the Chesapeake Bay on the other, be divided into equal parts by a line from the latitude of Cape Henlopen to the fortieth degree of north latitude the southern boundary of Pennsylvania by charter, and that the one half thereof, lying towards the bay of Delaware and the eastern sea, be adjudged to belong to his majesty, and the other half to Lord Baltimore, as comprised in his charter."[2]

This decision placed the coveted lower counties in the hands of Penn, but many causes conspired to delay the execution of this mandate. Prominent among these was the revolution then in progress in England. The Duke of York, to whom Penn owed his grant, was now on the throne as James II., and Baltimore dared not raise his voice against the decree, lest by the arbitrary fiat of the monarch he should lose all that was left. But the deposition of James II. meant the fall of Penn's ally, and the decision of 1685 remained inoperative; but as we shall see presently, it was afterwards taken as an important element in future negotiations.

[1] Pennsylvania Archives, vol. i. p. 50.

[2] McMahon's "History of Maryland," pp. 30-33.

We may at least, however, look upon the decree of James II as being important in first approximating the boundaries of Delaware to their present limits.[1]

The events which followed upon the revolution entirely changed the situation. It was now no longer a controversy between the two proprietors, each endeavoring to rob the other of his territory, as from another point of view, each seeking to secure undisputed away over what he believed to be his own property, but both Penn and Baltimore were busily engaged in defending their lands against new rivals. Penn, in fact, was retired from his government by the crown, but was reinstated in 1694.[2] He was forced to act during this period of unsettlement with the greatest shrewdness and diplomacy; for the mere fact that he had been in favor with James II. would have been sufficient cause for his removal, on the slightest provocation, by the new monarch. Lord Baltimore had greater troubles to contend with. The Protestant association, which was formed in Maryland immediately after the revolution under John Coode, succeeded in throwing off the Catholic proprietary, and controlled the colony from 1689 to 1691. It was then taken up as a royal government and remained so until 1716. But an absolute quietus was nevertheless not put upon the controversy between the two disputants. That the dispute was a positive detriment to the value of land in the lower counties we have definite knowledge. At the close of 1704, Penn's secretary, James Logan, wrote to him that one of the most valuable tracts of land in New Castle County was the Welsh settlement, but he mournfully deplores that the "business between Maryland and us" renders it almost worthless. Of three thousand pounds due on the property referred to, Logan fears that not five hundred pounds will be realized until the boundary is settled. He says further in his letter to Penn, "if that whole business be not issued in thy lifetime, I doubt thy heirs will reap no great benefit from a large part of these counties: they grow more bold now than ever, and extend their claims upon old surveys up to and some beyond our old settlement. I must always press this, and in every letter, as of the greatest necessity." Referring to the same subject in September, 1705, Penn informs Logan that when last in Maryland he proposed to Colonel Darnet, Baltimore's chief agent, to fix the line, but he refused, as having no instructions from his lordship.

In 1707 the Marylanders reopened their encroachments upon the property of the people in the lower counties, which was brought to the attention of the Council through a petition from the justices of New Castle; some of the inhabitants had been served with writs of ejectment issued in Maryland, although living within the twelve-mile circle around New Castle; a little later complaint was made by William Clark, of Sussex County, that his mother was being sued on account of the uncertainty of the boundary lines between that county and Maryland. With regard to the first of these questions, the Council forwarded a protest to the Governor of Maryland, while the second was settled by an order to the justices of Sussex County, instructing them not to entertain any action which might involve the boundary question. The Marylanders did not desist, however, for in August the sheriff of Cecil County forcibly dispossessed a number of the Welsh settlers in New Castle County by virtue of Maryland writs. The sheriff of New Castle would not quietly submit to this, and with the assistance of a few friends seized the sheriff of Cecil, with one of his aids, and bound him over to appear in court; but such instances were rare at this time and do not seem to have been at the instigation of the higher officials.

In 1708 Lord Baltimore made another effort to secure possession of the whole territory of the peninsula between the two bays, by petitioning Queen Anne. This attempt proved equally as abortive as those previously made, and only resulted in a confirmation of Penn's title according to the decree of 1685, with new instructions to draw the line as ordered in that decision. But again this was delayed, only to leave matters worse than ever before. The petty squabbles that were continually indulged in by the authorities and the inhabitants of the two provinces in consequence of the boundary disputes very soon became a source of so much annoyance to Penn that at length in 1712, he contracted for the sale of his interest in the colonies. At the last moment an attack of apoplexy prevented him from affixing his signature, and his mental troubles which followed never made it possible to transfer the land.[3]

The border disputes continued at frequent intervals, but not often with sufficient virulence to demand special action with reference to their suppression. Occasionally this was necessary, as in 1717, when Colonel French was appointed "ranger and keeper" of the marshes in the province and lower counties, with powers to repel invasions from the Marylanders. The direct cause of this appointment was the arrival of a number of Maryland surveyors, who had abruptly taken a survey of many lots in the lower counties, with the apparent purpose of claiming the ownership of the land. A year later the dispute was reopened by a more serious question. The complainants on this occasion were the Marylanders and not the Pennsylvanians. The town of Nottingham was the *corpus delicti*. Governor Hart, of Maryland, pro-

[1] Proud's "History of Pennsylvania," vol. i., p. 294.

[2] "Memoirs of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania," vol. ix., p. 366. Penn and Logan Correspondence.

[3] McMahon's "History of Maryland," p. 35.

duced several complaints, showing that magistrates had been appointed by the Governor of Pennsylvania for Nottingham, while according to his opinion the town was unquestionably in Cecil County. Governor Keith admitted having appointed the magistrates, but was under the impression that the town was in Chester County. Colonel French, who had resided for a long time in that neighborhood, substantiated this view, but stated that since the boundary disputes had begun it had occasionally been a mooted question as to the county in which Nottingham was actually situated. Governor Keith firmly refused to revoke the commissions of the magistrates of Nottingham, although pressed to do so by Colonel Hart. It was at length agreed that they should remain, but both parties promised to make no further aggression until the whole matter was settled.

In the spring of 1722 the controversy was again revived, through a series of causes. Philip Syng was prosecuted for surveying and taking out his patents for a piece of land under the Governor of Maryland, after he had been informed that it was situated within the boundaries of Pennsylvania. A greater source of trouble was the rumor of an attempt, on the part of the Marylanders, to survey a strip of the disputed territory, then occupied by the Indians on the Susquehanna. The Indians themselves were much alarmed, and notified Governor Keith, who met them at Conestogoe The Governor anticipated the Marylanders, however, by having the land surveyed himself, and called out the militia at New Castle to meet the invading hosts if they crossed the line. He wrote to the Council informing it of his plans and also his intention to run a line westward as far as the Potomac. They assented to all his propositions, except the last, which they feared would make the breach with Maryland very much wider, unless the line would be drawn with the consent of all concerned. Later in the year the matter become even more complicated by the arrest of Isaac Taylor and Elisha Gatchel, two Chester County magistrates, by the authorities of Cecil County, on account of the old Nottingham dispute. Governor Keith wrote to Colonel Calvert of the affair, requesting him to release the prisoners, but they were nevertheless bound over to keep the peace On November 5th the Governor placed the whole matter before the Council asking "what measures may be most proper for him to take for preventing the fatal consequences of a general misunderstanding with such near neighbors." The response of the Council was moderate to a marked degree. They admitted that the boundary controversy involved questions of absolute doubt, and acknowledged the possibility of error on the part of Pennsylvania as well as Maryland. The Governor was advised to make every effort to secure some form of accommodation, both by a personal interview with the Governor of Maryland and by application to the authorities in England.[1] No record is to be found of any meeting between the two Governors in accordance with this resolution. In fact, it was only a few days after the Pennsylvania Council had adopted this conciliatory tone that they turned savagely on the Cecil County Courts for their action in reprehending Taylor and Gatchel, declaring that "they ought not by any means submit to their (Maryland) courts or orders, or acknowledge their jurisdiction over them, and that this government ought to support them in the defence of their just rights."

It can easily be appreciated that it was only with extreme difficulty that the relations between the parties to this prolonged dispute were maintained in a peaceable way, when supported by such hollow and artificial manifestations of mutual regard. Every movement was eagerly watched on both sides, and suspicion was equally shared by both parties. These facts were brought out continually, and more forcibly in matters of little import than in affairs of graver bearing, in which the dealings were usually open and above board. The most singular feature of the entire controversy is the entire absence of any evidence to show that either the Pennsylvanians or Marylanders took any pains to hasten a settlement of the boundaries. This is the more easily explained in the case of Lord Baltimore, whose claims had twice been decided upon prejudicially to his interests; but what deterred Penn's heirs from hurrying a settlement is not so easy to conjecture. Both parties seemed to imagine the problem would be solved through forces within itself and preferred not to be annoyed with it. The one arrangement which was made, however, in 1723, is worthy of recording, showing that a settlement was expected, and a desire for such expressed, although the parties to the dispute still remained inactive. The terms of the agreement are as follows:

"Whereas, there are disputes depending between the respective proprietors of the provinces of Maryland and Pennsylvania, touching the limits or boundaries of the said provinces, where they are contiguous to each other. And whereas, both parties are sincerely inclined to enter into a treaty in order to take such methods as may be advisable for the final determining this said controversy, by agreeing upon such lines or other marks of distinction, to be settled as may remain for a perpetual boundary between the two provinces.

"It is, therefore, mutually agreed upon between the Right Honorable Charles Lord Baltimore, proprietor and Governor of Maryland, and Hannah Penn, widow and executrix of William Penn, Esq., late proprietor and governor of Pennsylvania and Joshua Gee, of London, merchant, and Henry Goulkney, of London, linen draper, in behalf of themselves and the rest of the mortgagees of the province of Pennsylvania, that for avoiding of all manner of contentions or differences between the inhabitants of the said provinces, no person or persons shall be disturbed or molested in their possessions on either side, nor any lands to surveyed, taken up, or granted in either of the said provinces near the boundaries which have been claimed or pretended to be on either side.

"This agreement to continue for the space of eighteen months from the date hereof, in which time 'tis hoped the boundaries will be determined and settled, and it is mutually agreed on by the said parties that proclamations be issued out in the said provinces signifying this agree-

[1] "Colonial Records of Pennsylvania, Vol. III, p. 214."

must for the better quieting of the people. And the lieutenant-governors and other proper officers of the respective provinces for the time being are directed and enjoined to conform themselves agreeable hereunto, and to issue out proclamations accordingly upon the receipt hereof.

"In witness whereof, the parties above-named have hereunto set their hands this 17th day of February, 1723.

"Witness—S. Clement, Cha. Lowe, James Logan, Baltimore, Hannah Penn, Joshua Gee, Henry Goldney."

The hope that upon the termination of this agreement the boundaries would have been settled may indeed have been sincere; but that either Lord Baltimore or the Pennsylvanians made any effort to bring about its realization does not in the least appear evident. The document at any rate put an end to the border disputes, but it was far from having any effect towards securing an ar-

rangement on a permanent basis. Another decade elapsed before any prospects of such a settlement made their appearance.

In the summer of 1731 the controversy was again renewed, through the violence of one Holey, of Cecil County, who, with a number of others, had destroyed the fencing around the property of a man named Wherry, residing within the limits of Pennsylvania. By a rather curious series of judicial processes, Holey was finally liberated, and Wherry was prosecuted on a charge of cutting Holey's timber. The defendant claimed that the timber was on his own proverty, which was situated in Pennsylvania but the Cecil County jury, before which he appeared, decided that the land was in Maryland, in spite of all the agreements between the two provinces to render no decisions as to boundaries until the whole dispute was finally settled. At the same time a similar complaint was entered by an inhabitant of Kent County, who had met with like treatment in Maryland. This arbitrary style of the Cecil courts greatly incensed Governor Gordon, and he at once opened a correspondence with Governor Calvert, of Maryland, protesting against a continuance of the existing methods. Governor Calvert responded that on his side he had received complaints that the people of the three lower counties on Delaware had been committing similar depredations, and that only his indisposition had deterred him from writing on the same subject. He then explained the Maryland position in the Wherry case, but the negotiations were left in a most unsatisfactory condition. In October of the same year (1731) another cause for friction arose out of the abusive actions of Captain Cresap toward the Indians on the eastern side of the Susquehanna. The complexity of the controversy which grew out of the Cresap affair, doubtless exercised a great influence in forcing the entire boundary question to a settlement, and we are therefore warranted in considering the case in some detail. Penn had guaranteed the Indians who settled on the Susquehanna within his territory against all incursions from the Marylanders on the opposite side of the river. Cresap being a native of Baltimore County, his interference with the Conostogoes was a matter which rightfully required Governor Gordon's interference. It was not long, however, before Cresap entered a counter-claim against Edward Beddock and Rice Morgan, two Pennsylvanians, who, while he (Cresap) was taking them across the river, threw him overboard and carried off his boat. Cresap took his case before Justice Cornish, a Pennsylvania magistrate, and although the offenders were duly convicted, the question of boundaries again came up, it being a disputed point whether the offense was committed in Maryland or Pennsylvania. Governor Ogle, of Maryland, also took umbrage at an alleged statement of Cornish, who, as Cresap insisted, said that Marylanders should not ask for justice in his court. Justice Cornish denied having said this, and his conviction of the prisoners would seem to have proven his impartiality. But notwithstanding this, Governor Ogle continued to write on the subject, and the dispute continued through the spring of 1732. At this point Cresap was entirely subordinated in the public mind to a report from London that an agreement had finally been reached between the contestants in the boundary dispute. The report was a little premature, but steps towards an actual settlement had really been taken. On May 10th, Lord Baltimore, of the one part, and John, Richard and Thomas Penn, of the other, agreed

"That in two calendar months from that date each party should

appoint commissioners, not more than seven, whereof three or more of each side may act, to mark out the boundaries aforesaid, to begin at furthest sometime in October, 1732, and to be completed on or before December 20th, 1733, and when so done, a plan thereof shall be signed, sealed and delivered by the commissioners and their principals, and shall be entered in all the public offices in the several provinces and counties; and to recommend to the respective legislatures, to pass an act for perambulating these boundaries at least once in three years. The party defaulting, to pay to the other party on demand six thousand pounds sterling."[1]

The last clause of the agreement gave it a tone of genuine earnestness, and, in fact, two days after the signatures were appended the Penns named Governor Gordon, Isaac Norris, Samuel Preston, James Logan, Andrew Hamilton, James Steel and Robert Charles as the commissioners on their part to treat with those appointed by Lord Baltimore. On the same day his lordship executed a similar commission, nominating Samuel Ogle, Charles Calvert, Philemon Lloyd, Michael Howard, Richard Bennet, Benjamin Tasker and Matthew Tilghman Ward, to represent his interests in the approaching convention. It was several months before these commissions reached America, and during the intervening time the correspondence between the two Governors was continued, though it was not of importance. Immediately upon the receipt of the papers, about the middle of August, Governor Gordon wrote to Ogle, suggesting New Castle as a suitable place for the joint meetings of the commissioners on both sides. The Marylanders preferred Newtown, as being more convenient, and it was arranged to meet at that place on October 6th.

But even while the negotiations were being conducted, the border warfare broke out in a more brutal form than ever before. Both parties appear to have been at fault, and it is difficult to say which side is to be blamed for the initial movement. On the night of November 26th, John Lowe, of Baltimore County, was awakened by the marauders and made prisoner. He testified afterwards that one of the intruders was James Pattison, and the second a constable of Lancaster County. Pattison threatened him with a pistol, but he nevertheless resisted, whereupon six more fell on him. He was knocked down and dragged out of his house, and compelled to cross the Susquehanna on the ice, although he had lost his hat and one shoe in the struggle. The next morning he was taken before two justices of Lancaster County, Messrs. Samuel Blimston and John Wright. The only charge brought was that his son had threatened to kill some one, but as nothing was known to implicate the prisoner, the justices discharged him. The case well illustrates the extent to which these unwarranted aggressions were carried. Lowe had protested that there were magistrates in Maryland who would apprehend him if he transgressed the law; but this only elicited the reply from Pattison, who stood over him with a pistol, that the boundary of the territory was to be determined by the power of the people. Cresap was also mixed up in this affair as a witness against the Pennsylvanians, and soon afterwards he is again heard of as going into Lancaster County with a Maryland warrant, and carrying off a laborer named William Humphrey. This was precisely the same offense which he himself had complained of against the Pennsylvania authorities. Cresap had also become notorious as having threatened to shoot any officer from Pennsylvania who would attempt to apprehend a prisoner on the disputed territory. This trouble again resolved itself into a "boundary dispute," Cresap and his associates holding that the land was Maryland soil, on the ground that it was within the fortieth degree of north latitude, while Joshua Low, the tax collector of Pennsylvania, testified that over four hundred inhabitants living south of that point had been paying tax to him without protest, and his position received the support of Governor Gordon and the other authorities of the province.

The border troubles next took a southerly course, and we find Kent County the centre of hostile operations. The cause of this dispute arose out of the purchase of a piece of land by John Newton. He bought the property of a person who told him that it was held under a Maryland grant, and was situated in Dorchester County. Newton accordingly paid taxes for the first year to the Dorchester authorities, when he learned that the land was never granted to any one by Maryland. As it was situated in the doubtful territory, he preferred to become a resident of the lower counties, and had it surveyed as a part of Kent County. For several years he paid his taxes into the Kent treasury, when the Dorchester magistrates levied on him, insisting that he was a resident of Maryland. He applied to the justices of Kent County, who appointed a constable to protect him, but notwithstanding this, the sheriff of Dorchester raided his place and carried him off. The protecting constable gathered a force and put out in hot pursuit, and after a hot skirmish recaptured the prisoner. This gave rise to a most extensive series of letters between the Governors of the two provinces, the justices of Kent and of Maryland, and between private individuals, connected, directly and indirectly, with the affair. Governor Ogle demanded the surrender of all who had attacked the sheriff of Dorchester County and released his prisoner, but this was refused by the Pennsylvanians. The relations between the Marylanders and their opponents seemed more strained at this time than for many years, and yet in the whole correspondence both parties always gave expression to the sincere hope that the pending negotiations would result in a speedy settlement of the dispute, while

[1] Proud's "History of Pennsylvania," vol. ii., p. 209.

each stubbornly contested for minor advantages in this subordinate quarrel.

But not even the more important transactions of the boundary commissioners were conducted without friction. They had met, according to agreement, at Newtown, in Maryland, in October, and after doing very little, adjourned on November 3d, to meet at New Castle on the 1st of the ensuing February. On February 15th, Lord Baltimore addressed a letter to Governor Gordon, complaining of the treatment of the Maryland commissioners, whom he had taken special pains to send promptly, in order to facilitate in every possible way the conduct of the negotiations. The Marylanders had arrived at New Castle in ample time to meet their engagement, but although they had repeatedly sent to the commissioners appointed by the Penns, they had refused to come, and it was impossible to proceed with the business. Lord Baltimore also referred to certain improper behavior on the part of the Pennsylvanians towards his own commissioners while at New Castle, but did not mention details. He considered the action on this occasion as sufficient ground on which to claim the forfeit provided for in the original agreement, but agreed nevertheless, to hold another meeting on the first Monday in May, at Joppa, in Baltimore County. Governor Gordon in his reply evaded all reference to the ill treatment of the commissioners, as this was without foundation, but stated that the commissioners for his province declined to meet at Joppa, since it was situated at too great a distance from the points of most importance, which would have to be visited to determine the boundary lines. As New Castle was one of these places, and was of great prominence, owing to the fact that the centre of the twelve-mile circle was there situated, he thought that was the most suitable place, and named April 16th as the day for convening the members of the commission.[1]

Thus the meetings were delayed and postponed until the time expired. These delays were plainly due to the machinations of Lord Baltimore, who though it was through his own suggestion that the proceedings of the commissioners had been instituted, found, as matters progressed, that his ignorance of the geography of the country placed him at considerable disadvantage, and therefore made use of all means to interfere with the progress of the commissioners. He had submitted a map of his own, placing Cape Henlopen about twenty miles below the mouth of Delaware Bay. A line was then to be run from this point due west, across the Peninsula From the middle point of this line—that is, half-way between the two bays—a line was to be drawn northerly, so as to form a tangent to the circle, whose centre was at New Castle, and with a radius of twelve miles. From the point of contact with the circle, however, it was to extend due north until it reached the same latitude as a point fifteen miles south of the most southerly part of Philadelphia. A line due west from this point, together with the arc of the New Castle circle, was to form the southern boundary of Pennsylvania. The lower line, extending west from Cape Henlopen, and the northerly line were to have served as southern and western boundaries of the lower counties.[2] This was Lord Baltimore's own proposition, and was the basis fixed in the articles of May 10, 1732, on which the commissioners were to act. This view of the situation of Cape Henlopen was what the Penns had always desired, and they were, consequently, only too eager to assent. No record remains of the proceedings of the commissioners on the occasions when they did come together; but it is quite evident that as soon as Lord Baltimore discovered his error he interposed every possible obstacle so as to prevent the completion of the work before December, 1733, at the expiration of which time the commissioners were to be discharged. He was eminently successful in this scheme, and after all the laborious negotiations, the dispute still remained unsettled. It would not be proper to say that it was no nearer settlement than before, as the terms of the agreement of 1732 actually formed the basis of operations when the final boundaries were drawn by Mason and Dixon, in 1763.

What action the Penns took to secure indemnity from Lord Baltimore we shall see later, but for the present we must follow up the border troubles, which were not in the least interfered with by the appointment of the commissioners. One of the sufferers was Samuel Moncey, of Murder Kill Hundred, in Kent County. At the request of three strangers, who afterwards proved to be Jacob Heynman, Peter Rich and William Underling, and who stated they had lost their way, Moncey offered to go with them about a mile, on being promised a pistol for his services. He had not gone far, however, before he was seized by the men, and taken to Cambridge jail; he was next removed to Annapolis, and was in irons for six weeks before he was finally released. Jared Rothwell was likewise arrested in New Castle County by Cecil County magistrates, and similar occurrences on both sides were continually reported as growing out of the doubtful titles to land occupied by the parties concerned. An attempt to check these broils was made in 1734. The initiative was this time taken by the Governor and Council of Pennsylvania, by the appointment of two commissioners to treat with the Lieutenant-Governor of Maryland, and "conclude on such

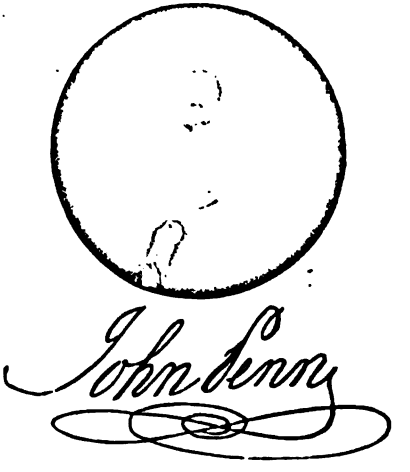
[1] "Colonial Records of Pennsylvania," vol. iii. p. 500.

[2] "Memoirs of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania," vol. i. p. 189.

measures as may best conduce to preserve peace between both governments, and to prevent irregularities for the future, until the boundaries shall be actually run and marked out." The commissioners were Andrew Hamilton and John Georges, and the papers were issued on May 14th. They at once set out for Maryland, and arrived at Annapolis on the 20th. The negotiations were at once begun, each side opening with the declaration that it was the most aggrieved. The oral proceedings resulted in nothing, and Messrs. Hamilton and Georges then presented a formal paper, setting forth their side of the question, and requesting some form of agreement. Governor Ogle, in reply, proposed to refer the whole matter to the King. It was evident that Ogle was endeavoring to evade the matter. The commissioners then drew up a second document, expressing their desire to come to an immediate agreement, and in response to this, Ogle flatly refused, asserting that the commissioners had acknowledged themselves to be without sufficient authority. He had only reached this conclusion from a most unwarranted misconstruction of a phrase in their letter to him, and it became clear that the mission would prove fruitless. The Pennsylvanians dauntlessly persisted in sending a third letter, but waited in vain for a reply. Thus terminated another effort at settlement.

Excitement soon became most intense, however, when it was learned that Lord Baltimore had made application to the King to confirm his charter or grant of the three lower counties. At the request of the mayor and citizens of Philadelphia, the Governor convened the Assembly of the province to consider this latest step of Lord Baltimore. Little was done, however, except to give expression to the alarm felt at this attempt to usurp the lower counties. In reply to Governor Gordon's address, the Assembly, referring to the efforts of Lord Baltimore to secure the territories upon Delaware, said they thought "it would be attended with consequences truly unhappy to the inhabitants of this province, not only disuniting those whom the same form of government, administered under the proprietaries and Governors, and a similitude of inclinations and interests have closely united, but in diminishing our trade, depriving many of us of our properties, and destroying those religious and civil liberties which were one of the chief inducements to the first planting of this colony." The Penns fought with all their might against granting the petition. They cited Lord Baltimore's voluntary surrender of this territory by the agreement of 1732, as his own acknowledgment that the title was vested in the Penns. The consequence was that, in order to test the validity of this agreement, the Penns were ordered to file a bill in chancery against Lord Baltimore, demanding the fulfillment of the provisions of the agreement. The bill was accordingly filed, in 1735, by John, Richard and Thomas Penn, but, with the proverbial delay of the Chancery Court, it was fifteen years before the decision was rendered.[1]

The interval was characterized by border troubles of a violent nature. In April, 1735, a complaint was entered by Patrick Thomas, of Kent County, Maryland, that James Mullen, Edward Banbury and James Reilly, of Dover, with some others, had dragged him from his house to the Dover prison. The most serious of these frays was an attack on the house of Thomas Cresap. Cresap, as we have seen above, was a desperate character, who was continually mixed up in the disputes on the boundary, but had, nevertheless, attained some prominence in Maryland affairs. The attack was doubtless made by Pennsylvanians who had suffered



at his hands. It was not long, however, before Cresap is found at the head of a band of fifty men, invading Lancaster County, and attempting to settle a dispute which would rather have been a matter for the consideration of the Governors. During this raid, among others, Knowles Daunt was killed, and Cresap was captured and charged with his murder. The controversy which arose out of this occurrence forms a monotonous record of letters and depositions. It was followed by outrages, however, which soon disgusted both sides, and made them equally anxious to end this constant state of open warfare. Both the Maryland and Pennsylvania Assemblies forwarded addresses to the King, requesting his interference to put a stop to the disorders. They were immediate in their effect, and brought from the King the following order in Council, dated August 18, 1737. It is commanded

[1] McMahon, "History of Maryland," p. 60.

"that the Governors of the respective provinces of Maryland and Pennsylvania, for the time being, do not, upon pain of incurring His Majesty's displeasure, permit or suffer any tumult or riots or other outrageous disorders to be committed on the borders of their respective provinces; but that they do immediately put a stop thereto, and use their utmost endeavours to preserve peace and good order amongst all His Majesty's subjects under their government inhabiting the said borders. His Majesty doth hereby enjoin the said Governors that they do not make grants of any part of the lands in contest between the proprietors respectively, nor any part of the three lower counties, commonly called New Castle, Kent and Sussex, nor permit any person to settle there, or even to attempt to make a settlement thereon, till His Majesty's pleasure shall be further signified."

It will be noticed that the three counties of the present State of Delaware were always the most prominent cause of the dispute. The King's order, however, had some effect in allaying the trouble, and at length, in May, 1738, the proprietors came in person before the Council at Kensington, and agreed to accommodate their differences. The new arrangement referred particularly to lands in the neighborhood of Philadelphia and the Susquehanna, the lower counties having been freed from the border wars since the promulgation of the King's order in Council. In fact, in the agreement drawn up between the proprietors, it was distinctly stated "that there being no riots that appear to have been committed within the three lower counties of New Castle, Kent and Sussex, it is therefore not thought necessary to continue the latter part of the said order in Council, as to the said three lower counties."[1] Two commissioners were appointed on each side to draw the lines as provided for—Richard Peters and Lawrence Growden for Pennsylvania, and Col. Levin Gale and Samuel Chamberlaine for Maryland. The temporary agreement for the preservation of peace while the work was in progress placed all land above the point fifteen miles south of Philadelphia, and not occupied by either, in possession of the Penns, and all south of it, in the hands of Lord Baltimore. This, of course, refers only to the disputed territory on either side of the Susquehanna. The survey was commenced in the spring of 1739, and progressed with some rapidity, although the Pennsylvanians claimed that their brother commissioners proved to them "that men of skill can find a thousand objections against the doing of a thing that they have no mind to." The Marylanders first opened a discussion as to the method of measurement, insisting on measuring horizontally and not superficially, wherever the hills presented a chance of loss to them by the latter process. Next, a controversy arose over the Gunther's chain used by the surveyor, and when these disputes had been settled, the death of Colonel Gale's son called him away, and Mr. Chamberlaine refused to proceed in his absence. Not desiring to have a good work thus obstructed, Governor Thomas issued instructions to the Pennsylvania commissioners to continue the work alone, and Messrs. Peters and Growden continued the line westward to a point eighty-eight miles west of the Susquehanna, reaching the Kittochtinny Hills, this being the limit of the land as yet bought from the Indians.[2]

This was the famous "temporary line," and was a source of great good in effectually checking the riot and bloodshed which for a half-century had been, at frequent intervals, carried on along the borders of the two provinces. There was, practically, no further encroachment on either side, and nothing occurred in the controversy worthy of particular note, until the announcement of the decree in the chancery case, which was issued by Lord Chancellor Hardwicke, in May, 1750. It developed nothing novel in the case, but was a simple ratification of the agreement of May 10, 1732, in favor of the Penns. No more solemn rebuke could have been brought upon the head of Lord Baltimore than the declaration of the Lord Chancellor that "in America the defendant's commissioners behaved with great chicane." Cape Henlopen is decided to be situated as given by Lord Baltimore on his original map, and *not*, as he claimed later, identical with Cape Cornelius.[3] The decree provided for the appointment of commissioners on both sides within three months, and operations were to be begun in November.[4] The Chancellor reserved the right to decide any questions which might arise in the execution of the decree,[5] a provision which was soon proved to be a grave necessity. The commissioners assembled at New Castle on November 15, 1750. The New Castle circle being the first matter discussed, the Court-House was fixed upon as the centre of the circle, but the Marylanders at once began their former tactics by insisting that the twelve-mile radius should be drawn superficially, in the face of the fact that in the measurement of 1739 they had objected to this method, when it opposed their own interests. The Pennsylvanians protested, and insisted on the horizontal measurement, but it was necessary to apply to the Chancellor before Lord Baltimore's commissioners would yield. Considerable delay was thus caused, but the work was quickly resumed and the position of Cape Henlopen determined at a point one hundred and thirty-nine perches from the cape on the northern portion of Fenwick's Island. A line was then run westward across the peninsula, but another dispute here arose as to its western termination, the Marylanders claiming they had reached the bay, when in truth they had only gone as far as Slaughter's Creek, which was more than three miles east of the Chesapeake.[6] Another suit in chancery followed, and matters were further complicated by the death of Charles, Lord Baltimore, and the succession of

[1] "Colonial Records of Penn.," vol. iv., p. 305.

[2] *Penna. Magazine*, vol. ix., p. 261.

[3] *Penna. Magazine*, vol. ix., p. 262.

[4] "Memoirs of the Historical Society of Penna.," vol. i., p. 160

[5] McMahon's "Hist. of Maryland," p. 42.

[6] McMahon, p. 43.

his son Frederick, the last Lord Baltimore. While the suit was pending the French and Indian War occupied the attention of the people to too great an extent to permit them to renew their border fights. Almost nothing is heard of the boundary question, and the only intercourse between the authorities of the provinces had reference to the war or the Indians.

The year 1760 stands out as an important epoch in our story. Frederick, Lord Baltimore, had long grown tired of the fight which, it appeared more than probable, would again be decided against him. He consequently entered into an agreement with the Penns on July 4, 1760, accepting as a basis the articles already drawn up in 1732, and afterwards set forth in the Chancellor's decree of 1750. The twelve-mile radius from New Castle was measured horizontally, and the line across the peninsula from Cape Henlopen to the Chesapeake was drawn to the full length of sixty-nine miles, two hundred and ninety-eight perches, as was originally claimed by the Pennsylvania commissioners in 1751. The articles of agreement are most minute in every detail, and occupy thirty-four printed pages in the Pennsylvania Archives.[1] The boundaries of the lower counties were thus practically settled in their present form.

To carry the agreement into effect, commissioners were appointed on both sides, those for Maryland being Governor Sharpe, Benjamin Tasker, Jr., Edward Lloyd, Robert Jenkins Henry, Daniel Dulany, Stephen Bordley and the Rev. Alexander Malcolm, and those for Pennsylvania being Hon. James Hamilton, William Allen, Richard Peters, Benjamin Chew, Lynford Lardner, Ryves Holt and George Stephenson. They met at New Castle on November 19, 1760, and at once began to draw the boundary lines. In August, 1763, Lord Baltimore and Messrs. Thomas and Richard Penn employed Charles Mason and Jeremiah Dixon, of England, to "mark, run out, settle, fix and determine all such parts of the circle, marks, lines and boundaries as were mentioned in the several articles or commissions, and were not yet completed." They undertook the work and carried it out successfully, finishing their task in December, 1767. It was thus that the boundary between Pennsylvania and Maryland came to receive the famous name of the Mason and Dixon's line. The final report was submitted by the commissioners on November 9, 1768, and gives an exact account of the work in the following terms:

"We have completely run out, settled, fixed and determined a straight line beginning at the exact middle of the due east and west line mentioned in the articles of the fourth day of July, one thousand seven hundred and sixty, to have been run by other commissioners, formerly appointed by the said Charles, Lord Baltimore, and the said Thomas Penn and Richard Penn, across the peninsula from Cape Henlopen to Chesapeake Bay, the exact middle of which said east and west line is at the distance of thirty-four miles and three hundred and nine perches from the verge of the main ocean, the eastern end or beginning of the said due east and west line; and that we have extended the said straight line eighty-one miles seventy eight chains and thirty links up the peninsula, until it touched and made a tangent to the western part of the periphery of a circle drawn at the horizontal distance of twelve English statute miles from the centre of the town of New Castle, and have marked, described and perpetuated the said straight or tangent line, by setting up and erecting one remarkable stone at the place of beginning thereof, in the exact middle of the aforesaid due east and west line, according to the angle made by the said due west line and the said tangent line; which stone, on the inward sides of the same facing towards the east and towards the north, hath the arms of the said Thomas Penn and Richard Penn graved thereon, and on the outward sides of the same, facing towards the west and towards the south, hath the arms of the said Frederick, Lord Baltimore, graved thereon; and have also erected and set up in the said straight or tangent line, from the said place of beginning to the tangent point, remarkable stones at the end of every mile, each stone at the distance or end of every five miles being particularly distinguished by having the arms of the said Frederick, Lord Baltimore, graved on the side thereof turning towards the west, and the arms of the said Thomas Penn and Richard Penn graved on the side thereof turning towards the east, and all the other intermediate stones are marked with the letter P on the sides and with the letter M on the sides facing towards the west, and have fixed in the tangent point a stone with the arms of the said Frederick, Lord Baltimore, graved on the side facing towards the west, and the arms of the said Thomas Penn and Richard Penn graved on the side facing towards the east.

"24. That from the end of the said straight line or tangent point, we have run out, settled, fixed and determined a due north line of the length of five miles one chain and fifty links to a parallel of latitude fifteen miles due south of the most southern part of the city of Philadelphia, which said due north line intersected the said circle drawn at the distance of twelve English statute miles from the centre of the town of New Castle, one mile thirty-six chains and five links from the said tangent point, and that in order to mark and perpetuate the said due north line, we have erected and set up one unmarked stone at the point where the said line intersects the said circle, three other stones at a mile distance from each other graved with the letter P on the sides facing the east, and the letter M on the sides facing the west, between the said place of intersection of the said circle and the said parallel of latitude, which last stone on the sides facing towards the north and east hath the arms of the said Thomas Penn and Richard Penn graved thereon, and on the sides facing towards the south and west hath the arms of the said Frederick, Lord Baltimore, graved thereon.

"25. That we have run out, settled, fixed and determined such part of the said circle as lies westward of the said due north line and have marked and perpetuated the same by setting up and erecting four stones in the periphery thereof, one of which, at the meridian distance of one mile from the tangent point, is marked with the letter P on the east and the letter M on the west sides thereof."

The fourth section goes on to describe the running of the east and west line, which forms the boundary for the north of Maryland and south of Pennsylvania. This line was carried to a distance of over two hundred and eighty miles, when the Indians prevented them from proceeding, and it was afterwards carried to its present length. So far as the lower counties were concerned, this terminated the border troubles, but in the northeastern counties of Maryland, and the counties in Pennsylvania adjoining them, occasional riots were still heard of at long intervals. John Penn had occasion to complain, in 1769, of Cecil County ruffians who had committed outrages in Pennsylvania, and even as late as 1774 the entire trouble had not been smoothed over. The outrages of earlier times had ceased, however, and what misunderstandings now occurred were of a peaceable nature, and grew out of attempts to settle the details of the dispute beyond all cavil. The final proclamation of the Governor of Pennsylvania announcing the completion of the work was not issued until April 8, 1775. In order to render obedience to its behests as little difficult as possible, a special act was passed by the territorial Assembly of the three lower counties on Delaware, expressly stating the boundaries of

[1] Vol. iv., pp. 2-36.

Kent, Sussex and New Castle Counties, and declaring that all persons who had resided in the disputed territory, but now acknowledged citizens of the lower counties, should enjoy all rights and privileges therein, as though no controversy had ever existed. To this act, passed on September 2d, a supplement was added on October 28th. The supplement was intended for the benefit of creditors who held judgments taken out in Maryland courts against persons residing on the land in dispute. Great confusion had arisen when the settlement of the boundary question placed the debtors in the lower counties. For the relief and security of the creditors, the Assembly enacted a law making it a valid proceeding to docket transcripts of the judgments formerly obtained in the Maryland courts against persons resident on lands which had fallen within the lower counties on the determination of the boundary lines. With this act, the history of the dispute over the boundaries of Delaware came to an end.

CHAPTER XII.

COLONIAL HISTORY, 1704–75.

THE history of Delaware during the period covered by the present chapter, stands out as a bold anomaly in the colonial history of America. After a long series of wrangles and dissensions with the other counties of the province of Pennsylvania, in 1704 the "territories," or the "three lower counties," or the "counties of New Castle, Kent and Sussex upon Delaware," as they were then variously called, seceded from the counties of the province. They were to be governed by a separate Assembly consisting of representatives from the three counties, but still acknowledged the authority of the provincial Governor of Pennsylvania. This continued to be the form of government until the adoption of a separate Constitution by the State of Delaware, in 1776.

The lower counties had hardly been annexed to the province, in 1682, when the controversies and disagreements began which finally led to a separation. The Council dealt liberally with the new counties, agreeing to assume a large share of their expenses as an obligation on the whole province, and as early as 1684 they complied with the request of the territorial representatives by holding a part of their meetings at New Castle. One effective cause for these early differences is to be traced to the agents sent over by the Marylanders. It was a part of Lord Baltimore's plan for the success of his covetous designs on Penn's territory to stir up ill feeling in the lower counties. At a meeting of the Council, held at Philadelphia, on February 1, 1684, one Charles Pickering reported that it was his belief that most of the people of Kent County were ready to revolt because Governor Penn had not kept his promise to enter and clear all vessels at New Castle, and in the event of such outbreak they were assured of the support of Lord Baltimore. At the same time Francis Whitwell, John Hilliard and John Richardson, the representatives from Kent, refused to attend the Council, and committees were sent to inquire into the cause of their absence, as well as that of the general disaffection. While no serious outbreak resulted from this, the government of the lower counties proved to be a source of much annoyance to the Council. Reports were continually brought to them complaining of the manner in which the officials performed their duties. The sheriffs could not be relied upon, and the decisions of the justices were frequently appealed from, as being unjust and partial. Matters began to take a more serious turn in 1690. Jealousies, based on local prejudices, had increased, and the lower counties asserted that they were not fairly treated in the appointment of officers. In the year mentioned Thomas Lloyd had been duly elected president of the Council. The territorial members, fearing that they would not receive their fair proportion of offices, convened a secret meeting without notifying the president or any member of the Council. The six members present were William Clark, Luke Watson, Griffith Jones, John Brinkloe, John Cann and Johannes D'Haes, who appointed and commissioned six judges without the knowledge and consent of the other members. When the regular Council learned of the affair, they promptly declared the appointments to be illegal, and severely reprimanded the unruly members for their clandestine action. A demand was then made that the judges and other officers of the lower counties should be appointed by the nine representatives from those counties, but this was not allowed.

In 1691 what was evidently intended by the proprietor as an indulgent privilege proved only a means of widening the breach between the two sections of the province. Penn had left to the choice of the Council three different forms for the executive management of the government. It was to be either through a Deputy-Governor, a commission of five or the Council itself. A majority of the Council favored the first of these methods. This brought forth a formal protest from seven members for the lower counties—William Clark, John Cann, John Brinkloe, John Hill, Richard Halliwell, Albertus Jacobs, and George Martin. They declared that the appointment of five commissioners was the method most agreeable to them, and their second choice would be the commission of the Council itself, but that they could not accept the choice of a Deputy-Governor, since it placed all

appointments in the hands of a single person, and also on account of the expense required for his support. They agreed, however, to accept the government of the Council, on condition that no officers should be appointed to positions in the three lower counties without the consent of the members of Council for these counties. They then withdrew from the Council. President Lloyd, who had been chosen Deputy-Governor, dispatched John Simcock, John Bristow, John Delavall and David Lloyd to New Castle after the seceding members, with the promise that they need have no apprehension on the points raised by them, as he would occupy the chair without expense to them, unless they voluntarily agreed to contribute toward his support, and, moreover, he would make no changes in the offices of the lower counties until the proprietor's pleasure were known, and none should be removed without their consent. This did not satisfy the representatives from the three lower counties, and they finally seceded, William Markham, the secretary, who had joined them, being chosen Lieutenant-Governor for the counties of New Castle, Kent and Sussex. Penn was much grieved when he heard of the disunion of the province, and attributed the trouble to Lloyd's ambition. This charge seemed unjust, however, as Lloyd had only accepted his office after much reluctance, and at the earnest solicitation of most of the colonists.

The province continued under this double government for two years, when Governor Fletcher assumed control in 1693, and again succeeded in uniting them.[1] The union that was thus restored continued for a while without anything to disturb the peaceful conduct of government. In 1700 there occurred a slight dispute over the proportion of expenses to be born by the upper and lower counties, but this was soon adjusted. In the following year several contests were begun, which led to the final separation, three years later. Ever since the act of union, in 1682, the lower counties had always acted with great unanimity. In 1701, when the King forwarded a request to Penn, asking for three hundred and fifty pounds sterling for the maintenance of fortifications near New York, they entered their protest as a body, explaining that they were unable to provide defenses for that colony, as they themselves badly needed protection. On the 10th of October, of the same year, the members from the lower counties, considering that the measures then pending before the Assembly were highly prejudicial to their interests, abruptly left that body. On the 14th the members from New Castle and Kent Counties, with John Hill for Sussex, appeared before the Governor to set forth their grievances. At the meeting held on the 10th the objectionable measure was a bill to confirm certain acts passed at a meeting previously held at New Castle. The dissenting members urged that as the laws had been duly passed by the Assembly, they could see no reason why they should be re-enacted at Philadelphia. The act of union had provided that the lower counties were to have equal privileges with the upper in all things relating to the government, and to say that measures passed at New Castle required to be confirmed at Philadelphia would discourage any further visits to New Castle as a place for holding meetings of the Assembly. Moreover, they failed to understand that the laws would be binding if the lower counties acted at Philadelphia in conjunction with the upper, unless it could be shown that there is greater authority than when the two parties act in conjunction at Newcastle. This protest was signed by John Brinkloe, William Rodeney, John Walker, William Morton, Luke Watson, Jr., Jasper Yeates, Richard Halliwell, Adam Peterson and John Donaldson. The Governor explained that this was a mere matter of form, to avoid any misunderstandings during his absence, and added that he was deeply hurt at what he considered a personal slight. On behalf of the others, Jasper Yeates assured the Governor that no insult was intended, and that they cherished the greatest respect for him, but that they only acted in accordance with the best interests of those whom they represented. The Governor then suggested that they should adjourn for one hour, until he could send for the rest of the Assembly, and at the appointed time they again met. A full discussion of the matter took place, in which both sides spoke very plainly. The territorial members held that the union had been from the first burdensome and objectionable to them, and they were no longer willing to remain a party to it. Penn argued with them, and expressed his sorrow at being compelled to carry such ill reports to England on his approaching voyage, but finally agreed to let them withdraw from the union, stipulating in positive terms that the separation should be on amicable terms, and that they must first settle the laws. Some further difficulties occurred, and on the following day the proprietor addressed a note to them, reiterating his pleas and admonitions. Richard Halliwell, Jasper Yeates and William Rodeney returned to the Assembly, but soon appeared before the proprietor and assured him that they could no longer sit in that body, but must at once proceed to their homes. The other members continued in their obstinate refusal to recognize the privileges consistent with the honor and interest of the lower counties, that it was incumbent upon the members to leave. Penn, with a liberal use of his persuasive powers, at length brought them to terms, after several messages had been exchanged with the Council and Assembly, and they

[1] Proud's "History of Pennsylvania," vol. i., p. 351, et. seq.

agreed to return and make another effort to reach an understanding. On October 28th the new charter of privileges which Penn had for some time been preparing was submitted to the Council. This was the occasion for another outbreak. The charter provided, in the usual terms, for the enjoyment of liberty and happiness by the inhabitants of the province, and a single Assembly to consist of four members from each county; but, seeing that a separation had now come to be inevitable, Penn added the following proviso:

"Notwithstanding any clause or clauses in the above-mentioned charter, obliging the province and territories to join together in legislation, I am content, and do hereby declare, that if the representatives of the province and territories shall not, hereafter, agree to join together in legislation, and that the same shall be signified to me, or my deputy, in open assembly, or otherwise from under the hands and seals of the representatives, for the time being, of the province and territories, or the major part of either of them within three years from the date hereof, that, in such case, the inhabitants of each of the three counties of this province shall not have less than eight persons to represent them in the assembly for the province; and the inhabitants of the town of Philadelphia (when the said town is incorporated) two persons to represent them in assembly; and the inhabitants of each county in the territories shall have as many persons to represent them, in a distinct assembly, for the territories, as shall be by them requested, as aforesaid.

"Notwithstanding which separation of the province and territories, in respect of legislation, I do hereby promise, grant and declare, that the inhabitants of both province and territories shall separately enjoy all other liberties, privileges, and benefits granted jointly to them, in this charter, any law, usage or custom of this government heretofore made and practised, or any law made and passed by the general assembly to the contrary hereof notwithstanding."

The Governor then issued a number of commissions, appointing Andrew Hamilton Deputy-

JAMES LOGAN.

Governor, and James Logan secretary of the province, and clerk of the Council, and also nominated members of the Council, and incorporated the city of Philadelphia. He then sailed for England, leaving the province in a restless and dissatisfied condition. The incorporation of Philadelphia which gave the Provincial Assembly two additional members, was sufficient to show the territorial members that this was only the first step towards the gradual increase of the provincial members, while their own number would remain stationary. With the offer of the long-desired separation placed before them in the charter of privileges, it was not likely that they should maintain the union any longer than was absolutely necessary. But as they were granted three years in which to decide, they tarried a little to hear the arguments and exhortations of the Governor and provincial members, who made every effort to retain them. Towards the close of the year 1702 the contest suddenly assumed a new shape. A number of the provincial members grew weary of the annoyance caused by the continual agitation of the territorial members, and they demanded a separate Assembly, according to the terms of the charter. The Governor remonstrated that such a step could only produce the most direful results, in encumbering the commercial relations then smoothly maintained with the mother country; but, most important of all, as the proprietor was then in England for the purpose of securing his title to the lower counties, which had been disputed by others, a separation at that moment might prove especially disastrous by weakening his claim. Moreover, the application had been made on the 8th of October, and as the charter required all elections to begin on October 1st, the Governor insisted that a new Assembly could not be elected until the 1st of October should again recur. They replied that this difficulty could easily be avoided by the issuing of the Governor's writs, but this official pointed out that the lower counties would now complain that they had been thrown out without notice, and the objecting members promised to postpone further action until a conference could be held with the Council. At the conference it was again argued that, as the lower counties had not yet elected members of the Assembly, thereby signifying that they would not accept the charter, it would be better to give them an opportunity to issue writs of election, which would require very little time, before they were abruptly cast off, so that their members might be heard. The dissenting members of the province agreed to reconsider their determination, provided the Governor would adjourn them for one month. This was accordingly done, and the Council reassembled on November 16th. In the mean time members of the Assembly had been elected for the lower counties, but those who had reached Philadelphia informed the Governor that they could under no circumstances sit with the members elected for the province. The provincial members had been elected under a charter which the territorial members refused to recognize, and for their own election writs had been issued. Considerable time was spent in arguing, but without result. When the representatives met in the afternoon at Samuel

Pere's, according to the Governor's instructions, it was found that the territorial members were not present. Griffith Jones and John Swift were sent to inform them that the Governor desired their attendance, but returned with the message that they "had waited on the Governor for some time, and had now withdrawn to refresh themselves, and would to-morrow wait on the Governor, if there were occasion." There was no alternative but to adjourn, although much against the will of some of those present. On the next day, November 17th, the representatives from both the provinces and territories met according to appointment. Owing to the different methods which had been employed in electing the members of the two sections of the province, it was agreed that they could not meet as an Assembly. It was suggested that they might meet as representatives of the people, or as a convention, but no conclusion could be reached on account of the firm position taken by the territorial members. They, however, sent to the Governor, stating that they were by no means lacking in loyalty to the Queen, and were not desirous of shirking their fair share of duty and responsibility, and if there was anything of great importance which he had to lay before the Assembly, requiring the joint action of the province and territories, it might still be possible to bring about some form of accommodation. The Governor answered that the two questions which he desired particularly to call to their attention were the orders lately received from the Queen, and the defenseless condition of the province, exposed, as it was, to the attacks of enemies on all sides. But these matters were not sufficiently grave to accomplish the desired end, and this was reported to the Governor on the 18th, by Joseph Growdon, on behalf of all the members. The provincial members asserted their willingness to meet the others, but the latter now held that as the writs by which they were elected were based on the charter, a recognition of the validity of this election would also imply their acceptance of the charter, which they were not prepared to do. The Council then passed a resolution to the effect that as the members for the lower counties had consented to be elected under a writ grounded on the charter, it was now too late to refuse to admit its force, and they might as well proceed to business with the other members. On the 19th the Council sent a message to the Assembly, containing three questions, as follows: 1st, are the representatives of the province willing to meet the representatives of the territories for the purpose of forming an Assembly? 2d, are the representatives of the territories willing to meet the representatives of the province for the purpose of forming an Assembly? 3d, if either refuse, what methods do they propose for the formation of an Assembly to prevent the province from suffering, when such grave questions remain unconsidered? The provincial members immediately replied, expressing themselves as both willing and desirous of acting in Assembly according to the direction of the charter. The following reply was submitted by the members for the lower counties:

"The said members finding that they are called here on a different foot with those of the upper counties cannot, if there was no other obstacle, join with them in legislation, but are cheerful and willing when warrantably convened to proceed in assembly to answer her majesty's commands, and such other matters of importance as shall then be laid before them, though they will not presume to direct the government in what methods to converse them, they supposing it not their business, but that of those who rule over them.

"Robert French, Richard Halliwell, Jasper Yeates, Evan Jones, Thomas Sharp, John Foster, John Hill, Joseph Booth."

On the advice of the Council, the Governor dismissed the whole body until intelligence should come from England recommending further action. All the members of the province then united in a petition to the Governor, again requesting a separation, and the election of members for a separate Assembly, with two additional members for Philadelphia. Governor Hamilton died soon afterwards, after having devoted the whole of his brief administration to a futile attempt to unite the discordant elements of the province, much to the neglect of other important business. The management of affairs now devolved on the Council, of whom Edward Shippen was president. When the time for convening the Assembly, according to the charter, came around, in October, 1703, the members for the three counties of the province, with two members for Philadelphia, presented themselves for qualification by the Council to proceed to business in the new Assembly. Governor Hamilton had died without taking any action on their petition of the previous year, and the Council was at a loss to know what authority it had in the matter. After some delay, the Council qualified them, and on October 15th they organized themselves into an Assembly of the province.

John Evans arrived with his commission as Lieutenant-Governor at the close of the year 1703. His first care was to examine into the causes of the disruption between the province and territories, with a view to reuniting them if possible. The Governor increased the number of members of the Council, adding several members from the lower counties, prominent among them being William Rodeney and Jasper Yeates. He also secured the passage of a resolution by Council, deprecating the measures already taken toward a dissolution of the union, and advising the most earnest endeavors to keep them united, both in legislation and administration. Governor Evans then went to New Castle and held a conference with the most prominent citizens, and it was arranged that the lower counties should elect members for an Assembly, to meet the Governor at

Philadelphia in April, 1704. The elections were held in March, and were very exciting, especially the one at New Castle, the candidates being James Coutts and Richard Halliwell. On April 11th, in accordance with the Governor's orders, the members of the province and those from New Castle and Kent Counties appeared before the Council, those from Sussex not having arrived. The provincial members refused to confer with the Governor in the presence of strangers, and the members from New Castle and Kent then withdrew. The Speaker of the Provincial Assembly then gave the Governor the most sincere assurance on behalf of the whole body of their desire to obey any commands he might have to lay before them, either from the crown or the proprietor. When the Governor suggested that they act in conjunction with the members for the lower counties, they insisted that this would infringe on their rights as an Assembly, and declined to yield, but finally withdrew to their chamber to consider the state of affairs. On April 12th the two bodies were brought together before the Governor, who delivered a written address, setting forth the benefits of harmony and unity, and strongly beseeching them to reconsider the steps taken in the past, and once more to unite. Direct negotiations were then begun between the Assembly of the province and the members for the three lower counties. Two days were thus occupied, and on the 14th the Governor received the following address, signed by the members who had been elected from New Castle, Kent and Sussex:

"*To the Honorable John Evans, Governor of Pennsylvania and the three lower counties:*

"The humble address of the freemen of the said counties:

"May it please your Honor:

"In obedience to your writs for electing representatives to serve in assembly for our counties, we have, according to our duties and the trust reposed in us by the freemen of the same, made our appearance before your honor, on the 10th instant, to have acted legislatively in assembly. But when we did observe by your Honor's speech to the representatives for the province and territories that you judged it fit that all endeavors should be used, in the first place, for uniting of your government in one assembly, being very sensible of the respect we owe your Honor, and being very well satisfied that you did at that time propose matters of the greatest import towards the interest, quiet, and prosperity of the government, have accordingly used our utmost endeavors for an accommodation with the representatives for the province, as your Honor may see by our proposals to them, hereunto annexed, and since we are assured that our endeavors cannot prove successful on that account, as by their answer delivered unto us (a copy of which we have likewise affixed) does plainly appear:

"We therefore do humbly lay before your Honor's consideration the necessity there will be for to fall upon methods for a speedy and effectual settling our counties in a regular method of government, that justice may be duly administered, the people preserved in their rights and liberties, and your Honor's expectation from us answered; the which we think we have no reason to doubt, considering we are sensible that all your Honor's actions, since we had the happiness to be under your government, have so plainly demonstrated that your chief care is to promote the welfare and prosperity of the same. We conclude your Honor's most humble servants.

"John Hill,	William Morton,
Wm. Bagwell,	Arth. Morton,
Robert Burton,	James Coutts,
Richard Painter,	John Healy,
William Rodeney,	Roelof D'Haas,
John Brinkloe,	Isaac Gooding."

The proposal referred to in this address was a simple agreement on the part of the members from the territories to unite with the province, on condition that the number of representatives for each should be equal, as had always been the case. They further stated that they had assembled at Philadelphia in pursuance with the Governor's instructions, fully expecting to be joined by the provincial members, and they hoped nothing would prevent such meeting. The provincial members, in their reply to this, declared that the assertion that the territorial members had come to join them in Assembly was mere pretense, as it was they who had accomplished the disunion, and refused to recognize the charter, and consequently the province was firm in its purpose to retain its new Assembly distinct from that of the lower counties, but at the same time they hoped that friendly and neighborly relations would always be kept up between them for the safety and welfare of the government.

It will thus be seen that the positions formerly taken by the respective parties to the controversy had now been exactly reversed. It was the province which now wished to withdraw, and the territories that desired to continue the union. Yet it does not seem that they cherished any very fond desire for a reunion; but seeing that such a thing was now beyond hope, and that the province had assumed the lead in the cry for separation, they were anxious that their northern brethren should be in a position to bear all the odium that might result from any future ill effects of the disunion. When the Governor had received the ultimatum of the lower counties, he still thought that an agreement might be possible, and requested all the parties concerned to meet him on the following day for a free conference. Governor Evans once more earnestly and eloquently repeated the arguments which he had so frequently submitted before. But all to no effect. The Governor agreed to the separation, and from that time it was complete. The next step was to organize the Assembly for the lower counties. The opinion of Judge Mompesson being asked, he decided that it would be better to issue new writs for elections, and avoid any possible broils, and also ruled that all laws which had previously been enacted by the joint Assembly of province and territories were now in full force in each separately.

The first Assembly of the three lower counties met in November, 1704. Most of the members who had been elected on the original writs were re-elected, and James Coutts was chosen Speaker. The most important laws enacted by the new Legislature included a measure providing that seven years' possession of land should give unquestionable title thereto, except in the case of infants, married women, lunatics and persons beyond the seas, and also those who possess estates

for a term of years, for life or entail. A law was also passed for the prevention of abuses in the administration of justice, and fixing an oath for attorneys and solicitors, and also a law for regulating weights and measures according to the Queen's standard for the exchequer. As soon as the Assembly had convened at New Castle, a few intriguers instituted a plan for an absolute separation from the province. James Logan, who accompanied the Governor to New Castle, as secretary of the Council, wrote to Penn that "Judge Guest, with the designing men of this place (New Castle), seem to endeavor an utter separation, and that this alone may be made the mart for all the people below."[1] Guest was an ambitious scamp who sought personal ends from the accomplishment of this scheme, which met with deservedly little suppport at that time.

The Assembly before adjourning confirmed all previous laws, and also increased the number of members of the Assembly from four to six for each county.

Governor Evans was much irritated at his failure to unite the province and territories, and gave vent to his petty spite against the former, who had been the last to object, by continually interposing obstacles to prevent any facility of action by their Assembly. During the summer of 1704 he had issued a call for militia on account of the war then raging between England and France and Spain. Three companies were raised in New Castle County, two in Kent and the same number in Sussex, but in the province considerable difficulty arose over this order, owing to the number of Quakers who held conscientious scruples against bearing arms. Governor Evans became highly indignant at this, and when over a year had elapsed, and the people still held out against taking up arms (as they held) unnecessarily, Evans resorted to a curious plan for terrifying them into obedience. He selected Thomas Clark, an attorney of Philadelphia, and Robert French, of New Castle, as his associates. The annual fair was in progress at Philadelphia, on May 16, 1706. The fair was a great institution of the colonial period. Everybody, young and old, assembled in holiday attire, and it was a gala time for gayety and rejoicing. French, who was stationed at New Castle, sent up a messenger to the Governor, apparently in a great state of fear and consternation, informing him that a number of hostile vessels had come up the bay, and the people were in imminent danger of being attacked, and their property pillaged. Messengers had been previously stationed about the city, and at once hastened to spread the news, to the great terror of the people. The Governor rode through the streets with drawn sword, apparently much agitated, beseeching the citizens to offer all possible assistance in the emergency. But through some unknown agency the secret became known and the plot failed, the only effect being to frighten a few people farther up the river, with whatever valuables they could carry with them, while the Governor's action met with universal condemnation, and placed him in general disfavor with the people.

In November of the same year, at the secret suggestion of the Governor, the Assembly of the lower counties authorized the erection of a fort at New Castle for Her Majesty's service. A duty was imposed on all vessels passing the fort in going up the river from the sea, consisting of a quarter of a pound of powder per ton for all vessels owned by persons residing on Delaware River or Bay, and a half a pound for those owned by all others, excepting only ships of war. In addition to this, all vessels passing in either direction were required to drop anchor, and the commander must go on shore, report and secure leave to pass. The penalty for the neglect of this regulation was fixed at a fine of five pounds, a forfeiture of five pounds for contempt, and twenty shillings for the first gun, thirty for the second, and forty for every one thereafter that it might be necessary to fire at them on account of such neglect. This measure naturally met with much opposition from the province, the citizens of which denounced it as a bold infraction of their privileges, intended only to destroy their trade. The people of Philadelphia were particularly loud in their complaints, declaring that the tax might as well be imposed on the goods in their shops as upon the vessels bringing them to the city, and they held that their charter granted them a free and uninterrupted use of the river and bay without any interference whatever. The law was nevertheless passed, except that the provision requiring vessels owned on the river and bay to pay duty was omitted.

The Philadelphians openly declared that they would not pay any duty whatever. The fort was erected in the winter of 1707 by Captain Rednap, the Queen's engineer, who was brought from New York by the Governor for the purpose. When everything was in readiness, and several fines had been collected by the authorities at the fort, Richard Hill, of Philadelphia, determined to test the strength of the place by boldly defying the orders. His new sloop, the "Philadelphia," was just preparing for her first voyage to the Barbadoes. The master of the vessel was ordered by the owners not to stop at the fort. He went to the Governor, requesting permission to pass, but this was refused. Hill then informed the Governor that his vessel would pass, notwithstanding his refusal. The Governor at once set out for New Castle on horseback to notify them of the expected arrival of the vessel, and a watch of ten men was stationed on the shore, lest she

[1] "Memoirs of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania," vol. ix., Penn and Logan Correspondence, p. 344.

might pass unnoticed under cover of darkness. Hill, being afraid to trust the master, boarded the sloop and took with him Samuel Preston and Isaac Norris, who were also part owners. The vessel was duly cleared at Philadelphia, and when they reached New Castle, Preston and Norris were sent to the fort to request permission to pass without further interruption. This was denied unless they would comply with the regular requirements of the station. Hill then took command of the vessel, and passed the fort under the fire of its guns, receiving no damage except a shot through the mainsail. When they had passed, John French, the commander of the fort, put out after them in a boat, and when he came up Hill willingly threw him a rope. French climbed up, the rope was cut, and he was taken prisoner by the owners of the sloop. Lord Cornbury, the vice-admiral of the Queen's fleet, happened to be lying at Salem, and French was delivered over to him, and after a severe reprimand was liberated. On May 19th about two hundred and twenty inhabitants of the province, mostly residents of Philadelphia, presented a petition to the Governor protesting against a continuance of the fort as an infringement upon their liberty which was was not granted, but in fact denied, by the charter of the Duke of York. A long discussion ensued in the Council, most of the members objecting, not to the fort, but to the exactions, and the Governor was finally forced to promise a suspension of the objectionable features of the act. His position in favoring it, however, had already produced a stronger feeling than before against him, and several petitions were sent to Penn requesting his removal, which were at length complied with about the middle of 1708, when news was brought announcing that he had been superseded by Charles Gookin.

Evans had just purchased a farm at Swanhook, near New Castle, and had made extensive improvements, and was, therefore, not a little indignant at his peremptory removal. Some of those in the lower counties who had formerly acted with Judge Guest, hearing that Evans had been removed, and knowing his partiality for the territories, supposed that he would gladly assume the head of their government if they could be entirely separated from the province. They prepared another scheme for carrying out this idea, but found to their dismay that Governor Evans fostered no such ambition. On the contrary, in a communication to the Assembly at New Castle, delivered shortly after this, the most patriotic sentiments are found, together with wholesome advice for defense and other measures equally necessary. Much to his surprise, he received in reply to this an address from the Assembly questioning his authority to act at all, on account of the doubts which existed in the minds of members of the Assembly as to the legality of Penn's title to the lower counties. This was an old question which was periodically raised in the territories, and then quietly allowed to drop. Governor Evans responded that he had not the least doubt as to the validity of his commission, but as his office was so soon to devolve on another, he would not take the time to vindicate it. At this point a number of members took the part of the Governor and withdrew from the Assembly, breaking up the House. They were Richard Empson, of New Castle, Joseph Booth, of Kent, and Thomas Fisher, Cornelius Wiltbank, Philip Russell, William Fisher, Nicholas Grainger and Ad. Johnson, of Sussex. They insisted that the action of the other members in raising a question as to the Governor's authority was uncalled for and unreasonable, and that his answer was exceedingly appropriate. They feared that the members intended harm rather than benefit to their form of government, or at least anticipated some change, and to avoid any connection with such a movement they thought best to withdraw. As Governor Gookin soon arrived, the members quietly returned. In addition to the troubles already mentioned, much annoyance was caused by the depredations of the pirates, negotiations with Indians and disputes over the boundaries with Maryland, but these topics have been treated at length elsewhere. Penn had not despaired of a reunion, and in his instructions to the new Governor he recommended an attempt to secure this end. To those in the colony, however, it was evident that this was no longer possible. The breach between them had become too wide. But after a few years the two Assemblies learned to cease their policy of intermeddling, and the government was conducted very peaceably. As early as 1709 we find the Assembly of the province passing a resolution of sympathy with the inhabitants of Lewistown, owing to the suffering recently borne by them from an attack by the enemy.

When the lower counties put an end to their quarrels with the province, however, they began new ones with the proprietor. The particulars of the new intrigues show that among the early colonists of Delaware there were those who were by no means destitute of political astuteness. Some of the most prominent men in the territories drew up an address early in 1709 to the Lords of Trade and Plantations, who managed all the British colonies, complaining of Penn's management of the three counties upon the Delaware. They avowed that because of the proprietor and the Quakers they had not sufficient power for enacting the laws necessary for the public good; that they were left in a defenseless condition, and had not had provincial courts among them for seven years. This address was signed by nine members of the Assembly, including James Coutts, Jasper Yeates, Richard Halliwell and Robert French. Coutts had

hitherto always been considered a stanch friend of the proprietor, and his sudden change of policy occasioned much surprise. Yeates, however, was the instigator of the new enterprise. He had moved from Chester to New Castle, and had there started a business venture on an extended scale. The town was not considered healthy at this time and did not prosper, and the people in the country much preferred to go to Philadelphia to transact their business than to stop at New Castle. Yeates saw that some barrier must be placed between the seat of his new venture and Philadelphia, to materially check communication between the two places. This was either to be done by making New Castle the capital of a new province consisting of the three lower counties, or allegiance with Pennsylvania must be severed, and an alliance made with some other colony, the situation of whose capital would not interfere with the commercial progress of New Castle. Yeates was shrewd and influential, and secured the assistance of many others. Although the relation between himself and Coutts had for some time past been somewhat strained, he soon found an opportunity to bring about a reconciliation, since Coutts was at this time by far the most influential man in the lower counties. Their object was simply to secure a separation from Pennsylvania. Coutts signed the petition as Speaker of the Assembly, although it had never been brought before that body and was strictly a private affair, and took it to London himself. Penn was kept informed of every movement through Secretary Logan and was well prepared for his arrival, although he had at length lost patience with the territories. But this scheme, like its predecessors, came to naught. Toward the end Coutts attempted to secure the government for himself through bribery, and his co-operators, afraid of his power, again offered Governor Evans the leadership, but he persisted in his refusal. In consequence of this, a dispute arose, which completely disorganized the schemers, and there the matter ended. It is difficult to see that any particular advantage would have been derived, unless to the chosen few. The three counties were not yet sufficiently prosperous to succeed as an independent colony. It was estimated at the time that each county contained from one hundred to a hundred and twenty families, hardly enough to support a well regulated government when surrounded on all sides by others more powerful in respect to numbers and experience. After the excitement incident to this last trouble had subsided, the people quietly settled down, and for the next few years nothing occured to mar the citizens in their peaceful pursuit of happiness and contentment. The period, however, is at least noteworthy as being marked by a rapid development of the church. As early as 1703 a colony of Welsh Baptists had settled on what was then called "The Welsh Tract," but now known as Glasgow, lying between Delaware City and Newark, and about ten miles from Wilmington. They secured about thirty thousand acres from Messrs. Evans, Davis and Willis, who had purchased it from Penn, and at once proceeded to erect a meeting-house. This was finished in 1706, the first pastor being the Rev. David Evans, a native of Wales. Under his care the church slowly increased, and each year the membership increased, either through additional arrivals from Wales or by the baptism of settlers. At New Castle the same progress was noted. The Rev. George Ross was appointed missionary at that place in 1705. He started a congregation there and met with great success, as among the regular attendants at service were numbered many from the surrounding country, some coming as far as ten or twelve miles. Encouraged by this, he extended the field of his labors to Apoquininy and White Clay Creek, preaching twice during each month at New Castle, and once at each of the other two places named. Richard Halliwell, who had contributed largely toward building the Emanuel Church on the Green at New Castle, bequeathed sixty pounds for its support, and also gave his plantation of sixty-seven acres, with finely-improved houses and orchards, as a parsonage for the ministers who should from time to time serve the church.

The missionaries who were here settled were sent from England by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts. Their work in Kent and Sussex Counties was not so easy, owing to the fact that the country was far more sparsely settled and the people scattered farther apart than in New Castle. But this had not deterred them from sending out their agents. In 1704 the Rev. Mr. Crawford was stationed as missionary at Dover. In about two years he baptized two hundred and thirty people in his immediate district, besides many others in the vicinity. At the end of the third year they had erected a modest structure in which to hold their meetings. He labored assiduously, being obliged to give many sufficient instruction to enable them to read the common prayers. His plan was to preach one Sunday at the upper end of the county, on the next at Dover, and on the third at the lower end, thus coming in contact with as many of the inhabitants as possible. He was also invited to preach in Sussex County, and in response to this, preached at Captain Hill's house, at Lewistown. The people were much pleased and wrote to the Bishop of London, asking that a Minister be sent to them, and promising all the support they could afford. The construction of a meeting house was also commenced there. Mr. Crawford was soon after compelled to return to England and did not return,

and for some time neither of the two counties had a regular minister.

In August, 1717, Governor Keith, who had a few months previously succeeded Governor Gookin, desirous of visiting the lower counties, invited Mr. Ross, who was still in charge of the spiritual affairs of New Castle, to accompany him. In company with several others, they first went to Lewistown, and on August 7th Mr. Ross preached there in the Court-House. He remained there several days, baptizing over fifty children, and then went to the various meeting-houses which had already been erected in the county. He then went through Kent County with the Governor and met with similar greeting. He was so much gratified at the result of his visit, that in April, 1718, he again went through Sussex County, opening a new church that had been built and baptizing many new members. Consequently, the two lower counties were not absolutely without a minister. Mr. Ross addressed a letter to the society in England, urging that a missionary be sent out, and this was indorsed by Governor Keith. The people of Lewistown had, in Oct., 1720, finished a frame church in the centre of the town and were much rejoiced when, in the following year, the Rev. Mr. Beckett arrived from London to take charge of it. The same success followed which his expectations anticipated, and the work being now on a firm basis, the progress of the Church of England (all the missionary work being independent of the large number of Quakers in the colony) was now well established.[1] In the meanwhile the civil affairs of the lower counties had not been neglected. When Governor Keith arrived, in 1717, he immediately examined into the affairs of the territories, and upon the close of his investigation added another member to the Council from the lower counties, in the person of John French.

In 1719 the Assembly passed an act for the better administration of justice, some of the provisions of which are hardly equaled by the famous blue laws of Connecticut, of the seventeenth century. In one respect, however, the act exhibited a tendency toward toleration, viz.: by allowing Quakers to affirm, as well as all others who might be conscientiously opposed to taking an oath. In this they anticipated similar action by the Assembly of the province by six years, for it was not until 1725 that the Pennsylvania Assembly relieved the Quakers from taking oath. By the terms of the new law, all persons committing robbery, sodomy, buggery or rape were made felons, and punished according to the law of England (punished by death). Any woman who concealed the death of her bastard child, or any person advising or assisting the woman in killing the child, was guilty of a capital offense and suffered death, as in the case of murder. Any person who cut out or disabled the tongue, put out the eye, slit the nose or lip, or maimed the limb of another, suffered the death penalty, without benefit of clergy. Women convicted of felony might escape the death punishment, and instead were branded on the hand and imprisoned. The subornation of witnesses was punished by a fine of forty pounds, one-half to go to the government and the other to the aggrieved party. In case the offender could not procure the necessary amount in money, land or chattels, he suffered imprisonment for six months, and was placed on the pillory for one hour in some public place where the offence was committed, and also suffered any other punishments or disabilities inflicted by the law of England covering the same crime. Any person convicted of a felony made a capital crime by the act, but who was entitled by the law of England to the benefit of clergy, if convicted of murder, was taken in open court by the gaoler and branded with an "M" on the brawn of the left thumb, and with a "T" for any other felony. These were the most noteworthy features of the law, which, at least, leaves us to infer that the people were earnestly bent on the suppression of vice.

During the same year the Assembly devoted their attention to more material affairs, especially endeavoring to encourage the construction of mills. It was enacted that in case any one projected building a mill, but was unable to conveniently convey water to his property on account of the intervention of land belonging to another party, which the latter was unwilling to dispose of, he might apply to two justices of the peace for relief. The justices of the peace were to instruct the sheriff to summon six freeholders, who should fix upon the value of the land, and also the loss likely to be suffered by the owner, but they had no jurisdiction in cases where the disputed ground amounted to more than six acres in New Castle County, and to two acres in Kent or Sussex.

In 1719 permission was granted to Benjamin Shurmer, William Brinkloe and Richard Richardson to survey the town of Dover and lay it off in lots.

In 1721 Jasper Yeates died, and the vacancy in the Governor's Council was filled by the appointment of Henry Brooke, who had formerly been collector of customs at Lewistown.

During the next five years there was much activity in the lower counties, and many progressive measures were instituted. In 1722 an Orphans' Court was established, to meet what had for some time been felt an absolute requirement. This new court of record was presided over by the justices of the peace, who met in regular Quarter Sessions in each of the three counties and during the same week that other courts were held, and at such other

[1] "Delaware Register," vol. i., p. 416.

times as were necessary. They controlled such matters as are usually confided to similar tribunals, but were not allowed to admit any letters of administration in which no bond was required, and no administrators or guardians were allowed to place the money of their wards on interest without renewing for a longer time than one year. Shortly after this the legal rate of interest was reduced from eight to six per cent., and the penalty for a violation of the act was forfeiture of the whole sum loaned. About the same time the authorities of New Castle County removed the obstructions in the Brandywine that interfered with the fisheries, and a new outlet was cut for Murtherkill Creek into the bay, in Kent County.

Governor Keith was succeeded by Patrick Gordon on June 22, 1726. He went down to New Castle on the 28th, where a meeting of the Council was held, and summoned the Assembly to meet him on July 20th. At a meeting of the Council on July 25th he issued commissions to David French as attorney-general for the three lower counties; to John French and Samuel Lowman in New Castle County, Robert Gordon and Benjamin Shurmer in Kent, and Henry Brooke and Jonathan Baily in Sussex, as judges of the Supreme Court, and also commissioners of Oyer and Terminer and General Gaol Delivery in their respective counties. The justices appointed for New Castle County were John French, Robert Gordon, Joseph England, Charles Springer, John Richardson, James James, William Battell, David Evans, Andrew Peterson, Ebenezer Empson, Hans Hanson, James Dyre, Samuel Kirk, Richard Grafton and Simon Hadley. Those for Kent were Robert Gordon, Benjamin Shurmer, Richard Richardson, Charles Hillard, Thomas French, Mark Manlove, Timothy Hanson, John Hall, James Worrell, Joseph Booth, Jr., John Brinkloe, Thomas Berry, George Nowell, John Houseman, John Tilton, William Manlove and Hugh Durborrow. Those for Sussex were Henry Brooke, William Till, Philip Russell, Samuel Rowland, Woolsey Burton, Simon Kollock, John May, Jeremiah Claypoole, Jacob Kollock, Thomas Davis, John Jacobs, Samuel Davis and Joseph Cord. The last-named list of justices, however, soon underwent a change, for when the Council met at Philadelphia, on September 23d, the Governor announced that Alexander Molliston had entered a complaint against Justice William Till, who, he declared, had used his influence on the bench so as to utterly prevent the complainant from obtaining employment and supporting his family. It was then learned from members of the Council that Till had on a previous occasion opened and kept a letter sent from Philadelphia to Robert Frankland, surveyor of Sussex County, and that at a recent meeting of the Assembly of the lower counties he had used language highly disrespectful to the proprietary family. Till was, therefore, removed and Richard Hinman added, in his place, to the list of justices. At the same time John Rhodes, Robert Shankland, George Walton and Enoch Cummings were appointed, *vice* Simon Kollock, John May and Thomas Davis. As the result of the October elections held shortly afterwards, for sheriffs and coroners in the various counties, commissions were issued to John Gooding, sheriff, and Morgan Morgan, coroner, of New Castle County; William Rodney, sheriff, and Edward Jennings, coroner, of Kent County; Rives Holt, sheriff, and Samuel Davis, coroner, of Sussex County.

During the latter part of 1726, and early in 1727, the Assembly of the lower counties passed many important measures. All vessels having on board sickly persons, or coming from places where there existed a contagious disease, were not allowed to come within one mile of the shore until they secured a permit from the Governor or two justices of the peace. Laws were also passed obliging all witnesses legally summoned to testify against the destruction of landmarks; against the construction of dams across rivers and creeks, except for mills; against defacing or counterfeiting seals and charters, inciting riots and holding unlawful assemblies. A measure of more importance, however, was the special form of trial furnished for negroes. The Governor was to commission two justices of the peace in each county, who, with six of the most able freeholders in the neighborhood, should form a board for the trial of all negro or mulatto slaves. In case the negro was convicted of a capital offense and suffered the death penalty, he was at once appraised by the same judicial board, and two-thirds of his value paid to the owner out of the county treasury. The punishment of the negroes for meeting in bodies numbering more than six, or for carrying arms, was twenty-one lashes on the bare back. If convicted of stealing, the slave was lashed at the discretion of the board, while his master was compelled to make reparation for the stolen property. The punishment for an attempt at rape upon a white woman was rather revolting, the negro being forced to stand in the pillory at the court-house for four hours, on some court day, with his ears nailed to the frame, and before he was let down they were cut off close to his head.

For the better security of debts, the Assembly authorized the sale of land when the personal estate was insufficient to meet the liability, unless the rent of the land would prove to be great enough to meet the claim in seven years, in which case the creditor was obliged to wait that time. But by far the most important measure of this period of legislative activity was the establish-

ment of a regular system of law and equity courts. There was first the court styled the General Quarter Sessions of the Peace and Gaol Delivery in each county, and was held four times in each year. It was held at Lewistown on the first Tuesday in February, May, August and November, at Dover on the second Tuesday in the same months, and at New Castle on the third Tuesday. This court was presided over by the justices, or at least three of them, regularly commissioned by the Governor, who were also empowered to hold special or private sessions whenever they deemed fit, or to take recognizance of misdemeanors out of the regular sessions, and bring them before the court at its regular meeting. Such cases as were not within their jurisdiction they took to the Supreme Court of Oyer and Terminer. The General Quarter Sessions was held for three days at each of its regular meetings, and to expedite matters the writs of any justice were applicable in all the counties. There was also a Court of Record held twice during each year in every county. The days for holding this court were the 5th of October and the 21st of April at New Castle; the 9th of October and the 25th of April at Dover; the 13th of October and 29th of April at Lewistown; but when either of the dates named fell on Sunday the court met on the following day. This court was known as the Supreme Court of the Counties of New Castle, Kent and Sussex upon Delaware. It was presided over by three judges commissioned by the Governor, one of whom was the chief justice. Each of them, however, had full power to issue writs of *habeas corpus*, *certiorari*, writs of error, etc. The jurisdiction of this court was rather broad, but in general it was a court of appeal, considering cases brought from the Court of Quarter Sessions, or any other on a writ of error, or appeal, or otherwise. Besides these there was a County Court of Common Pleas, held quarterly at the same times and places as the regular Quarter Sessions. The Governor issued commissions to competent justices, not less than three, who presided. They held pleas of assize, *scire facias*, replevins, informations and actions upon penal statutes, and heard all such cases as ordinarily come under the jurisdiction of similar courts. The same justices who sat in the Courts of Common Pleas were also required to sit quarterly, at nearly the same time that the Common Pleas were held, as a Court of Equity. The prothonotary of the Common Pleas Court was also register of the Court of Equity. They considered all cases in equity and any other matters coming under the control of Chancery Courts. This remained the constitution of the court until 1760, when material changes were made.

In March, 1727, the old bugbear concerning Penn's title to the lower counties was once more started. Governor Gordon had spent some time at New Castle, and while there had secured documentary evidence that John French had been spreading reports derogatory to the proprietary's family and their authority over the lower counties. When the Governor returned to Philadelphia he laid the facts, as well as the papers, before the Council, and although it was not proven that French was making any attempt to overthrow the government, or advance any claim of his own, he was, nevertheless, removed from the Council. While in New Castle, however, the Governor had learned that William Till, who had been removed from the magistracy of Sussex County in the preceding year, had since been conducting himself very satisfactorily, and had done good service in the late Assembly. He had admitted his error, and declared that he had been imposed upon. He was, therefore, recommended for reinstatement, which was accordingly done, when the magistrates were commissioned in April. In that month the Council commissioned the following to be judges of the Supreme Court of the lower counties: David Evans, Richard Grafton, Robert Gordon, Benjamin Shurmer, Henry Brooke and Jonathan Bailey. The justices of the peace for New Castle and Sussex Counties were at the same time appointed for 1727–28, those for the former being Robert Gordon, John Richard, Joseph England, Charles Springer, Andrew Peterson, Hans Hanson, Simon Hadly, William Read, Thomas January, James James, Jr., Richard Cantwell, Joseph Robieson and James Armitage. Those from Sussex were Henry Brooke, William Till, Richard Hinman, John Roades, Woolsey Burton, Simon Kolluck, Samuel Rowland, John May, Jeremiah Claypoole, Jacob Kolluck, John Jacobs, Samuel Davis, Joseph Cord, Robert Shankland, George Walton, Enoch Cumings, and David Smith.

George I. having died June 11th, the proclamation of George II. was published at New Castle in September, it having been decided by the Governor and Council that it was unnecessary to proclaim the accession in each of the counties separately. Immediately upon the receipt of the intelligence an address of allegiance and submission to the new monarch was drawn up and signed by various magistrates and citizens of Kent, Sussex and New Castle Counties. The signers were Morgan Morgan, Enoch Morgan, Joseph Hill, Elisha Thomas, Rees Jones, Thomas Davis, David French, John French, George Ross, Robert Sparks, James Sykes, Henry Newton, John Van Gezell, Hugh Stevenson, John Hove, Samuel Griffith, Benjamin Burleigh, William Goddards, Robert Gordon, Richard Grafton, John Richardson, Charles Springer, Thomas January, William

Read, James Armitage, James James, Jr., Samuel Shennan and Jeremiah Shennan.

The October elections for sheriffs and coroners in 1727 resulted in a choice of the same officers in all the counties except in Kent, where Thomas Skidmore replaced William Rodeney as sheriff. In the following year, however, William Read was made sheriff of New Castle County, in place of John Gooding; Moses Freeman instead of Thomas Skidmore, in Kent; and John Jacobs succeeded Coroner Samuel Davis in Sussex. A vacancy in several offices occurred in October, 1728, by the death of Colonel John French, and ten of the justices of the peace for New Castle County at once addressed a petition to the Governor, requesting that whatever appointments might be made, the officers selected should be residents of the lower counties. A petition was also received from Peter Evans, praying to be at once admitted to the office of probate of wills, having been appointed by Penn, but kept out by French. Evans, however, resided at Philadelphia, and in consideration of the petition just received from the justices, his petition was not granted. Robert Gordon was appointed to fill the position, and other nominations were made, as follows: David French, to be clerk of the peace and prothonotary of the Court of Common Pleas in New Castle County; William Read, to be clerk of the Orphans' Court; and William Shaw to succeed French as attorney-general. There was nothing further of particular note which occurred to disturb the tranquil tenor of life in the territories during the next few years. Alexander Keith was appointed collector of customs at New Castle upon the death of Collector Lowman, in 1729. Later in the year a stir was created by a seditious newspaper article, which caused its publisher, Andrew Bradford, to be committed for court. The article was written by one of the missionaries sent out from England, named Campbell, who had been stationed in New Castle County, but had been forced to leave on account of unbecoming conduct. By way of revenge he had written the article mentioned, which contained numerous charges against the government of Pennsylvania and the territories, and advice to the people to revolt. He had shrewdly gotten out of the reach of the authorities, however, and had gone to Long Island.

The only indulgence in politics which was enjoyed by the people was their annual election for sheriffs and coroners in each county. But from the records of these officers it is evident that the holders of the positions were well able to manage their affairs, as those who got control of the offices in 1726 continued, with only a few changes, for four or five years, when a second lot came in, who repeated the same thing. At the elections in 1729 William Read was appointed sheriff, and Morgan Morgan continued as coroner of New Castle County; William Rodeney regained his position as sheriff of Kent County, and Samuel Berry was re-elected coroner, and in Sussex, Rivers Holt was re-elected sheriff, while John Roades succeeded John Jacobs as coroner. In 1730 the old officers were all put out with the exception of Berry. The elections resulted in the choice of William Reid and Abraham Gooding as sheriff and coroner for New Castle County; John Hall and Samuel Berry for the same offices in Kent; and Simon Kolluck and Cornelius Wiltbank in Sussex. A nuisance which the people found themselves forced to abate was the rapidly increasing number of peddlers. Many complained that they were imposed on by the vagrants, both in quality and price, and as they paid no taxes, there was no reason why they should be allowed to have unlimited privileges. In 1731 the Assembly took the matter in hand, by prohibiting any one from engaging in this occupation without obtaining a recommendation from the justices of the County Court, and also a license from the Governor. In addition to this, they were required to give bond with at least one surety, and the cost of the license was fixed at twenty-five shillings for one who traveled in a wagon or on horse, and fifteen shillings for one traveling on foot. The elections in 1731 placed in office John Gooding and Robert Robertson as sheriff and coroner, respectively, in New Castle County. The old sheriffs were undisturbed in the other two counties, but the coroners were not so fortunate, Nicholas Loockerman replacing Samuel Berry in Kent County, and John Clowes succeeding Cornelius Wiltbank in Sussex. In 1732, Robertson was defeated by Henry Gonné as coroner of New Castle County. There was no change in the sheriff's office, nor in either of the offices in Kent, but in Sussex, Simson Kolluck and Joshua Fisher were elected sheriff and coroner. In the following year the only changes were that Henry Newton became sheriff of New Castle County, and Daniel Rodeney in Kent. At this time the dispute over the boundaries assumed a very serious aspect, but the border frays were quieted with less trouble than was expected.

In 1734 an important and fundamental change was made by an act regulating elections, as well as the number, of members of the Assembly. Thereafter the elections for members of the Assembly were to take place on the 1st day in each succeeding October, at the Court-Houses in New Castle, Dover and Lewistown, for the counties in which these towns were situated. Each county was then entitled to at least six representatives, but the Assembly might increase that number if it saw fit. Voting was made compulsory for all qualified electors, under penalty of a fine of twenty shillings. The Assembly thus elected met on the 20th of

October at New Castle, and the only excuses for which the Governor was allowed to temporarily change the place of meeting was a raging sickness or foreign invasion. The qualifications for the right of suffrage, and also to hold office, were that the person should be a subject of Great Britain, and twenty-one years of age. He was also required to be a freeholder within the government of the lower counties and have fifty acres of land or more, twelve of which were cleared and improved, or in lieu of this he must have possessed forty pounds in money. But in any case, he must have been a resident for two years. Any person offering to vote who was not so qualified was subject to a fine of five pounds, and was not eligible to serve as a member during that year. This punishment was also imposed for bribery. Inspectors of election were chosen, one out of each hundred, and they, with the sheriff or coroner, acted as judges of elections. Every elector handed in the names of the parties for whom he desired to vote in writing; but if he were illiterate, one of the clerks in attendance at the polls was empowered to publicly write whatever names the elector should mention, and deposit the paper in the box. Any vacancies occurring were filled by special elections under writs issued by the Governor, or in case of his failure to issue them promptly, the Speaker of the Assembly was empowered to sign them. The sheriff then publicly announced the time and place of election, and posted notices on trees, houses, and even the Court-House and places of worship. The Assembly had authority to elect a Speaker and other officers, and was the judge of the qualification and election of its own members, impeached criminals, redressed grievances, passed laws and possessed other powers necessary for the conduct of a legislative body. The quorum was two-thirds. No member was allowed to vote before he attested to a rigid oath, in which he was obliged to swear allegiance to the King, his abhorrence for the doctrines of the Catholic Church, and his belief in the divine inspiration of the Old and New Testaments. Members of the Assembly received six shillings per day, and the Speaker ten, as well as a mileage of three pence, which was paid by the counties from which they were elected.

At the October elections in 1734 all the old officers were continued except Simon Kolluck, who was succeeded by Cornelius Wiltbank as sheriff of Kent. In 1735 John Gooding once more became sheriff of New Castle County, with Henry Gonne as coroner. In Kent, Daniel Rodeney and Nicholas Loockerman retained their offices, while in Sussex both officers were changed by the election of John Shankland for sheriff, and Daniel Nunez as coroner.

The year 1740 brought forth many new measures from the law-makers of New Castle, and some of them were of no little importance. A pound was in this year built at New Castle, and paid for by the people of the town. This was to check the nuisances suffered from horses and cattle running loose. Thereafter, if a stray horse or head of cattle were found on the property of a person whose fences were erected according to law, he might put the horse or cattle in the pound until compensated by their owners for whatever damage was done. Another improvement made at New Castle was the establishment of a regular market, and thorough regulations for its conduct. Philip Van Leuvenigh was appointed clerk, with authority to enforce conformity to its rules. Wednesday and Saturday were selected as the regular market days, and no one was allowed to buy or sell any provisions, except fish, milk and bread, anywhere but at the market-place on those days. On a breach of this rule the clerk of the market could levy on both purchaser and vender for the amount of the sale, and these fines were used for the benefit of the poor of the town. The regulations prohibited the sale of unsound beef, and the use of false weights. The size and weight of the loaves of bread allowed to be sold were fixed by the justices of the peace, and every baker was required to mark his loaves so as to distinguish them from others. No person was allowed to offer any meat for sale on Tuesdays and Fridays, except in the months of June, July and August.

It was also found necessary to appoint new trustees over the public land at Dover. The three who had been appointed in 1719—Benjamin Shurmer, William Brinkloe and Richard Richardson—had since died, and the absence of any one with authority to sell the land had been a serious drawback to the town. In their stead were appointed John Halliday, James Gorrel and Thomas Skidmore, who were authorized not only to sell all the land not yet disposed of, but also to confirm the titles of any sold by the former trustees.

The people at this time began to tire of the practice of re-electing sheriffs for a number of successive terms, but found that it was no easy matter to check. Many evils had resulted from the custom. The sheriffs had resorted to bribery, and it was also complained that their liberal distribution of intoxicating liquors usually transformed the polls into a howling mob of drunk and disorderly ruffians. Along with the many other additions to the statutes in 1740, the Assembly enacted a law prohibiting a sheriff who had served three terms to be re-elected until a like time had elapsed after the expiration of his last term, and at the same time heavy penalties were threatened on all who offered or accepted bribes in money, drink or in any form whatsoever. Another evil which received a check was the importation of paupers, in whom an extensive trade had sprung

up. It was now made unlawful to import a convict or pauper into the territories without paying a duty of five pounds for each one, and giving bond in the sum of fifty pounds for his good behavior for one year. In the case of infants or lunatics and the like, the person importing them had either to indemnify the government or return them whence they came. Special collectors were appointed to see that these provisions were obeyed in each county. John Finney was appointed for New Castle County, John Holliday for Kent and Simon Kolluck for Sussex, and any vacancies were filled by a commission from the Governor.

An attempt was also made to decrease drunkenness, blasphemy and profanity. Drunkenness and mild profanity were punished by small fines, and the culprit was placed in the stocks for from two to three hours, but for blasphemy he was set in the pillory for two hours, branded on the forehead with a B, and then received thirty-nine lashes on the bare back in full view of the public. Inn-keepers were more strictly watched, and the prices of liquor and the quantity allowed to be sold were annually fixed by the justices in each county, and the lists were posted in each tavern. Minor measures were passed, fixing the time for killing deer and making it punishable to kill a deer or fawn from January 1st to August 1st. The height of post and rail fences was put at four and a half feet, and worm fences at five feet, and several other similar laws were passed at the same time.

About the middle of 1740 the lower counties had a lively experience with Robert Jenkins, who had counterfeited a large quantity of their paper money. Jenkins was a resident of Salem, New Jersey, and, in 1739, had gone to England with a number of the bills and offered Abraham Ilive, a printer at Southwark, five guineas if he would duplicate them, and promised a further reward when he returned to America. Ilive, it appears, had printed the bills, but informed on Jenkins. The latter shipped as a cook on a vessel bound for New York, and arrived in June, 1740. Governor Clarke, of New York, was awaiting his arrival, and nine hundred and seventy-one twenty-shilling notes were found in his possession, although none of them were signed. He was taken prisoner and Governor Thomas, of Pennsylvania, was notified. He was brought to Philadelphia, and on July 3d was examined by the Governor and Recorder Andrew Hamilton, but Jenkins firmly held out that the bills, as well as two phials of red and black ink taken from his trunk, were there when it was purchased, and he knew nothing of them until they were found secreted in the top by the authorities at New York. It was plain that he was guilty, however, and he was forthwith sent to New Castle, where he was tried and convicted.

In October the elections for sheriff and coroner in the three counties resulted in favor of John Gooding and Henry Gosne for sheriff and coroner of New Castle County, Samuel Robieson and Richard James for Kent, and Cornelius Wiltbank and John Wynkoop for Sussex. In 1741 the New Castle officers were re-elected, but in Kent County Edmund Badger succeeded Richard James as coroner, and in Sussex Peter Hall and Peter Clowes became sheriff and coroner, respectively.

The Assembly, in 1742, again passed a number of new laws with a view to preventing dueling, horse-stealing, burglary and other similar crimes. A measure deserving of more notice, however, and passed in the same year, was a jury act. The sheriffs in each county were ordered, on the receipt of proper writs from the court, to summon twenty-eight of the most able and substantial men in their bailiwicks to serve as grand jurors, and forty-eight as petty jurors, in the Court of Oyer and Terminer. For the Quarter Sessions they were to summon a grand jury in each county before the beginning of the May term, and this jury served during the year, but a petty jury was summoned quarterly, before each session of the court. But in case the sheriff was in any way connected with the parties interested in a suit pending before the courts, or was in any way disabled, his authority for summoning jurymen was transferred to the coroner.

An innovation that was now introduced was the appointment of wood-corders in every town and village in the counties. It was the duty of these officers to measure every cord of wood offered for sale and certify that the dimensions were such as were properly required. The corder received a six-pence from the purchaser for his labors.

The market at New Castle having proved a success, similar additions were made to Dover and Lewistown. The regulations were almost identical with those for the New Castle market, and the management was likewise placed in the hands of clerks. Thomas Nixon was appointed for Dover and Joshua Fisher for Lewistown.

An incident that occurred in 1742, while of no great importance, and yet giving evidence that the lower counties were progressing smoothly and harmoniously in their independent government, arose out of a quarrel between Governor George Thomas and the Assembly of the province. The Assembly had used rather harsh language in reference to the Governor, and an allusion had also been made to his allowances. In reply Governor Thomas employed the following language: "But before I proceed to a vindication of myself give me leave to say that you would have shown more exactness if you had distinguished between the perquisites of this government and those of the lower counties, for I conceive you

have no more to do with what relates to that government than you have with the income of my own private estate. To that Assembly and their constituents I am pleased with making my acknowledgment for the provision they have annually made for my support, but more particularly for the justice they have done to my administration, for from hence it will be concluded by all unprejudiced persons that the names impostor, plunderer, invader of the liberties of the people, etc., etc., are the result of personal prejudice or a malignant party spirit."

Samuel Bickley and Benjamin Cook were this year elected sheriff and coroner of New Castle County. In Kent and Sussex the old officers held over.

In 1743 the method of raising taxes in the lower counties was subjected to a complete rearrangement. At the regular October election for members of the Assembly, the voters chose an assessor for each hundred, service being compulsory. On the Tuesday after the meeting of the Quarter Sessions in November, the justices in each county and eight grand jurymen, together with all the assessors for the county, formed themselves into a sort of finance board, and estimated the amount required to meet public expenses for the coming year. When this was determined they made out a list of items and the sum required for each, after the fashion of a regular appropriations bill. In August the county clerk directed the constables in every hundred or district in his county to prepare lists containing the full name of every taxable person and all other freemen within their districts. These lists were furnished to the board in November, and were used by them in assessing the property of the county. The assessments were posted by the county clerk, and four weeks after the board held its November meeting it again convened to hear any appeals from their assessments, or to correct omissions or other errors. At this second meeting they appointed a collector in every hundred for one year. The collector was paid at the rate of ten per cent., but where he was obliged to sell any property, or arrest a tax-payer by reason of his inability to collect, his fee was limited to three shillings sixpence in the first case, and four shillings in the second. The county treasurer received and disbursed these funds, and was allowed four per cent., and his accounts were examined annually by three members of the board. The justices, grand jurymen and assessors who formed the board in New Castle County were together allowed eighteen pounds for their services, those in Kent fourteen pounds, while twelve pounds was the allowance for the Sussex board.

Matters were very quiet throughout the lower counties for several years, and even the Assembly remained comparatively inactive. The elections for sheriff and coroner for 1744 placed Samuel Bickley and Benjamin Cook in those offices in New Castle County; Thomas Green and Thomas Parke for Kent; and William Shankland and Robert Gill for Sussex. The following year no change was made except in the office of Sheriff of New Castle County, which was filled by Gideon Griffith. In 1746, Gideon Griffith and James McMullin were elected sheriff and coroner in New Castle; John Hunter and George Goforth in Kent; and William Shankland and John Molliston in Sussex.

In 1747 and 1748 all the lower counties were kept in a great state of excitement, owing to the attacks of privateers, but this has been treated of in another chapter. In 1747 the road leading from Philadelphia to New Castle was the cause of much annoyance, owing to its bad state of repair and difficulty of improving it. At a meeting of the Council, on August 18th, two petitions were presented, one from George Gray, keeper of the lower ferry, and the other from a number of citizens of Chester County, asking that the road be repaired. The record of the road had been destroyed, and it was some time before the Council consented to have the road resurveyed, but directions were finally given for the resurveying of the road, which was now made sixty feet wide.

Late in the year a number of commissions were issued to officers in New Castle County, who, with others in the various counties of the provinces and territories, had begun to organize small companies for defense. The new officers were Captain William McCrea, Lieutenant Alexander Moody, Ensign Francis Graham; Captain Henry Dyre, Lieutenant Paul Allfree, Ensign Jerrard Rothwell; Captain David Steward, Lieutenant Jerome Dusheene, Ensign Isaac Dusheene; Captain George Gano, Lieutenant James Egbertson, Ensign Thomas Bennett; Captain David Bush, Lieutenant John McKinley, Ensign Charles Bush; Captain John Vance, Lieutenant John Vandyke, Ensign William Harraway; Captain Alexander Porter, Lieutenant James King, Ensign Samuel Allricks; Captain Edward Fitzrandolph, Lieutenant Alexander Chance, Ensign Joseph Hotham. To these were added, early the next year, Captain William Patterson, Lieutenant John Read, Ensign Thomas Montgomery; Captain William Danforth, Lieutenant Henry Colesbury, Ensign Peter Jacquet; Captain David Witherspoon, Lieutenant Alexander Armstrong, Ensign Anthony Golden; Captain James McMechen, Lieutenant Abel Armstrong, Ensign Thomas Ogle; Captain William Armstrong, Lieutenant James Morris, Ensign Thomas Philips; Captain Jacob Gooding, Lieutenant Jacob Vanbebber and Ensign David Howell. In May, 1748, still further additions were made from New Castle County by the issuing of commissions

to Captain David Finney, Lieutenant Francis January, Ensign French Battle; Captain Evan Rice, Lieutenant James Walker, Ensign Charles Bryan, Sr.; Captain John Almond, Lieutenant Luloff Peterson, Ensign Luke Monuce; Captain Timothy Griffith, Lieutenant William Faries, Ensign David Rowland; Captain Archibald Armstrong, Lieutenant Thomas McCullough, Ensign Robert Pierce. Two regiments were organized in the county, and commissions issued to John Goodling, Sr., and William Armstrong as Colonels; Thomas James and William Patterson, lieutenant-colonels; and Jacob Vanbebber and William McCrea, majors.

In Kent County the appointments were to Captain John Vining, Lieutenant Thomas Parke, Ensign Richard Wells; Captain John Hunn, Lieutenant William Hirons, Ensign Mark Hirons; Captain Robert Blackshire, Lieutenant John Rees, Ensign William Rees; Captain George Martin, Lieutenant Jacob Alice, Ensign John Vanwinkle; Captain John Caton, Lieutenant Robert Catlin and Ensign Joseph Hodson. In August, New Castle County added Captain John Edwards, Lieutenant David Johns and Ensign Robert Stewart; and Kent, Captain David Marshall, Lieutenant David Clark, Ensign William Green; and Captain James Edwards, Lieutenant James Lewis, Ensign James James.

The elections in October, 1749, resulted in the appointment of John Vandyke and Samuel Silsby to be sheriff and coroner in New Castle County, Thomas Parke and William Blakiston in Kent, and Peter Clowes and William Shankland in Sussex. The two first-named counties retained the same officers in 1750, but Sussex elected William Shankland sheriff and Robert McIlwaine coroner. In 1751 George Munro and John Yeates were elected to fill the two offices in New Castle County. The two sheriffs were re-elected in Kent and Sussex but new coroners were elected, who were James Grey and John Rodeney.

The years 1751 and 1752 found the Assembly of the lower counties once more extremely active. One of the first matters of importance which received its attention was a new great seal for its government. The old seal had the word "Delloware" engraved on it, and as it was feared this might in time produce trouble, a new one was thought necessary. All papers stamped with the old one were declared to be perfectly legal, and Jehu Curtis, Benjamin Chew and Abraham Wyncoop were authorized to procure the new one. It was made of silver, was two inches in diameter and contained the arms of the King of Great Britain, the words "Counties on Delaware" and the date 1751.

As no building had yet been constructed for the market-place in Dover, Nicholas Ridgely, Andrew Caldwell and Thomas Alford were selected as a committee to lay off a square plot of ground in the middle of the court-house square on which to build a market-house. Thomas Clark was appointed clerk of the new market, and the regulations were made similar to those in New Castle. New trustees were in this year appointed for the general loan offices in the different counties. These offices had been in existence for two years, and originated in consequence of the re-printing, exchanging and re-emitting of twenty thousand pounds of paper money. The officers originally appointed were Jehu Curtis, John Vance and John McCoole for New Castle County, John Brinkley and Thomas Green for Kent, and Rives Holt and Jacob Kolluck in Sussex. Their duties comprised a general superintendence of the new issue of money, and each was required to give bond in the sum of one thousand pounds. The terms for which they had been appointed having now expired, Jehu Curtis and John Vance were reappointed in New Castle County and served with a new trustee, Richard McWilliam. In Kent County, John Vining and Andrew Caldwell were the new appointees, while both the old officers, Rives Holt and Jacob Kolluck, were continued in Sussex.

Steps were also taken toward the better maintenance of the bridges and highways in the different counties. The justices of the Quarter Sessions were instructed to appoint annually at the May session of the court one or more overseers in each hundred. All king's roads were ordered to be forty feet wide, of which thirty feet were kept grubbed and cleared, and all branches and limbs by the wayside were cut off within ten feet of the ground. Other public roads were to be thirty feet wide. Bridges over creeks or gulleys were twelve feet wide with railings three feet high. These were built and kept in repair at the expense of the county in which they were situated, unless the bridge was necessary by reason of a mill-race crossing the road, in which case the owner of the mill was obliged to attend to the bridge. If the people of any particular neighborhood considered a road necessary, application was made to the justices of the Quarter Sessions, who then chose five freeholders of good standing to examine the region through which the road was to run, and report as to the advisability of constructing it, the length, direction, damages and other necessary particulars. If the committee reported favorably, and the petitioners agreed to pay the damages, the road was constructed. To keep the roads in repair the overseers were empowered to require of every man paying taxes, amounting to thirty pounds or less, a day's work performed either by himself or a substitute. Those paying from thirty to sixty pounds were obliged to furnish two men, and all paying more than sixty pounds three men.

It was also necessary to appoint new trustees for a third time, two of the second set having died, to dispose of the remaining lots in Dover. James Gorrell, Benjamin Chew and Robert Willcocks were this time selected, with the same powers as were conferred on their predecessors. The last two mentioned were also appointed in a similar capacity in conjunction with Samuel Dickenson, John David and John Vining, to dispose of the old Dover jail and the ground about it. The people had raised a fund for building a new one, which, together with the proceeds coming from the sale of the old jail, was placed in the hands of the trustees to purchase a new lot. The sheriffs and coroners elected in October, 1752, were George Monroe and John Yeates for New Castle County, John Clayton and French Battle for Kent, and William Shankland and John Rodeney for Sussex County. In 1753 Monroe was re-elected, but John Yeates was succeeded as coroner of New Castle County by Robert Morrison. John Clayton, Jr., became sheriff of Kent County and French Battle retained his position as coroner. Two new officials were elected in Sussex County, the sheriff being Jacob Kolluck, Jr., and coroner John Spencer.

In 1754 John Curtis, the second judge of the Supreme Court, died, and William Till was appointed to succeed him by Governor James Hamilton. Several justices had also died in Kent County and a new commission was issued, at the same time, appointing Samuel Dickinson, John Brinckloe, Thomas Clark, Samuel Johns, William Farson, John Vining, George Wilson, George Martin, John Goading, Stephen Parradee, Robert Willcocks, Richard Wells, Thomas Irons and John Clayton, Jr.

The French and Indian War had by this time become merely a question of time. The French encroachments in the West had already stirred the people into activity, and all the colonies were taking whatever measures they were able to assist in the common defense. In 1754 the Assembly of the lower counties on Delaware had provided for raising a thousand pounds for His Majesty's use, and the following year, when the crisis was still nearer, an act was passed for establishing a militia. Braddock had by this time arrived and was already in the West. Every one was eager to assist in any way possible to decrease the hardships of the journey. The lower counties, not feeling themselves able to render any great assistance, but yet desirous of doing all within their power, sent a load of provisions to the general and also a herd of cattle for the army. Governor Robert Hunter Morris forwarded with them the following letter:

"*Inner Sir:* I have just time by the bearer to tell you that he brings in his wagon the several things expressed in the list enclosed, which you will order to be received from him, and with my hearty wishes for the General's health and success, desire he will do the little government of New Castle, Kent and Sussex the honor to accept of this small token of their regard for him and the cause in which he is employed.

"Some days ago, fifty very fine oxen went from hence and are to be joined by one hundred fat sheep at Lancaster, which the General will put to such use as he thinks fit, upon the present service.

"I am Sir, your most humble servant,

"Philadelphia, June 9th, 1755. "ROBT. H. MORRIS.

"To Capt. Robert Orme."

The list of provisions sent included twelve hams, eight cheeses, two dozen flasks of oil, ten loaves of sugar, one cask of raisins, one box of spice and currants, one box of pickles and mustard, eight casks of biscuits, four kegs of sturgeon, one keg of herring, two chests of lemons, two kegs of spirit, one cask of vinegar, one barrel of potatoes, and three tubs of butter.

The elections in 1755 for sheriff and coroner in the various counties proved the successful candidates to be William Goldenscher for sheriff, and Robert Morrison for coroner of New Castle County; Cæsar Rodney and French Battle, for the same offices in Kent County; and Jacob Kolluck, Jr. and Paynter Stockley in Sussex. In 1756 the war was declared, and preparations began in earnest. A map of Delaware Bay and River, which had been prepared by John Fisher, was about to be published, when Governor Morris ordered the publication to be postponed, lest a copy should reach the hands of the enemy and furnish them with assistance. The Assembly of the lower counties provided for striking the sum of two thousand pounds in new bills of credit, and on May 20th an embargo was declared prohibiting any exportation of provisions or arms from either of the three counties. This latter act, passed in May, expired on July 7th, as did also a similar law in the province. The Governor at once requested the province to renew their embargo, but this they stoutly refused to do, unless the lower counties would continue the embargo passed by their Assembly. Governor Morris went to New Castle to induce the Assembly to extend the time of the act, but they were only willing to continue it until July 20th, and from then for as long a period as the province might pass a similar act, but in no case should the time extend beyond October 22d New York and New Jersey had put effective embargoes into operation, but unless the barriers existed on every side the Assembly of the province held that an embargo would be not only useless, but harmful to them. The bill was finally passed, although it was the cause of much displeasure to many merchants, and later brought forth a vigorous protest from them.

The elections in the lower counties for 1756 resulted in favor of William Golden and Robert Morrison for sheriff and coroner of New Castle County, Cæsar Rodney and Matthias Crozier for Kent, and John Rodney and Wrixam Lewis for Sussex. A month later, by the beginning of November, the three counties had organized their militia in accordance with the acts of the Assem-

bly, and the following commissions were issued: for the Upper Regiment of militia in New Castle County, New Castle Hundred, North Division, Captain Richard McWilliam, Lieutenant Nathaniel Sibley, Ensign Zachariah Luwanigh; South Division, Captain Alexander Porter, Lieutenant Samuel Aldricks, Ensign John Bryan; White Clay Creek Hundred, West Division, Captain Rees Jones, Lieutenant Samuel Platt, Ensign Thomas Williamson; East Division, Captain Samuel Patterson, Lieutenant Thomas Dunn, Ensign William Reid; Mill Creek Hundred, North Division, Captain Evan Reese, Lieutenant James Walker, Ensign William Ball; South Division, Captain Thomas Gray, Lieutenant William McMehan, Ensign Alexander Montgomery; Christiana Hundred, Southwest Division, Captain James Latimer, Lieutenant Empson Bird, Ensign Thomas Duff; Southeast Division, Captain Andrew Trauberg, Lieutenant William Hay, Ensign Robert Robinson; North Division, Captain Thomas Ogle, Jr., Lieutenant John Armstrong, Ensign John Hendrickson; Brandywine Hundred, Southwest Division, Captain William Empson, Lieutenant Thomas McKim, Ensign John Elliot; Northeast Division, Captain Emanuel Grub, Jr., Lieutenant Benjamin Ford, Jr., Ensign Benjamin Kellam; Field Officers, Colonel William Armstrong, Lieutenant-Colonel John Finney, Major John McKinley.

The Lower Regiment of New Castle County was composed of the following officers, commissioned from the places named; St. George's Hundred, Captain John Jones, Lieutenant Jerome Dushane, Ensign Isaac Gooding; Captain John Vance, Lieutenant John Vandyke, Ensign John Anderson; Captain Adam Peterson, Lieutenant William Whittle, Ensign Alexander Bryan; Appoquinimink Hundred, Captain William Williams, Ensign Garrett Rothwell; Captain Alexander Chance, Lieutenant Charles Carson, Ensign Daniel Weldon; Captain George Ganz, Lieutenant Matthew Rhea, Ensign Thomas Bennet; Red Lion Hundred, Captain Jacob Gooding, Lieutenant Thomas Tobin, Ensign David Howell; Pencader Hundred, Captain Lewis Thomas, Lieutenant David Barr, Ensign William Mitchell; Captain Thomas Cooch, Lieutenant Alexander Porter, Ensign David Rowland; Field Officers, Colonel Jacob Vanlebber, Lieutenant-Colonel David Wetherspoon, Major Thomas James.

The Kent County militia was as follows: Upper Part of Mispillion Hundred, Captain Thomas Clark, Lieutenant Elijah Morris, Ensign Joseph Marrat; Middle Part of Mispillion Hundred, Captain Robert Killen, Lieutenant Archibald Fleming, Ensign Samuel Bevins Turner; Lower Part of Mispillion Hundred, Captain Benjamin Brinklee, Lieutenant John Molliston, Ensign Isaac Hall; Town of Dover, Captain John Clayton, Lieutenant French Battle, Ensign James Wells; Dover Hundred, Captain Cæsar Rodney, Lieutenant James Sykes, Ensign Caleb Luff; Upper Part of Little Creek Hundred, Captain John Barnes, Lieutenant James Tybout, Ensign Matthew Crozier; Lower Part of Little Creek Hundred, Captain John Brinklee, Lieutenant Willson Buckmaster, Ensign Stokely Sturgis; Murder Kill Hundred, Captain Daniel Robinson, Lieutenant Charles Hillyard, Ensign Benjamin Warren, Jr.; Lower Part of Murder Kill Hundred, Captain William Rhoades, Lieutenant Joseph Hutcheson, Ensign Thomas Craig; Upper Part of Duck Creek Hundred, Captain David Clark, Lieutenant John Reese, Ensign John Cahoon; Lower Part of Duck Creek Hundred, Captain Charles Hillyard, Lieutenant Jacob Stout, Ensign Thomas Tilton; Tidbury, Captain John Caten, Lieutenant Joseph Caldwell, Ensign James Caldwell; Field Officers, Colonel John Vining, Lieutenant-Colonel John Brinkle, Major Andrew Caldwell.

The Sussex County militia was organized as follows: for the northern military district of Cedar Creek Hundred, Captain Benjamin Wynkoop, Lieutenant Bethuel Watson, Ensign Levin Cropper; for the southern military district of Cedar Creek Hundred, Captain Thomas Hill, Lieutenant Isaac Watson, Ensign Nehemiah Davis; for the northern military district of Broad Kill Hundred, Captain John Haverloe, Lieutenant James Shipman, Ensign George Claypoole; for southern military district of Broad Kill Hundred, Captain Joseph Cord, Lieutenant William Craig, Ensign Absalom Little; for the northern military district of Lewes and Rehoboth Hundred, Captain David Hall, Lieutenant Jacob Kollock, Jr., Ensign John Hall; for the southern military district of Lewes and Rehoboth Hundred, Captain John Newbold, Lieutenant Rice Wolf, Ensign Peter March; for the northern military district of Indian River Hundred, Captain Cord Hazzard, Lieutenant Peter Robinson, Ensign Thomas Prettyman; for the southern military district of Indian River Hundred, Captain Burton Waples, Lieutenant John Burton, Ensign William Prettyman; Field Officers, Colonel Jacob Kollock, Lieutenant-Colonel Rives Holt, Major Jacob Phillips.

The returns for the militia of the lower counties summarized the above as follows: The Upper Regiment of New Castle County contained eleven companies, with the officers named and two sergeants for each company, with an average of sixty privates. The Lower Regiment of New Castle County consisted of nine companies, averaging about fifty privates, but with the same officers as in the Upper Regiment. Kent and Sussex Counties furnished twelve and eight companies respect-

ively, and the officers and privates in each were the same as in the various companies of the Lower Regiment of New Castle County. From this it appears that the lower counties organized a force of over two thousand troops.[1] In 1757 the same zeal was continued, the Assembly passing acts for striking bills of credit to the amount of four thousand pounds for His Majesty's use, for punishing desertions and mutiny in the army. A considerable difficulty arose about the middle of the year in consequence of the scruples entertained by the Quakers against bearing arms, and their stubborn resistance of the militia laws. The first instance that occurred was early in January. Christopher Wilson, of Christiana Hundred, had been summoned by Captain Thomas Ogle, but refused to appear. While seated on his horse, shortly afterwards, conversing with a friend, Samuel Clenny, two constables, William Bradshaw and Thomas Elliot, placed him under arrest, and he was afterwards taken before Justice David Bush. The justice, with very little ceremony, ordered him to jail and he was taken to New Castle. In June, however, a number of complaints were lodged against the same Justice Bush. Joseph Nickols complained that he had been summoned to appear before him and state why he had not complied with the provisions of the militia acts. He assured the magistrate that he was moved altogether by the dictates of conscience, and not at all by a desire to disobey the laws; but notwithstanding, the constables soon appeared and seized a cow. Joshua Baker had suffered in the same way, and Ruth Mendenhall testified that four men had come with swords and clubs and dealt out a similar fate upon her son. Thomas Nickols was another of the victims. These cases were brought to the attention of the Governor, and in addition other incidents of a like nature were cited. Joseph Newlin, John Perry, Jacob Robinson, Richard Carson, William Shipley, Jr., and Henry Troth all complained that their property had been seized to pay the fines exacted by Justice Bush for an act which they held was specially permitted by charter. Governor Denny took the matter under consideration, but it was allowed to drop. The incident at least served the Assembly of the province with a weapon of defense against the Governor, who had chided them for not being as diligent in the passage of militia laws as the lower counties.

Considerable jealousy had, in fact, sprung up in the province. The Governor was accused of being partial to the lower counties, and insinuations and attacks of every description were publicly aimed at them. The only notice taken of this by the Assembly at New Castle was in an address to Governor Denny in October, 1757, when they expressed their disgust at such assaults, and their delight at being independent of the province. The charges were in truth most unjust, for the part taken by the lower counties in the French and Indian War was relatively, and in some respects absolutely, far greater than that taken by the province.

By the end of 1757 they had nearly four thousand troops organized. A battery and barracks were also begun late in the year, and the little government was boldly straining every nerve to faithfully perform its duty. The embargo was renewed at New Castle and Lewistown in March, 1758, and very soon afterwards Governor Denny convened the Assembly at New Castle. In his speech before that body, he informed them that in letters lately received from England, the King promised to make every effort at the coming session of Parliament to secure the passage of an act for compensating the provinces for their efforts in his behalf, but also requesting all possible assistance at that very critical moment. The Assembly promised, through Speaker Jacob Kolluck, to do all in their power, and regretted that their means were not sufficient to allow them to offer as much as their inclinations prompted. Nevertheless, an act was soon passed for raising a loan of eight thousand pounds.

In April, 1759, the Assembly passed a bill for reprinting and exchanging twenty thousand pounds of bills of credit, and for striking seven thousand pounds additional for His Majesty's use. Jacob Kolluck, William Armstrong and Cæsar Rodney were appointed to superintend the printing of the twenty-seven thousand pounds, the bills varying from one to twenty shillings. They were signed by William Armstrong of New Castle County, John Barns of Kent, and David Hall of Sussex. Ten thousand pounds were placed in the hands of the trustees of the loan office in New Castle County, and for Kent and Sussex, their trustees received respectively six and four thousand pounds for re-distribution. The seven thousand pounds were placed in charge of Messrs. John Finney, George Munro, Cæsar Rodney, Joseph Caldwell, David Hall and Joseph Kolluck, Jr., and was to be used in the support of one hundred and eight men for service in the southern colonies, the money being raised by an additional tax of six-pence on the pound for five years. The reason for joining together these two measures, which it seemed might better have been passed separately, soon became apparent. They had pursued the latter course on a former occasion, but the proprietary had objected to the re-emission. When the Governor and Council came down to New Castle, on May 5th, they flatly refused to ratify the double measure, for the reason named, and also because in the previous year the lower counties had supported three hundred men, and now had cut the number down to one hundred and eighty. A conference was held between the Governor and the Speaker of the

[1] "Archives of Pennsylvania," p. 87.

Assembly who politely informed him that the House had resolved to furnish no men at all if they were compelled to alter their bill. They well saw that the Governor could not afford to reject their assistance, no matter how insignificant it was. Their calculations soon proved to be correct, for on the 7th the Council reluctantly ordered the Governor to sign the bill.

In October the returns for the election of sheriffs and coroners announced that in New Castle County John McKinley and William Smith had been elected; in Kent County, Thomas Parker and William Wells, and in Sussex, Joseph Shankland and Jabez Fisher.

In April, 1760, the Assembly was met by Gov. James Hamilton, who had succeeded Gov. Denny in November. He announced new instructions from the King, graciously thanking his American subjects for their services, and offering to arm and supply with provisions the large number of men which he hoped they would continue to raise. The Assembly asserted their desire to comply with this to the utmost limit of their ability, and at the same time handed the Governor two bills for his signature. Governor Hamilton withheld his signature, to learn what they proposed to do in connection with his war message; but on their promise to issue a new loan, he signed the bill and returned to Philadelphia. The Assembly this year placed four thousand pounds at his disposal, but they now also devoted some attention to internal affairs, which had for several years been subordinated to the war. The Supreme Court was completely reorganized under the name of the Supreme Court of the Government of the Counties of New Castle, Kent and Sussex upon Delaware. It was to meet at New Castle on the twenty seventh of April, and the twenty third of October, at Dover on the twenty eighth of October, and on the Monday preceding the meeting of the Court of Common Pleas in May, and at Lewistown on the Mondays preceding the meetings of the Court of Common Pleas in May and November. There were now to be the chief justice and three others to preside, instead of two, as before. A supplement to the act passed in 1719, for encouraging the construction of good mills, was also passed in 1760, and an agent for the government of the lower counties was stationed at London to look after their interests. The agent appointed was David Barclay, Jr., of London.

Thomas Dunn and James Walker were elected sheriff and coroner at the October elections in New Castle County; William Rhodes and Jabez Jenkins in Kent; and Joseph and David Shankland in Sussex.

In 1761 the London agent announced that he had received something over three thousand pounds, as the share belonging to the three counties, out of a sum granted by Parliament as compensation to the colonies. The agent was allowed to retain one-half per cent., and for the management of the residue Benjamin Chew and William Plumstead were appointed trustees. One-half of this sum was paid to New Castle County, three-tenths to Kent, and the remaining two-tenths to Sussex, and the money was employed in liquidating the debts contracted in consequence of the war.

The days for holding the Supreme Court were again changed this year, and were fixed for New Castle on the fifth of April and fifth of September; for Dover on the fifteenth of April and fifteenth of September; and for Lewistown on the Fridays preceding the meetings of the May and November sessions of the Quarter Sessions.

Another payment was received by Agent Barclay in London, in 1762, this time amounting to three thousand seven hundred and forty-five pounds, and paid pursuant to an act of Parliament of 1759. William Plumstead and Benjamin Chew were again appointed to manage the fund. The money was divided among the counties in the same proportion as the first payment and applied to similar purposes. These payments were a great relief to the people, to whom the war had been a heavy burden. They at once rallied, however, and again began to employ their money for purposes more profitable than war. The public roads were the first things that were looked after. In Kent County the road beginning at Salisbury, dividing Kent and New Castle Counties, and thence running to Dover, as well as the two drawbridge roads leading from Dover, were now made public or king's roads, which placed them under the care of the county authorities. In Sussex County the roads running from the Three Runs through Lewistown were raised to the same dignity. In New Castle County a new highway was built, beginning at the border of Chester County and going to Brandywine Creek, and from there one was laid out to Salisbury and another to Blackbird Bridge.

The successful candidates in 1762 for sheriff and coroner for New Castle County were Thomas Dunn and James Walker; for Sussex, Daniel Nunez, Jr., and Samuel Rowland, Jr.; and for Kent, William Rhodes and John Gray. The next year the same offices were filled in New Castle County by Thomas Duff and William Stewart, in Sussex by Daniel Nunez, Jr., and John Watton, and in Kent by Daniel Robertson and John Gray.

In 1764 the roads of New Castle County again occupied the attention of the Assembly. An entirely new system was adopted in this county for their management, the old one not having given satisfaction. The roads were now placed under the control of a board of commissioners, consisting of Messrs. John Stapler, Thomas Tobin,

David Stewart, George Monro and John McKinley. They had entire control over the building and repairing of roads, and also filled up vacancies in their own body. No changes were made in this year in New Castle County offices by the annual elections, but in Kent Thomas Collins and Matthew Manlove were elected sheriff and coroner, and in Sussex Daniel Nunez, Jr., continued as sheriff and Henry Davis was elected coroner. In November new commissions for the justices of the Court of Oyer and Terminer were issued to John Vining, Jacob Vanlebber and Richard McWilliam. To these John Clowes was added in 1765, and Robert Killen received an appointment as an additional justice of the peace for the Mispillion hundreds in Kent County, while the elections in the same year in the lower counties, resulted in the choice of Thomas Duff for sheriff of New Castle County and James Walker for coroner. In Kent County Thomas Collins and John Gray were elected, and in Sussex Rhoads Shankland and Nathan Young. In 1766 John Thompson and James Walker were elected to fill the two offices in New Castle County. The old sheriffs were re-elected in both the other counties, but new coroners, who were Solomon Wallace and Thomas Gray, for Kent and Sussex, respectively. Governor John Penn went down to New Castle on October 21st and passed a number of bills. A slight hitch occurred over a measure relating to testamentary affairs and providing for the better security of orphans in the enjoyment of their estates, probably owing to its great length. The Assembly finally submitted to certain amendments offered by the Governor, and this also became a law. While at New Castle Governor Penn issued commissions to Jacob Stout, Fenwick Fisher and Thomas Tilton to be justices of the peace in Kent County in places where none existed. For the County Courts of the same county he also appointed as justices John Caton, Richard Wells, Thomas Irons, Andrew Caldwell, Cæsar Rodney, Charles Ridgely, John Barns, James Sykes, William Rhoades, William Rodney, Robert Holliday, John Clark and Robert Killen. Another act of importance which received the Governor's signature while on this visit to New Castle was providing for changing the methods of choosing inspectors of elections and assessors, both of which officers were thereafter appointed by the qualified electors in each hundred at meetings held for the purpose on the 15th of every September.

The first shadows of the Revolution had by this time cast themselves plainly in the light of the people. The Stamp Act in 1765 stirred up the righteous indignation of the colonists to the highest pitch. After having put forth every effort in the French and Indian War, to be thus ungratefully treated in return was more than they could quietly bear. To the Congress which was called at New York by the other colonies to protest against the Stamp Act the lower counties sent Cæsar Rodney, Thomas McKean and Jacob Kolluck, the Speaker of the Assembly. When the act was repealed the rejoicing was only equaled by the depression upon its passage. Rodney and McKean were again selected by the Assembly to draw up an address to the King, expressive of their gratitude. They little imagined when the address was prepared, the changes which the next decade were to bring, as may easily be gleaned from the following extract teeming with sentiments of love and loyalty for Britain:

"We cannot help glorying in being the subjects of a king that has made the preservation of the civil and religious rights of his people, and the established constitution, the foundation and constant rule of his government, and the safety, ease, and prosperity of his people, his chiefest care; of a king whose mild and equal administration is sensibly felt and enjoyed in the remotest parts of his dominions. The clouds which lately hung over America are dissipated. Our complaints have been heard and our grievances redressed; trade and commerce again flourish. Our hearts are animated with the warmest wishes for the prosperity of the mother country, for which our affection is unbounded, and your faithful subjects here are transported with joy and gratitude. Such are the blessings we may justly expect will ever attend the measures of your majesty, pursuing steadily the united and true interests of all your people throughout your wide-extended empire, assisted with the advice of a British parliament and a virtuous and wise ministry. We most humbly beseech your majesty graciously to accept the strongest assurances that, having the justest sense of the many favors we have received from your royal benevolence, during the course of your majesty's reign, and how much our present happiness is owing to your paternal love and care for your people, we will at all times most chearfully contribute to your majesty's service to the utmost of our abilities, when your royal requisitions, as heretofore, shall be made known; that your majesty will always find such returns of duty and gratitude from us, as the best of kings may expect from the most loyal subjects, and that we will demonstrate to all the world that the support of your majesty's government, and the honor and interest of the British nation, are our chief care and concern, desiring nothing more than the continuance of our wise and excellent constitution in the same happy, firm and envied situation in which it was delivered down to us from our ancestors and your majesty's predecessors."

But the enthusiasm of their affection was destined soon to be dulled. In 1767 another odious act was passed by Parliament, imposing duty on tea, paper, glass and other commodities imported to the colonies. Again the protestations of the colonists were forwarded in addresses, petitions and remonstrances to King George. This time, however, they were not so promptly complied with. The taxes were continued and the Revolution began to assume definite form.

To return to the internal affairs, we find the years 1767 and 1768 comparatively uneventful in Delaware At the instance of the merchants of Philadelphia, the Assembly of the province placed buoys on the shoals in Delaware Bay in 1767, and for the surveys employed Henry Fisher, of Lewistown, who had also been engaged by them in 1764 to select a site for the first light-house at Cape Henlopen. The election in 1767 placed in office John Thompson and James Walker as sheriff and coroner of New Castle County; James Wells and Solomon Wallace in Kent; Rhoades Shankland and William Parker in Sussex. In 1768 William McClay succeeded Walker, and Boaz Manlove

and George Walker were elected as sheriff and coroner in Sussex Coun y, but the other officers were re-elected.

The year 1769 found the Assembly once more in a mood for extensive legislation, and they dealt with every subject from the Supreme Court down to an attempt to prevent pigs from running at large without yokes and rings in certain parts of New Castle County. New trustees were appointed to the several loan offices in the different counties, the terms of the old officers having expired. The officers chosen were Evan Rice, Thomas McKean and Richard McWilliam for New Castle County; John Vining and Cæsar Rodney for Kent; and Jacob Kolluck and John Rodney in Sussex, they having been all reappointed. The days for the convening of the Supreme Court were changed again, the days selected on this occasion being the 14th of October and the 15th of April for New Castle, the 7th of October and the 22d of April for Dover, and the Friday following the meeting of the November Quarter Sessions and the 28th of April at Lewi-town. On the Governor's visit to New Castle in October he issued a new commission for justices of the peace and the Court of Common Pleas in New Castle County, appointing Evan Rice, John Stapler, Thomas James, David Finney, William Patterson, Thomas Cooch, William Armstrong, James Lattimer, John Jones, Thomas McKim, William Williams, Jacob Peterson, John Evans, Thomas Tobin, Theodore Maurice, Thomas McKean, Benjamin Noxen and John Malcolm. In January, 1770, five new justices were appointed in Kent County, owing to the failure of some of the justices nominated on the last commission to qualify. The new magistrates were Thomas Rodney, Warner Mifflin, James Boyer, Thomas Hanson and Jonathan Anderson.

In 1772 the Assembly came to the rescue of the people of Wilmington, who were continually entangling themselves in disputes over the situation and direction of the streets whenever a new building was erected. The boundaries were fixed as well as land marks. The burgesses were empowered to appoint three or more surveyors to regulate the construction of party-walls and other matters which also had given rise to trouble, and regulations for laying off streets and alleys were also drawn up, but not conflicting with the law of the borough for the same purpose. A trouble of a more annoying nature, and one which had unfortunately not been satisfactorily dealt with in many parts of the country, even after the lapse of more than a century, was the prevalence of fraud at elections. The sheriff or, in his absence the coroner was now made the judge of election, to be assisted by the inspector, who was required to take a rigid oath to assist to "prevent all frauds and deceits" at the election. These officers were aided by two clerks, who recorded the name of the voter and the person for whom he voted. As the inspector received a vote, he was required to call out in a loud tone the name of the elector, which was taken down by the clerk. A series of boxes were supplied by the sheriff, each containing the name of a hundred in the county, to receive the votes of their respective inhabitants. At the close of the election, the list of voters and number of votes cast by each hundred were compared, but as there was no requirement providing for throwing out the excess of votes over electors, the object of this proceeding is not quite clear. Fines were imposed for attempting to vote twice, and for many similar crimes which still destroy fairness at elections. While the law contained no very striking features, yet it is noteworthy as an early attempt to secure the purity of the ballot-box. Later in the same year, steps were taken to check the numerous lotteries which were springing into existence; a market was established at New Ark; and the ground on which the public buildings stood at New Castle was placed in charge of trustees, the gentlemen named being Thomas McKean, George Read, John McKinley, Alexander Porter, George Munro, John Evans and David Thompson. A piece of ground on which the people desired to erect a school, and situated in the market square at New Castle, was also vested in trustees, and those appointed for this trust were David Finney, John Thompson, George Read, Thomas McKean and George Munro. The Rev. Æneas Ross and Messrs. Richard McWilliams and Joseph Tatlow were appointed in a similar capacity over the ground on which stood the Immanuel Church and burying-grounds. The elections in 1772 resulted in the choice of John Thompson and Joseph Stedham for sheriff and coroner of New Castle County; John Cook and Caleb Furby in Kent; and Peter Robinson and David Drain in Sussex.

The following year little occurred in the lower counties worthy of note, except changes in the magistracy, the erection of a bridge at Lewistown over Lewes Creek, and the departure of the Rev. John Ewing and Dr. Hugh Williamson to Europe to seek aid for the New Ark Academy; nor was the year 1774 more fruitful of events for the historian. In 1775, however, notwithstanding the lowering clouds of the Revolution, the people found time to devote attention to several matters of importance, although quite foreign to the preparati ns for war. Conspicuous among these was the care of the poor. The management of the poor was placed in the hands of overseers appointed by the justices of the peace. Service was compulsory upon these officers when once elected, and it was their duty to levy special taxes in each hundred for the maintenance of the local indigent. They lodged or sought employment for the poor, as the circumstances of

each case directed, but no person received assistance without the certificate of two justices. Parents and grandparents were required, when able, to support their poor children and grandchildren, and the children were also expected to support their parents and grandparents. The Court-House and public building at Dover was now placed in the hands of trustees, as those at New Castle had been, the trust devolving upon Cæsar Rodney, Charles Ridgeley, Samuel Chew, William Killen and Jacob Stout. In September a bill was passed by the Assembly for emitting bills of credit to the amount of thirty thousand pounds, under the direction of Thomas McKean, Alexander Porter and John Clowes The avowed object of this was the payment of public debts, but the approaching Revolution was doubtless what inspired this last bill.

CHAPTER XIII.

MANNERS AND CUSTOMS OF THE EARLY INHABITANTS.

THIS history would not be complete if we did not pause here, at the birth of the State of Delaware, to give something like a picture of the social and domestic life of the inhabitants of the prosperous and growing colony about the year 1775, and the manners and customs of the early settlers, the pioneers among those hardy pale-faces before whose advance the natives of the soil melted away and disappeared.

When the first white man came within the present limits of Delaware he found the ground closely occupied with a continuous growth of the primeval forests, except where swamp and marsh and the daily flow of the tide prevented the trees from growing. The sole population were the Delaware, Susquehanna and Nanticoke Indians—hunters and fishers, with corn-fields and patches for beans, squashes and melons. In the deep but not impenetrable forests, of oak, hickories and pines, a few, but not many, Indians had their lodges or huts. The hunting and fishing were good; the deer came to the borders of all the small streams, and the surface of the waters was populous with dense flocks of wild-fowl,[1] while their depths teemed with fishes of every size, from the sturgeon to the smallest pan-fish. The great oak-groves were favorite resorts of bucks and does, turkeys and partridges, and wild pigeons, and there seemed to have been a regular "pigeon-roost," or breeding-place for the gregarious bird (if we may accept the ordinary interpretation of such Indian names) at Moyamensing.[2] In the spring and early summer months, just after the Indians of the interior had planted their corn and beans, the Delaware and Schuylkill were filled with incalculably large shoals of the migratory fish, pressing towards fresh water in order to deposit their spawn, and pursued by schools of the predatory sea fish. At these seasons the shores of the rivers were thronged with Indians and their lodges, while their canoes darted gayly over the surface, men, women and children spearing or netting fish, and cleaning and drying them. The sturgeon, the porpoise, now and then the salmon, were all caught, with innumerable shad, herring, alewives and bream, pike and perch. In the autumn again the Indians were drawn to the river-shore by the attractions of the oyster bars and banks. This was in the interval after the corn harvesting and the beginning of the winter hunting.

The territory in the neighborhood of New Castle had grown to be familiar for councils and general conferences of the Indian tribes. At the time the whites came to the Delaware, the Nanticokes, the Susquehannas, the Delawares, the Shawanees and the Iroquois were accustomed to kindle their council-fires, smoke the pipe of deliberation, exchange the wampum belts of explanation and treaty, and drive hard bargains with one another for peltries, provisions and supplies of various kinds, on the banks of the river and bay which bears the name of Delaware. The trails made by the savages in going to and from their points of union were deep and broad at the coming of the whites, and they have generally been followed in laying out the early roads.

The first white settlers within the present bounds of Delaware, as has already been shown in the preceding chapters, and the only white settlers previous to the coming of Penn who made any distinct and durable impress upon the country, were the Swedes. Their first, second and third colonies, which arrived out in 1638 and 1640, and

[1] In their journal of a voyage to Maryland, in 1679, Messrs. Dankers and Sluyter, under date of December 30, say that when they arrived at the house of Augustine Herman, in Cecil County, Md., they "were directed to a place to sleep, but the screeching of wild geese and other wild fowl in the creek (Bohemia) before the door, prevented us from having a good sleep."

They proceeded down the Eastern Shore of Maryland to Salisbury, and on their journey back to New Castle crossed the Assawaman River, where they say they never saw so many ducks. "The water was so black with them that it seemed, when you looked from the land below upon the water, as if it were a mass of filth or turf, and when they flew up there was a rushing and vibration of the air like a great storm coming through the trees, and even like the rumbling of distant thunder, while the sky over the whole creek was filled with them like a cloud, or like the starlings fly at harvest time in Fatherland." On the Susquehanna River, at Mr. Frisby's plantation, they say, "We must not forget to mention the great number of wild geese we saw here in the river. They rose not in flocks of ten, or twelve, or twenty, or thirty, but continuously, wherever we pushed our way; and as they made room for us, there was such an increment chattering made with their wings upon the water where they rose, and such a noise of those flying higher up, that it was as if we were all the time surrounded by a whirlwind or a storm. This proceeded not only from geese, but from ducks and other water-fowl; and it is not peculiar to this place alone, but it occurred on all the creeks and rivers we crossed, though they were most numerous in the morning and evening, when they are most easily shot."

[2] "Moyamensing signifies an unclean place, a dung-heap. At one time great flocks of pigeons had their roost in the forest and made the place unclean for the Indians, from whom it received its name."—*Acrelius.*

the fifth colony also, which came between those of Printz and Risingh, contained a good many Dutch, and were indeed partly recruited and fitted out in the Netherlands, with Dutch capital and under Dutch management. It is also the fact that the Dutch sent parties frequently to the Zaydt River to settle and plant, as well as to trade with the Indians, and that Stuyvesant, after the recapture of Fort Casimir, the overthrow of Risingh's government and the subjugation of New Sweden, sent many of his people to the south side of Delaware to settle the country. For all that the Swedes were the first permanent colonists. The Dutch were adventurers, fond of trading and navigation. As a rule they did not bring their families to the Delaware with them, and they could easily reach their own countrymen in New York after English rule had been established by Lovelace, and the trade in furs and peltries was no longer profitable so low down on the Delaware. The Swedes and Finns, on the other hand, had no such migratory propensity. They were like trees, and grew in the soil to which they had been transplanted, as if they had never known any other. As a rule they had not emigrated from their native country from choice, but were transplanted by force. One reason, indeed, why the Dutch partners had been invited to co-operate with the Swedish West India Company was that emigrants and volunteers to the new country were so hard to procure.

The Swedish and Finnish peasants had very strong local attachments They did not wish to abandon their native soil, in spite of the scanty livelihood it assured them. The "Kalmar Nyckel" and the "Gripen" were delayed a long time in getting their passengers for the first voyage under Minuit. It is not certainly known that of this party with Minuit, more than one person—Lieut. Måns Kling—was a Swede. Anders Svensson Bonde, Peter Gunnarsson Rambo, Per Andersson, Anders Larsson Dualbo, Sven Larsson, Sven Gunnersson, his son, Sven Svensson, Lars Svensson Käckin, Moens Andersson, Iven Thorsson and Märten Göttersson were all of them certainly in New Sweden in 1640,[1] but it cannot be shown whether they came over with Minuet or with his successor, Hollandaer. As Prof. Odhner shows by the record, "the people entertained a repugnance to the long sea-voyage to the remote and heathen land. It is affirmed in the letters of the administration to the Governors of the provinces of Elfsborg and Värmland, that no one spontaneously offered to accompany Capt. Van Vliet (who was originally appointed to command the ship that bore Hollandaer's party, but was superseded before sailing by Capt. Powel Jansen). The government ordered these officers, therefore, to lay hands on such married soldiers as had either evaded service or committed some other offense, and transport them, with their wives and children, to New Sweden, with the promise to bring them home again within two years,—to do this, however, 'justly and discreetly,' that no riot might ensue." In 1640 again the Governor of the province of Orebro was ordered to prevail upon the unsettled Finns to betake themselves, with their wives and children, to New Sweden. Lieut. Måns Kling, who was now back in Sweden, was sent to recruit for emigrants in the mining regions of Westmanland and Dalarne. He was also particularly instructed to enlist the "roaming Finns,' who were tramps, or squatters living rent free in the forests. Next year, when Printz had received his commission, he was sent to hunt up the same class of persons, the Governors of Dal and Värmland receiving orders to capture and imprison, provided they could not give security or would not go to America, the "forrest-destroying Finns," who, as described in a royal mandate, "against our edict and proclamation, destroy the forrests by setting tracts of wood on fire, in order to sow in the ashes, and who maliciously fell trees." A trooper in the province of Skaraborg, who had broken into the cloister garden of the royal monastery at Varnhem, in Westergothland, and committed the heinous crime of cutting down six apple-trees and two cherry-trees, was given the option of emigrating or being hung. The "Charitas," which sailed in 1641 for New Sweden, had four criminals in a total of thirty-two passengers, the greater number of the remainder being indentured servants or "redemptioners." In fact, Lieut.-Col. Printz was himself a disgraced man, having been court-martialed and dismissed from the army for the dishonorable and cowardly capitalization of Chemnitz, of which he was commandant, so that his appointment to the colony of New Sweden was in some sort a punishment and a banishment.

But this very reluctance of the Swedes to emigrate made them the best of immigrants. They stayed in the place to which they had been removed, and became permanent fixtures in the new soil just as they had wished to be left in the old. They were quiet, orderly, decent, with no injurious vices, and in that kindly soil and climate the natural fruitfulness of their families was greatly increased. Acrelius, noticing this prolificness, says quaintly, "Joseph Colson, in Chester, twenty years ago, had the blessing to have his wife have twins, his cow two calves, and his ewe two lambs, all on one night in the month of March. All continued to live." And he gives several other instances of the sort. Be this as it may, the Swedes remained on the spot through all the changes of administra-

[1] See Prof. Odhner's Founding of New Sweden, *Pennsylvania Magazine*, vol. ii., where much new light is thrown on the obscure annals of these early settlements.

Rolle der Volker, in Royal Archives of Sweden, quoted by translator of Prof. Odhner's article in *Penna. Magazine*.

tion as if *adscripti glebæ*, and they multiplied so rapidly that when Carl Christopherson Springer wrote his letter to Postmaster Thelin at Stockholm, in 1693, only forty-five years after the first immigration, he was able to furnish "a roll of all the (Swedish) men, women and children which are found and still live in New Sweden, on the Delaware River," to the number of one hundred and eighty-eight families, nine hundred and forty-two persons. This does not include the Swedes on the other side of the Delaware, many families residing on the east bank being included in the list of "Tydable" (taxable) persons returned in the Duke of York's Court at Upland, in November, 1677.[1]

[1] It is perhaps expedient to give these lists, commencing with the one furnished by Springer to Thelin. The names which are *italicized* in this list are such as likewise occur in the Upland list:

Names.	*Number in family.*	*Names.*	*Number in family.*
Hindrick Anderson	5	Frederick Hoppmann	7
Johan Andersson	9	*Johan Hoppmann*	7
Johan Andersson	7	Nicolas Hoppmann	5
Jurian Andersson	5	Hindrick Iwarson	9
John Arison	6	*Hindrick Jacob*	1
Jonas Bagman	3	Matts Jacob	1
Andrew Bengtson	9	*Hindrick Jacobson*	4
Bengt Bengtson	2	*Peter Jacobson*	9
Andrew Bonde	11	Diedrick Johannson	5
Johan Bonde	1	Lars Johannson	6
Sven Bonde	5	Simon Johannson	10
Lars Boro	6	Andrew Jonsson	4
William Cobb	6	*Jon Jonsson*	2
Christian Clason	7	*Mons Jonsson*	3
Jacob Classon	6	Nils Jonsson	6
Jacob Clemson	1	Thomas Jonsson	4
Ole Cock	9	Christian Jöransson	1
Gabriel Cock	7	*Hans Jöransson*	11
Johan Cock	7	*Jöran Jöransson*	1
Capt. Lasse Cock	11	Stephen Jöransson	5
Mons Cock	8	Lasse Kempe	6
Otto Ernst Cock	5	Frederick König	6
Hindrick Collman	1	*Martin Kustasson*	6
Conrad Constantine	6	Olle Kuckow	6
Johan von Culen	5	*Hans Kyn's (widow)*	5
Olle Dahlbo	7	Jonas Kyn	6
Peter Dahlbo	9	Matts Kyn	3
Hindrick Danielsson	5	Nils Larson	5
Thomas Dennis	6	And. Persson Longaker	7
Andrew Diedrickson	1	Hindrick Larsson	6
Olle Diedrickson	7	Lars Larsson	7
Stephen Ekhorn	5	Lars Larsson	1
Eric Ericsson	1	Andrew Lock	1
Göran Ericsson	1	Mons Lock	1
Matts Ericsson	3	Antonij Long	3
Hindrick Fuske	5	Robert Longhorn	4
Casper Fiel	10	Hans Lucasson	1
Matthias de Foll	6	Lucas Lucasson	1
Andrew Fronde	4	Peter Lucasson	1
Nils Frondée (widow)	7	*Johan Monsson*	5
Olle Fransson	7	Peter Matsson	3
Eric Gastenberg	7	*Martin Martinsson, Jr.*	10
Nils Gastenberg	3	*Martin Martinsson, Sr.*	2
Eric Göransson	2	Mats Martinsson	4
Britta Gustafsson	6	Johan Mattson	11
Gunst of Gustafsson	8	*Nils Mattson*	3
Hans Gustafsson	7	Christopher Meyer	7
Jons Gustafsson	3	Paul Mink	5
Mans (Mortis) Gustafsson	2	Eric Molica	8
Johan Gunttson	3	Andrew Nilsson	3
Lars Halling	1	*Jonas Nilsson*	4
Morten Halldson	9	*Michael Nilsson*	11
Israel Helm	5	*Hans Olsson*	5
Johan Hindersson, Jr.	3	Johan Ommerson	5
Andrew Hindrickson	4	Lorentz Ostermann	2
David Hindrickson	7	Hindrick Parchen	4
Jacob Hendrickson	5	Bengt Paulsson	5
Johan Hendrickson	6	Gissel Paulsson	6
Johan Hendrickson	5	Olle Paulsson	9
Matts Holsten	7	Peter Paulsson	5
Andrew Homman	9	Lars Pehrson	1
Andrew Hoppmann	7	Olle Pehrson	6

The Swedes on the Delaware have sometimes been reproached as a lazy people because they did not clear the forests at a rapid rate, nor build themselves fine houses. But this is not the charac-

Names.	*Number in family.*	*Names.*	*Number in family.*
Britta Petersson	6	Israel Stark	6
Carr Petersson	5	Matts Stark	1
Hans Petersson	7	Adam Stedham	3
Lars Petersson	1	Amund Stedham	6
Paul Petersson	3	Benjamin Stedham	5
Peter Petersson	3	Lucas Stedham	7
Peter Stake (*alias* Petersson)	3	Lyoff Stedham	9
Reuier Petersson	2	*Johan Stille*	8
Andrew Rambo	9	Johann Stillman	5
Gunnar Rambo	6	Jonas Stillman	4
Johan Rambo	6	Peter Stillman	4
Peter Rambo, Sr.	2	Olle Stolpy	3
Peter Rambo, Jr.	6	Gunnar Svensson	5
Matts Repstt	3	Johan Svensson	9
Nils Repstt	3	William Talley	7
Olle Rese	5	Klins Tay	4
Andrew Robertson	3	*Christern Thomas' (widow)*	6
Paul Sahlunge	3	*Olle Thomasson*	9
Isaac Savoy	7	Olle Thorson	4
Johan Schrage	6	Hindrick Tuson	5
Johan Seale	4	Johan Tuson	4
Andrew Seneca	5	Lars Tuson	1
Broer Seneca	7	Matts Tuson	1
Jonas Sangre's (widow)	6	Cornelius Van der Weer	7
Johan Skrika	1	Jacob Van der Weer	7
Matts Skrika	3	Jacob Van der Weer	3
Hindrick Slobey	2	William Van der Weer	1
Carl Springer	5	Jesper Wallraven	7
Morten Stake	1	Jonas Wallraven	1
Christian Stalcup	3	Andrew Weinom	4
Johan Stalcup	6	Andrew Wilder	4
Peter Stalcup	6		

II.

List of those still living who were born in Sweden:

Peter Rambo, *Andrew Bonde,*	Fifty-four years in New Sweden.
Andrew Bengtsson.	
Sven Svensson.	
Michael Nilsson.	
Morten Stake.	
Mårten Martensson, Sr.	
Carl Xtopher Springer.	
Hindrick Jacobson.	
Jacob Clemson.	
Olof Rese.	
Hindrick Andersson.	
Hindrick Iwarson.	
Simon Johnsson.	
Paul Mink.	
Olof Paulsson.	
Olof Petersson.	
Mårten Martensson, Jr.	
Eric Molica.	
Nils Mattson.	
Antony Long.	
Israel Helm.	
Andrew Homan.	
Olle Dedrickson.	
Hans Petersson.	
Hindrick Collman.	
Jons Gustafsson.	
Morten Halldson.	
Hans Olofsson.	
Andrew Seneca.	
Broer Seneca.	
Eskil Andersson.	
Matts de Vos.	
Johan Hindrickson.	
Andrew Weinom.	
Stephen Jöransson.	
Olof Kinkova.	
Andrew Dedrickson.	
Andrew Mink.	

Names of Tuxables not included in above list.

Ole Boelson and 2 sons	3	Harmen Ennis	1
Hans Moens	1	Pelle Ericsson	1
Eric Paulsson	1	Brock Saling	3
Hans Jurian	1	Andrew Saling	1
Michill Fredericks	1	Harmen Janssen	1
Justa Daniels and servt	2	Hendrick Holman	1
Hendrick Jacobs (upon ye island)	1	Bertell Lucasson	1
Andrew Sven and father	2	Hendrick Tade	1
Ole Swanson and servt	2	Andrew Persolson	1
Sven Lass	1	Jan Bertelson	1
Ole Stille	1	Jan Cornelisson and son	2
Dutck Williams	1	Lars Mortens	1
Thos. Jacobs	1	Antony Matson	1
Matthias Classen	1	Claes Schram	1
Jan Classen and 2 sons	3	Robert Wardle	1
Frank Walcker	1	Neele Lucasson and sons	2
Peter Matson	1	Will Orian	1
Jan Boelson	1	Knock Mortenson	1
Jan Shooten	1	Ole Cocke	1
Jan Justa and 2 sons	3	Cornell Jansen	1
Peter Andrew and son	2	Rich. Frederick	1
Lace Dalbo	1	Jurian Hertsveder	1
Rich[d] Duckett	1	Jans Justasson	1
Mr. Jones ye hatter	1	Hans Hofman and 2 sons	3
		Paull Corvorn	1

"Hereditary surnames," says Mr. Edmund Armstrong (quoting M. A.

ter which Penn gives them, nor that to which their performances entitle them. Penn says, "They are a plain, strong, industrious people, yet have made no great progress in the culture or propagation of fruit-trees as if they desired to have enough, not a superfluity." He speaks also of their respect for authority, adding, "As they are a people proper and strong of body, so they have fine children, and almost every house full; rare to find one of them without three or four boys and as many girls; some six, seven and eight sons. And I must do them that right, I see few men more sober and industrious." In speaking of their lack of diversified husbandry, Penn forgot that their leading crop was tobacco, which, being without slaves almost entirely, they had to cultivate with their own hands. Their intelligence must have been at least equal to their loyalty, for they were more than fully represented, on the basis of comparative population, in all the early assemblies, councils and magistrates' courts, under Lovelace and Penn, and they were the only interpreters Penn could get in his intercourse with the Indians. They were not devoid, moreover, of what would nowadays be esteemed remarkable industrial enterprise. There can be no doubt that the Swedes—probably those "wandering Finns" from the Swedish iron ore regions—discovered and worked the ore-banks of Cecil and Harford Counties, Md., long before George Talbot's manor of Susquehanna was patented or Principio Furnace thought of. The mill afterwards used by Talbot, and to which his tenants were compelled to bring their corn to be ground was originally started by the Swedes to drive a rude bellows blast of their own.

The Swedes, as emigrants from an exceedingly well-watered country, cut up in every direction by bays, sounds, rivers, lakes and fiords, naturally followed the water-courses in the new country. They found a homelike something in the network of streams back of Tinnecum Island and thence to the Schuylkill, and in the rivers and meadows about Christiana Creek and the Brandywine. They clung to those localities tenaciously, and the only thing in Penn's government which roused their resentment and threatened to shake their loyalty was the attempted interference with their titles to these lands and the actual reduction of their holdings by the proprietary and his agents. It is a fact that some of their tenures were very uncertain and precarious in the eyes of plain and definite English law, and probably the Quakers took advantage of this to acquire escheat titles to many very desirable pieces of land which the Swedes fancied to be indisputably their own. The purchasers of New Sweden from the Indians had vested the title to the entire tract bought in the Swedish crown, and this right of property was recognized and exercised by the crown. Two land grants from Queen Christina are on record in Upland Court, one to Lieut. Swen Schute and Printz several times solicited a grant to himself, which he finally obtained, giving the property to his daughter Armgart, Papagoya's wife. The other land-holders secured their tracts in accordance with the fifth article of the Queen's instructions to the "noble and well-born John Printz." In this article, after describing the bounds of the territory of New Sweden, and the terms of the contract under which it was acquired from "the wild inhabitants of the country, its rightful lords," it is laid down that this tract or district of country extends in length about thirty German miles, but in breadth and into the interior it is, in and by the contract, conditioned that "her Royal Majesty's subjects and the participants in this Company of navigators may hereafter occupy as much land as they may desire." The land thus bought in a single block and attached to the crown was originally managed by the Swedish West India Company. The revenue and public expenses were paid out of an excise on tobacco,

Lower, on English surnames), "are said to have been unknown in Sweden before the fourteenth century. A much later date must be assigned as the period when they became permanent, for surnames were not in every case established among the Swedes in Pennsylvania until some time after the arrival of Penn, when intermarriage, and the more rigid usage of the English, compelled them to adhere to the *last* consideration; as for example with respect to the name of *Olle Paulson*, the 'son' became permanently affixed to the name, and ceased to distinguish the degree of relationship." This, however, is not singular with the Scandinavian people, Mr. Armstrong should have observed. It has prevailed in all countries down to a late period, and specially among the English races, where the corruption of surnames is still going on. No bad spelling can do more harm than bad pronouncing, nor is it worse to turn Lasten, Lasra, Larse into Lasse (just as common people nowadays pronounce *urn* as if it were spelt *aurn*) than to corrupt Estelling into Stradling, Majorlibanks into Marchbanks, Pierce into Purse, Tattaferro into Tattivet, Eurnoghty into Doughty, etc. The Swedish system, however, is a little complicated, and made much more so by the loose spelling of contemporary chronicles and clerks. Some instances of the transmutation of names may help the reader to enlighten himself about them: Eric Gorannson is Eric, son of Goran (Jöran), and Goran (Jöran) Ericsson is Goran, son of Eric, a grandson of Goran. Peter Petersen is Peter, son of Peter; Swensen was originally Sven Nilson, or Neelson, may be found transposed to Jones, as in the case of the son of Jonas Nilsson, styled Mouns (Magnus, Mans), Andrew and Nels Jones. Sometimes the puzzle is made worse by an *alias*, *e. g.*, Jans Justasse (*alias* Black), and Pelle Larsson (*alias* Pat Pelle). Changes in orthography have helped materially to confound names. Bengtsen becomes Bankson and Benson; Boen, Boode, becomes Bond and Boon; Swensen becomes Swanson and Swann; Cock becomes Cock and Cox; Jacum, or Jacklum, becomes Yacum; Kyn, or Kien, becomes Keen; Mortensen becomes Martens. The descendants of Lasse Cock, son of Ocle Cock, may be called either Allison or Willson. Many older Scandinavian names have been still more violently changed in their orthography in the course of the intermixture of centuries, or in their passage to another language more or less affiliated. Thus it is hard to detect, reading as we run, that Ulfstein is simply the Danish form of the Norwegian Vulfstan; that in English, Harald hinn Harfagra is Harold Fairfax; Rolo, Rolf and Ralph are the same. In the lists given above, Halling, or Halling, becomes Falling; Gustafsson becomes Justis, Justice or Justison; Kyn, Keen; Cola, Colen; Van Colen, Collins; Hasselius, Justis; Cederlung, Cedstory; Diedrickson, Perrickson; Cock, Kock, etc.; Hendrickson, Henderson; Marten, Morton; Iwarson, Iverson and Ivison; Jonasson, Jones; Hoppman, Hoffman; Wihler, Wheeler; Nilsson or Neelson, Nelson or Nelson; Fisk is sometimes Fish; Bure, Buren or Burns; Collman, Coleman; Brasr, Brewer; Andres, Andrews; Matt, Matthews; De Vess, Vase; Marte, Martin; Stake, Stark and Stack; Rosse, Rosser; Vander Weer, Vandiver; Pehrson, Pierson and Pearson; Paulsson, Paulson; Paul, Powell; Olle, Will, William; Sahlung, Saling; Rasse, Rasse, Raleh; Brita, Bridget; Gustaf, Gustavus; Knute, Knott; Lucasson, Lucas; Incoren, Inkboen; Gunnerson, Emerson; Grantrum, Grantham; Clausen, Clawson; Cabb, Cobb; Ockman, Wilson, etc. Lars and Lasr, become Lear; Lasrson, Lawson; Goran, Jöran, Jurien and Julian; Bengt is Benedict, or Benjamin, or Bennett; Halling is Hastings; Benecka is Sinnickson; Yourheen, Ferris.

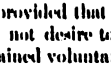
and it was the interest of the company to have tobacco planted largely. In part this was accomplished by servants indentured to the company, who were sent over and paid regular wages by the month.[1]

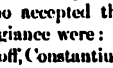
In part the land was regularly conveyed to settlers who sought to better their fortunes; finally, criminals and malefactors were sent out to some extent at first to labor in chain-gangs upon the roads and public works. The land secured by settlers and servants who had worked out their term of years was granted in fee under grants which came directly or indirectly from the crown. The difficulties about title, which vexed the Swedes, grew out of the changes in the tenure under the Swedish, Dutch, English, and later under Penn's grants, all of them having peculiar features of their own. It is important to understand these differences, which have not been clearly explained by writers on the subject, some of whom have hastily concluded that the land tenure system in Pennsylvania originated with Penn's laws. So far as land is concerned, Penn's "great law" and the subsequent enactments were all founded upon the "Duke of York's laws," the titles under which Penn was particular to quiet and secure.[2]

A transcript of the first grant of land within the limits of the State of Delaware appears in the "York Records" in the recorder's office at Dover, with a translation in English accompanying it. It was granted in 1646 by William Kieft, Director-General of the West India Company, at New Amsterdam, and bears only the date of the year and says: "We, on the day and date underwritten, have permitted and allowed Abraham Planck, Simon Root, Jan Andriessen and Peter Harmensen to settle on the South River of New Netherland and take possession of the lands lying on the said South River almost opposite to the small island called *S' Vogele Lant* or *Bird Land*, of which lands they are permitted to appropriate to themselves one hundred morgen and to erect thereon four farms or plantations and to cultivate the same within a year from the date, or sooner, if possible, under penalty of forfeiting this their right," with the privilege of securing other lands by settlement.[3]

When the Swedes were conquered by the Dutch, in 1655, the articles of capitulation gave the Swedes who desired to leave one year and six weeks in which to dispose of their immovable property, subject, however, to the oath of allegiance. It was further provided that such of the Swedes or Finns who did not desire to go with Governor Risingh, and remained voluntarily, should "have the privileges of the Augsburg Confession and have a person to instruct them therein."[4]

Those who accepted these terms and took the oath of allegiance were:

Jan Eckhoff, Constantius Groenenburgh, Harmon Janz, Jan  Schoffel, Klaces  Thomassen, Limen Stidden, Lucas  Petersen, Thomas  Bruyn, William Morris, Gostaffsen Anics.

Mark of  Baernt Jonsen.

[1] Mans Kling, lieutenant and surveyor, received forty rikslaler per month; he commanded on the Schuylkill. Sundry adventurers, seeking experience, received free passage out and maintenance, but no pay. Olof Persson Stille, millwright, received at start fifty daler, and to be paid for whatever work he did for the company. Matts Hansson, gunner at the fort and tobacco grower, on wages; Andera Hansson, servant of the company, to cultivate tobacco, received twenty rikslaler per year and a coat; he served four years. Carl Jonsson, book-keeper, sent with the expedition "for punishment," was afterwards favored by Printz, who gave him charge of the storehouse at Tinnecum, paid him ten rikslaler a month wages and recommended the home government to pardon him. Peter Larsson Cock, father of Lasse Cock, came out originally for punishment (*sin gefängnser hoecht*, a bond servant), receiving his food and clothing and two dollars at the start. He was free in four years, and became, afterwards, a judge of Upland Court. These indentured servants were not badly treated, either by the Swedes or the Friends. Their usual term of service was four years, and they received a grant of land—generally fifty acres—at the expiration of the term. The system was originally contrived in Maryland, in order to increase the labor of the province, and many of the "redemptioners" were persons of good character, but without means, who sold their services for four or five years in order to secure a passage across the ocean to the new land of promise. A great many redemptioners went to Pennsylvania during Penn's *régime* and afterwards, both from Great Britain and the continent of Europe. The terms upon which they were hired to the different colonies were nearly the same in every case. The following is about the form commonly used. It may be found in John Gilmary Shea's introduction to Gerard's reprint of Alsop's "Character of the Province of Maryland," London, 1666: "*The Forme of Binding a Servant.* 'This indenture, made the —— day of ——, in the —— years of our Soveraigne Lord King Charles &c between —— of the one party and —— —— of the other party, Witnesseth that the said —— doth hereby covenant, promise and grant to and with the said —— —— his Executors and Assigns, to serve him from the day of the date hereof, until his first and next arrivall in —— and after, for and during the tearme of —— yeares, in such service and employment as the said —— or his assignes shall there employ him, according to the custome of the country in the like kind. In consideration whereof, the said —— doth promise and grant, to and with the said —— to pay for his passage and to find him with Meat, Drinke, Apparell and Lodging, with other necessaries during the said terme; and at the end of the said terme, to give him one whole yeares provision of Corne and fifty acres of Land, according to the order of the country. In witnesse whereof, the said —— hath hereunto put his hand and seale the day and yeare above written.

"Sealed and delivered in the presence of } SEAL.

[2] Penn, in fact, borrowed many other things from the duke's laws, particularly the much admired provision for "peacemakers," or arbitrators, to prevent litigation, which provision, by the way, became a dead letter within ten years after its enactment, and was dropped in Lieutenant-Governor Markham's Act of Settlement in 1686. This was much more actively enforced in the duke's laws, which provide that "all actions of Debt or Trespasse under the value of five pounds between Neighbours shall be put to Arbitration of two indifferent persons of the Neighbourhood, to be nominated by the Constable of the place; And if either or both parties shall refuse (upon any pretence) their Arbitration, Then the next Justice of the peace, upon notice thereof by the Constable, shall choose three other indifferent persons, who are to meet at the Discoverer's charge from the first Arbitration, and both Plaintiff and Defendant are to be concluded by the award of the persons so chosen by the Justice."

[3] The island referred to is now known as Reedy Island. The land does not appear to have been invested by the persons named. The name of Jan Andriessen is thought to be that of Jan Andriessen Stalcop, who owned the site of Wilmington, and is mentioned specially as on "the bounds of Christina towne" in a patent of October 1, 1669.

[4] There is no evidence of any land-titles having been granted while the territory was subject to the Swedes.

Mark of  Oloff Franien.

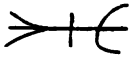
Mark of  Andries Jonsen.

Mark of  Jon Justen.

Mark of  Mathys Esselse.

Mark of  Moens Andriessen.

Mark of  Marten Martense.

Mark of  Lambert Michaelsen.

Mark of  Samuel Petersen.

Of the above, the names of Janz, Jonsen, Stidden, Petersen, Justen, Groenenburgh and Andriessen were identified for many years with the history of the State, and some are still extant.

When the Dutch settled at Fort Casimir a village was ordered laid out in the rear of it and lots were given by the Vice-Director to those who desired them. The Swedes were ordered to colonize in villages, but they objected and were permitted to remain undisturbed pending the year and six weeks granted them in the articles of capitulation.

At the expiration of that period, on August 14, 1656, Gregorius Van Dyck, deputy-sheriff, was sent as commissary to the Swedes to colonize them in villages or require their removal. June 12, 1657, the Swedes were directed to concentrate at Upland, Passyonk, Finland, Kinghsessing on the "Verdrietige Hoeck," or at some other place after notification to the Director-General and the Council.[1]

In 1656 and 1657 the Dutch granted a few warrants and patents to Swedes, and many others resided on non-warranted lands. Among the Swedes who held warrants under the Dutch were Constantius Groenenburg, in 1656; Claes Petersen, Barent Jansen, Pieter Harmence, Peter Laurence, Cornelis Steinwyck, Louder Leendersen, Jan Eckhoff, Jan St. Gaggen and Peter Laurensen, in 1657.

When the English took possession, in 1663, all persons holding land without titles were ordered to obtain them, but the order was disregarded and was again made the subject of official instructions by Col. Richard Nicholls in 1669 and by the Governor and Council in 1671. In the latter year patents were issued, among others, to Captain Carr and Mr. Wharton. Warrants for survey were issued by Col. Nicholls, Francis Lovelace and Sir Edward Andross, as Governors of the province, the latter, in 1676, limiting the holding to fifty acres *per capita*. In 1678 the court directs attention to the fact that very few persons have had their land recorded. In the latter part of this year the Governor officially announced that lands having been taken up and not settled upon nor improved, the same must be recorded and settled upon in six months or be forfeited. In 1680 the New Castle court made a similiar announcement. Several months later the inhabitants of Crosne Hook petitioned the Governor to confirm the original Dutch grants held by them. In 1683 William Penn gave public notice that all lands granted during the two preceding years must be settled in twelve months or forfeited. He also gave two years for the payment of quit-rents and established future quit-rents on a basis of one bushel of wheat for each hundred acres as before. From this time until Delaware became a State, warrants for surveys and patents were granted by the proprietors or by the commissioner of the Land Office.

The Swedes, both under Minuit's and later instructions, were allowed to take up as much land as they could cultivate, avoiding land already improved and that reserved for the purposes of the Swedish West India Company. This land, so taken up, was to remain to the possessors and their descendants "as allodial and hereditary property," including all appurtenances and privileges, as "fruit of the surface, minerals, springs, rivers, woods, forests, fish, chase, even of birds, the establishments upon water, windmills, and every advantage which they shall find established or may establish." The only conditions were allegiance to the Swedish crown and a payment of three florins per annum *per family*.[2] This form of quit-rent per family gave something of a communal aspect to the Swedish tenures, and it was probably the case that but few tracts were definitely bounded and surveyed in the earlier days of the settlement. Governor Printz received no special instructions in regard to land grants further than to encourage agriculture and to use his discretion in all matters, guided by the laws, customs and usages of Sweden. We may suppose he followed the colonial system which was already in operation. Governor Risingh's instructions from the Swedish General College of Commerce required him to give the same title and possession to those who purchased land from the

[1] Of these localities, Verdrietige Hoeck or Vertrecht Hook only was in Delaware. It was the first fast land on the Delaware River above the mouth of Christiana Creek, and is now known as Edgemoor. There were many families settled along the shore on narrow lots, extending some distance back into the woods, with the houses at the river-front. The Swedes made other settlements along the shore—one above Vertrecht, known as the Bught or Bought; Swanwyck, adjoining New Castle; and Crosne Hook, further up.

[2] See grant to Henry Hockhammer, etc., Hazard's "Annals," i. 73.

savages as to those who bought from the company, with all allodial privileges and franchises, "but no one to enter into possession but by consent of the government, so that no one be deprived improperly of what he already possesses." The Swedish tenure, therefore, was by grant from the crown, through the Governor, the quit-rent being commuted into a capitation tax, payable annually by heads of families, the only limits to tracts granted being that they do not trespass on other holdings and are cultivated. After the conquest of New Sweden by the Dutch the Swedes were ordered to come in, take the oath of allegiance, and have their land titles renewed. The Dutch were very liberal in their grants, especially under D'Hinoyossa, but the tenure of lands was entirely changed, and a quit-rent was now required to be paid of 12 stivers per morgen, equal to 3.6 cents per acre.[1] This was a high rent, in comparison with that which the Swedes had been paying, and with the rents charged by the English. Besides, the land had to be surveyed, and the cost of survey, record and deeds for a tract of 200 or 300 acres was 500 or 600 pounds of tobacco. Many Swedes were unwilling, some perhaps unable, to pay these fees and rents; some abandoned their lands entirely, some sold, and many paid no heed to the mandate, thus in fact converting themselves into squatters.

After the English took possession new oaths of allegiance and new confirmations of title were required. Andross and Lovelace made patents very freely, doing all they could to promote and extend the settlements, but the Duke of York's laws exacted a quit-rent of one bushel of wheat per one hundred acres. Wheat, as we find by the Upland record, was taken for taxes (and of course for rent likewise) at the rate of "five guilders per seipple,"—five guilders per *scheepel* or bushel, thirty pence stirling, or sixty cents, or thirty pence Pennsylvania currency, equal to forty-four and one-fifth cents,—a rent, therefore, of three-fifths or two-fifths of a cent per acre. Under Penn the regular quit-rents were a penny per acre, the conveyancing costing fourteen to eighteen shillings per plat, and the surveying and registering as much more, say thirty shillings, or seven dollars and fifty cents, initial payment, and two dollars annual payment per one hundred acres. This was in addition to the local tax for county and court expenses, amounting to thirty-five or forty guilders per tydable,—four dollars and fifty cents per family or per freeman—and an occasional "war-tax" of a penny in the pound on a valuation which, in 1694, reached £182,000 currency. There is no wonder that the Swedes, who had under their own rules paid only a nominal rent, should have shrunk in fright at these heavy charges and either given up their land or neglected to take out deeds for it, and thus lost possession of it entirely under Penn's severe law of 1707. As Acrelius says in his general statement of these changes of tenure:

"Under the Swedish government no deeds were given for the land; at least there are no signs of any, excepting those which were given as bribes by Queen Christina.[2] The Hollanders, indeed, made out quite a mass of deeds in 1664, but most of them were upon babbling lots at Sandhook. Meanwhile, no rents were imposed. The land was uncleared, the inhabitants lazy, so that the income was scarcely more than was necessary for their sustenance. But when the English administration came, all were commanded to take out new deeds for their land in New York. . . . A part took the deeds; but others did not trouble themselves about them, but only agreed with the Indians for a piece of land for which they gave a gun, a kettle, a fur coat or the like, and they sold them again to others for the same, for the land was superabundant, the inhabitants few and the government not strict. . . . Many who took deeds upon large tracts of land were in great distress about their rents, which, however, were very light if people cultivated the lands, but heavy enough when they made no use of them; and they therefore transferred the greater part of them to others, which their descendants now lament."[3]

The history of taxation in Delaware dates to the administration of Jean Paul Jacquet, who was appointed Vice-Director on South River, Nov. 29, 1655. In the provisional instructions to him, "in order to prevent immoderate desire for land," he was directed to exact from each morgen of land twelve stivers annually. William Beekman, in a letter to Director Stuyvesant, January 14, 1660, presented a proposition of the sheriff and commissary for the taxation of every Swedish family for defraying court expenses. The expenses of the court, however, were paid by quit-rents and customs until 1676, when Governor Andross reorganized the courts and the magistrates asked for instructions in reference to public charges. In reply, the Governor, Nov. 26, 1676, authorized a levy of one penny in the pound on the real estate "in New Castle, up the river and in the bay." To this the magistrates, on Feb. 6, 1677, demurred, and requested permission to make the levy "by the pole," as in Maryland and Virginia, which was accorded April 6, 1677. In September, the constables were instructed to make lists of all persons liable to taxation.[4] Samuel Land was constable of New Castle District; Walter Rowles of Oppequenomen; Charles Rumsey of Cristeen. In November, 1677, the court met at New Castle, and laid a levy of twelve gilders and ten stivers for every person, to be paid in "Wheat att 5 gilders, Rye att 4 gilders, Barley att 4 gilders per schipple, Indian Corne att 3 gilders per schipple, Tobbacco att 8 styvers p lb; Porke att 8 and Bacon att 16 styvers p lb; or Ells In Zewant or Skins att Pryce Courrant," and in-

[1] Writers have caused confusion in this matter by computing the stiver at 2 cents, and the guilder at 40 cents. The actual value of the stiver, as settled by the Upland court at this time, was three-sixths of a penny, the guilder thus being worth 6 pence. In sterling values, therefore, the rent of an acre would have been 3.6 cents. In Pennsylvania currency, which, perhaps, was the standard used in the Upland calculations, the rent would be 2.21 cents per acre.

[2] No deeds are found because the Dutch destroyed the Swedish local records, and they and the English required all deeds in the hands of Swedes to be surrendered in exchange for new deeds under the new government seal.

[3] Acrelius, Hist. New Sweden, pp. 106-7. Penna. Hist. Society's edition, 1874.

[4] All persons between the ages of sixteen and sixty were made liable to taxation.

structed Captain Cantwell, high sheriff, to collect a list of taxables by March 25, 1678. The list as returned under these instructions was as follows:

Att Oppequenemen.
James Vlessery.
Will Cooror.
George Cooror.
John Hermon.
three negroes.

Oppequenemen.
Joseph Hedding.
John Foster.
Tho. Linke.
John Auter.
Rockof Andries.
Jan Wekr.

Adam Peterson.
John Sterex.
Jamke Att Jo Sterex.
Jurion Sterex.
Rut Hubbs.
Jo Waker, Senior.
John Taylor.
Will Sherrer.
Jan Peterson.
Thos Sadlier.
John Arionson.
Jacob his mate.
Peter Brink.
Hendrick Walravon.
Dirck Laurens.
Dirck Williams.
Edward & James Williams.
Corporus Herman.
Philip Chevalier.
William Pattison.
The doctor.
John Peers.
Will Peers.
Thos Gilbert.
Edward Trendall.
Hans Muller.
Will Grant.
Tho Snelling.
John Whyte.
Rob Morton.
John Street.
Robt Tallent.
Albert Hoeg.
John Barker.
John Alliway.
Morris Liston.
Henry Clerg.
The James.
2 serv'ts of Morris Liston.
John Wallis & 1 servant.
James Crawford & 1 servant.
Augustin Dike.
Rich'd Scrogg.
John Scott.
Jacob Young,
2 slaves & 1 servant.
Evan Salisberry.
John Rood.
Joseph Cooxon.
Rob. homes.
John hoyles.
Robb Whyte.
Thomas daulin.
Joseph hand.
Joseph Burnham.
1 negro woman of Mr. Moll.
William Correr.
James Crawford (also) Doctor.
Anthony Bryant.
Moth Beckman.
John Adams.
Ellgert, the Smith.
Peter, Mr. Alricks man.
John Eaton Taylor.
1 neger of M. Aldricks.
Harmonus Wessels.
John Karr.
Henry Stanbrooke.
John hendrix.
Broer, his man.
Ralph Hutchinson.
Robb Hutchinson, his cooper.
Mr. Dunstan.

Justa Andries.
Rich Jefferson.
Evert Aldrea.
John Mothyma.
Will sample.
Will hamilton.
James Wollinn.
Guysbert Dirk.
Hendik Williams and Stevant his man.
hayhert hendrix.
Ryncor V Cullen.
Ambrose Becker.
Gerrit Smith & son.
Thos Spry.
Phil Huggon.
Humphry Cittly.
Jan hulk.
Peter meschander.
hayhert Laurens.
Peter Vockerin.
Claes Andries.
Ole Tiersen.
Lynsen Eskell.
Patrick Carr.
Peter Mathias.
Hendrik Sibrants.
John Sibrants.
Sybrant Janse.
hendrik fronson.
Jan Carsonse.
humphry Nicolls.
Peter de Witt.
Cornelis Jansen.
Evert hendrix.
Tymen Jansen.
John Mattison.
Hendrix Everts.
Lace Andries.
Hendrix Lemmesen.
Will Scott.
hendrik Andries.
Andries Andriesen.
Mouns Poulsen.
Hoffell Mc hill Myer.
Peter, Jan & Paull Jacquet.
Peter Classes & two sons.
Peter Classes's boy.
Jurion Bentsman & son.
Andries Sinnex.
Mathias trutt.
Leger Aukes.
Peter Sisbe.
Powell Loerson.
Martin Gerritz & his son.
John Arsken & son.
John Ogle.
Tho harris.
John Ogle's servant.
Jan Gerritz.
George Moses.
Will Jeacon.
Andries Tills.
John Watkins.
The Jacobs & three sons.
—lert Jansen.
John Simmerson.
Ole Poulsen & his Brother.
Swart Jacobs & 2 sons.
harmen Jansen.
Will Rayntsen.
Wolravon Jansen.
Guysbert Wolravon.
—— Sinnex.
Jurion Jurrons.
Jan Sinnex.
Mathias Mathiesse.
Jan Andries.
Will Sanford.
Charles ya friedman.
Sam Peters & son.
Lace Waynson.
Tymen Sliddam & 4 sons.
John Andries & 2 sons.

John Mathews.
Moth de Ring.
Engelbert Lott.
Cornelius Post.
Isaacq Tayne.
John Bick.
John Harmesse & his man.
Symon Gilsen & his man.
Will Osborne.
Jan Boyer.
Claes Danielf.
Job de hoes.
Moses de gan.
Job Nettleship.
Rodger Mesour.
Will mill.
Jacob V. Vear & 2 sons.
hans Peters.
Peter hendrix.
Justa Paulsen.
Jans ye Smith.
Peter Jagon.
hindrix Sonison.
Jacob & Ole Clemmesen.
Hendrik Clemmesen.
Lace Inlsen.
Carell Peterson.
Xtopher Barnds & 1 serv't.
Barrein Gerritse.
Mathias Laurins.
Mathes Neelsen.
Ole fromsen & Son.

Total, 263.

Bastens Shore.

Jan hendrix.
David & Peter hendrix.
Isaacq Sanoy.
Mathias Neelson & man.
Moss Matson.
Peter Roelofs & son.
Lucas Peters & son.
Jan Kitz.
Paul Minoq.
Jan hermsen Krull.
Mr outhout's 2 servants.
Will Gilsmesen.
Claes Jansen.
Mack Lacrox, Senior.
Mack Lacrox.
Jan Lacroy.
Aert Jansen.
Stephen Jurians.
Lace hendrikx.
Math Bertelsen.
Erik Jurians & servant.
John Singell.
John Cornelius.
Mach Baron & 2 sons.
The Arnold.
Gerrit V Simmon.
Job V Simmon.
John Gimmesen.
hans Schier.
John pledger.
hipolet Lafer & servant.
John Smith.
Sam Nicolls.
Sam hedge & roger.
Rodger Huggins.
Edw Chamnles & serv't.
Anthony Paige.
Will Goodchild.
Will Wilkinson.
Will Mester's man.
John fuller.
Markus Ellegart.
Rich Guy & 3 servants.
Thom Watson.
Thom Isolwell & servant.
John Smith.
Abram Estans.
John Nicols.

Total, 307.

Neither the magistrates nor officials were taxed, although their servants were included in the list.

Out of a list of 108 taxables in New Castle constablery in 1683, 43 were owners of land outside of the town.[1] Of these, the largest were Peter Alricks and Captain Markham, each of whom had 1000 acres. The estate of the former was probably on the Christiana and Delaware north of Croine Hook; that of Captain Markham was north and west of New Castle. Charles Rumsey and John Watkins had 640 acres each on the Christiana between Swart Nutter Island (now Nonsuch) and Fern Hook, opposite Wilmington; John William Neering, 500 acres; John Ogle, 400 acres; Mary Block, widow of Hans Block, 350 acres above New Castle; John Moll, 300 acres near Swanwyck; John Darby, 300 acres (Swart Nutter Island); Thomas Spry, physician and attorney, 300 acres; William Haigh, a member of Penn's Council, 400 acres; John Jacquet, son of Jean Paul Jacquet, 280 acres; on Long Hook; Edmund Cantwell, high sheriff, 100 acres; Arnoldus De Lagrange, 300 acres. Fifteen of the land-owners also owned lots in New Castle, and William Penn also held one lot. Among the lot-owners were John Moll, Arnoldus De Lagrange, John Conn and Johannes de Haes, magistrates; Wm. Welch, who subsequently succeeded John Moll on the bench; Ephraim Herman, ex-

[1] This was prior to the division into hundreds.

clerk of court; Dominie Tessemaker, the preacher; Eneelius de Ringt, former reader in the church and schoolmaster; and Dr. Gerardus Wessels.

North Christiana Creek constablery had sixty-five taxables. Of these, John Ogle and Valentine Hollingsworth[1] each owned 1000 acres; Morgan Druitt, 500 acres, in the "Bought" on the Delaware; Thomas Wallaceton, deputy sheriff from 1673 to 1679, 370 acres, on White Clay Creek and 100 on Mill Creek; Conrad Constantine, 560 acres, on which Newport was located; Jacob Vandever, 500 acres, on Brandywine Creek, opposite Wilmington; John Nommers, in Mill Creek Hundred, on White Clay Creek, three-quarters of a mile above its mouth; John Conn, 500 acres, on White Clay Creek in Mill Creek Hundred; Arnoldus De Lagrange, 1150 acres, of which a portion was in Christiana Hundred, where he resided; Broor Sinnexsen, 770 acres, 400 of which adjoined the estate of De Lagrange, in Christiana Hundred, where he lived; Abraham Mann, 570 acres on Bread and Cheese Island and west of Red Clay Creek, where he resided (he was justice of the peace two years, and was chosen sheriff in 1683); John Moll, president of the court from 1672 to 1683, 210 acres, in Mill Creek Hundred, above Bread and Cheese Island; Joseph Borne, 350 acres adjoining Moll's.

In the constablery on the north side of Duck Creek there were forty-seven taxables, of whom Henry Williams, magistrate, owned 400 acres; Ephraim Herman, 1200 acres; Peter Bayard, 600 acres and also Bombay Hook; Captain Edward Cantwell, 4285 acres, a portion of which was at Cantwell's Bridge (now Odessa) where he lived; Morris Liston, 750 acres at a place still known as Liston's Point.

The constablery from St. George's Creek to the north side of Oppequenomen had fifty taxables. Among them Casparus Herman, 400 acres; Henry Williams, magistrate, 250 acres; Gerret Otts magistrate, 452 acres; Peter Alrich, 400 acres, at St. Augustine's Landing; Gabriel Rappe, 1000 acres, Henry Vandeburg, 1000 acres.

Following is a list of taxables in the constablery of New Castle in 1687:

John Gibbs, Jacob Clawson, Jacob Jacquet, Robert Hutchinson, Peter Jacquet, Abraham Hayn, John White, Widdow Simmons, Adam Hays, James Williamson Spry, Mathias Lawson, Mary Bicey, Edward Land, Daniel Smith, Isaac Stover, John Lenington, Hendrick Anderson, Hendrick Williams, Dorcas Land, John Gorsch, James Walliam, Charles Rumsey, Hendrick Everson, John Bicrus, Pawell Lawson, Lybion Johnson, Joayne Hamilton, John Richardson, John Sybrance, Richard Hallywell, Arnoldus De Lagrange, Widow Prigestior, John Williams, Urian Boman, James Halleday, John Bower, Johannes de Hare, Mathias de Ring, Jacob Cornelisson, Mathias Vanderheyden, Dominie Tessemaker, John Hales, Hendrick Vanderburgh, Englebert Lott, Thomas Longshan, John Hermanson, Sarah Welsh, Leonard the Glazier, Ephraim Herman, John Cann, John Burgsond, Eneelius de Ring, Garrett Johnson, Simon and John Cock, Isaac Tice, Widow Moody, Thomas De Witt Clees, Edward Boulton, John Smith, Anderson Rand Hanke, Robert Dyer, Claes Daniell, Ambrose Baker, Edward Blake, Moses De Gam, John Dan Hylert, Justa Anderson, John Forest, Laurens Fich Otto, John Hendrickson, John Moll, Peter Gaudin, Peter Alricks, Reyner Vandercroslen, John Darby, Antony Bryant, William Markham, Matt. Erockson, Matt. Coulson, James Bradshaw, James Claypoole, William Chambers, Zachariah Vandercroslen, Joseph Clayton, Widow Mourey, Richard Noble.

Taxables on the north side of Brandywine Creek:

Jacob Vandervere, Cornelius Vandever, Mouns Justy, Cornelius Engman, Jonas Scugging, Hans Petersen, Jacob Clemens, Peter Anderson, John Mouns, Peter Mouns, Thomas Jones, ——— Stoffell, Nolis Neilson, Peter Bainton, Morgan Druitt, Mathew Sanders, Thomas Golping, John Grubb, William Sterkdale, John Buckly, Oliver Cooper, John Crow, William Cloud, Jeremiah Cloud, Edward Eglington, Isaac Warner, Valentine Hollingsworth, Henry Hollingsworth, Thomas Conway, William Lester, Adam Sharpley, Thomas Clifton, William Hanly, Richard Brachem.

Taxables on the north side of Christiana Creek:

William Guest, William Gossop, Christopher White, Wolle Thomas, Arun Johnson, Israel Helm, Broor Sinnexsen, Christian Virksson, Guysbert Walraven, Arnoldus de Lagrange, Charles Pickering, Benjamin Stidham, Jacob Hendrickson, Mathias De Vose, Sam'l Peterson, Christian Stoffeqs, Robert Robinson, Richard Robinson, Knennus Stidham, Lucas Stidham, William Gregg, John Gregg, Henry Scarlins, Joseph Cookson, Jonas Arskin, Andrew Tilly, Elizabeth Ogle, Hugh Marslander, James Claypoole, John Brewster, John Omerson, James Reed, Henry Dull, John Alloway, Thomas Longshaw, Bryan McDowell, Giles Barrett, Thomas Pierson, John Smith, Thomas Wollarson, Joseph Barnes, Henry, Paul and Jacob Garretson, William Bakerstow, John Conn, Abraham Mann, William Mann, Andrew Stokop, Thomas Gillet, Neilen Lawson, Thomas Grand, Henry Jacobson, George Hogg, Sr., Thomas Mathews, John Cullott, George Hogg, Jr., William and John Rawlings, Zacharish Patrick, Francis Smith, Sr., Francis Smith, Jr., Anthony Burgis, David Sharply, Oliver Taylor, Nathaniel Cantwell, James Stansfield, John Bradshaw, William Osborn, John Cooch, John Hans, Peter Stalcop, Philip Davis, Nicholas Dan, Thomas Green & Company, John Mocomb, William Stockdale, Symon Cock, George Haveland.

Taxables on north side of St. George's Creek:

Hendrick Vandenburg, Peter Wollaston, John Moll, Hans Hanson, John Darby, Mathias Vanderhayden, John Hayley, Jacob Young (in all only 5200 acres).

Taxables on the north side of Oppoquenomen:

Roelof Anderson, George Baker, Alexander Cannel, Ephraim Herman, Johannes de Hare, Robert Hutchinson, Adam Peterson, John Boulton, John and Ryly Webster, Nicholas Dallet, James Brookes, John Walker, William Phillips, William Burrows, Richard Hamlett, Hans Hanson, Richard Haddon, Otto Otts, John Otts, Hendrick Vandenburgh, Thomas Sullowny, Peter Johnson, Edmund Perkins, Edward Green, Sr., Gabriell Rappe, Peter Andries, Francis Richardson, Richard Noble, Widdow Anderson, Hendrick Walraven, John Hayly, Hylert Laurence, Cesquans Herman, Samuel Bibbing, John Cole, John Lawrie, William Grant, Edmund Lindsey, Thomas Lane, John Simes, Amos Nicholls, John Wilson, Ellis Humphreys, Peter Alricks, Jacob Decon, Robert Ashton, Doctor Staples, Edward Gibbs, Hendrick Vandenburgh, Cornelius Engman, John Pearson, William Scarses, Daniel Smith.

Taxables of north side of "Duck Creek hundred":

Richard Hallywell, John Mackarty, Robert Moreton, Justa Anderson, William Grant, Henricus Williams, Basilis Gibson, Robert Money, James Sickes, Walter Smith, Lucas Michell, John Hartop's children, Thomas Snelling, Isaack Weeklon, An. Wedingdale, Thomas Golping, Benjamin Gumpley, Joseph Harris, Francis Cook, Otten Sawka, Morris Liston, Ephraim Herman, Joseph Hallman, Joseph Hoskling, John Taylor, Georg Taylor, Andrew Lane, Thomas Harrison, Richard Mitchell, Isac, Edward Gibbs, Richard Quince, Francis Johnson, Michall Offley, Sybrant Valk, William Hatton, Antony Tomhings, Edward Owen, Robert Courtney, Thomas Harris, William Osborn, Lewis Owen, Peter Byard, Francis Lotts, John Harris, Henry Bevins, Richard White.[2]

Acrelius is not just to his fellow-countrymen in calling them idle. They were timid, and they lacked enterprise to enable them to grapple with the possibilities of the situation. They were simple

[1] Valentine Hollingsworth came to this country prior to the arrival of William Penn and returned to Ireland soon after 1685. His three sons, Valentine, Henry and Thomas, came over in the "Welcome" in 1682 and in 1687, and subsequently owned large tracts in Brandywine Hundred. Henry represented New Castle in the General Assembly in 1685 and filled other offices of importance in Pennsylvania. He was the founder of the family in Delaware and Maryland.

[2] At this time (1687) the territory of Horre-Kil, or Whore Kill, was very sparsely settled and was not districted.

peasants of a primitive race and a secluded country, thrown in among people of the two most energetic commercial and mercantile nations the world has ever seen. They were among strangers, who spoke strange tongues and had ways such as the Swedes could not understand. It is no wonder that they should have shrunk back, bewildered, and contented themselves with small farms in retired neighborhoods. But these small farms, after the Swedes settled down upon them, were well and laboriously tilled, and, small though they were, we have the acknowledgment of the Swedes themselves that they yielded a comfortable support, with a goodly surplus each year besides to those large and rapidly increasing families which attracted William Penn's attention and commanded his admiration.

The husbandry of the Swedes was homely, but it was thorough. The soil which they chiefly tilled was light and kindly. In the bottoms, swamps, and marshes along the streams, which the Swedes knew quite as well as the Dutch how to dyke and convert into meadows,—the Brandywine meadows are to this day famous as examples of reclaimed lands,—the soil was deep, rich and very productive. The earlier Swedes did not sow the cultivated grasses on these meadows; they simply dyked them and mowed the natural grass, planting corn and tobacco, and sowing wheat wherever it was dry enough. Acrelius speaks of the high price which these lands brought in his time—"six hundred dollars copper coin [sixty dollars] per acre"—when thoroughly ditched and reclaimed, though constantly liable to inundations from the tunneling of the muskrat and the crayfish. The U'pland soils were excellently adapted to corn, wheat and tobacco when they had been cleared. The forest growth on these soils comprised the several varieties of American oak familiar in the Middle States, the black-walnut, chestnut, hickory, poplar (tulip-tree), sassafras, cedar, maple, the gums, locust, dogwood, wild cherry, persimmon, button-wood, spice-wood, pine, alder, hazel, etc. The forests gave the Swedes much trouble, and undoubtedly had an influence upon the modes of cultivation employed. The cost of labor made it difficult to clear the thick woods.[1]

Hence the common expedient was resorted to of removing bushes and undergrowth only and girdling the larger trees, which were left to stand leafless and dead till they rotted and fell, when the logs were after a time "niggered up," or cut into lengths, rolled into piles and burnt. It was difficult to plow between and among so many trunks and stumps, and this led the Swedes, in order further to economize labor, to resort to a system of husbandry which still, in a great measure, regulates the pitching and rotation of crops in the Delaware, Maryland and Virginia peninsula. The ground was cleared in the winter, and then, unless tobacco was grown, the "new ground," as it was called, was planted in corn in the spring. The process, which is known as "listing," was to throw two furrows or four furrows together, by plowing up and down the field instead of around it, leaving a series of ridges with an unplowed space between. The soil of the ridges was pulverized with the harrow and then stepped off into hills about four feet apart, the corn-planter dropping his five grains in each hill, scooping the hill out, dropping and covering with a heavy hoe,—a simple operation which experts dispatched with two motions of the implement. At the last working of the corn, when it had grown stout and waist or breast-high, the "middle" of the lists were plowed out and the fresh earth thrown about the roots of the vigorous plant. This "listing" process was found excellently well suited to the low, flat lands of the peninsula, as, besides saving labor, it afforded a sort of easy drainage, the bottom of every furrow being a small ditch, and this enabled the farmers to plant their corn much earlier than they otherwise could have done. When the corn had gone through the "tasseling" and "silking" processes and the ear was fully developed, the "blades" were pulled and the "tops" cut for fodder. In September the ground was lightly plowed with small shovel-plows (as yet the "cultivator" was not) and sowed in wheat, the stalks being broken down after frost with the hoe or by running rollers over them. Wheat thus sowed on

[1] Wages are always interesting to study, for their averages are evidences which cannot be contradicted of the condition of a people. The earlier servants in the employment of the Swedish company received, as a rule, twenty copper dollars (two dollars of our money) for outfit, and twenty *riksdaler* wages per annum (equal to twelve dollars). The wages of freemen, however, were more than double this, and these wages moreover included board and lodging. With wheat, at an average, fifty cents per bushel, a freeman's wages were equal to about sixty dollars a year at present values, besides keep. The Upland records show that just prior to Penn's occupancy wages had sensibly bettered. In March, 1684, Thomas Kerby and Robberd Drawton, servants, sued Gilbert Wheeler for wages. Kerby wanted pay for seventy days, between October 7th and January 7th, "so much as is usuall to be given p^r day, wch is fower (4) guilders p^r diem wth costs." The court allowed Kerby and Drawton each fifty stivers (two and a half guilders) per day, the latter to be paid "in Corne or other good pay in ye River." The four guilders was probably the "usuall" rate of summer wages, the award of the court represented fall and wint r wages. "Corne in ye river"—that is, delivered where it could be shipped—was valued at three guilders per scipple (or bushel). The winter wages, therefore, were equivalent to thirty cents a day in modern money, but in purchasing power, rating corn at the average present price of fifty cents per bushel, amounted to forty-one and sixty-six hundredths cents per day, summer rates being actually forty-eight cents, with a purchasing power of sixty-two cents. March 12, 1675, Israel Helm bought of Robberd Hutchinson, attorney for Ralph Hutchinson, "assignee of Daniel Juniper, of Accomac," "a Certayne man Servant named William Bromfield, for ye terme & space of four Jears [years] servitude now next Ensuing. . . . The above named Servant, William Bromfield, being in ye^s, did promise to serve the s^d m^r Israel helm faithfully & truly the aboved terme of four Jears. The worp^ll ye^s (upon ye Request of both partees concerned) did order that wch is aboveseid to bee so recorded." The price paid by Helm was "twelve hundred guilders." This was equal to three hundred guilders per annum, and it shows how valuable labor was and how prosperous agriculture must have been at that day on the Delaware. Helm paid (and other court entries show he simply paid the average price for such labor) one hundred and forty-four dollars in money (the present exchangeable value of which in corn is one hundred and ninety-two dollars) for four years' services of a man whom he had to board, lodge, clothe, care for when sick, and provide with an outfit when free. At twenty years' purchase this would be nearly one thousand dollars for a servant for life. Farming must have been very profitable to enable such prices to be paid.

ridges was so well protected by the drainage from frost and "winter-killing" that many farmers in the peninsula still throw their wheat-ground into corn-rows even where they use drills to sow it. Where wheat was not sowed on the corn-ground, and oats was not sowed in the spring, the stalk-field was summer-fallowed, being plowed in May, July and again before seeding. The wheat was cut with sickles, bound in sheaves, and thrown into "dozens," each shock being expected to yield a bushel. Rye, wheat and oats were thrashed with flails, and the former, sowed in November, was a favorite crop with the Swedes, the straw being sometimes shipped to Europe. Buckwheat was often sowed on the rye, wheat or oats stubble, the grain being used to feed stock. Flax and oats were sowed in the spring, either on the corn-ground or stubble-fields. Potatoes were planted on the bare ground and covered with the listing-plow. Sweet potatoes, however, were planted in hills after the ground had been deeply furrowed. Turnips were not much sown, except on new ground, and tobacco, in Acrelius' time, was only planted on such tracts or in the gardens.

The implements were few and rude, as were also the apparatus of the farm animals. The plows often had wooden mould-boards, and were not capable of working deeply; the harrows were of the primitive triangular shape, and the oxen or horses working them were attached by means of double links to the apex of the V. The ox-yokes had bows made of bent hickory-wood, the horses' traces were of twisted deer-hide and the collars of plaited corn-husks. The rest of the harness was home-made, of the same serviceable deer-skins, and the farmers and their lads, all fond of riding on horse-back, were content with a bear or deer-skin girt about the horse, with a rawhide surcingle in lieu of a saddle, imitating the Indians in dispensing with stirrups. Beans, pumpkins, squashes and melons were commonly planted in the hills with the corn. Much cabbage was produced, but the variety of other vegetables was limited to onions, peas, beets, parsnips, turnips, radishes, peppers, lettuce, pepper-grass and scurvy-grass, with a few herbs, such as chamomile, sage, thyme, rue, sweet marjoram, lavender, savory, etc., to supply the domestic pharmacy, or afford seasoning for the sausages, liver-puddings, head-cheese, etc., which were made at "hog-killing."

Penn, in his letter to the Free Society of Traders, speaks rather disparagingly of the orchards of the Swedes, as if they declined to profit by the peculiar adaptedness of their soils to fruit culture. Yet they must have been the first to naturalize the apple, the cherry and the peach on the Delaware, and we must give them the credit of having anticipated the cherry and apple orchards of Eastern Pennsylvania and Cumberland Valley, and the grand peach-tree rows for which the streets of Germantown became famous. It was a Dutchman, settled among the earlier Swedes,[1] who produced the best cooking apple, and one of the best sort for eating—the Vandevere—that is grown in the Middle States, and it was a family of Delaware Swedes,[2] who earliest cultivated the peach by wholesale, and made it an article of commerce. The peach-tree probably came to Delaware from Maryland, having traveled along the coast from the early Spanish settlements in Florida; but it has nowhere become so completely naturalized, so healthy, so productive of large, succulent, delicious fruit as in the country which the Swedes first reclaimed from the wilderness. In the time of Acrelius the peach was supposed to be indigenous, and was cultivated so extensively as to be relied upon as a standard food for swine.

Domestic animals increased very rapidly among the Swedes. They imported their own milch kine and oxen in the first instance, but they found horses and swine running at large and wild, many having escaped into the "backwoods" from the Maryland planters.[3] These horses had a good touch of the true Barb blood in them, as descendants of Virginia thoroughbred sires, and they were probably crossed with pony stock from Sweden. It seems likely that it is to this cross and the wild, half-starved existence they have led for two hundred years, living on salt grass and asparagus and fish, bedding in the sand and defying storm and mosquitoes, that we owe the incomparable breed of "beach" or Chingoteague ponies, fast, wiry, true as steel, untiring, sound, with hoofs as hard as iron and spirits that never flag. Acrelius noticed them acutely. He would not have been a parson if he had not had a keen eye for a horse. He says, "The horses are real ponies, and are seldom found over sixteen hands high. He who has a good riding horse never employs him for draught, which is also the less necessary, as journeys are for the most part made on horseback. It must be the result of this, more than of any particular breed in the horse, that the country excels in fast horses, so that horse-races are often made for very high stakes. A good horse will go more than a Swedish mile (six and three-quarters English miles) in an hour, and is not bought for less than six hundred dollars copper coinage" (sixty dollars). The cattle, says Acrelius, are middling, yielding, when fresh and when on good pasture, a gallon of milk a day. The upland meadows abounded in red and white clover, says this close observer, but only the first Swedish settlers had stabling for their stocks, except in cases of exceptionally good hus-

[1] Philip Van der Weer's brick house at Traders' Hook, on the Brandywine, was built before 1656.

[2] The Reybolds.

[3] Bacon's Laws of Maryland (1635–1751) are full of statutes relating to wild horses and their depredations, and to ear-marks and inclosures for all kinds of stock.

bandry. Horses, cattle, sheep and hogs ran out all the time, being inclosed at night, and sometimes sheltered in severe weather. They were, however, fed with grain, such as oats, corn and buckwheat, in addition to fodder in winter, the food of milch cows being bran or other ground mill-stuff. Acrelius says, in his dry, humorous way, "the man-servant takes care of the foddering of the cattle, whilst the house-wife and women-folks roast themselves by the kitchen fire, doubting whether any one can do that better than themselves."

The excellent Swedish pastor was a connoisseur in drinks as well as horse-flesh, and he has catalogued the beverages used by the Swedes with the accuracy and minuteness of detail of a manager of a rustic fair. After enumerating the imported wines, of which Madeira was the favorite of course, he describes, like an expert, the composition of sangaree, mulled wine, cherry and currant wine, and how cider, cider royal, cider-wine and mulled cider are prepared. Our reverend observer makes the following commentary upon the text of rum: "This is made at the sugar plantations in the West India Islands. It is in quality like French brandy, but has no unpleasant odor. It makes up a large part of the English and French commerce with the West India Islands. The strongest comes from Jamaica, is called Jamaica spirits, and is the favorite article for punch. Next in quality to this is the rum from Barbadoes, then that from Antiguas, Montserrat, Nevis, St. Christopher's, etc. The heaviest consumption is in harvest-time, when the laborers most frequently take a sup, and then immediately a drink of water, from which the body performs its work more easily and perspires better than when rye whiskey or malt liquors are used." Rum, he tells us, was drunk raw, or as egg-nog ("egg-dram"), or in the form of cherry bounce or billberry bounce; "punch," our learned author says, "is made of fresh spring-water, sugar, lemon-juice and Jamaica spirits. Instead of lemons, a West India fruit called limes, or its juice, which is imported in flasks, is used. Punch is always drunk cold; but sometimes a slice of bread is toasted and placed in it warm to moderate the cold in winter-time, or it is heated with a red-hot iron. Punch is mostly used just before dinner, and is called 'a meridian.'"[1] The other preparations in which rum was an ingredient included *Mämm* (mum), made of water, sugar and rum ("is the most common drink in the interior of the country, and has set up many a tavern-keeper"); "Manatham," small beer, rum and sugar; "tiff" or "flipp," same as foregoing, with the addition of a slice of toasted and buttered bread; hot rum punch, rum and water warmed up, with sugar and allspice,—"customary at funerals;" mulled rum hot, with eggs and allspice; *Hätt-Pät*, warmed beer with rum added; "Sampson," warmed cider with rum added; grog; "sling" or "long sup," half-and-half sweetened rum and water; milk punch; mint-water; egg-punch, etc. "Sillibub" is made like the Swedish "Oelost," of milk-warm milk, wine and water,—a cooling beverage in summer-time; "still liquor" was the country name for peach or apple brandy; whiskey, our author says, "is used far up in the interior of the country, where rum is very dear on account of the transportation." The people in the town drink beer and small beer; in the country, spruce, persimmon-beer and mead. Besides this

there are numerous liquors. Tea was commonly used, but often brandy was put in it, coffee was coming into use as a breakfast beverage, the berries imported from Martinique, San Domingo and Surinam, and chocolate also was not neglected.[2]

[1] Not because it aided "navigation," but because our Swedes dined at twelve o'clock.

[2] The subject of the sale of liquor to the Indians was before the court August 2, 1680, when the court reaffirmed the order of Governor Andros relating to it, and prohibited any one from bartering or retailing less than a half-anker of strong liquor to Indians. The order recited that there had been sad accidents by reason of its sale to the natives. On December 6, 1681, the matter was before the court again and there was a division of opinion upon it. Justice John Moll advocated that no liquors whatever should be sold to the Indians, and Justices Alricks, Semple and De Hass voted to sustain the order of 1680 given above and passed an order fining all who had violated it.

In the eighteenth century, liquor licenses were issued by the State to those recommended as sober and fit persons to keep public-houses of entertainment and to sell rum, brandy, beer, ale, cider, perry and other strong liquors, provided they should not suffer any drunkenness, unlaw-

In spite of all these liquids the early Swedes did not neglect solids. Their meals were four a day,—breakfast, dinner, "four o'clock piece" and supper, the latter sometimes dispensed with. There was no great variety of dishes, but such as were served were substantial; ham, beef tongue, roast beef, fowls, "with cabbage set round about," was one bill of fare; roast mutton or veal, with potatoes or turnips, another; a third might be a pasty of deer, turkey, chickens, partridges or lamb; a fourth, beef-steak, veal cutlets, mutton-chops, or turkey, goose or fowls, with potatoes set around, "stewed green peas, Turkish beans or some other beans;" apple, peach, cherry or cranberry pie "form another course. When cheese and butter are added, one has an ordinary meal." For breakfast, tea or coffee, with chipped beef in summer, milk-toast and buckwheat-cakes in winter, the "four o'clock piece" being like the breakfast. Chocolate was commonly taken with supper. The Swedes used very little soup and very little fish, either fresh or cured.

"The arrangement of meals among country people is usually this: for breakfast, in summer, cold milk and bread, rice, milk-pudding, cheese, butter and cold meat. In winter, mush and milk, milk porridge, hominy and milk; supper the same. For noon, in summer 'sippe' (the French bouillon, meat-broth, with bread-crumbs added, either drunk or eaten with spoons out of common tin-cups), fresh meat, dried beef and bacon, with cabbage, apples, potatoes, Turkish beans, large beans, all kinds of roots, mashed turnips, pumpkins, cushaws and squashes. One or more of these are distributed around the dish; also baked or boiled pudding, dumplings, bacon and eggs, pies of apples, cherries, peaches, etc."[1]

The land was so settled in the time of Acrelius that each had his separate ground, and mostly fenced in. "So far as possible the people took up their abodes on navigable streams, so that the farms stretched from the water in small strips up into the land." The Swedes used boats a great deal. They always went to church in boats if the ice permitted, and they had a great quarrel with Franklin, to whom Penn had given the monopoly of the Schuylkill Ferry, because he would not let their boats cross without paying toll. The houses were solid; in Acrelius' time mostly built of brick or stone, but earlier of logs, often squared oak logs, not often more than a story and a half high. The roofs were covered with oak or cedar shingles; the walls plastered and whitewashed once a year. The windows were large, often with hinged frames, but very small panes of glass when any at all was used, and all the chimneys smoked. In some houses straw carpets were to be found, but the furniture was always simple and primitive, made of country woods, with now and then a mahogany piece. The clothing was plain, domestic linen being worn in summer and domestic woolens, kerseys and linseys in winter, with some calicoes and cottons of imported stocks. The domestic cloth was good in quality, but badly dyed. For finer occasions plush and satin were sometimes worn. Our good parson, by whose observations we have been profiting, notes the progress luxury had been making among the Swedes. He says:

"The times within fifty years are as changed as night is from day. . . . Formerly the church people could come some Swedish miles on foot to church; now the young, as well as the old, must be upon horseback. Then many a good and honest man rode upon a piece of bear-skin; now scarcely any saddle is valued unless it has a saddle-cloth with galloon and fringe. Then servants and girls were seen in church barefooted; now young persons will be like persons of quality in their dress; servants are seen with *pernyanes du croise* and the like, girls with hooped skirts, fine stuff shoes and other finery. Then respectable families lived in low log houses, where the chimney was made of sticks covered with clay; now they erect painted houses of stone and brick in the country. Then they used ale and brandy, now wine and punch. Then they lived upon grits and mush, now upon tea, coffee and chocolate."

Stray hints of the simple manners of these primitive times, and of the honesty, ingenuousness and quaint religious faith of the people, crop out now and then in the accounts which Acrelius gives of the churches and his predecessors in their pulpits. When the "upper settlers" and "lower settlers" quarreled about the place for their new church, and Wicaco carried the day, the lower settlers were placated with a flat-boat, maintained at the expense of the congregation, to ferry them over the Schuylkill. The church wardens kept the keys of the boat. This was the beginning of the church "Gloria Dei," so venerable in the eyes of Philadelphians. The pastor's pay was sixty pounds, the sexton's eight pounds. If a man came drunk to church he was fined forty shillings and made to do public penance. The penalty for "making sport of God's word or sacraments" was five pounds fine and penance. For untimely singing, five shillings fine. If one refused to submit to this kind of discipline he was excluded from the society and his body could not be buried in the churchyard. The pastor and wardens looked carefully after betrothals and marriages. The whole congregation were catechized and also examined upon the contents of the sermon. There were also "spiritual examinations" made once a year in families. Each church had its glebe, the income from which was the pastor's, who also received a considerable sum from funerals, marriages, etc. The church bell was swung in a tree. Among the fixtures of the parsonage was a negro woman belonging to the congregation and included in the inventory of glebe property. When she grew old, "contrary" and "useless," she was sold for seven shillings. When the Christian Church was restored there was a great feast and a general revival of in-

ful gaming or other disorders and comply with the laws of the State. The Court of General Sessions fixed the inn-keepers' rates, and one of these lists adopted in May, 1797, prescribed the prices as follows: gin, spirits and brandy, of the first quality, per gill, 11d.; do., inferior quality, 9d.; Lisbon, Tenerife, Fayall and other inferior wines, per bottle, 3s.; sherry and port wine, per bottle, 6s.; Madeira wine, per bottle, 8s. 3d.; claret, per bottle, 7s. 6d.; porter, ale and cyder, per bottle, 1s. 1d.; dinner, 3s.; breakfast and supper, each, 2s. 6d.; Lodgings, 1s.; oats, per gallon, 1s.; corn, 1s. 6d.; hay, fodder and stabling, 2s. 6d.

[1] The pudding, says Acrelius in a note, was boiled in a bag; it was called a fine pudding when fruit was added; baked pudding was the young people's pancake; dumplings and puddings were called "Quakers' food." Apple-pie was used all the year,—"the evening meal of children. Home-pie, in country places, is made of apples neither peeled nor freed from their cores, and its crust is not broken if a wagon-wheel goes over it."

terest in the ancient Swedish ways. Matins were held at Christmas, Easter and Pentecost; garlanded lights and side lights of pine wood for Christmas services, and bridal pairs came to the services in the church with crowns and garlands, their hair dressed after the old-time Swedish custom. Among the new regulations of Pastor Hesselius was one to prevent people from driving across the churchyard, another forbidding them to sing as if they were calling their cows. People with harsh voices were ordered to stand mute or "sing softly." The Christina Church owned town lots in Wilmington, and used to hire out its "pall-cloth" for five shillings each funeral. The charge for burying a grown person was twelve shillings, children half-price.

The Swedish pastors were generally learned and accomplished men, who exerted themselves successfully in directing the minds of their congregations to the necessity of education. The original settlers were ignorant people, few of whom could write their names. Even Lasse Cock, agent for Penn and Markham for twenty years, could not at first do better than sign his "mark" to writings. The pastors, however, always made a brave stand for education, and were the means of preventing the Swedish tongue in America from sinking into oblivion. They also maintained as many of the old observances and religious ceremonies as possible, such as baptism soon after birth, an actual instead of formal sponsorship on the part of the god-parents, the old service of the churching of women, a general attendance upon the service and sacrament of the altar and a return to the ancient forms of betrothal and marriage. "The old speak of the joy," says Acrelius, "with which their bridal parties formerly came to church and sat during the whole service before the altar." Burials were solemn occasions, but had their feasts as well. The corpse was borne to the grave on a bier, the pall-bearers, chosen from those of the same sex and age of the deceased, walking close alongside and holding up the corners of the pall.

A few of the log cabins occupied by the primitive Swedes are said to be still standing. Watson, in his "Annals," describes one of the better class in Swanson's house, near Wicaco. John Hill Martin, in his "History of Chester," recalls two or three of these ancient houses. They were very rude affairs, with seldom more than a living room with a loft over it, door so low that one had to enter stooping, windows small square holes cut in the logs, protected by isinglass or oiled paper, or thin stretched bladders, often with nothing but a sliding board shutter.[1] The chimney was in the corner, of sticks and clay, or sandstone blocks, generally built outside the house. The first Swede settlers imitated the Indians by dressing in skins and wearing moccasins. The women's jackets and petticoats and the bed-clothes were of the same materials. The furs were by and by superseded by leather breeches and jerkins, while the women spun, wove or knit their own woolen wear, as well as the linen for summer. The women, old and married, wore hoods in winter, linen caps for summer, but the unmarried girls went uncovered except in the hot sun, dressing their abundant yellow hair in long, broad plaits.

The proof of the industry of the early Swedes is to be sought in their works. They were a scattered, ignorant race, with no capital, few tools and no occupations but those of husbandry and hunting. They were only a thousand strong when Penn came over, yet they had extended their settlements over a tract nearly two hundred miles long and seven or eight miles deep, building three churches and five or six block-houses and forts, clearing up forests and draining swamps to convert them into meadow land. They had discovered and worked the iron deposits of Maryland in two or three places. They had built about a hundred houses, fenced in much of their land and made all their own clothes, importing nothing but the merest trifles, besides arms and ammunition, hymn-books and catechisms. They had built grist-mills and saw-mills, having at least four of the latter in operation before Penn's arrival.[2] According to Ferris, however, the frame house in which Governor Lovelace entertained George Fox in 1672 was made entirely of hewn timbers, none of the stuff being sawed, the mortar and cement being made of oyster-shell lime; the house itself was built of brick. Governor Printz found a wind-mill at Christiana in 1643, but he says it never would work. On the other side of the river there were horse-mills. One at South Amboy in 1685, it was estimated, would clear the owner £100 a year, the toll for grinding a "Scotch bell" (six bushels) of Indian corn being two shillings sterling, equal to one bushel in every four and a half. But probably more than half the early settlers had to do as a primitive denizen in Burlington reports himself

[1] On November 22, 1679, Messrs. Bankers and Sluyter, on their voyage to Maryland, stopped overnight at Upland. In their journal they say, "We were taken to a place to sleep directly before an open window, to which there was no shutter, so that it could not be closed; and as the night was very cold, and it froze hard, we could scarcely keep ourselves warm." When they arrived at New Castle, on the 25th, they went out to view the place, which consisted "of only forty or fifty houses." They visited the plantation of John Moll and found his house very badly appointed for such a man of prominence. "There was no place to retire to, nor a chair to sit on, or a bed to sleep on. For their usual food the servants have nothing but maize bread to eat, and water to drink, which sometimes is not very good and scarcely enough for life, yet they are compelled to work hard. They are brought from England in great numbers into Maryland, Virginia and *Mesades* and sold each one according to his condition, for a certain term of years, four, five, six, seven or more. And thus they are by hundreds of thousands compelled to spend their lives here and in Virginia, and elsewhere in planting that vile tobacco. . . . After we had supped, Mr. Moll, who would be civil, wished us to lie upon a bed that was there, and he would lie upon a bench, which we declined; and as this continued some length of time, I lay down on a heap of maize, and he and my comrade afterwards lock did the same. This was very uncomfortable and chilly, but it had to go so."

[2] Bishop, "History of Manufactures," i. 116.

as doing, pounding Indian corn one day for the next. In 1680, two years before Penn, Thomas Olive had finished his water-mill at Rancocas Creek, and Robert Stacey his at Trenton. Printz mill on Cobb's Creek was built in 1643, and Campanius reports it as doing admirable work. Joost Andriansen & Co. built a grist-mill at New Castle in 1662. In 1671 there was a proposition made by New Castle to erect a distillery for grain, but the court negatived it, except the grain be "unfit to grind and bolt," because the process of distilling consumed such "an immense amount of grain."

Hallam is right in saying that "No chapter in the history of national manners would illustrate so well, if duly executed, the progress of social life as that dedicated to domestic architecture." After the saw-mill the brick-kiln follows naturally and rapidly. Hazard produces a petition to New Amstel

WILLIAM PENN'S OLD BREW-HOUSE, NEAR BRISTOL, BUCKS COUNTY, PA.

court, in 1656, from Jacobus Crabbe, referring to a plantation "near the corner where bricks and stones are made and baked." The Dutch introduced brick-making on the Delaware, the Swedes being used to wooden houses in their own country. The court-house at Upland, in which, it is said, Penn's first Assembly was held, was of brick.

The Swedes not only made tea of the sassafras, but they made both beer and brandy from the persimmon, and small beer from Indian corn. Kalm says that the brewing and distilling were conducted by the women. The Dutch had several breweries in the settlement about 1662. Coffee was too high to be much used in the seventeenth century. Penn's books show that it cost eighteen shillings and sixpence per pound in New York, and that would buy nearly a barrel of rum. Tea fetched from twenty-two to fifty shillings, currency, a pound. William Penn set-out a vineyard at Springettsbury, and had a French vigneron to tend it, but the experiment failed. He had a brew-house, however, at Pennsbury, still standing, which was more successful.

Governor Printz was expressly instructed to encourage all sorts of domestic manufactures and the propagation of sheep. There were eighty of these animals in New Sweden in 1663, and the people made enough woolen and linen cloth to supplement their furs and give them bed and table linen. They also tanned their own leather, and made their own boots and shoes, when they wore any. Hemp was almost as much spun and woven as flax. The Swedes who had the land owned large herds of cattle, forty and sixty head in a herd. The Dutch commissaries were enjoined to search closely for all sorts of mineral wealth on the South River, and those who discovered valuable metal of any kind were allowed the sole use of it for ten years. The Dutch discovered and worked iron in the Kittatinny Mountains, and, as has already been shown, the Swedes opened iron ore pits in Cecil County, Md. Charles Pickering found the copper with which he debased the Spanish reals and the Massachusetts pine-tree shillings on land of his own in Chester County.

When William Penn arrived in the Delaware in 1682, on October 27th, there were probably 3500 white people in the province and territories and on the eastern bank of the Delaware from Trenton to Salem. A few wigwams and not over twenty houses were to be found within the entire limits of what is now Philadelphia County. There were small towns at Horekills, New Castle, Christiana, Upland, Burlington and Trenton, and a Swedish hamlet or two at Tinicum and near Wicaco. Before the end of his first year in the province eighty houses had been built in the new city of Philadelphia, various industrial pursuits had been inaugurated and a fair and paying trade was opened with the Indians. When Penn left the province in 1684 his government was fully established, his chief town laid out, his province divided into six counties and twenty-two townships. He had sold 600,000 acres of land for £20,000 cash and annual quit-rents of £500. The population exceeded 7000 souls, of whom 2500 resided in Philadelphia, which had already 300 houses built, and had established considerable trade with the West Indies, South America, England and the Mediterranean. When Penn returned again in 1699, the population of the province exceeded 20,000, and Philadelphia and its liberties had nigh 5000 people. It was a very strange population moreover. Not gathered together by the force of material and

temporary inducements, not drawn on by community of interests nor the desire of betterments instinctive in the human heart, with no homogeneousness of race, religion, custom and habit, one common principle attracted them to the spot, and that was the desire of religious liberty, the intense longing to escape from under the baneful, withering shadow of politico-religious persecution to which the chief tenet of their faith, non-resistance and submission to the civil authority, prevented them from offering any opposition. They desired to flee because their religious opinions bound them not to fight. They were not of the church militant, like the Puritans and Huguenots and Anabaptists, and so it became them to join the church migratory and seek in uninhabited wilds the freedom of conscience denied them among the communities of men. They were radicals and revolutionists in the highest degree, for they upheld, and died on the scaffold and at the stake sooner than cease to maintain, the right of the people to think for themselves, and think their own thoughts instead of what their self-constituted rulers and teachers commanded them to think. But they did not resist authority: when the statute and their consciences were at variance they calmly obeyed the latter and took the consequences. They knew themselves to be abused and shamefully misused, but they believed in the final supremacy of moral and intellectual forces over despotic forces. They believed with Wiclif that "Dominion belongs to grace," and they waited hopefully for the coming of the period of intellectual freedom which should justify their action before men and prove the correctness of their faith in human progress. But all this trust in themselves and the future did not contribute materially to lighten the burden of persecution in the present, and they sought with anxiety for a place which would give them rest from the weariness of man's injustice. They became pilgrims, and gathered their little congregation together wherever a faint lifting in the black cloud of persecution could be discerned. Thus it was that they drifted into Holland and the lower Rhine provinces of Germany, and became wanderers everywhere, seeking an asylum for conscience' sake, —a lodge in some wilderness, where "rumor of oppression and deceit might never reach," and where they might await in comparative peace the better time that was coming. The great King Gustavus Adolphus perhaps meant to offer them such an asylum in America, but his message was sent in the hurry of war and it was not audible in the din of battles. When, however, this offer was renewed and repeated in the plain language of the Quakers by William Penn, it was both heard and understood, and the persecuted peoples made haste to accept the generous asylum and avail themselves of the liberal offer. They did so in a spirit of perfect faith that is creditable both to their own ingenuousness and to the character which Penn had established among his contemporaries for uprightness and fair and square dealing. It is pathetic to read, in the records of the Swiss Mennonites, how, after they had decided to emigrate, "they returned to the Palatinate to seek their wives and children, who are scattered everywhere in Switzerland, in Alsace, and in the Palatinate, *and they know not where they are to be found.*"

Thus the movement into Pennsylvania and the three lower counties began, a strange gathering of a strange people, much suffering, capable of much enduring. Of the Germans themselves one of their own preachers[1] wrote: "They were naturally very rugged people, who could endure much hardships; they wore long and unshaven beards, disordered clothing, great shoes, which were heavily hammered with iron and large nails; they had lived in the mountains of Switzerland, far from cities and towns, with little intercourse with other men; their speech is rude and uncouth, and they have difficulty in understanding any one who does not speak just their way; they are very zealous to serve God with prayer and reading and in other ways, and very innocent in all their doings as lambs and doves." The Quakers, too, bore proof in their looks of the double annealing of fanaticism and persecution. They wore strange garbs, had unworldly manners and customs, and many of them had cropped ears and slit noses, and were gaunt and hollow-eyed from long confinement in jails and prison-houses. The influence of George Fox's suit of leather clothes was still felt among them. They were chiefly of the plebeian classes, the true English democracy, yeomen, tinkers, tradesmen, mechanics, retail shopmen of the cities and towns; scarcely one of the gentry and very few of the university people and educated classes. From Wales, however, the Thomases, Rees, and Griffiths came, with red, freckled faces, shaggy beards and pedigrees dating back to Adam. Persecution had destroyed their hitherto unconquerable devotion to their own mountains, but they took their pedigrees with them in emigrating, and settling on a tract of hills and quaking mosses, where the soil recommended itself much less to them than the face of the country, they sought to feel at home by giving to the new localities names which recalled the places from which they had banished themselves.

Such were the emigrants who sailed—mostly from London and Bristol—to help build up Penn's asylum in the wilderness. The voyage was tedious, and could seldom be made in less than two months. The vessels in which they sailed were ill appointed and crowded. Yet at least fifteen thousand persons, men, women and children, took this voyage between 1681 and 1700. The average

[1] Laurens Hendricks, of Nimeguen.

passage-money was, allowing for children, about seventy shillings per head; so the emigrants expended £50,000 in this one way. Their purchases of land cost them £25,000 more; the average purchases were about £6 for each head of family; quit-rents one shilling sixpence. The general cost of emigration is set forth in a pamphlet of 1682, republished by the Pennsylvania Historical Society, and attributed to Penn, and he must have directed the publication, though it is anonymous. In this pamphlet it is suggested that a man with £100 in pieces-of-eight may pay his own way and his family's by judicious speculation. The "advance in money"—*i. e.*, the difference between specie value in London and on the Delaware—is thirty per cent., on goods the advance is fifty per cent., and this pamphlet supposes that these advances will pay the cost of emigration. The figures are too liberal; however, they give us an idea of what the expenses were which a family had to incur. They are as follows:

	£	s.	d.
For five persons—man and wife, two servants and a child of ten—passage-money	22	10	0
For a ton of goods—freight (each taking out a chest without charge for freight)	2	0	0
Ship's surgeon, 2s. 6d. per head		12	8
Four gallons of brandy, 24 lbs. sugar	1	6	0
Clothes for servant (6 shirts, 2 waistcoats, a summer and winter suit, hat, 2 pair shoes, under-clothing, etc.)	12	0	0
Cost of building a house	15	0	0
Stock for farm	24	10	0
Year's provisions for family	14	16	0
Total	£96	00	00

This, it will be observed, on a favorable, one-sided showing, is £20 *per capita* for man, woman, child and servant, outside of the cost of land. If we allow £10 additional for cost of land, transportation and other extras, leaving out clothes for the family, we shall have £30 a head as the cost of immigration and one year's keep until the land begins to produce crops. It thus appears that the early immigrants into Pennsylvania and the three lower counties must have expended at least £450,000 in getting there in the cheapest way. The actual cost was probably more than double that amount. In a letter written by Edward Jones, "Chirurgeon," from "Skoolkill River," Aug. 26 1682, to John ap Thomas, founder of the first Welsh settlement, we have some particulars of a voyage across the ocean at that time. Thomas and sixteen others had bought a five-thousand-acre tract of Penn. The rest sailed from Liverpool, but Thomas was ill, and not able to come. Hence the letter, which is published in a memoir of "John ap Thomas and his friends," in the *Pennsylvania Magazine*, vol. iv. The voyage took more than eleven weeks.

"And in all this time we wanted neither meat, drink or water, though several hogsheads of water ran out. Our ordinary allowance of beer was three pints a day for each whole head and a quart of water, 2 biskaid (biscuits) a day & sometimes more. We lost in about half hundred of biskaid, one barrell of beere, one hogshed of water, the quantity for each whole head, & 3 barrells of beefe for the whole number—sis—and we had one to come ashore. A great many could eat little or no beefe, though it was good. Butter and cheese eats well upon ye sea. Ye remainder of our cheese & butter is little or no wonter; butter & cheese is at 6d. per pound here, if not more. We have oat meale to spare, but it is well yt we have it, for here is little or no corn till they begin to sow their corn, they have plenty of it. . . . Ye name of town lots is called now Wicaco; here is a crowd of people striving for ye Country land, for ye town lot is not divided, & therefore we are forced to take up ye Country lots. We had much adoe to get a grant of it, but it Cost us 4 or 5 days' attendance, beside some score of miles we traveled before we brought it to pass. I hope it will please thee and the rest yt are concerned, for it hath most rare timber. I have not seen the like in all these parts."

Mr. Jones also states that the rate for surveying one hundred acres was twenty shillings—half as much as the price of the land. At this rate, Jones Thomas and company had to pay £50 for surveying their tract of five thousand acres.

It will be noticed that the face of the country pleased Dr. Jones, and he is satisfied with the land selected by him. All the early immigrants and colonists were pleased with the new land, and enthusiastic in regard to its beauty and its promise of productiveness. Penn is not more so than the least prosperous of his followers. Indeed, it is a lovely country to day, and in its wild, virgin beauty must have had a rare charm and attraction for the ocean-weary first settlers. They all write about it in the same warm strain Thus, for instance, let us quote from the letter written in 1680 to his brother by Mahlon Stacey, who built the first mill on the site of the city of Trenton. Stacey was a man of good education and family. He had traveled much in Pennsylvania and New Jersey, where he made a great fortune and became a leading citizen, his children intermarrying with the best people in the two colonies. The letter, which we quote from Gen. Davis' "History of Bucks County," says that

"It is a country that produces all things for the sustenance of man in a plentiful manner. . . . I have traveled through most of the settled places, and none that are not, and find the country very apt to answer the expectations of the diligent. I have seen orchards laden with fruit to admiration, planted by the Swedes, their very limbs torn to pieces with the weight, and most delicious to the taste and lovely to behold. I have seen an apple tree from a pippin kernel yield a barrel of curious cider, and peaches in such plenty that some people took their carts a peach gathering. I could not but smile at the sight of it. They are a delicate fruit, and hang almost like our onions that are tied on ropes. I have seen and known this summer forty bushels of baited wheat harvested from one acre. We have from the time called May to Michelmas great stores of very good wild fruits, as strawberries, cranberries and huckleberries, which are much like bilberries in England, but far sweeter; the cranberries much like cherries for color and bigness, which may be kept till fruit comes in again An excellent sauce is made of them for venison, turkey and great fowl; they are better to make tarts than either cherries or gooseberries; the Indians bring them to our houses in great plenty. My brother Robert had as many cherries this year as would have loaded several carts. From what I have observed it is my judgment that fruit trees destroy themselves by the very weight of their fruit. As for venison and fowl we have great plenty; we have brought home to our houses by the Indians seven or eight fat bucks of a day, and sometimes put by as many, having no occasion for them. My cousin Revels and I, with some of my men, went last Third month into the river to catch herrings, for at that time they come in great shoals into the shallows. We had no net, but, after the Indian fashion, made a round pinfold about two yards over and a foot high, but left a gap for the fish to go in at, and made a hash to lay in the gap to keep the fish in. When this was done we took two long birches and tied their tops together, and went about a stone's cast above our said pinfold; then hauling these birch boughs down the stream, we drove thousands before us, and so many got into our trap as it would hold. Then we began to throw them on shore as fast as three or four of us could hog two or three at a time. After this manner in half an hour we could have filled a three-bushel sack with as fine herring as ever I saw. . . . As to beef and pork, there is a great plenty of it and cheap; also good sheep. The common grass of the country feeds beef very fat. . . . We have great

plenty of most sorts of fishes that ever I saw in England, besides several sorts that are not known there, as rock, catfish, shad, sheepshead, and sturgeon; and fowls are as plenty—ducks, geese, turkeys, pheasants, partridges and many other sorts. Indeed the country, take it as a wilderness, is a brave country, though no place will please all. There is some barren land, and more wood than some would have upon their land; neither will the country produce corn without labor, nor is cattle got without something to buy them, nor bread with idleness, else it would be a brave country indeed. I question not but all would then give it a good word. For my part I like it so well I never had the least thought of returning to England except on account of trade."

"I wonder at our Yorkshire people," says Stacey, in another letter of the same date, "that they had rather live in servitude, work hard all the year, and not be threepence better at the year's end, than to stir out of the chimney-corner and transport themselves to a place where, with the like pains, in two or three years they might know better things. I live as well to my content and in as great plenty as ever I did, and in a far more likely way to get an estate."

Judge John Holme, in his so called poem on "the flourishing State of Pennsylvania," written in 1686, seems to have tried to set the views of Stacey to music. True there is not much tune nor rhythm in the verse, but the Pennsylvania writer of Georgics has a shrewd eye for a catalogue, and he would have shone as an auctioneer. He sings the goodness of the soil, the cheapness of the land, the trees so abundant in variety that scarcely any man can name them all, the fruits and nuts, mulberries, hazelnuts, strawberries, and "plumbs," "which pleaseth those well who to eat them comes," the orchards, cherries so plentiful that the planters bring them to town in boats (these are the Swedes, of course), peaches so plenty the people cannot eat half of them, apples, pears and quinces,

> "And fruit-trees do grow so fast in this ground
> That we begin with cider to abound."

The fields and gardens rejoice in the variety as well as the abundance of their products; in the woods are found "wax berries, elkermis, turmerick and sarsifrax;" the maple trunks trickle with sugar, and our author tells how to boil it; he gives the names of fish, flesh and fowls, including whales and sturgeons.

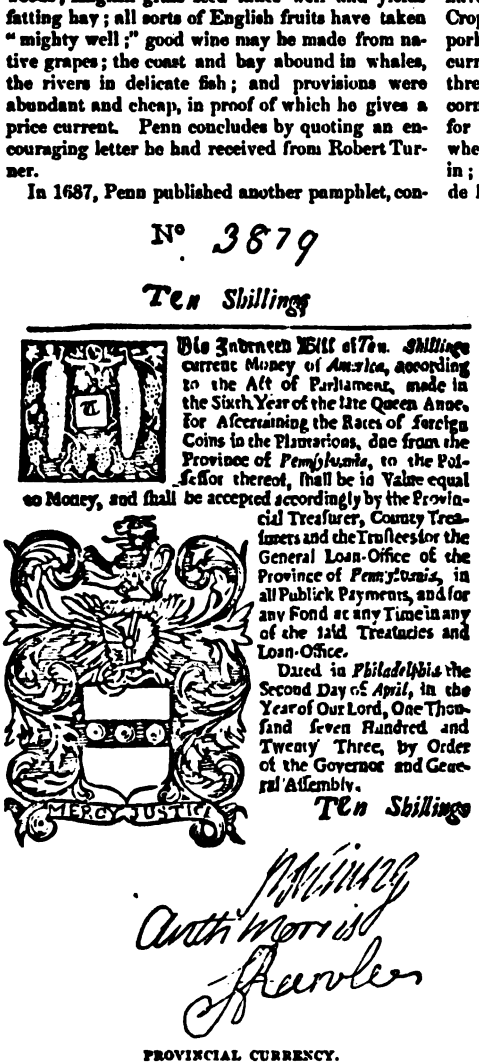
The Englishman of that day was still untamed. He had a passion, inherited from his Anglo-Saxon forbears, for the woods and streams, for outdoor life and the adventures which attend it. He had not forgotten that he was only a generation or two younger than Robin Hood and Will Scarlet, and he could not be persuaded that the poacher was a criminal. All the emigration advertisements, circulars, and prospectuses sought to profit by this passion in presenting the natural charms of America in the most seductive style. While the Spanish enlisting officers worked by the spell of the magic word "gold!" and the canny Amsterdam merchant talked "beaver" and "barter" and "cent. per cent.," the English solicitors for colonists and laborers never ceased to dwell upon the normal attractions of the bright new land, the adventures it offered, and the easy freedom to be enjoyed there. Thus in advocating his West Jersey settlements John Fenwick wrote in this way:

"If there be any terrestrial happiness to be had by any People, especially of any inferior rank, it most certainly be here. Here any one may furnish himself with Land, and live Rent free, yea, with such a quantity of Land, that he may weary himself with walking over his Fields of Corn, and all sorts of Grain, and let his Stock amount to some hundreds; he needs not fear their want of Pasture in the Summer or Fodder in the Winter, the Woods affording sufficient supply, where you have Grass as high as a Man's knees, nay, as his Waste, interlaced with Pea Vines and other Weeds that Cattell much delight in, so much as a Man can pass through; and these Woods also every Mile and half mile are furnished with fresh Ponds, Brooks, or Rivers, where all sorts of cattell, during the heat of the Day, do quench their thirst and Cool themselves. These Brooks and Rivers being increased of each side with several sorts of Trees and Grape-Vines, Arbor-like interchanging places, and crossing these Rivers, do shade and shelter them from the scorching beams of the Sun. Such as by their utmost labors can scarcely get a Living may here procure Inheritances of Lands and Possessions, stock themselves with all sorts of Cattle, enjoy the benefit of them while they live and leave them to their Children when they die. Here you need not trouble the Shambles for Meat, nor Bakers and Brewers for Beer and Bread, nor run to a Linen-Draper for a supply, every one making their own Linen and a great part of their Woollen Cloth for their ordinary wearing. And how prodigal (if I may say) hath Nature been to furnish this Country with all sorts of Wild Beasts and Fowl, which every one hath an interest in and may Hunt at his pleasure, where, besides the pleasure in Hunting, he may furnish his House with excellent fat Venison, Turkies, Geese, Heath-hens, Cranes, Swans, Ducks, Pigeons, and the like; and, wearied with that, he may go a Fishing, where the Rivers are so furnished that he may supply himself with Fish before he can leave off the Recreation. Here one may Travel by Land upon the same Continent hundreds of Miles, and pass through Towns and Villages, and never hear the least complaint for want nor hear any ask him for a farthing. Here one may lodge in the Fields and Woods, travel from one end of the Country to another, with as much security as if he were lock'd within his own Chamber; and if one chance to meet with an Indian Town, they shall give him the best Entertainment they have, and upon his desire direct him on his Way. But that which adds happiness to all the rest is the healthfulness of the Place, where many People in twenty years' time never know what Sickness is; where they look upon it as a great Mortality if two or three die out of a Town in a year's time. Besides the sweetness of the Air, the Country itself sends forth such a fragrant smell that it may be perceived at Sea before they can make the Land, No evil Fog or Vapor doth any sooner appear but a North-West or Westerly Wind immediately dissolves it and drives it away. Moreover, you shall scarce see a House but the South side is begirt with Hives of Bees, which increase after an incredible manner; so that if there be any terrestrial Canaan, 'tis surely here, where the land floweth with Milk and Honey."

This is the tenor of all the Maryland invitations to immigration likewise, and Penn follows the model closely. His letter to the Society of Free Traders in 1683 has already been mentioned, and also his proposals for colonists. In December, 1685, he issued a "Further Account of Pennsylvania," a supplement to the letter of 1683. He says that ninety vessels had sailed with passengers, not one of them meeting with any miscarriage. They had taken out seven thousand two hundred persons. "Houses over their heads and Gardenplots, coverts for their cattle, an increase of stock, and several inclosures in Corn, especially the first comers, and I may say of some poor men was the beginning of an Estate, the difference of laboring for themselves and for others, of an Inheritance and a Rack Lease being never better understood." The soil had produced beyond expectations, yielding corn from thirty to sixty fold; three pecks of wheat sowed an acre; all English root crops thrive; low lands were excellent for rope, hemp and flax; cattle find abundant food in the

woods; English grass seed takes well and yields fatting hay; all sorts of English fruits have taken "mighty well;" good wine may be made from native grapes; the coast and bay abound in whales, the rivers in delicate fish; and provisions were abundant and cheap, in proof of which he gives a price current. Penn concludes by quoting an encouraging letter he had received from Robert Turner.

In 1687, Penn published another pamphlet, containing a letter from Dr. More, "with passages out of several letters from Persons of Good Credit, relating to the State and Improvement of the Province of Pennsilvania." In 1691 again he printed a third pamphlet, containing "Some Letters and an Abstract of Letters from Pennsylvania." Dr. More takes pains to show the plenty and prosperity which surround the people of the province. "Our lands have been grateful to us," he says, "and have begun to reward our Labors by abounding Crops of Corn." There was plenty of good fresh pork in market at two and a half pence per pound, currency; beef, the same; butter, sixpence; wheat, three shillings per bushel; rye at eight groats; corn, two shillings in country money, and some for export. Dr. More had got a fine crop of wheat on his corn ground by simply harrowing it in; his hop garden was very promising. Arnoldus de la Grange had raised one thousand bushels of English grain this year, and Dr. More says, "Every one here is now persuaded of the fertility of the ground and goodness of climate, here being nothing wanting, with industry, that grows in England, and many delicious things not attainable there; and we have this common advantage above England, that all things grow better and with less labour." Penn's steward and gardener are represented as writing to him that the peach-trees are broken down with fruit; all the plants sent out from England are growing; barn, porch and shed full of corn; seeds sprout in half the time they require in England; bulbs and flowers grow apace. David Lloyd writes that "Wheat (as good, I think, as any in England) is sold at three shillings and sixpence per Bushel Country money and for three shillings ready money (which makes two shillings five pence English sterling), and if God continues his blessing to us, this province will certainly be the granary of America."[1] James Claypoole writes that he has never seen brighter and better corn than in these parts. The whale fishery was considerable; one company would take several hundred barrels of oil, useful, with tobacco, skins, and furs for commerce and to bring in small money (of which there is a scarcity) for change. John Goodson writes to Penn of the country that "it is in a prosperous condition beyond what many of our Friends can imagine;" if Penn and his family were there, "surely your Hearts would be greatly comforted to behold this Wilderness Land how it is becoming a fruitful Field and pleasant Garden." Robert James writes to Nathaniel Wilmer: "God prosper his People and their honest Endeavors in the wilderness, and many have cause to Bless and Praise his holy Arm, who in his Love hath spread a Table large unto us, even beyond the expectations or belief of many, yea, to the admiration of our Neighboring Colonies. . . . God is amongst



PROVINCIAL CURRENCY.

1 "Country money" was produce in barter, such as furs, tobacco, grain, stock, etc., at rates established by the courts in collecting fees, etc.; "ready money" was Spanish or New England coin, which was at 25 per cent. discount in Old England. See Sumner, "History of American Currency." The differences are set out in "Madame Knight's Journal." According to the above the discount on country money was 31 per cent. and on ready money 20 per cent.

his People and the wilderness is his, and he waters and refreshes it with his moistening Dew, whereby the Barren are becoming pleasant Fields and Gardens of his delight; blessed be his Name, saith my Soul, and Peace and Happiness to all God's People everywhere."

In 1685 a pamphlet called "Good Order Established," and giving an account of Pennsylvania, was published by Thomas Budd, a Quaker, who had held office in West Jersey. Budd was a visionary, mixed up with his Keith's heresy, and wanted to get a bank established in Philadelphia. He built largely in that city, and was a close observer. He pays particular attention to the natural advantages of the country in its soil, climate, products and geographical relations. The days in winter are two hours longer, and in summer two hours shorter than in England, he says, and hence grain and fruits mature more swiftly. He enumerates the wild fowls and fishes, the fruits and garden stuff, and thinks that the Delaware marshes, once drained, would be equal to the meadows of the Thames for wheat, peas, barley, hemp, flax, rape and hops. The French settlers were already growing grapes for wine, and Budd thought that attempts should be made to produce rice, anise seed, licorice, madder and woad. He has much to say about the development of manufactures, and he proposes to have a granary built on the Delaware in a fashion which is a curious anticipation of the modern elevator, and he projects a very sensible scheme for co-operative farm-work, on the community plan, the land to be eventually divided after it has been fully cleared and improved, and the families of the commune have grown up.

In 1698 was published Gabriel Thomes' "Historical and Geographical Account of the Province and Country of Pennsylvania and West New Jersey in America." This well-known brochure descants in florid and loose terms upon "The richness of the Soil, the sweetness of the Situation, the Wholesomeness of the Air, the Navigable Rivers and others, the prodigious increase of Corn, the flourishing condition of the City of Philadelphia, etc. The strange creatures, as Birds, Beasts, Fishes, and Fowls, with the Several Sorts of Minerals, Purging Waters, and Stones lately discovered. The Natives, Aborigines, and their Language, Religion, Laws and Customs The first Planters, Dutch, Swedes and English, with the number of its inhabitants; as also a Touch upon George Keith's New Religion, in his second change since he left the Quakers; with a Map of both Counties." The title-page leaves the book but little to say. Gabriel is enthusiastic about pretty much everything. He makes some shrewd remarks, however, as when he says that he has reasons to believe Pennsylvania contains coal, "for I have observed the runs of water have the same color as that which proceeds from the coal mines in Wales." He shows the abundance of game by telling how he had bought of the Indians a whole buck (both skin and carcass) for two gills of gunpowder. Land had advanced in twelve years from fifteen or eighteen shillings to eighty pounds per one hundred acres, over a thousand per cent. (in Philadelphia), and was fetching round prices in the adjacent country.

The Swedes had no roads. They followed bridle-paths on foot or on horseback, and carried their freight by water. It was in 1686 that the people of Philadelphia began to move for better highways. The Schuylkill ferry monopoly was then exciting public attention, and the Council took the whole matter of thoroughfares into consideration. The first control of roads was by the courts, which appointed overseers and fence-viewers, the grand jury laying out the roads. In 1692 the control of roads was given to the townships, and this lasted until the adoption of a general road law.

Precisely what sort of houses were built by the first settlers may be known with satisfactory exactness from the contemporary records. In Penn's tract of "Information and Direction to such Persons as are inclined to America," we have a description of such houses, and we may assume that the "Welcome's" passengers erected exactly such structures during their probationary period of cave life or hut life in the wilderness. The dimensions given are almost those of the house of Pastorius:

"To build them an House of thirty foot long and eighteen foot broad with a partition near the middle, and another to divide one end of the House into two small Rooms, there must be eight Trees of about sixteen inches square, and cut off to Posts of about fifteen foot long, which the House must stand upon, and four pieces, two of thirty foot long and two of eighteen foot long, for Plates, which must lie upon the top of those Posts, the whole length and breadth of the House, for the Gists (joists) to rest upon. There must be ten Gists of twenty foot long to bear the Loft, and two false Plates of thirty foot long to lie upon the ends of the Gists for the Rafters to be fixed upon, twelve pare of Rafters of about twenty foot to bear the Roof of the House, with several other small pieces, as Windbeams, Braces, Studs, &c., which are made out of the Waste Timber. For covering the House, Ends and Sides, and for the Loft we use Clabboard, which is Rived feather-edged, of five foot and a half long,[1] that, well Drawn, lyes close and smooth: The Lodging Room may be lined with the same, and filled up between, which is very Warm. These houses usually endure ten years without repair."

The cost of such a house is given as follows: Carpenter's work (the owner and his servants assisting), £7; a barn of the same dimensions, £5; nails and other things to finish both, £3 10s.; total for house and barn, £15 10s. These houses had dirt floors, clapboard floors for garret. Oldmixon copies these directions verbatim in his description of the houses of the first settlers. The directions,

[1] "Feather-edged," with one side thinner than the other, as shingles are made.

however, are very incomplete; no provisions are made for doors, windows or chimneys. Of the latter these houses had but one, built outside the gable of the sitting-room, sometimes of stone, sometimes of clay and sticks, sometimes of wood only. The doors could be made of riven stuff, of course, with deer-skin hinges and wooden latch and bar, and the windows could be closed with clapboard shutters. A large fire-place was needed, with a stone hearth; the table could be made of hewn stuff, resting on puncheons driven into the ground, and blocks, stools and benches would answer for seats Rude wooden bedsteads or berths could be contrived along the walls, and a few bearskins, with the bedclothes brought over by every emigrant, would make them warm. The other furniture would comprise chiefly kitchen utensils; pork fat, whale or sturgeon oil, and pine knots or "light wood" would give all the artificial light needed.

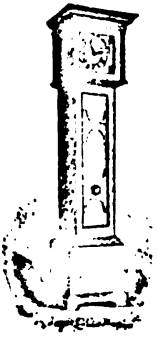
Iron articles were most costly and hardest to get. Edward Jones, at Merion, writes in August, 1682, for nails, sixpennies and eightpennies; for mill-iron, an iron kettle for his wife, and shoes, all of which he says are dear; "Iron is about two and thirty or forty shillings a hundred; steel about 1*s.* 5*d.* per pound." In Penn's "Directions" he recommends colonists to bring out with them, in the way of utensils and goods, "English Woollen and German Linen, or ordinary Broad-Clothes, Kerseys, Searges, Norwich-Stuffs, some Duffels, Cottons and Stroud-waters for the Natives, and White and Blew Ozenburgs [Osnaburgs], Shoes and Stockings, Buttons, Silk, Thread, Iron Ware, especially Felling Axes. Hows, Indian Hows, Saws, Frows [frowers, for splitting shingles], Drawing Knives, Nails, but of 6*d.* and 8*d.* a treble quantity, because they use them in shingling or covering of Houses." For the first year's stock for a farm he advises "three milch cows, with young calves by their sides, £10; yoke of oxen, £8; Brood mare, £5; two young Sows and a Boar, £1 10*s.*,—in all £24." For first year's provisions: Eight bushels of Indian corn *per capita*, and five bushels of English wheat, for five persons, £8 7*s.* 6*d.*; two barrels of molasses (for beer), £3; beef and pork, 120 pounds per head, at 2*d.* per pound, £5; five gallons spirits at 2*s.* per gallon, 10*s.* Three hands, with a little help from the woman and boy, can plant and tend 20,000 hills of corn (planted four feet each way, there are 2717 hills to an acre, or seven and one-third acres to the whole number of hills), and they may sow eight acres of spring wheat and oats, besides raising peas, potatoes and garden stuff. The expected yield will be 400 bushels of corn, 120 bushels of oats and wheat, etc. These calculations were moderate for a virgin soil, free from vermin. Dr. More, in his letter to Penn in September, 1686, says, "I have had seventy ears of Rye upon one single root, proceeding from one single corn; forty-five of Wheat; eighty of Oats; ten, twelve and fourteen of Barley out of one Corn. I took the curiosity to tell one of the twelve Ears from one Grain, and there was in it forty five grains on that ear; above three thousand of oats from one single corn, and some I had that had much more, but it would seem a Romance rather than a Truth if I should speak what I have seen in these things."

A better class of houses than these clapboard ones with dirt floors were soon built. Indeed, the old log houses of the Swedes were more comfortable, especially when built like that of Sven Seners' at Cosquannoc, with a first story of stone and the superstructure of logs. A well-built log house, on a stone foundation, well filled in with bricks or stone and mortar, and ceiled inside with planking like a ship, makes the dryest, warmest and most durable country-house that can be built. But the settlers immediately began to burn bricks and construct houses of them, often with a timber framework, in the old Tudor cottage style. This sort of building went on rapidly as soon as limestone began to be quarried and burnt.[1]

This better class of houses was, of course, more elaborately furnished. It may be noticed that in John Goodson's directory in Philadelphia, cabinet-makers and other workmen in furniture and interior movables are mentioned, but all the first settlers must have brought or imported their furniture from Europe. It was stiff and heavy, scarcely anticipating that slim and spindling style which came in with the next English sovereign, and has recently been revived with an extravagance of pursuit seldom exhibited except in bric-a-brac hunters and opera-bouffe artistes. As yet not much mahogany and rosewood were used by the Northern nations (except the Dutch), but good solid oak, well-carved, and walnut were the favorite woods. There were great chests of drawers, massive buffets, solid tables, with flaps and wings, straight-back oak chairs, well-carved, leathern-seated chairs, studded with brass nails, and tall Dutch clocks. Much of the table furniture was pewter or common delf-ware; brass and copper served in the kitchen where now tin is used. Wood was the only fuel, and the fire-places, enormously capacious, had great iron dogs in them, to which, in winter-time, the back-log was often dragged by a yoke of oxen with the log-chain. Cranes and hooks, suspended in these fire-places, held pots for the boiling, and the roasting was done on spits or upon "jacks," which dogs had to turn. The bread was baked in a brick oven usually outside the house, and the minor baking in "Dutch ovens," set upon and covered over with beds of red-hot coals. In the family

1 "Madam Farmer," who was the first person to burn stone lime in Philadelphia (Budd, in 1683, says no stone lime had been discovered), offered, in 1686-87, to sell ten thousand bushels of Schuylkill lime at sixpence per bushel at the kiln.

part of the house the brass andirons and tongs and fender made the fire-glow upon the deep hearth look doubly cheerful. The Quakers did not use stoves until Benjamin Franklin inveigled them into it with that simulacrum of an open fireplace called the Franklin stove. The Swedes scarcely had chimneys, much less stoves, but the Germans early imported the great porcelain stoves which they were familiar with at home, and which they used until Christopher Saur, the Germantown printer, invented the ten-plate stove, for which lovers of the beautiful will scarcely know how to forgive him. All well to-do families had good store of linen for bed-clothes, blankets, etc.; the washing was not done often, and the chests of drawers were filled with homespun. Especially was this the case among the German settlers, who scarcely washed up the soiled house and person wear more than once in a quarter. It was the pride and test of a good housewife to have more linen made up than she knew what to do with.[1] It is noteworthy that the Germans built their houses with one chimney, in the centre of the building, the English with a chimney at each end, and this distinction was so commonly marked as to attract the attention of travelers.[2] In their bedroom furniture the Germans substituted the "feather deck" for the blanket,—*more majorum*,—and this uncomfortable covering is still retained.



WM. PENN'S CLOCK.

In the houses the floors down-stairs were sanded. There were no carpets as yet, not even home-made ones, and the Germans have not been using these for a hundred years. William Penn had no carpets in his Pennsbury Manor house. The large, heavy tables in the dining and living rooms of the early homes groaned with plenty, and the great pewter dishes were piled high. The people worked hard, and they did not stint themselves. The Swedes, Germans and Quakers were all of them hearty feeders, and they liked gross food. No dread of dyspepsia limited their dishes; they had abundance and enjoyed it. Only a few men of English habits and fond of port, brandy and madeira, like Capt. Markham, ever had the gout.[3] The rivers teemed with fish, and the Quakers early learned the virtues and delicious flavor of the shad, broiled on a plank at one side the fireplace, while a johnny-cake browned on another plank at the other side of the fire. Penn grew so fond of these that in 1686 he wrote to Harrison to send him some "smoakt haunches of venison and pork. Gett them of the Sweeds. Some smoakt shadd and beef. *The old priest at Philadelphia (Fabricius) had rare* shadd. Also some peas and beans of that country." Richard Townshend, in 1682, says that the first year colonists almost lived on fish of which great quantities were caught, the winter being an open one, and venison,—"We could buy a deer for about two shillings, and a large turkey for about one shilling, and Indian corn for about two shillings and sixpence per bushel." Six rockfish or six shad could be bought for a shilling; oysters two shillings a bushel, herrings one shilling and sixpence per hundred. Sturgeon were caught for food, and also for the oil they supplied. The Delaware and the Schuylkill and adjacent pools and marshes were the resort of myriads of wild-fowl, from swan and geese down to rail and reed-birds. As soon as the settlers became established, the flesh of all domesticated animals was cheap in the markets. Every family kept its own cows, made its own butter and

WILLIAM PENN'S SILVER TEA-SERVICE.

cheese, salted, cured and smoked its own bacon, beef, herring, shad, venison and mutton. The smoke-house, dairy and poultry-house were appendages to all town houses, and most of them had their own vegetable gardens likewise. It was the custom then, and remained so until long after the beginning of the present century, for every house to be provisioned as if to stand a siege. The cellars had great bins for potatoes and other roots and apples; there were tiers of barrels of fresh cider, and casks for vinegar to ripen in, and in a locked recess were usually some casks of madeira, sherry,

[1] In a clever little volume, published in 1873, called "Pennsylvania Dutch and other Essays," we read of one extremely provident and forehanded damsel who had a barrau full of linen shirts and other clothes ready made up for her future husband, whom she was yet to meet, and whose measure she could, of course, only guess at, by assuming that the right man, when he did come, would be of the size and figure she had in her mind's eye in cutting out the garments

[2] Schoepf's "Reise Durch Pennsylvanien," 1783, quoted by I. D. Rupp, notes to Dr. Rush's pamphlet on "Manners of the Germans in Pennsylvania."

[3] In Governor Fletcher's time the Council adjourned to meet again in Markham's house because the gout prevented him from going out, and Fletcher wanted a full attendance of his advisers.

port, rum, brandy, gin, etc., for the master and his guests, with marsala and malaga for the women and children. There was an astonishing amount of drinking going on all the time; all drank something, if it was only ale or small beer. The pantry and store-house of the mistress was for use, not ornament. Her barrels of saur-kraut were in the cellar, her firkins of apple-butter occupied the ample garret, along with strings of onions, hampers of dried peaches and apples, and great bundles of dried herbs; but in the store-room the deep-bottomed shelf was ranged around with gray stone jars of large capacity, filled with pickles, the shelf above it marshaled a battalion of glass jars of preserves of every sort, and the upper shelves bent under the weight of bottles filled with sauces and sruba, and "bounce" and ketchups, and soys, cordials, lavender, aromatic vinegars, and a hundred deft contrivances to tickle the palate, and deprave all stomachs but such as those of these hardy toilers in the open air.

The gardens yielded all the common vegetables, and people who ate so largely of salted meats and fish required much vegetable food and many sweets and acids to protect them from scorbutic affections. Onions, turnips, cabbage, potatoes were supplemented with the more delicate vegetables known in Germany. The Indians supplied the colonists with their first peas, beans and squashes, taught them how to boil mush, to pound hominy, to roast the tender ears of corn and prepare the delightful succotash. Much pastry was used, many sweetmeats and pickles, but not very high seasoning. At table, until tea and coffee became regular articles of diet with all classes, cider and the small beers of domestic brewing were served without stint at every meal. In winter the beers were sweetened, spiced, warmed and drunk for posets. Wines did not appear except upon the tables of the well-to-do, but rum and spirits were in every house, and all took their morning and noon drams in some shape or other. The effects of alcohol were neutralized by the active out-door life all led, and by the quantities of coarse food taken at every meal. In the journal of William Black, who was in Philadelphia in 1744,[1] it is made to appear among the duties of hospitality to be treating to something or other every hour in the day. This young fellow either had a very strong head, or alcohol did not make the same impression upon the strong, healthy frame of the youth of that day which it does upon modern effeminate men. There was bread, cider, and punch for lunch, rum and brandy before dinner, punch, madeira, port and sherry at dinner, bounce and liqueurs with the ladies, and wine and spirits *ad libitum* till bedtime. The party are welcomed, too, with a bowl of fine lemon punch big enough to have "swimm'd half a dozen young geese." After five or six glasses of this "poured down their throats," they rode to the Governor's house, were introduced and taken into another room, "where we was presented with a glass of wine," and it was punch, spirits or "a few glasses of wine" wherever they went during their stay, his friends being, as he says, as liberal with their good wine "as apple-tree of its fruit on a windy day in the month of July."

The dress of the people in the early days of which we write was simple, plain, but not formal as that of the Quakers subsequently became. The country people, for their ordinary wear, made much use of serviceable leather doublets and breeches, woolen waist-coats, felt hats, heavy shoes with leather leggings, or else boots. They wore stout flannel next to the skin in winter, rough coats and many woolen wraps about the throat; in summer, coarse Osnaburgs and home-made linens. All wore wigs, and the dress suits of cloth or camlet were brave with buttons, braid and buckles, silk stockings and embroidered waist-coats, gold-laced hats and fine lace ruffles and cravats. Gentlemen wore their small swords; workmen and laborers either dressed in leather, druggets, serge, fustian or lockram, or else in Osnaburgs. Common women and servants wore linen and domestics, linseys and calicoes; on their heads a hood or quilted bonnet, heavy shoes, home-knit stockings of thread or yarn, petticoats and short gowns, with a handkerchief pinned about the shoulders. The ladies had, of course, more brilliant and varied wardrobes; the hat was high-crowned, the hair much dressed; stomachers and corsage long and stiff; much cambric about the neck and bosom, much gimp, ribbon and galloon; silk or satin petticoats, and dainty shoes and stockings. A friend in 1697 sent Phineas Pemberton's wife "an alamode hood," and the ladies would contrive always to have something "*à la mode*." In the inventory of Christopher Taylor's estate are enumerated "a baratine body, stomacher and petticoat, cambric kerchiefs and forehead cloths." In that of John Moon were a "fine Brussels camlet petticoat, a yellow silk mantle, silk band and sash, silk and satin caps, hoods, lute-strings, white silk hoods." William Stanley's store had for sale "frieze, serge, broadcloth, Holland linen, yellow, green and black calicoes, satins, lute-strings, tabby, silk plush, ribbon, striped petticoats, phillimot, ferret, flowered silks, thread laces, gimps, whalebones, galloons." Letitia Penn did not disdain to buy finery in Philadelphia, caps, buckles, a watch and other goldsmith's articles. There was not a great amount of luxury, however, nor much plate nor display of fine articles. The people's habits were simple. They were all industrious, ploddingly so,

[1] Black was a young Virginian, secretary of the commissioners appointed by Governor Gooch, of Virginia, to unite with those of Pennsylvania and Maryland to treat with the Six Nations in 1744. His diary has been published in the *Penna. Magazine*, vol. i.

and the laws and sentiment and temper of the influential classes frowned equally upon display and extravagance. The wild youth, the sailors and laborers sometimes broke bounds, but the curb was in their mouths and they were soon reined up.

The population seemed to realize that they had their fortunes to make, and that good pay and great industrial opportunities made idleness and loose, extravagant living inexcusable. Wages were comparatively high, labor was respectable and respected. In 1689 there were ten vessels sent to the West Indies freighted with produce of the province, and the same year fourteen cargoes of tobacco were exported. In 1698 the river front at Philadelphia abounded with the conveniences and facilities requisite for an extensive commerce, and for building and repairing vessels, as well as loading and unloading them. Ship carpenters earned five and six shillings a day in wages, and on that pay would soon save money. The trade to the West Indies and Brazil consisted of horses and other live-stock, provisions, staves, etc. The vessels themselves were sold with their cargoes, and every one might have his little venture in a traffic which paid double the investment on each risk. Thus the ship carpenter, who laid by one day's wages a week, could, in a month or two, be trading to the Indies so as to give him £50 or £60 clear money at the end of the year, and that would buy him a farm, build him a house or give him a share in some vessel on the stocks. In ten years he could become a capitalist, as many of his trade did so become. The timber of the Susquehanna and Delaware was sometimes sent across the ocean in huge raft ships, rigged with sails and manned by regular crews. We read of one of these, the "Baron Renfrew," measuring five thousand tons, which arrived safely in the Downs.

Mills were established rapidly under the proprietary government. Penn had two on the Schuylkill. Richard Townshend had one at Chester and one on Church Creek in 1683. The Society of Free Traders had a saw-mill and a glass-house in Philadelphia the same year. The saw-mills still could not meet the demand for lumber, and in 1698 hand-sawyers were paid six and seven shillings per hundred for sawing pine boards; in 1705, ten shillings. Shingles in 1698 sold for ten shillings per thousand; hemlock "cullings," ten shillings per hundred; timber, six shillings per ton. Printz's grist-mill on the Karakung was soon duplicated after the proprietary government took possession. Pastorius says the colony had mills enough; the Frankford Company had established several as early as 1686. Some of the large mills added to their profits by having bakeries connected, where ship-bread was baked in quantities for sea-going vessels.

We have already spoken of the early manufacture of bricks. The Swedes' Church at Wicaco, still standing, was built of brick in 1700. The first Proprietary Assembly at Upland was held in a brick house, but these bricks were probably imported. The first Quaker meeting-house in Philadelphia was of brick, built in 1684. Penn's brew-house at Pennsbury, still standing, was built before his mansion. Penn, Dr. More and several others of the first settlers made strong efforts to improve native grapes, introduce the exotic grape and manufacture wine. They had wine made of fox-grape juice and fancied it was as good as claret. Penn set out a vineyard at Springettsbury and had a French vigneron to tend it. The experiment failed, however, and was abandoned before Penn's second visit. Pastorius was deceived also, and wrote to Germany for a supply of wine-barrels, which, however, he never filled, unless with cider or peach-brandy. No wonder Penn wanted to make wine at home, —his province imported four hundred thousand gallons of rum and sixty thousand gallons of wine a year, costing over fifty thousand pounds annually

Penn's leading object in establishing fairs in Philadelphia and the province was to promote industrial enterprises. At the first fair in 1686 only ten dollars' worth of goods was sold. There was no money in Philadelphia and exchanges could not be made. The fairs were held twice a year, three days each in May and November. Another plan of Penn's was to offer prizes for superior work in manufactures. In 1686, Abraham Op den Graaffe, of Germantown, petitioned Council to grant him the Governor's premium for "the first and finest piece of linen cloth." About the same time Wigart Levering, one of the Germantown colonists, began weaving in Roxborough. Matthew Houlgate, in 1698, bought property in the same township and began a fulling-mill on the Wissahickon. The price in 1688 for spinning worsted and linen was two shillings per pound; knitting heavy yarn stockings, half a crown per pair. Wool-combers received twelve pence per pound; linen-weavers twelve pence per yard of stuff half a yard wide; journeyman tailors were paid twelve shillings a week and "their diet." The domestic manufactures of the day in linen and woolen wear supplied a large part of family wants. Fabrics were coarse but serviceable; and the women of the household, after the men had broke and hackled the flax and sheared the sheep, did all the subsequent work of carding, spinning, weaving, bleaching and dyeing. While wages were good, the clothes of apprentices and laborers were not expensive. Leather shoes with brass buckles and wooden heels lasted as long almost as leather breeches and aprons. Hemp and flax Osnaburgs, dyed blue, cost only a shilling or

one and sixpence per yard, and a felt or wool hat and two or three pairs of coarse yarn stockings were good for two seasons. Wealthy people, who wore imported velvets, satins, silks and nankeens, however, had to pay extravagant prices for them, and the cost of a fashionable outfit often exceeded the money value of an eligible farm. The rapid increase of their "bestial" not only gave the planters a valuable line of exports, but also early encouraged the manufacture of leather. Penn and the Society of Free Traders established a tannery in Philadelphia in 1683 and it was well supplied both with bark and hides. Leather was in general use for articles of clothing, such as are now made of other goods Penn himself wore leather stockings, for which he paid twenty-two shillings a pair. In 1695 the exportation of dressed and undressed deer-skins was prohibited, in order to promote their utilization at home. Raw hides cost one and a half pennies per pound, while leather sold for twelve pence. A fat cow went to the butcher for three pounds, while beef sold for from three to four and a half pence per pound,—a profit of over one hundred per cent. to butcher and tanner. But land was cheap, the Barbadoes market was always ready to pay well for cattle on the hoof, and these things secured good wages for labor in the mechanic arts. Curriers, who paid twenty pence a gallon for their oil, received three shillings and four pence a hide for dressing leather. Journeymen shoemakers were paid two shillings a pair for men's and women's shoes, and last-makers got ten shillings a dozen for lasts; heel-makers two shillings a dozen for wooden heels. Men's shoes sold for six shillings and sixpence and women's for five shillings per pair. Great skill and taste were displayed in the various makes of "white leather," soft leather and buckskin for domestic wear,—a branch of manufactures taken up by the Swedes in imitation of the Indians.

The mineral wealth of Pennsylvania, suspected by the Swedes, began to be revealed very early to the primitive settlers under the proprietary government. A Dutch colony is claimed to have worked iron in the Minnesink long before Penn came over, but there is nothing but tradition in regard to these pioneers. Penn wrote to Lord Keeper North, in 1683, that copper and iron had been found in divers places in the province. Gabriel Thomas speaks of the existence of iron-stone richer and less drossy than that of England; the copper, he says, "far exceeding ours, being richer, finer, and of a more glorious color." These "finds" were in Chester County, the seat of the earliest iron-works in the province. Thomas also mentions limestone, lodestone, isinglass, asbestos and amianthus. Blacksmiths earned high wages; one is mentioned who, with his negroes, by working up old iron at sixpence per pound, earned fifty shillings a day. All the contemporary writers speak of the heavy charges for smith-work, though there was no horse-shoeing to be done. Silversmiths got half a crown or three shillings per ounce for working up silver, "and for gold, equivalent." There was a furnace and forges at Durham, in Bucks, before the eighteenth century set in.

Where there was so much hand-work done, and so many things to be accomplished by mere manual labor, there was naturally not much call nor room for brain-work. The habits of the Swedes, the system and culture of the Society of Friends, were not particularly favorable to intellectual growth nor to education. Many more scholars, wits and learned men came to Pennsylvania in the first two generations than went out of it. The learned Swedish pastors were exotics, and their successors, from Campanius to Collins, had to be imported from the mother country. They did not grow up in the Delaware country. Nor did Penn's "wooden country" (as Samuel Keimer, Franklin's odd companion at the case, calls it) produce any parallels or equals to the university scholars, who, like Penn, the Lloyds, Logan, Growden, Shippen, Nicholas and John More, Pastorius, Wynne, White, Guest, Mompesson and others, devoted their talents and learning to the service of the infant Commonwealth. Penn himself, it was alleged in Council, on the trial of Bradford for the unlicensed printing of the charter and laws (a work which he was instigated to by Judge Growden), had taken the Virginia Governor Berkeley's rule for his pattern, and wished to discourage publications of all sorts. The learned and elegant professions, indeed, were not well nurtured in Pennsylvania's early days. In Goodson's inventory of occupations the "chirurgion" was put down between the barbers and the staymakers. Gabriel Thomas shows that the professions were contemned. "Of Lawyers and Physicians," he observes, "I shall say nothing, because this Country is very Peaceable and Healthy; long may it so continue and never have occasion for the Tongue of the one or the Pen of the other, both equally destructive to men's Estates and Lives." Where the sole source of divinity was "the Inner Light," cultivated persons were not to be looked for in the ministry; education was rather esteemed a hindrance than a help to the free and perfect expression of inspiration. It was a "snare" and a "device," like the steeple on the church's tower, the stained glass in its windows, like the organ in the choir, and the gowns and also the salaries and benefices of the clergymen.

There is really as little to say about the doctors and lawyers of the province as Thomas allows. The Dutch Annals mention surgeons of the name of Tykman Stidham and Jan Oosting,

another, William Van Rasenberg, who was called indifferently barber and surgeon, and Everts and Arent Pietersen. Three of these in three years received government pay to the amount of two thousand seven hundred and eighty-eight florins as physicians and "comforters of the sick."[1] In the journal of Sluytor and Dankers, Otto Ernest Cook is called a physician, or rather "a late medicus." In addition to Drs. Thomas Wynne, Griffith Owen and Nicholas More, John Goodson was also a physician under Penn's government, and so was Edward Jones, founder of Merion, and son-in-law of Dr. Wynne. Dr. John Le Pierre, who was reputed to be an alchemist, came over about the same time as Penn. Dr. More did not practice his profession in the colony, but Griffith Owen was a regular physician from the date of his arrival. There were several other "chirurgions" among the "first purchasers," but it is not ascertained that any of them immigrated to the province. Doctors could not be well dispensed with, since, in addition to colds, consumptions and constant malarial disorders, the province was visited by three or four severe epidemics, including a fatal influenza which attacked all the settlements and colonies on the Atlantic, an outbreak of pleurisy which was noticeably destructive at Upland and New Castle, and a plague of yellow fever in Philadelphia in 1699. The smallpox likewise was a regular and terrible visitor of the coast, though its most fearful ravages were among the Indians.

The pioneer lawyer of Delaware was admitted to practice in 1676, at the session of the court held November 7th. The records of that day show that "uppon the petition of Thomas Spry desireing that he might be admitted to plead some people's cases in court, etc, The Worppll Court have granted him Leave so Long as the Petitioner Behaves himself well and carrys himself answerable thereto."

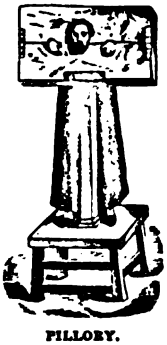
In addition to Thomas Spry and others Charles Pickering appears to have been a member of the bar, as well as a planter on a large scale, a miner and copper and iron-worker, a manufacturer of adulterated coins, and a sort of warden of the territory in dispute between Penn and Lord Baltimore. Patrick Robinson, the recalcitrant clerk of Judge More's court, was an attorney, and Samuel Hersent was prosecuting attorney for the province in 1685, afterwards securing his election to the sheriffalty of Philadelphia. David Lloyd succeeded him as attorney-general, and distinguished himself in the controversies with Admiralty Judge Quarry. John Moore was the royal attorney in Quarry's court.

These gentlemen of the bar found plenty of work to do. There were many disputed titles of land, there was a great deal of collecting to do in the triangular trade between the province, the West Indies and the mother country, and there were numbers of personal issues and suits for assaults, libels, etc. Besides, while Penn himself did all he could to prevent litigations, the character of his laws necessarily called for the constant interference of the courts in affairs not properly their concern. There were many sumptuary laws, many restrictive ones, and the whole system was unpleasantly inquisitive and meddlesome. It kept up the same sort of obnoxious interference with private business and personal habits which made the Puritan system so intolerable, but its penalties had none of the Puritan's atrocious severity and bloodthirst. It must be confessed that the unorthodox person of gay temperament who sought to amuse himself in primitive Philadelphia was likely to have a hard time of it. The sailor who landed there on liberty after a tedious three months' cruise soon found that he was not at Wapping. The Quakers had learned to despise riot and debauchery, less perhaps because it was vicious and demoralizing than for the reason that it was offensive to their ingrained love of quiet and order and to their passion for thrift and economy. Wildness, sport, all the livelier amusements were abhorrent to them because they signified extravagance and waste. The skirts of their Christian charity, admirable, thoughtful and deep as that was, seemed never broad enough to embrace or condone prodigality. When the prodigal son came home to them the fatted calf was not killed, but the question was wonderingly and seriously asked (saving the oath) "*Mais, que diable allait-il faire dans cette galère?*" That was the way precisely in which they treated William Penn, Jr, when he was arrested for rioting and beating the watch in a tavern. Instead of *excusing* him for his youth and for his worthy father's sake, they *accused* him on that account, and the father's great character actually became a part of the body of the indictment against the profligate son. No wonder that the father should have cried in the bitterness of his heart: "See how much more easily the bad Friend's treatment of him stumbled him from the blessed truths than those he acknowledged to be good ones could prevail to keep him in possession of it."

In fact, all that was not exactly according to Quaker ways was narrowly looked upon as vice and to be suppressed Christmas mumming was accused as flagrant licentiousness. Horse-racing was prevented by the grand jury It offended the sobriety of the community for ships to fire salutes on arriving and departing. The laws against the small vices were so promiscuous and indiscriminate and the penalties so ill balanced that when the Pennsylvania code was finally presented to Queen

[1] Westcott's "History of Philadelphia," chap. iii.

Anne for approval her ministers drew their pens through half the list of misdemeanors and penalties, for the reason that they "restrain her Majesty's subjects from innocent sports and diversions. However, if the Assembly of Pennsylvania shall pass an act for preventing of riotous sports, and for restraining such as are contrary to the laws of this kingdom, there will be no objection thereto, so it contains nothing else."[1] The character of these unnatural restraints is fully illustrated in certain "extracts from the records of Germantown Court" (1691 to 1707) and "presentments, petitions, etc., between 1702 and 1774."[2] For example, Peter Keurlis, charged with not coming when the justices sent for him, with refusing to lodge travelers, with selling barley-malt at four pence per quart, and with violating Germantown law by selling more than a gill of rum and a quart of beer every half-day to each individual. Peter's answers cover the whole case of the absurdity of such apron-string government. He did not come because he had much work to do; he did not entertain travelers, because he only sold drink and did not keep an ordinary; he knew nothing about the four-pence a quart law of the province, and as for the Germantown statute, the *people he sold to being able to bear more*, he could not, or would not, obey the law. The court, however, took his license away from him and forbade him to sell any drink, under penalty of £5. Oaths and charges of lying, when brought to the court's notice, if the offender acknowledged his fault and begged pardon, were "forgiven and laid by," the law making them finable offenses. Reinert Peters fined twenty shillings for calling the sheriff a liar and a rascal in open street. A case of Smith *vs.* Falkner was continued because the day when it was called "was the day wherein Herod slew the Innocents." George Muller, for his drunkenness, was condemned to five days' imprisonment; "*item*, to pay the Constable two shillings for serving the warrant in *the case of his laying a wager to smoke above one hundred pipes in one day.*" Herman Dors, being drunk, called Trinke op den Graeff a naughty name, accused Peters of being too kind to Trinke, called his own sister a witch and another vile name, and said his children were thieves; brought before the court, "and there did particularly clear all and every one of the said injured persons, who, upon his acknowledgments of the wrongs done them by him, freely forgave him," the court fined him five shilling. Peter Shoemaker, Jr., accuses the horses of John van der Willderness of being "unlawful," because they "go over the fence where it had its full height." The jury, however, found Shoemaker's fences to be "unlawful.' The court orders that "none who hath no lot nor land in this corporation shall tye his horse or mare or any other cattle upon the fences or lands thereof, either by day or night, under the penalty of five shillings." Abraham op den Graeff is before court for slandering David Sherker, saying no honest man would be in his company. Verdict for defendant. "Nov. 28th, 1703, Daniel Falkner, coming into this Court, behaved himself very ill, *like one that was last night drunk, and not yet having recovered his wits.*" Falkner seemed so agressive that the sheriff and constable were ordered to "bring him out," which was done, he crying, "You are all fools!" which, indeed, was not the remark of a drunken but a sober man. No court could continue to waste time in preposterous trivial proceedings of such sort without exhausting the patience of a community and making it impos-ible for people to avoid such outbursts as those of Falkner.



PILLORY.

Among the grand jury presentments, etc., quoted in these papers, we find one against George Robinson, butcher, "for being a person of evell fame as a common swearer and a common drinker, and particularly upon the 23d day of this inst., for swearing three oaths in the market-place, and also for uttering two very bad curses the 26th day of this inst." Philip Gilbeck utters three curses also; presented and fined for terrifying "the Queen's liege people.' John Smith, living in Strawberry Alley, presented "for being maskt or disguised in woman s aparell; walking openly through the streets of this citty from house to house on or about the 26th day of the 10th month [day after Christmas], *it being against the Law of God, the Law of this province and the Law of nature, to the staining of holy profession and Incoridying of wickedness in this place.*" All this against an innocent Christmas masquerade! Children and servants robbing orchards is presented as a "great abuse" and "liciencious liberty," a "common nuisance" and "agreeviance." Such ridiculous exaggeration destroys the respect for law which alone secures obedience to it. John Joyce Jr., is presented "for having *to wifes at once*, which is beath against y° Law of God and Man." Dorothy, wife of Richard Canterill, presented for maskling in men's clothes the day after Christmas, "walking and dancing in the house of John Simes at 9 or 10 o'clock at night,"—not even charged with being in the street! Sarah Stiner, same offense, but on the streets, "dressed in man's

[1] Privy Council to Governor on repealing certain laws, Pennsylvania Archives, 1700, vol. i. p. 155, First Series.

[2] Published in Volume First of Collections of the Pennsylvania Historical Society, pp. 243–256 *et seq.*

Cloathes, contrary to ye nature of her sects . . . to ye grate Disturbance of well-minded persons, and incorridging of vice in this place." John Simes, who gave the masquerade party, is presented for keeping a disorderly house, "a nursery to Debotch ye inhabitants and youth of this city . . . to ye Greef of and disturbance of peaceable minds and *propigating ye Throne of wickedness amongst* us." Peter Evans, gentleman, presented for sending a challenge to Francis Phillips to fight with swords.[1] The grand jury report that their predecessors having frequently before presented the necessity of a ducking-stool and house of correction[2] "for the just punishment of scolding, Drunken Women, as well as Divers other profligate and Unruly persons in this place, who are become a Publick Nuisance and disturbance to this Town in Generall, Therefore we, the Present Grand Jury, do Earnestly again present the same to this Court of Quarter Sessions for the City, desiring their immediate Care, That *those public Conveniences* may not be any longer delay'd." Certainly it is a novel idea to class ducking-stools and houses of correction among "public conveniences." There are three successive presentments to this effect. The grand jury also present negroes for noisy assemblages in the streets on Sunday, and think that they ought to be forbidden to walk the streets in company after dark without their master's leave. Mary, wife of John Austin, the cordwainer is presented because she was and yet is a common scold, "a Comon and public disturber, And Strife and Debate amongst her Neighbours, a Common Sower and Mover, To the great Disturbance of the Liege Subjects," etc. In spite of all these presentments and indictments, however, and especially those against drunkenness and tippling-houses, we find in a presentment drawn by Benjamin Franklin in 1744 that these houses, the "Nurseries of Vice and Debauchery," are on the increase. The bill says there were upwards of one hundred licensed retail liquor-houses in the city, which, with the small groceries, "make by our computation near a tenth part of the city, a Proportion that appears to us much too great." One place, where these houses are thickest, has "obtained among the common People the shocking name of *Hell-town*."

The first few years of the eighteenth century did not bring much change in the mode of life or the costume of the Delawareans, but they brought much improvement in their dwellings. In Wilmington and other large towns of Delaware many new houses were built of brick, and some two or three stories high. Some of these houses had a balcony, usually a front porch, a feature of vast importance in house-building, for it became customary in the large towns for the ladies of the family in pleasant weather to sit on the porch, after the labor of the day was over, and spend the evening in social converse. In those early days when the sun went down the young ladies were dressed and ready for the porch parade: then neighbors came for a chat about those engrossing subjects, dress and housekeeping; friends called, and beaux strutted by in powdered wigs, swords, square-cut coats, tights and leather or silk stockings, running the gauntlet of all those bright eyes in order to lift the three-cornered hat to some particular fair one, and to dream about the sweet smile received in return. If we are to believe the old chronicles, love-making was a very tame affair in those days. Young ladies received company with their mammas, and the bashful lover, in the presence of the old folks, had to resort to tender glances and softly-whispered vows. Marriages were ordered promulgated by affixing the intentions of the parties on the court-house and meeting-house doors, and when the act was solemnized, they were required by law to have at least twelve subscribing witnesses. The wedding entertainments must have been more of a nuisance than a pleasure, either for the parents or the young couple. They were inspired by a conception of unbounded hospitality, very common at that time. Even the Quakers accepted them with good grace until the evil consequences of free drinking on those occasions compelled them to counsel more moderation. There was feasting during the whole day, and for the two following days punch was dealt out *ad libitum* to all comers. The gentlemen invited to partake of these libations were received by the groom on the first floor; then they ascended to the second floor, where they found the bride surrounded by her bridesmaids, and every one of the said gentlemen, be they one hundred, kissed the bride. There was a quaint custom in those days of turning off marriage notices with some remark complimentary

STOCKS.

[1] Evans' challenge was as follows: "Sir: You have basely slandered a Gentlewoman that I have a profound respect for, And for my part shall give you a fair opportunity to defend yourself to-morrow morning, on the west side of Jos. Carpenter's Garden, betwixt seven and 8, where I shall expect to meet you, *Gladio cincta*, in failure whereof depend upon the usage you deserve from yr. etc.

"I am at ye Pewter Platter." "PETER EVANS.

Phillips appears to have been arrested, for the grand jury present him for contriving to "deprive, annihilate and contemn" the authority of mayor and recorder by saying, "Tell the mayor, Robert Hill, and the recorder, Robert Amberton, that I say they are no better than Rogues, Villains and Scoundrels, for they have not done me justice, and might as well have sent a man to pick my pocket or rob my house as to have taken away my servants," etc.

[2] The whipping-post, pillory, and stocks were the usual instruments for punishment.

to the bride, as follows: "Mr. Levi Hollingsworth to Miss Hannah Paschall, daughter of Mr. Stephen Paschall, a young lady whose amiable disposition and eminent mental accomplishments add dignity to her agreeable person."

When the Revolution broke out, Miss Sally McKean was one "among the constellation of beauties of Delaware." She was the daughter of Thomas McKean and was remarkable for her beauty. She married Don Carlos Martinez, Marquis D'Yrujo; her son, the Duke of Sotomayer, who was born in Philadelphia, became prime minister of Spain.

At Mrs. Washington's first levee, in Philadelphia, she was greatly admired, and the immense wealth at her command, after she was married,

THE MARCHIONESS D'YRUJO (SALLY McKEAN).

enabled her to maintain a style of life, without which beauty alone stood only a slight chance of recognition. Her beauty, rank, and wealth, conspired to draw around her a circle of men and women of the very first class in elegance and accomplishment. After her father removed to Philadelphia, she lived with an elegant hospitality, and numbered among her intimates the belles of the Republican Court, Mrs. William Bingham (Anne Willing), Margaret Shippen (Mrs. Gen. Arnold), Misses Allen, Mrs. Robert Morris, Dolly Payne (Mrs. Madison), Margaret, Sophia and Hariet Chew, Martha Jefferson, Mrs. Dr. James Rush, Mrs. Gen. Henry Knox, Rebecca Franks, Mrs. Esther Reed, Mrs. Sally Bache and a host of others. One of her dearest friends was Miss Harriet Chew, who afterwards married Charles Carroll, Jr., of Maryland. Washington was a great admirer of her, and she accompanied him several times when he sat to Gilbert Stuart for his famous portrait. The great commander was wont to say that the agreeable expression on his face was due to her interesting conversation. She and Mrs. Bradford, the wife of the Attorney General of the United States, were the last surviving ladies of the Republican Court.

In winter, company was received in the sitting room, which might as well be styled the living room, for the many purposes it served. They dined in it, and sometimes slept in it. The furniture and general arrangement of the room was of the simplest kind; settees with stiff, high backs, one or two large tables of pine or of maple, a high, deep chest of drawers containing the wearing apparel of the family and a corner cupboard in which the plate and china were displayed, constituted a very satisfactory set of parlor furniture in the early part of the eighteenth century,—sofas and side-boards were not then in use, nor were carpets. The floor was sanded, the walls white-washed, and the wide mantel of the open fireplace was of wood The windows admitted light thorough small panes of glass set in leaden frames. A few small pictures painted on glass and a looking-glass with a small carved border adorned the walls.

Wealthier people had damask-covered couches instead of settees, and their furniture was of oak or mahogany, but in the same plain, stiff style. They used china cups and saucers, delft-ware from England, and massive silver waiters, bowls and tankards. Plated-ware was unknown, and those who could not afford the "real article" were content to use pewter plates and dishes. Not a few ate from wooden trenchers. Lamps were scarcely known. Dipped candles in brass candlesticks gave sufficient light at night. Carpets, introduced in 1750, did not come speedily into general use, as they were expensive articles, and not very common in English households. They were made to cover the centre of the floor, the chairs and tables not resting on, but around them. Curtains of a richer material, mantel glasses and candelabra made their appearance in the parlor. Low bedsteads, of solid, carved mahogany, found their way to the chamber, although they did not supersede, to any extent, the popular beds long in use. Paper "for the lining of rooms" was advertised by Charles Hargraves in 1745. Paper-hangings and *papier-maché* work was manufactured in Philadelphia in 1769, and it is likely that between 1750 and 1760 there were a number of houses in Delaware where wall-paper had taken the place of the primitive whitewash.

Among the higher classes hospitality and good feeling reigned. The large mahogany or pine table

often groaned under the weight of the viands spread out in welcome of some friendly guests. The punch-bowl was a fixture, even in the Quaker's house, and it was not deemed a crime to enjoy a social glass. We may even admit that our old citizens were hard drinkers, which is far from meaning that they were drunkards. They were sensible enough to distinguish use from abuse, and temperance societies were unknown. Entertainments were frequently given, at which conviviality sometimes exceeded the bounds.

The amusements of the people were for many years of the simplest and most innocent kind. Riding, swimming and skating afforded pleasant out-door sport. Before the Revolution such barbarous amusements as cock-fighting, bull-baiting, boxing-matches and bear-baiting were frequently indulged in, especially cock-fighting, in which men of the highest respectability found pleasure. Billiards was a game much in vogue, though frequently denounced as gambling. Bowls, ten-pins, quoit-throwing, bullets or "long bowls," the shuffle-board, with its heavy weights to be shoved or "shuffled" with a strong hand, guided by a cunning eye, were games which attracted crowds of visitors to the inns and public gardens. Among the other entertainments were concerts, fire-works, dancing and traveling shows. Dancing was freely indulged in, although not countenanced by the Friends. Dancing-masters visited Wilmington and the larger towns occasionally, giving the gay people an opportunity to learn the latest fashionable dance. Much attention was also paid to music, principally of a sacred character. The polished society of those days had no visiting or blank cards. Invitations to a ball or party were printed or written on the backs of playing cards. The most elaborate invitation was that gotten up for Lord Howe's Meschianza *fête*, at Philadelphia, May 18, 1778. They were engraved, the design being, "in a shield, a view of the sea, with the setting sun, and on a wreath the words '*Luceo discedens, aucto splendore resurgam.*' At the top was the general's crest, with '*vive, vale!*' All around the shield ran a vignette, and various military trophies filled up the ground."

In the early part of the century some very odd performances could be seen on the streets in Wilmington on Christmas-eve and during Christmas week. Parties of "mummers" went round from house to house, reciting rhymes explanatory of their fantastical disguises, and demanding "dole." The custom, which came from England, prevailed in the early part of the present century, as is remembered by the old inhabitants. These "mummeries," however, did not find favor with all the people. In fact, Christmas itself was not generally observed. The Quakers did not incline to the commemoration of holidays, nor did the more rigid of the Protestant sects, especially the Presbyterians. To the Episcopalians, the Catholics and the Germans of the Reformed or Lutheran Churches it was a day for family reunions and social gatherings as well as religious festival. The Germans introduced the Christmas-tree, with toys, trinkets, figures of angels and numerous little lighted tapers,—a pretty custom with which many American families have since become familiar.

For some years after the Revolution, in fact as late as the War of 1812, the old English festival of May-day was kept by certain classes of people. Although spring flowers are not suggestive of fish, May-day was the special holiday of the fish hucksters and shad fishermen. They met in the inns and taverns, where they indulged in much jollification and dancing, while Maying parties, composed

MRS. CHARLES CARROLL, JR. (HARRIET CHEW).

principally of young men and young women, left the borough in the early morning to spend the day in the fields and woods. May-poles were erected in front of the taverns, around which there was much dancing.

Two other anniversaries, dear to every American heart, were celebrated with fitting enthusiasm in the early days of the Republic,—Washington's Birthday and the Fourth of July; but these are gradually and quietly sinking into oblivion.

In olden times, such a thing as the modern hotel, like the Clayton House in Wilmington, with its fashionably dressed and all-important clerk, its large smoking-room, carpeted parlors, gilt mouldings and other luxurious appointments, was unknown. The modest inn accommodated "man and

beast," and the jolly landlord welcomed the wearied traveler—and fleeced him, too, when the occasion offered—and an active, bright-eyed barmaid waited on him, and provided those simple comforts—a pipe, a pair of slippers, a glass of hot punch or a tankard of foaming ale and a cosy corner near the tap-room fire. If the cloth was coarse, it was generally white and clean, at least in respectable establishments, and the plain deal table groaned under the weight of viands which, if they presented no great variety, were well cooked and wholesome. Our fathers were great eaters and stout drinkers, and there was no need of a French *menu* and wines with high-sounding names to whet their appetites; roast beef, a leg of mutton, ham and cabbage, a fat fowl, were the solid dishes laid before them; ale, port or madeira wine, and a glass of Jamaica rum and hot water to

CREAM POT PRESENTED TO HENRY HILL BY BENJAMIN FRANKLIN.

Motto—"Keep Bright the Chain."

top off, left them in a pretty good condition to find sleep on the clean bed,—sometimes a hard one,—prepared for them in the small room, whose bare floors, whitewashed walls, and plain cotton curtains did not invite dreams of palatial splendors.

The tavern, though it accommodated guests with bed and board, had more of the character of a drinking-house. The inn was rural in its origin; the tavern originated in the city, and was frequented not merely by topers and revelers, but by quiet citizens, bachelors having no fireside of their own, and men of family who went there to meet neighbors and discuss business or the news, while enjoying a quiet glass and pipe. The ordinary was an eating-house, something between the restaurant and the boarding-house of our day. The coffee-houses, so called, which dispensed intoxicating drinks as well as the fragrant decoction of the Arabian bean, made their appearance later; they were but taverns in an aristocratic disguise.

The names and figures of certain animals were to be found on many signs. They seemed to have been specially adopted by inn-keepers in America as well as in England. The "white horse" and the "black horse," "black" and "white bears"; lions, red, white, and blue; bulls and bull's heads were very common. But there were other subjects of a more local or national interest, and a still greater number presenting quaint devices, the whimsical creations of the sign-painter, and generally accompanied by some suggestive doggerel rhymes. The sign-painter of olden time was often an artist of no small merit.

Stores in Wilmington were quite numerous, and the goods offered for sale in great variety. The old European practice of over-hanging signs, bearing some device symbolic of the owner's trade, or often some fanciful name having not the slightest connection with it, always prevailed in the colonies.

The shade-trees that embellished the principal streets of Wilmington in those days were the buttonwood and the willow. The Lombardy poplar was introduced from Europe in 1786-87, by Wm. Hamilton. While the grounds of some of the largest mansions in Delaware could boast of rare flowers and shrubbery, the gardens in Wilmington—almost every house had its garden—were bright only with the simple, old-time favorites so neglected in these days of horticultural wonders,—the lilac, the rose, the snow-ball, the lily, the pink and tulip; above which the solemn sunflower and rank hollyhock lifted their tall heads. Morning-glories and gourd-vines climbed over the porch or shaded the summer arbor. Every house, generally, had its well. Public pumps were not numerous for some years. There were no public clocks to be consulted on the streets, but sun-dials were affixed to the walls of many houses for general convenience, as few people carried watches then. They were generally of silver, of very large size, and were worn outside. A French fashion, which prevailed only among a few, was the wearing of two watches, one on each side, with a steel or silver chain, from which dangled a bunch of watch-keys, seals and bright-colored tropical seeds set like precious stones. Jewelry, of which the ladies made a brilliant display, was but little worn by men.

Very few Delawareans kept a carriage in the olden time, and even hired vehicles were scarce; traveling was done principally on horseback. Watson says in those days "merchants and professional gentlemen were quite content to keep a one-horse chair. These had none of the present trappings of silver-plate, nor were the chair-bodies varnished; plain paint alone adorned them, and

brass rings and buckles were all the ornaments found on the harness; the chairs were without springs or leather bands, such as could now (1842) be made for fifty dollars." The carriage used by Gen. Washington while President, which had been imported for Governor Richard Penn and which passed through Wilmington several times, was the most splendid ever seen in Delaware. It was very large and heavy, and was drawn by four horses. It was of cream-color, with much more of gilded carvings in the frame than is since used. Its strongest attractions were the relief ornaments on the panels, they being painted with medallion pictures of playing cupids, or naked children.

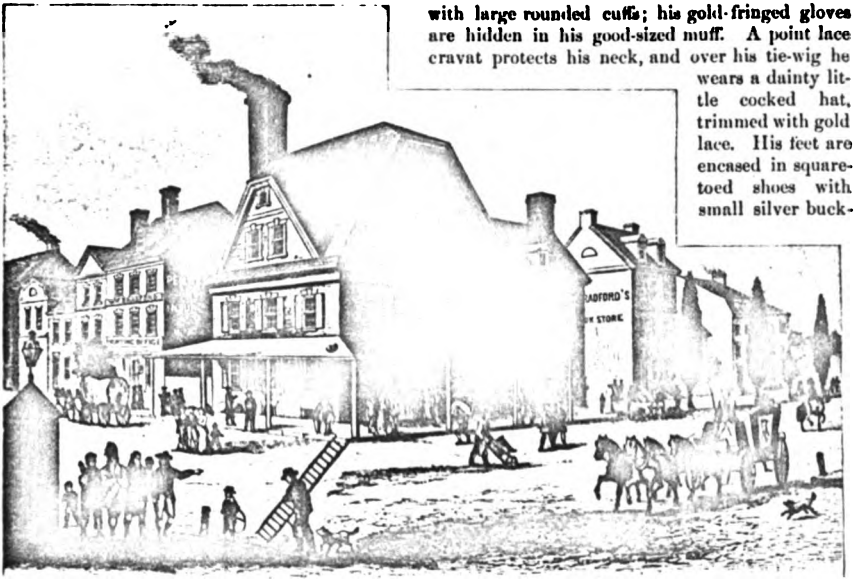
Owing to the want of good roads, the travel in Delaware in the early days was exceedingly difficult. In going to church or to fairs, the custom was, as it existed in Europe at that time, for man and woman to ride the same horse, the woman sitting on a pillion behind the man. It was a long time before chaises or any kind of pleasure vehicles came into use. The wagons, made to carry heavy loads of produce and merchandise, were great, cumbersome things with enormous wheels, which went creaking along at such a pace as precluded all thoughts of an enjoyable ride. The dress of the early Delawareans was necessarily simple, made of strong and coarse material that could resist the hard usage to which it was put. Men could not hew trees, build houses and drive the plough in velvet coats and satin breeches, nor could their wives and daughters bake and scrub and sweep with their hair "frizzled, crisped and tortured into wreaths and borders, and underpropped with forks, wires, etc.," and flounced and furbelowed gowns. Coarse cloth and deer skins for the men, linseys and worsteds for the women, were of every-day use; the "Sunday-go-to-meeting" clothes were carefully preserved in the huge chest of drawers that contained the family apparel. There was little difference between the dress of the Quakers and that of the remainder of the people. The former's adoption at a later date of a more formal costume of sober color was an effort to resist the extravagances of fashion, which had penetrated into the far-distant colony, making its belles and beaux a distorted counterfeit of the beruffled and gilded courtiers of Queen Anne's or George I.'s times.

But fashion is a mighty ruler, against which it is useless to rebel. The greatest men—thinkers, poets, philosophers and soldiers—have bowed to her decrees, and made themselves appear ridiculous to please "*Monsieur Tout le Monde*," as the Frenchman said. As for the ladies, whom they wish to please is a mystery, for have they not from the oldest time to the present day often accepted the most unbecoming style of dress and *coiffures*, despite the protests of their male admirers? They must have a more laudable object than exciting admiration, and their apparent fickleness of taste conceals, perhaps, a charitable desire to comfort such of their sisters to whom nature has not vouchsafed perfect symmetery of form or feature. A woman of high rank has very large feet, and to conceal them, she wears a long dress; immediately the prettiest little feet hide themselves; a lady of the British court had one of her beautiful shoulders disfigured by a wart; she concealed the unpleasant blemish by means of a small patch of black sticking-plaster; soon black patches were seen on every woman's shoulders; thence they crept to the face, and were seen, cut in most fantastic shapes, on the chin, the cheeks, the forehead; the tip of the nose was the only place respected. An *infanta* of Spain had the misfortune of being born with one hip higher than the other; to conceal this defect, a garment symmetrically distended by

MESCHIANZA TICKET.

wires was invented, and forthwith all the ladies wore hoops. Louis XIV., of France, whose neck was not the straightest, introduced the large wigs with curls descending half-way down the back and covering the shoulders; then men, as a matter of course, adopted the cumbersome head-gear. The women were loth to conceal their shoulders, so, after a time, they found a means of making quite as extravagant a display of their hair; they built it up in an immense pyramid, so high, at one time, that a woman's face seemed to be placed in the middle of her body. A lady of diminutive stature, finding that this upper structure was disproportionate to her size, had wooden heels, six inches high, adapted to her shoes; all the women learned to walk on their toes, and the tall ones looked like giantesses. An old magazine publishes the doleful tale of a gentleman who, having married a well-proportioned lady, discovered, when

she appeared in *deshabille*, that he was wedded to a dwarf. That old rake, the Duke de Richelieu,—the fit companion of the dissolute Louis XV.,—having grown gray, was the first to use powder over his hoary locks, and for fifty years all Europe powdered the hair with flour or starch. Even the soldiers had to be in the fashion, and some curious economist once made the calculation that, inasmuch as the military forces of England and the colonies were, including cavalry, infantry, militia and fencibles, two hundred and fifty thousand, and each man used a pound of flour per week, the quantity consumed in this way was six thousand five hundred tons per annum—capable of sustaining fifty thousand persons on bread, and providing three million, fifty-nine thousand three hundred and fifty-three quartern loaves!



VIEW OF THE FAMOUS "OLD LONDON COFFEE-HOUSE," PHILADELPHIA, SOUTHWEST CORNER OF FRONT AND MARKET STREETS.

A pen picture of a fashionable couple walking in the streets of Wilmington long before the Revolution would be as follows:

The lady trips lightly on her dainty little feet, cased in satin slippers. Her flounced silk petticoat is so distended by the recently introduced hoops that it is a mystery how she can pass through an ordinary-sized doorway; her tightly-laced stomacher is richly ornamented with gold braid, the sleeves are short, but edged with wide point lace, which falls in graceful folds near to the slender wrists. Her hair, no longer propped up by wires and cushions, drops in natural curls upon her neck. A light silk hood of the then fashionable cherry color protects her head. The useful parasol was not yet known, but she carries a pretty fan, which, when folded, is round like a marshal's baton.

The gentleman walks by her side, but is precluded from offering her the support of his arm by the amplitude of her skirts, and of his own as well, for his square-cut coat of lavender silk is stiffened out at the skirts with wire and buckram; it is opened so as to show the long-flapped waistcoat with wide pockets, wherein to carry the snuff-box and the *bonbonniere*. The sleeves are short with large rounded cuffs; his gold-fringed gloves are hidden in his good-sized muff. A point lace cravat protects his neck, and over his tie-wig he wears a dainty little cocked hat, trimmed with gold lace. His feet are encased in square-toed shoes with small silver buckles. His partridge-silk stockings reach above the knee, where they meet his light-blue silk breeches.

At a respectful distance behind comes the gentleman's valet and the lady's maid. He wears a black hat, a brown-colored coat, a striped waistcoat with brass buttons, leather breeches, and worsted stockings, stout shoes with brass buckles. The abigail's dress is of huckaback, made short, the skirts not so distended as those of her mistress, yet are puffed out in humble imitation of the fashion. A bright apron and silk neckerchief and a neat cap give a touch of smartness to the plain costume.

Here comes a worthy tradesman and his buxom wife. His coat, of stout, gray cloth, is trimmed

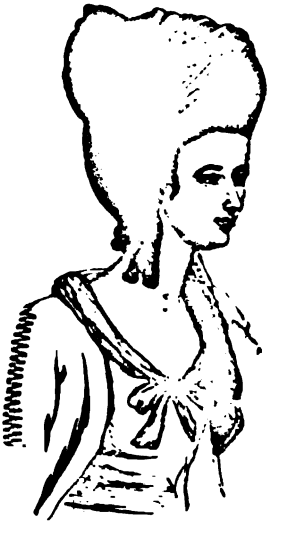
with black. His gray waist-coat half conceals his serviceable breeches; worsted stockings and leather shoes protect his legs and feet. The good dame by his side has put on her chintz dress, and though the material is not as costly as that worn by the fine lady before her, it is made up in the fashionable style, and the indispensable hoops add to the natural rotundity of the wearer. A peculiarity in her costume is the check apron that spreads down from her stomacher, concealing the bright petticoat.

The simplicity of apparel was the rule, the costly style previously described the exception. Very ordinary material was still used among Delawareans, and articles of clothing were considered so valuable as to be, in many instances, special objects of bequest. Henry Furnis, who died in 1701, bequeathed to one of his daughters his leather coat, leather waist-coat, his black hat and cap. To another daughter he left his blue waist-coat, leather breeches and muslin neck-cloth; and to another daughter a new drugget coat.

The wigs held their own until after the return of Braddock's army. The hair was then allowed to grow, and was either plaited or clubbed behind, or it was grown in a black silk bag, adorned with a large black rose. From this it dwindled down to the queer little "pigtail," which, not many years past, could be seen bobbing up and down on the high coat-collar of some old gentleman of the last generation.

Stiff, high-backed chairs and settees, a stiff style of dress, - for the hooped petticoat and wired coat-skirt carry with them no idea of graceful ease,—must have given the manners a tendency to stiffness. The stately minuet was, very appropriately, the fashionable dance of the day, at least among what was called "the politer classes;" the "common people," that is the great social body not comprised in that upper-tendom, did not follow the fashion so closely, and enjoyed merrier dances, the favorite among which was the "hipsesaw." In 1742 there were no material changes in the ladies' dresses, the hoop still maintaining its hold, as also the furbelows; the robe was made low in front, the upper part of the stomacher and the short sleeves edged with point lace. Aprons were in fashion, and were worn sometimes long and at other times short, exposing the richly-embroidered petticoat. Capuchin hoods were in style. But the greatest change was in the dressing of the hair. The simple and elegant coiffure of natural curls already described was in vogue only a few years. The old style of building up the hair in a high pyramid suddenly reappeared with still more exaggerated proportions. The hair was carried up over wire framoworks, stiffened with pomade, sprinkled with powder and formed a bewildering edifice adorned with curls, flowers and feathers. Sometimes a sort of a little hat was perched on the apex of this wondrous structure. How our grandmothers ever had the patience to sit three or four hours under the manipulations of the hair-dresser, and how they could move, walk and dance with such a load on their cranium, is the wonder of their granddaughters. Jewels, rich bracelets, necklaces and chains were much worn. It was the fashion for a lady to carry a costly gold snuff-box with a looking-glass inside the lid; as she opened the box to take or offer a pinch, she could cast a surreptitious glance at her fair visage and see if her rouge was not coming off, and if her "beauty spots," *i.e.*, patches, were still in the right place.

When we read of the polished society of those days, of their elegant dresses, their jewels and laces and inimitable fashions, we cannot help thinking of one or two things which they did not have, things the poorest woman of our day could not do without. Tooth brushes, until quite recently, were unknown, and the fairest lady rubbed her teeth with a rag which, *horresco referens*, she dipped in snuff! Mr. Watson, the annalist, speaking of Dr. Le Mayeur, a dentist, who proposed in 1784 to transport teeth, says: "This was quite a novelty in Philadelphia; the present care of the teeth was ill understood then. He had, however, great success in Philadelphia, and went off with a great deal of our patricians' money. Several very respectable ladies had them implanted. I remember some curious anecdotes of some cases. One of the Meschianza belles had such teeth. They were, in some cases, two months before they could eat with them." In 1769, "Mr. Hamilton, surgeon, dentist and operator for the teeth, from London," advertises that he "displaces all superfluous teeth and stumps with the greatest ease and safety, and makes and sets in artificial teeth from one single tooth to a whole set, in so nice a manner that they cannot be distinguished from natural; therefore, those ladies



A BELLE OF THE REVOLUTION.
(From a drawing by Major André).

and gentlemen who have had the misfortune of losing their teeth, have now an opportunity of having *natural* or artificial put in with dispatch and secrecy, and in such manner as to be of real use, ornament and service for many years, without giving the least pain to the patient."

There were few hired servants in those days; menial labor was done by black slaves, and German, English and Irish redemptioners. Slavery was not repugnant to our forefathers' notions of justice; it was admitted even by the Quakers.[1]

But the slaves of Delaware and Pennsylvania were happy; harsh treatment was not countenanced by public opinion. Servants were regarded as forming an integral part of the family, and proper attention paid to their comforts.

Peter Kalm, the Swedish traveler, who came to Pennsylvania and Delaware in 1748, seems to have thoroughly investigated the question of servants. He says that there were two classes of white servants; the first were quite free to serve by the year. They could even leave their masters before the expiration of the twelve months; but in that case they were in danger of losing their wages. A man servant, having some abilities, got between sixteen and twenty pounds in Pennsylvania currency. This was in Philadelphia; the wages were not so good in the country. A maid servant received eight or ten pounds a year. These servants had to buy their own clothes. The second class consisted of such persons as came annually from Germany, England and other countries for the purpose of settling in the colony. Some were flying from oppression, others from religious persecution, but most of them were too poor to pay the six or eight pounds sterling required for their passage. They agreed with the captain that they would suffer themselves to be sold for a few years on their arrival. Very old people made arrangements to sell their children, in order to secure their own passage. Some could pay part of the passage-money, and were sold only for a short time. Some of the Germans, although having the means to pay their way, preferred to suffer themselves to be sold, with a view that during their servitude they might gain some knowledge of the language of the country and have time to decide what pursuits would be most advantageous. The average price of these servants was fourteen pounds for four years' servitude. The master was bound to feed and clothe his servant, and to present him with a new suit of clothes at the end of his term of servitude. The English and Irish commonly sold themselves for four years, but the Germans frequently agreed with the captain to pay him a certain sum of money for a certain number of persons, and on their arrival in America, they tried to get a man to pay their passage for them, giving him in return one or several of their children to serve for a certain number of years. If the demand was brisk, they were thus able to make their bargain with the highest bidder.

Just Imported in the ship GRANBY, JOSEPH BLEWER Master,

Seventy *Gold-Coast* SLAVES

of various ages, and both sexes,

To be sold on board said ship at Mr. Plumsted's wharf, by

***WILLING* and *MORRIS*,**

And a part of them are intended to be sent in a few days to Duck Creek, there to be sold, by Mr. Thomas Mudock for cash or country produce.

Penn^a Jour. Aug 15 1765.

ADVERTISEMENT.

The purchase of black servants involved too great an outlay of capital to be as general as that of white servants, and they were not held in large numbers by any one master.

The practice of importing "indented servants" continued in force down to the Revolution, and although we find in the newspapers of the time, (1768–69) communications attacking and defending the enslaving of negroes, there seems to have been no objection to reducing white men to temporary slavery. Such advertisements as the following were not uncommon: "Just imported in the Brigantine . . from Bristol, a parcel of healthy, likely men and women, indentured servants, among which are Blacksmiths, Cuttlers, House-carpenters, Painters and Glaziers, Bakers, Turners, Husbandmen and labourers." This was no longer the scum of the streets and jails of

[1] The ship "Gideon" arrived at New Amsterdam, from Africa, with 250 slaves on board about August, 1643, one-fourth of which belonged to New Amstel. The Delaware portion were hastily run in gangs through New Jersey, overland to the Salem River, by Alricks and narrowly escaped capture by the English. Vincent says "this was the first introduction of slaves into Delaware, from Africa, by direct importation, of which we have any record." Slaves were, however, on the South River from its earliest settlement.

Mr. Janney, in his "Life of Penn," is greatly distressed that the proprietary should have been a slave-holder. In his eagerness to palliate the facts he is in danger of doing Penn a great injustice. He forgets that slave-holding was not forbidden by the Quaker discipline until many years after Penn's death. Penn directed his slaves to be free at his death, but the will was never executed, nor were its provisions respected. His daughter took one of the slaves, the woman "Pan." His executor sold three to pay his debts. Parthena was sold by Penn to Barbadoes, thus separating her from her husband, because she was thought dishonest. In writing about his gardener and the assistants whom he was to train, Penn says, "it were better they were blacks, for then a man has them while he lives." In fact, nobody at that time had any idea of the heinousness, immorality or crime of slavery, unless perhaps the little German colony, who had Pastorious for their leader. Cox was "exercised" about the slaves, but it was not the fact of their being in bondage, but the way in which they were treated which troubled him. Penn was "exercised" on the same subject, and he went so far as to persuade the Council and try to persuade the Assembly to pass a law regulating the marriages of negroes. But it would be unjust to Penn to require him to become an abolitionist a hundred years before there were any such. Slavery was not thought a crime in his times, nor was the slave considered unfortunate, unless he happened to have a severe master. The slave trade with Africa was indeed repudiated, but rather from its impolicy than its immorality. Some sort of servitude was almost universal, and one-half the early settlers in Pennsylvania, 1682–83 were servants bought and sold by the Quakers for a term of years. Even Indian slaves were often to be met in Philadelphia, in spite of Penn's affection for the race, and his own Deputy-Governor, William Markham owned one, Kelm Frankson, born in 1708, who by his will was to be free at the age of twenty-four, all his other slaves and servants being devised to his wife.

London shipped to America by the authorities as a safe means of riddance and for "the better peopling of his majesty's colonies." Here we have honest artisans selling themselves voluntarily into servitude in order to get to the new land of promise. These poor fellows could be transferred by one master to another, and sold like common goods or chattels, until the term of their indentures had expired. But there were cases when the master, not the servant, deserved sympathy. The thieves and rascals of every grade, who came over under compulsion, or animated by the hope that they would find in the colonies a new field for their nefarious practices, gave no end of trouble to the unfortunate citizen who had invested his money in them; they were continually running away, and they generally carried off all they could lay their hands on.

Duels, so frequent in England at that time, were of very rare occurrence in Delaware, yet a few did take place. It is not surprising, therefore, that some attention should have been given to the art of fencing. All gentlemen who desired to be known as fashionable and polite members of society learned the use of the sword. Fencing-masters, therefore, traveled from town to town and found occupation as well as dancing-masters, although they were not at first received with favor. They were tolerated at an early day, and at a later day met with no opposition.

About 1760 gentlemen's costumes suffered a few alterations, and these for the better. The coat—no longer of velvet, silk or satin, except for full-dress, but of strong cloth—was square-cut, with some simple trimming and black lining; the long-flapped waistcoat descending very low, and the stockings drawn very high over the knee; large hanging cuffs to the coat sleeves, and lace ruffles. The skirts of the coat much less distended with wire; stockings of blue or scarlet silk; square-toed, short-quartered shoes, with high red heels and small buckles. All wore wigs, but of smaller size than before. The small three-cornered hat was laced with gold or silver galloon, and sometimes trimmed with feathers. In 1760 a peruke-maker advertised that "gentlemen may be completely furnished with bag-wigs of the neatest fashion, or of whatsoever fashion they choose; also scratch wigs and scratch bob wigs, cut wigs and long gristle-dress wigs, and all others, as gentlemen may choose."

In 1772 the following discription of a "dude" was published in Philadelphia:

"It has a vast quantity of hair on its head, which seems to stand on end and gives it the appearance of being frightened. The hair is loaded with powder and pomatum, all little enough, too, to keep any degree of life or heat in the few brains that are in small particles scattered about in the cavities of that soft skull it covers. The rest of it chiefly consists of French silk, gold lace, fringe, silk stockings, a hat and feather, and sometimes a cockade, and then it is quite irresistible. White hands, a diamond ring, a snuff-box, a scented handkerchief and a cane. Its employment is to present that snuff-box, to wield that cane, to show its white teeth in a perpetual grin, to say soft things in every sense of the word to ladies, to follow them everywhere like their shadow, and to fetch and carry like a spaniel."

The average citizen, at this time, however, was more modestly equipped. A recently-arrived Englishman is represented as wearing his hair tied behind, well dressed in a brown broadcloth coat, lapelled jacket, and breeches of the same material, a castor hat, brown stockings and shoes, with pinchbeck buckles, while a teacher, who had got himself in some trouble with the sheriff, is described as clad in a blue coat, with a red collar and wristbands, sugar-loaf-shaped metal buttons, a blue surtout coat, Nivernais hat and ruffled shirt; he also wore his hair tied behind.

THIS Day Run away from *John M'Comb*, Junior, an Indian Woman, about 17 Years of Age. Pitted in the face, of a middle Stature and Indifferent fait having on her a Drugat, Waſtcoat and Kerſey Fetticoat, of a Light Collour. If any Perſon or Perſons, ſhall bring the ſaid Girle to her ſaid Maſter, ſhall be Rewarded for their Trouble to their Content

American weekly mercury May 24 1726

A Servant Maids Time for Four Years to be ſold by *John Copſon*,

Ditto Jan. 2 1721.

A Very likely Negro Woman to be ſold, aged about 28 Years, fit for Country or City Buſineſs, Shecan Card, Spin, Knit and Milk, and any other Country-Work Whoever has a Mind for the ſaid Negro may repair to Andrew Bradford in Philadelphia.

A Young Negro Woman to be ſold by Samuel Kirk in the Second Street, Philadelphia,

Ditto Oct. 8 1791

TO be Sold, a very likely Negro Woman fit for all Manner of Houſe Work, as Waſhing, Starching, Ironing, &c. Enquire of Andrew Bradford,

Ditto. Dec. 24. 1723

ADVERTISEMENTS.

Broadcloths were to be had in such variety of colors as to please the most fastidious taste,—scarlet, crimson, blue, green, drab, black, white, buff, brown, light-colored and rose-colored.

Fops clung for some time to perukes, powdered heads and three-cornered hats. Elderly gentlemen of the old school were also loth to give them up, and as late as 1800 even wore the large wigs made of gray or white horse-hair. When they gave up these they consoled themselves in the use of the queue, or pigtail, formed by twisting and tying the natural hair behind, below the back of the neck. But the middle class followed the French republican fashion, and cut their hair *à la Titus*,—a shock head from the forehead to the back of

he neck. At a later period another French style was introduced—the hair combed down the forehead to within a short distance from the eyebrows and cut straight across, was allowed to grow long on the sides and back of the head, covering the ears, *en oreilles de chien*, as may be seen in the portraits of General Bonaparte.

The beard during all this time was banished from good society. The cheeks, upper and lower lips, and throat were carefully and laboriously deprived of their natural growth of beard once, twice or thrice a week, and, among the highly fashionable, every day. No gentleman could present himself with decency at church or at the Assembly, or visit friends or acquaintances, unless he was scrupulously shaved and was able to present a clean and respectable appearance.

The hats had narrow brims, and the crown tapered off toward the top, not unlike the Tyrolese hat, but less elegant. They were made of beaver or of the skins of the muskrat, the otter and the raccoon, these furs being used for body and all in the finer hats. or the fur was felted upon wool; coarser hats were made entirely of wool. The various furs were also used in the making of caps, or these were made of cloth; there were various shapes of caps.

As long as stockings continued to be an outside portion of the dress of gentlemen they were objects of care, and sometimes of pride. Upon occasions of ceremony, where elegance of costume was looked for, the stockings were of silk—white among young men who coveted distinction on account of the observance of the proprieties, and black among elderly gentlemen who commanded respect on account of age or social position. For those in moderate circumstances, and those who could make no claim beyond that of being useful members of the community, the stockings were of yarn, gray, blue or brown, according to the fancy of the good wife who knitted them. Striped yarn stockings, *à la mode de Paris*, were also worn with the short pantaloons not reaching to the ankles.

Low shoes, with metal buckles, remained in fashion until 1800, when they were succeeded by high boots, which were worn with the short breeches. A curious fact is that, until that time, there was no distinction made by shoemakers between the right and left feet. The following advertisement shows the fashions in 1800:

"Plover and snipe toes, cock and hen toes, goose and gander toes, duck and drake toes, gosling toes, hog and bear snouts, ox and cow mouths, shovel and stick noses, and others too numerous to mention." "Suwarrows, cossacks, hussars, carrios, double-tongues, firebuckets, Bonaparts, greaves, Swiss, hunting, walking, full dress, York."

In those days there was no such thing as our modern "blacking" or "shoe polish." Liquid blacking was first manufactured in New York in 1803. "Blackball" was manufactured about the same time. It was composed of lampblack, mutton-suet, or bayberry tallow, and not unfrequently of the greasy mixture which the tanners call "dubbing." This mixture rubbed off upon the clothing, and when the modern shoe-blacking came into use, the benefit of it was universally recognized.

In 1771 the wits in the gazettes made fun of those effeminate individuals who used umbrellas to protect their heads against the fierce rays of a July sun. The umbrella, even as a shelter from rain, was a new article. They were heavy, clumsy things, made of oiled linen stretched over rattan sticks, in imitation of the "quittasol" (the predecessor of the parasol), which came from India, and were made of oiled silk in every variety of colors. The ladies used them to keep off the rain. The men were satisfied with the protection of a heavy cloak or a sort of cape (a French invention) called a *roquelaure*. Ministers and doctors, people who had to be out in all sorts of weather to call on the sick, had *roquelaures* of oiled linen. The usefulness of the umbrella during a shower was acknowledged, but its appearance in fair, sunshiny weather elicited the jeers of the populace and the mockery of men who should have been wiser. The doctors, however, recommended carrying an umbrella in summer as a safe protection against many diseases caused by exposure to the sun. The doctors and ministers finally carried the objectionable umbrella through the streets at mid-day, which finally silenced the opposition.

The lady's hat for out-door wear was a very flat, round hat, worn so as to stand up perpendicularly on the right side of the head, or rather of the immense edifice of hair reared high over the head, the back and crown of which was protected by a sort of loose hood. A cloak of some bright color was worn in winter. Scarlet cloaks, when first imported, were great favorites with the leaders of fashion, but public taste condemned them, and the mode did not last. We took our fashions from England, and the ladies of Delaware, as elsewhere in the colonies, were careful to follow the directions in the "London Pocket-Book," a manual of the period. This work said, "Every lady who wishes to dress her hair with taste and elegance should first purchase an elastic cushion exactly fitted to the head. Then having combed out her hair thoroughly, and *properly thickened it with powder and pomatum*, let her turn it over her cushion in the reigning model. Let her next divide the sides into divisions for curls, and adjust their number and size from the same models. If the hair be not of a sufficient length and thickness, it will be necessary to procure an addition to it, which is always to be had ready-made and matched to every color."

EARLY [illegible]

EARLY COSTUME AND HEAD DRESS

EARLY HEAD-DRESSES 1770-1825.

EARLY HEAD PRESSES 1776-1825.

During the next ten years there was as many different styles of draping the hair. Curls, crisp or long, feathers, flowers and ribbons, powder and pomatum, each had their turn, or were combined into so many enormities that they aroused the poet's sarcasm,—

> "Give Betsy a bushel of horse-hair and wool,
> Of paste and pomatum a pound,
> Ten yards of gay ribbon to deck her sweet skull,
> And gauge to encompass it round.
> Her cap fine behind, for a yard at the least,
> And her curls meet just under her chin,
> And those curls are supported to keep up the jest,
> By a hundred, instead of one pin."

In 1800 the walking dresses for ladies were in the style called *a la greeque*, a closely fitting garment of very plain make, with the waist as high up as it could be made; the bosoms, cut square, were gathered in surplice style, and the neck and shoulders were protected by a muslin or gauze handkerchief, crossed in front and forming a point beyond. The bonnet fitted as close to the head as a cap, and the hair was twisted or turned up high on the back of the head, while, in front, it was combed straight over the forehead, almost to the eyebrows. The evening dress, while preserving the style, was more elaborate; instead of the handkerchief a muffle was worn round the neck of the garment, descending in front and leaving the neck and shoulders bare. The hair was frizzled in front, and an ostrich plume fell with a graceful curve over the top-knot. Whether for walking or evening, the sleeves were short and gathered up with a band above the elbow, leaving the arms bare.

A very popular head dress for street wear in summer time was made of muslin or some other light material. It surmounted the head like a cap, and was kept in place by a ribbon of some gay color all round the crown. The light muslin, often bordered with lace, descended in graceful folds on either side of the face and on the back, protecting the neck from exposure to the sun. It was a becoming coiffure, and was further improved, after a short time, by being divided in the back and made to hang down both shoulders to the waist, the ends being finished off with a knot or tassel. The sleeves kept getting shorter, and the exposure of bare arms in the streets was disapproved by staid people and ridiculed by the wits.

A pretty fashion, introduced from France about this time, was that of carrying a rich lace handkerchief in the hand. It came from the Empress Josephine; that amiable woman had very bad teeth, and as she was very gay and easily provoked to laughter, when she laughed she raised her handkerchief to her mouth to conceal this defect. Josephine was passionately fond of fine laces, and her handkerchiefs were made of this costly fabric. The ladies of the court took to flourishing lace handkerchiefs, and they became an indispensable part of a fashionable costume.

Very little has been said of the costumes of children. During a former period, as we have seen, they wore wigs, and, from all accounts, their costume made them the miniature "counterfeit presentments" of their papas and mammas.

A great abuse and evil of the burial customs at an early day, was the feasting, eating, and drinking among the persons attending on these occasions. When a person of high rank died the body was kept for several days "lying in state" for the public and their neighbors to come and look at it, and also to give time for the relatives who lived at a great distance to make the journey and be present at the funeral. These visitors had to be entertained, and in course of time what had been a matter of necessity became a general custom, and there was an entertainment at every funeral, be the deceased ever so obscure. The order of march at funerals was as follows: The parson walked before the bearers, and if the deceased was a woman, the ladies walked in procession next to the mourners, and the gentlemen followed after them. But this order was reversed if the deceased was a man; the gentlemen preceded the ladies. The practice of Friends was to take the body from the residence to the grave, where it was interred amid profound silence. After the burial the company adjourned to the meeting-house, where there was speaking and praying. A custom prevailed in 1773 at the funeral of young girls, that the coffin should be carried to the grave by some of the next intimate companions of the dead girl. The custom of issuing special invitations to persons to attend funerals prevailed, and such importance was attached to this mark of respect to be paid the dead, that funerals were delayed, if the parties invited did not arrive at the time appointed. The cards of invitation to funerals had deep mourning borders and other emblems of death. They were imported from England. In 1748 "burial biscuit" is advertised for sale by a baker in Philadelphia, a proof that the feasting at funerals even inspired the genius of speculation. To have "burial biscuits" to dip in their wine probably intensified the grief of the dear departed's friends In 1729 the Quakers resolved against "the vanity and superstition of creating monuments and entombing the dead with singular notes or marks of distinction, which is but worldly pomp and grandeur. for no encomium nor pompous interment can add worth to the deceased." It ordered the erection of tombstones over the graves of Friends to be stopped, and the tombstones already so placed to be removed. This order, however, was not generally obeyed

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CHAPTER XIV.

DELAWARE DURING THE REVOLUTION.

From the close of the war between Great Britain and France to the Ante-Revolution epoch in which birth was being given to the forces that achieved American independence, the three counties upon the Delaware approximated the happy condition of the people of whom it may be said that they had no history. The peaceful current of their lives flowed on unbroken by events which their contemporaries thought worthy of record, and not even the journals of the legislature previous to the year 1762 were preserved. They were almost entirely an agricultural community, doing what little trading they required at New Castle and Philadelphia, and their politics were bound up in the strife between the "Court" party and the "Country" party. The leading members of the former were the Governor, the officers of government and the seekers after office; the latter was composed of those who desired an independent judiciary and impartial laws. It was to a certain extent a case of the people versus the official aristocracy, but the excitement that the contest afforded was of a tepid nature. Meantime the population of the three counties was steadily growing toward 37,500 inhabitants, which it attained in 1776, and a moderate prosperity was equally diffused throughout the embryo state.

From this condition of security and peace the Delawareans were rudely aroused in 1765 by the first of the great aggressions of the British government—the imposition of the stamp tax. To understand their attitude it is necessary to glance at their domestic relations. With the exception of the Swedish and Dutch element planted by the early settlers, they were purely English or of English descent. In Kent and Sussex they prided themselves upon the absence of foreign blood, and the admixture of it in New Castle was but slight. Here were strong reasons for a tenacious affection toward the mother country, whose hostile action had, moreover, less effect in the Delaware counties than in any of the contiguous communities. They were a peculiarly isolated people, the great mass of them living distant from the routes of travel; and having so little to do with the commerce of the day or with any industry outside of agriculture, the several taxation measures of Great Britain touched them only remotely. Living and clothing themselves from off their farms, even the stamp tax reached them only in their infrequent legal transactions, and as their tea was made mainly from the root of the sassafras, it was of no personal concern to them that the home government endeavored to thrust the foreign article down the throats of other colonists. All their circumstances tended to the side of conservatism, and these facts must be kept in mind in any fair study of Delaware in the Revolution.

The stamp act was passed March 22, 1765, and the first authentic notice received of its passage came from Boston about May 9th. It became a matter of such absorbing interest that it dwarfed everything else. The people of Delaware, as in the other colonies, began at once to show their determination to make it a nullity so far as revenue was concerned. On May 30th, it was announced that John Hughes, a member of the Pennsylvania Assembly, and a partisan of Benjamin Franklin, was appointed distributor of stamps. The people burnt John Hughes' effigy, and in Philadelphia the citizens surrounded his house and threatened violence. He wrote to Governor John Penn, under date of September 17, and to John Dickinson, October 3rd, that he had not received either stamps, commission, bond or anything else informing him of his appointment. When the stamps reached New Castle, however, from England, he was afraid to take possession of them, as the people had threatened to tar and feather him, and destroy the vessel which had brought them to America. On October 5th, a mob surrounded his house in Philadelphia, and obtained a written pledge from him that he would not attempt to perform the functions of his new office.

BRITISH STAMP.

By the time the stamps arrived a course of action had been decided upon by the colonies. Virginia took the lead; James Otis, in Massachusetts, hit upon the plan of a general Congress of the Colonies, to meet in New York, the second Tuesday in November.

The patriotic sentiment of the people of Delaware was strong and manifested itself in response to the call of Massachusetts for a general Congress of the Colonies to consider the encroachments of Great Britain upon popular rights. It was impossible for the Delaware Assembly to meet in time to answer the summons, but the members in their several counties came together and appointed Thomas McKean, Cæsar Rodney and Jacob Kollock to represent them in the Congress which met at New York in October 7th of that year. Mr. Kollock did not attend, but Messrs. McKean and Rodney were present at the sessions. They were instructed to join with the committees sent by the other provinces in one united and loyal petition to his Majesty and remonstrance to the British House

of Commons against the acts of Parliament and therein dutifully, yet most firmly, to assert the colonies' rights of exclusion from parliamentary taxation, and pray that they might not in any instance be stripped of the ancient and most valuable privilege of trial by their peers and most humbly to implore relief. McKean and Rodney distinguished themselves in this Congress by the boldness with which they advocated the American cause and took a prominent part in framing the memorials and the declaration of rights. On their return to Delaware they received the unanimous thanks of the Assembly for their faithful and judicious discharge of the trust reposed in them. Thus the people of Delaware had placed themselves on record regarding the fundamental principles that the colonies were not to be taxed without their consent, and that the colonists could not be taken to England for trial for any offenses.

In October, 1765, the merchants and traders of Delaware subscribed to a non-importation agreement, such as were then being signed all over the country. In this agreement the subscribers bound themselves, that in consequence of the late acts of Parliament and the injurious regulations accompanying them, and of the Stamp Act, etc., in justice to themselves and in hopes of benefit from their example, (1) To countermand all orders for English goods until the Stamp Act should be repealed; (2) a few necessary articles, or shipped under peculiar circumstances, are excepted; (3) no goods received for sale on commission to be disposed of until the Stamp Act should be repealed—and this agreement to be binding on each and all as a pledge of word of honor.

As the winter advanced into 1766, the public dissatisfaction augmented and the determination deepened to prevent, if possible, the enforcement of the hated act. Stamps were burned wherever found, and captains of vessels arriving learned that it was not safe either to keep or carry them. In February the people very generally signed an agreement not to eat or suffer to be killed any lamb or sheep until Jan. 1, 1767, and not to deal with butchers violating the compact. Economy and frugality were enforced by examples in high and low, and steadfast efforts made to promote the market for home manufactured goods.

Later in the same year (March 18, 1766) came the repeal of the Stamp Act by Parliament, and without forecasting the future the Assembly joined in the joy that pervaded America and appointed McKean, Rodney and George Read to frame an address to the King, in which these paragraphs occurred:

"We cannot help glorying in being the subjects of a King that has made the presentation of the civil and religious rights of his people and the established constitution the foundation and constant rule of his government, and the safety, ease and prosperity of his people his chiefest care; of a King whose mild and equal administration is sensibly felt and enjoyed in the remotest part of his dominions. The clouds which lately hung over America are dissipated. Our complaints have been heard and our grievances redressed; trade and commerce again flourish. . . . We most humbly beseech your majesty graciously to accept the strongest assurances that having the justest sense of the many favours we have received from your royal benevolence during the course of your Majesty's reign, and how much our present happiness is owing to your paternal love and care for your people, we will at all times most cheerfully contribute to your Majesty's service to the utmost of our abilities when your royal requisitions, as heretofore, shall be made known; that your Majesty will always find such returns of duty and gratitude from us as the best of Kings may expect from the most loyal subjects, and that we will demonstrate to all the world that the support of your Majesty's government and the honour and interests of the British nation are our chief care and concern, desiring nothing more than the continuance of our wise and excellent constitution in the same happy, firm and envied situation in which it was delivered down to us from our ancestors and your Majesty's predecessors."

This address was delivered by Mr. De Berdt to Lord Shelburn, British Secretary of State. "I told his lordship," said Mr. De Berdt, "that to me it appeared wrote with the most natural honest simplicity of any I had read; he said it did, and the King was so well pleased with it that he read it over twice." Surely no government could have desired more radical expressions of loyalty; but the itching of the British royal and ministerial palms for American gold threw affairs again into disorder. In May, 1767, Charles Townshend, Chancellor of the Exchequer, submitted a plan to Parliament by which he proposed "to draw a revenue from America without giving offence;" and soon after he introduced the acts, to take effect Nov. 20th, imposing duties on glass, paper, pasteboard, white and red lead, painters' colors and tea imported into the colonies, establishing a Board of Customs at Boston to collect the revenue throughout America and legalizing writs of assistance. These measures were felt in the colonies to be even more subversive of their rights than the Stamp Act, and the Delaware Assembly appointed McKean, Rodney and Read to formulate a second address to the King. The Assembly did not fail to renew their protestations of loyalty, but at the same time they freely expressed their regret at the new course of oppression which had been adopted. They said:

"The sense of our deplorable condition will, we hope, plead with your Majesty in our behalf for

the freedom we take in dutifully remonstrating against the proceedings of a British parliament, confessedly the wisest and greatest assembly upon earth. But if our fellow-subjects of Great Britain, who derive no authority from us, who cannot in our humble opinion represent us, and to whom we will not yield in loyalty and affection to your majesty, can, at their will and pleasure of right, give and grant away our property; if they can enforce an implicit obedience to every order and act of theirs for that purpose, and deprive all and any of the assemblies in this continent of the power of legislation for differing with them in opinion in matters which intimately affect their rights and interests and everything that is dear and valuable to Englishmen, we cannot imagine a case more miserable; we cannot think that we shall have even the shadow of liberty left. We conceive it to be an inherent right in your Majesty's subjects, derived to them from God and nature, handed down from their ancestors and confirmed by your royal predecessors and the constitution, in person, or by their representatives, to give and grant to their sovereign those things which their own labours and their own cares have acquired and saved, and in such proportions and at such times as the national honour and interest may require. Your Majesty's faithful subjects of this government have enjoyed this inestimable privilege uninterrupted from its first existence until of late. They have at all times cheerfully contributed to the utmost of their abilities for your Majesty's service as often as your royal requisitions were made known, and they cannot now, but with the greatest uneasiness and distress of mind, part with the power of demonstrating their loyalty and affection to their beloved King."

This address was immediately followed by a correspondence with the Governor of Virginia, setting forth the views of the Assembly relative to the new aggressions of Great Britain, and declaring an intention of co-operating with the other colonies in such prudent measures as might have a tendency to conciliate the affections of the mother country, and restore their just rights and liberties. Notwithstanding all the influence brought to bear upon the British government for the repeal of the act imposing new duties, it remained obstinate, as it was considered an improper time to yield to the demands of the colonies. It would be time enough to do this, it was said, when they had shown a disposition to yield to the authority of Parliament. Lord North declared that however prudence or policy might hereafter induce the government to repeal the act, he hoped they should never think of it until America was prostrate at their feet. Failing in these measures, the colonies revived the non-importation system which had been partially enforced in the epoch of the Stamp Act. By refusing to import any product of English manufacture they touched the pocket nerve of English merchants with most potent results. A non-importation association was formed at Boston in August, 1768, and in the next year Delaware joined in the agreement. The reason of this delay and some other incidents of the time are explained by a letter which George Read addressed to his fellow citizens of New Castle County:

"From our local circumstances it seemed unnecessary for the people of this government to enter into resolutions of non-importation from the mother country, as we had no traders among us who imported goods from Great Britain except in very small quantities and in vessels belonging to Philadelphia, which was sufficiently guarded by the agreement of her own citizens. Lately it has been discovered that a few of the traders of that city have become tired of what they call virtuous attempts to restore freedom to America and endeavoured to dissolve the Philadelphia non-importation agreement. One of the principal arguments made use of is the probability of losing the trade of this government. They say that the Maryland non-importation agreement having excepted many more articles of merchandise than that of Philadelphia, the people here will form a connection with the Marylanders in the way of trade, introduced by going there to purchase such excepted articles, which trade may continue after all contests with the mother country are over. This is a plausible and forcible argument, and to remove all the weight it may have, the inhabitants of the upper part of this country, particularly in and about the towns of New Castle, Wilmington, Christiana, Newark, Newport and Hamburg Landing, have resolved to support the Philadelphia agreement. It is now in the power of the people of this government to lend a helping hand and be of real use to the general cause. Some of the people of New York have deserted it, but, it is thought, will be brought back to their duty. To prevent the like accident taking place at Philadelphia we ought to destroy the argument alleged before. Let us be content to confine our trade to its former channels; there is our natural connection; let us forego some trifling convenience in hopes of greater advantage; resolve not to purchase any goods out of the government but such as are excepted in the Philadelphia agreement, and fall upon some effectual measures to support this conduct."

The agreement recommended by Mr. Read was soon very generally adopted. It was dated August 17, 1769, and after stating in energetic language the grievances which compelled the Delawareans to co-operate with their fellow-colonists in the measures best calculated to invite or enforce redress, they "mutually promise, declare and agree, upon our word of honor and the faith of Christians,—

[illegible] mentally remonstrating [illegible] of a British parliament [illegible] the wisest and most [illegible] upon [illegible] Britain, [illegible] assumed in [illegible] to whom we [illegible] to your [illegible] of [illegible] give [illegible] if the [illegible] each [illegible] in [illegible] act of [illegible] and [illegible] and [illegible] of the power [illegible] that [illegible] we shall have [illegible] We conceive it to be [illegible] your Majesty's subjects [illegible] and secure, branded [illegible] from [illegible] and confirmed by your royal [illegible] constitution in [illegible] or [illegible] to give and [illegible] to their [illegible] which their [illegible] and [illegible] have acquired [illegible] and in [illegible] and not [illegible] the national [illegible] most [illegible] respect [illegible] the Majesty's [illegible] of his government [illegible] have [illegible] privilege [illegible] [illegible] date. They [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] the [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] known, [illegible] they [illegible] the greatest [illegible] and distress [illegible] the power of demonstrating [illegible] to their beloved King." [illegible] immediately followed by [illegible] Governor of Virginia, [illegible] of the Assembly [illegible] of Great Britain [illegible] cooperation with the other [illegible] measures as might have [illegible] the [illegible] of the southern [illegible] and rights and properties, [illegible] distance brought to [illegible] the British [illegible] repeal of the [illegible] concerted observance, [illegible] [illegible] would [illegible] [illegible] was [illegible] the [illegible] shown, a [illegible] of Parliament, [illegible] over prudence or [illegible] government to [illegible] they [illegible] never think [illegible] their [illegible] [illegible] the [illegible] [illegible] strictly [illegible] Stamp Act [illegible] [illegible] of Laughlin [illegible] duties

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"First. That from and after this date we will not import into any part of America any goods, wares or merchandise whatsoever from any part of Great Britain contrary to the spirit and intention of the agreement of the merchants of the City of Philadelphia.

"Second. That we never will have any dealing, commerce or intercourse whatever with any man residing in any part of the British dominions, who shall for lucre or any other purpose import into any part of America any article contrary to the said agreement.

"Third. That any one of us who shall wilfully break this agreement shall have his name published in the public newspapers as a betrayer of the civil rights of Americans, and be forever after deemed infamous and a betrayer of his country."

The compact was subsequently violated by some shop-keepers, and to arrest this evil, which threatened a dissolution of the covenant, two persons, sound patriots, were appointed in each town as a committee of inspection to watch the trade. George Read was elected chairman of the general committee, and the subordinate committees performed their duties with such diligence and activity that they equaled the agents of the best organized police in the discovery of delinquents. The adherents of Great Britain were too few in number to shield the apostates. When information was given against them they usually appeared before the general committee, which inflicted no other punishment than requiring from the offender a public declaration of sorrow for the offense, a promise not to repeat it, and payment to the committee of the proceeds of illegitimate sales for the use of the poor.

Events were rapidly marching to the crisis. On April 12, 1770, Parliament repealed all the obnoxious duties except that upon tea, but re-affirmed the right of taxing the colonies.

In 1773 the East India Company, finding that the Colonies would take no tea on which the duty was charged, tried a new plan, and kindled a new flame from the smouldering embers of old excitements. An act of Parliament was passed authorizing that company to export their teas to America free of the duty enacted by the home government, and only charged with the three-penny colonial duty. It was intended to tempt the colonies by offering them tea far cheaper than it could be landed in London. The news of the passage of this act called for new measures of resistance. News of the initial shipments of tea reached Philadelphia on the 27th of September. The ship "Polly," with "the detested plant," had sailed from London on the 12th or 15th of September, and her arrival was looked for in the Delaware about the third week in November. The patriotic inhabitants formed an association and entered into combinations to prevent the landing and the sale of the tea. Among the first measures adopted was to issue an address to the Delaware pilots. It said, "We need not point out to you the steps you ought to take if the tea-ship falls in your way. You cannot be at a loss how to prevent, or, if that cannot be done, how to give the merchants of the city timely notice of her arrival. But this you may depend on, that whatever pilot brings her into the river, such pilot will be marked for his *treason* and will never afterwards meet with the least encouragement in his business. Like *Cain*, he will be hung out as a spectacle to all nations, and be forever recorded as the *damned traitorous pilot who brought up the tea ship*. This, however, cannot be the case with you. You have proved *scourges to evil doers, to infamous informers and tide-waiters*, and we may venture to predict that you will give us a faithful and satisfactory account of the tea-ship if you should meet with her, and that your zeal on this occasion will entitle you to every favor it may be in the power of the merchants of Philadelphia to confer upon you." This address was signed by "*The Committee for tarring and feathering.*" On Christmas day, intelligence was received of the arrival of the "Polly" at Chester, and a meeting of over eight thousand citizens of Philadelphia compelled her to return home without breaking bulk. This was the first and the last of the detested tea-ships in the Delaware.

It will be most fitting in this place to say a few words in regard to the most prominent leaders of the people of Delaware in this time of approach to the Revolutionary War—of their characters and circumstances we mean, their acts will not need comment. There were George, Thomas and James Read, Thomas McKean, Cæsar Rodney, George Ross, Allen McLane, Caleb P. Bennett, Lewis Bush, Philemon Dickinson, John Haslett, Richard Howell, David Jones, Robert Kirkwood, Shepherd Kollock, John Patten, Bedford Gunning, Nathaniel Mitchell, Richard Bassett, David Hall and many others who were in the front of affairs at home or on the threshold of battle. These men, directly or by marriage, were connected with the leading families of Delaware of all the sects. They were all men of ability and influence, differing greatly in character, temperaments and political opinions, but all honest and earnest men.

The Read family, inheriting an ancient name of honorable repute in the Old World, has rendered its patronymic historical in America by its patriotic services during the colonial and Revolutionary periods, and by its large contributions to the foundation and subsequent consolidation of the government of the United States.

The first ancestor in this country was Colonel John Read, a wealthy and public-spirited Southern planter, who was born in Dublin, of English parentage, in the last year of the reign of James

the Second, 1688. His mother was the scion of an old Oxfordshire house, and his father, an English gentleman of large fortune, then residing in Dublin, was fifth in descent from Thomas Read, lord of the manors of Barton Court and Beedon, in Berkshire, and high sheriff of Berks in 1581, and tenth in descent from Edward Read, lord of the manor of Beedon, and high sheriff of Berks in 1439 and again in 1451. One of the latter's brothers, William Read, six times mayor of Reading, was member of Parliament for Reading in 1453, 1460, 1462 and 1472. An older brother, Sir Thomas Read, was one of the knights who accompanied King Henry the Sixth when he held his Parliament at Reading in 1439, and they were all sons of Thomas Read, lord of various manors in Northumberland.

In the civil wars of the seventeenth century, says Mr. Charles Reade, the family declared for the crown, and its then chief, Sir Compton Read, was for his services one of the first baronets created by Charles the Second after the Restoration. A younger son of the family went over to Ireland in the same troubles, and it was his son who was the progenitor of the American house. Besides the baronetcy of the 4th March, 1660, an earlier one had been conferred upon Sir John Read on the 16th March, 1641. Through a clerical error in one of the patents an *e* was added to the name, and was subsequently adopted by the English branches. The historical American branch retained the ancient form which the name had when it left England, and it figures thus on the petition to the King of the Congress of 1774, the Declaration of Independence, the Constitution of the United States and many other earlier and later State papers.[1]

John Read had a romantic history. He fell in love at an early age in the old country with his cousin, a beautiful and accomplished English girl, who died suddenly before their engagement ended in marriage. This shock so overcame the lover that, after struggling in vain against his melancholy amidst familiar scenes, he determined, in spite of the earnest opposition of his parents, to seek relief in entire change. Crossing the ocean to Maryland, he purchased lands in several counties in that province, to which he added others in Delaware. On his plantation in Cecil County, Maryland, he possessed a spacious brick mansion, subsequently destroyed by fire, with out-buildings and offices and comfortable quarters for his slaves, whom he treated with an unvarying humanity which became hereditary in his family. Groves of oak grew near the house, and tulips of great rarity grew in the gardens. Jim was the head of his house servants, as Juba was the head of those in the next generation. The produce of the wheat and tobacco plantations were dispatched to Philadelphia and to England, and found their way back in various attractive and practical shapes for the use of the household. He was fond of field sports, and the woods rang with the sound of his dogs and his guns. He was both hospitable and generous. He gave the land to endow the church in his vicinity, and his life was honorable in all its relations. Being largely interested in various enterprises, he joined a few other gentlemen in founding the city of Charlestown, at the head-waters of the Chesapeake Bay, twelve years after Baltimore was begun, hoping to make it a great commercial mart to absorb Northern trade, to develop Northern Maryland, and to give a suitable impetus and outlet to the adjoining forges and furnaces of the Principio Company, in which his friends, the elder generations of the Washington family, and eventually General Washington himself, were deeply interested. Tradition preserves in this connection an account of the youthful Major Washington's visit to Colonel Read at the close of the latter's active and well-spent life.

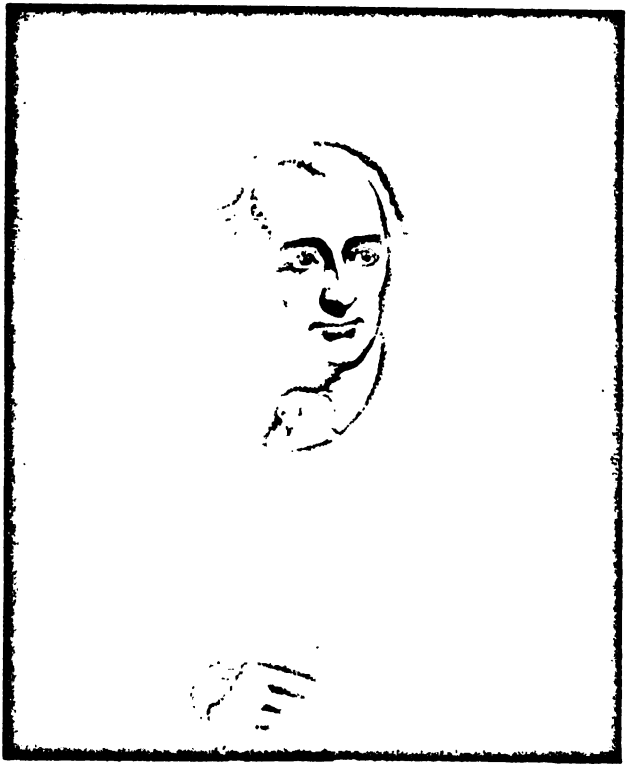
As one of the original proprietors of Charlestown, John Read was appointed by the Colonial Legislature one of the commissioners to lay out and govern the new town, and he was assiduous in his attentions to these duties.

After a long period of single life his early sorrow was consoled by his marriage with Mary Howell, a charming young Welsh gentlewoman, many years his junior, who was as energetic and spirited as she was attractive and handsome. Sprung from the Howells of Caerleon, County Monmouth, her immediate ancestors were seated in the neighborhood of Caerphilly, Glamorganshire, Wales, where she was born in 1711, and from whence, at a tender age, she removed with her parents to Delaware, where her father was a large planter.

Mary, the only daughter of John and Mary (Howell) Read, married Gunning Bedford, Sr., who was a lieutenant in the war against the French in 1755, and took an active part in the Revolutionary struggle. He was commissioned major on the 20th of March, 1775, and becoming lieutenant-colonel of the Delaware Regiment on the 19th of January, 1776, was afterwards wounded at the battle of White Plains while leading his men to the attack. He was likewise muster-master general, member of the Continental Congress and Governor of Delaware. Governor and Mrs. Bedford (*nee* Read) left no issue.

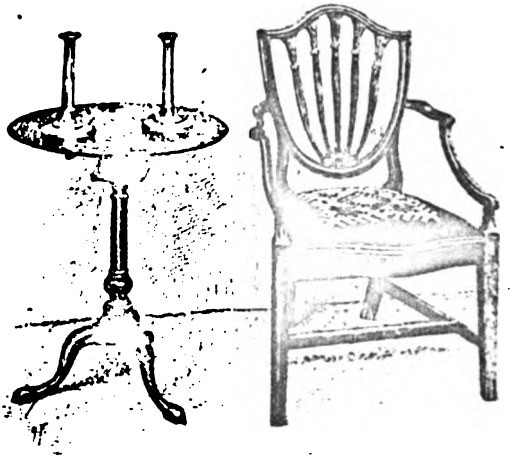
Three distinguished sons of Colonel John Read were George, Col. James and Commodore Thomas Read. George Read was in a peculiar sense the father of the State of Delaware, for he was the author of her first Constitution in 1776, and of

[1] "Read Archives and Muniments," "Burke's Peerage under Reade alias Read, Bart.," "Burke's General Armory," "Charles Reade's Sketch of his Kinsman, Chief Justice John Meredith Read, of Pennsylvania," published in *The Graphic*, London, March 6, 1875; republished in *Magazine of American History*, March, 1886.



Girard.

the first edition of her laws. He figured in her Assembly no less than twelve years, was Vice-President of the State, and at one time her acting chief magistrate. He penned the address from Delaware to the King, which Lord Shelbourne said so impressed George III. that he read it over twice. He is the most conspicuous figure in the Delaware record, for Thomas McKean and John Dickinson were more closely allied to Pennsylvania than to Delaware; and while Cæsar Rodney was prominent in the time of the Declaration, and afterwards as President of Delaware, his premature death in 1783 cut short his career. In person, Read was tall, slight, graceful, with a finely-shaped head, strong, but refined features, and dark-brown, lustrous eyes. His manners were dignified, and he could not tolerate the slightest familiarity, but he was most courteous, and at times captivating; and he dressed with the most scrupulous care and elegance. He was one of the two statesmen, and the only Southern statesman, who signed all three of the great State papers on which our history is based—the original petition to the King of the Congress of 1774, the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution of the United States. He was the eldest son of Colonel John Read, of Maryland and Delaware, and was born on the 17th of September, 1733, on one of the family estates in Cecil County, Maryland. After receiving a classical education under Dr. Francis Allison, he studied law, and was called to the bar at the age of nineteen in the city of Philadelphia, and in 1754 removed to New Castle, Delaware, in which province the family also had important landed interests. On the 11th of January, 1763, he married Gertrude, daughter of the Rev. George Ross, for nearly fifty years rector of Emmanuel Church, New Castle, a vigorous pillar of the Established Church in America. Mrs. Read's brother, John Ross, had been attorney-general under the crown. Another brother, the Rev. Æneas Ross, became celebrated as the author of eloquent and patriotic sermons during the Revolution; while still another brother, George Ross, was an eminent judge and a signer of the Declaration of Independence. Having been appointed attorney-general under the crown at the early age of twenty-nine, Mr. Read felt it to be his duty, as a friend to the mother country, to warn the British government of the danger of attempting to tax the colonies without giving them direct representation in Parliament, and in his correspondence with his friend Sir Richard Neave, afterwards governor of the Bank of England, he gave utterance, eleven years before the Declaration of Independence, to the remarkable prophecy that a continuance in this mistaken policy would lead to independence and eventually to the colonies surpassing England in her staple manufactures. Finding no manifestation of change in the position towards the colonies, he resigned the attorney-generalship, and accepted a seat in the First Congress, which met at Philadelphia in 1774. He still, however, hoped for reconciliation, and he voted against the motion for independence. But he finally signed the Declaration of Independence when he found there was no hope, and henceforward was the constant originator and ardent supporter of measures in behalf of the national cause. He



READING TABLE, SILVER CANDLESTICKS AND CHAIR
Of Colonel John Read of Maryland and Delaware, 1733-1775.

was president of the Constitutional Convention in 1776, and the author of the first Constitution of Delaware and of the first edition of her laws. In 1782 he was appointed by Congress a judge in the national Court of Appeals in Admiralty. Three years later Congress made him one of the commissioners of a federal court to determine an important controversy in relation to territory between New York and Massachusetts. In 1786 he was a delegate to the convention which met at Annapolis, Maryland, and he took an active part in those proceedings which culminated in the calling together, in 1787, of the convention in Philadelphia which framed the Constitution of the United States. In this august body he was also a prominent figure, especially in his able advocacy of the rights of the smaller States to a proper repre-

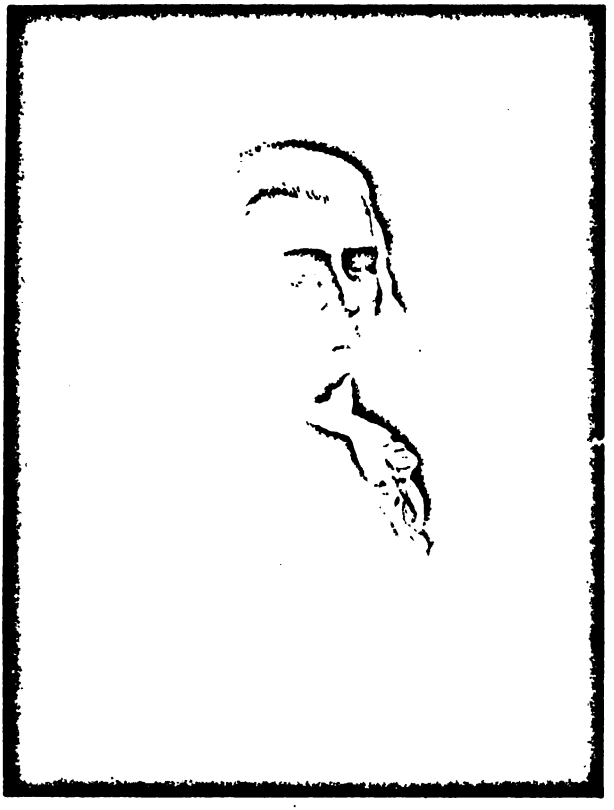
sentation in the Senate. Immediately after the adoption of the Constitution, which Delaware, largely under his direction, was the first to ratify, he was elected to the Senate of the United States. At the expiration of his term he was re-elected. He resigned in 1793, and accepted the office of chief justice of Delaware, which he filled until his death, on the 21st of September, 1798. Chief Justice Read commanded public confidence, not only from his profound legal knowledge, sound judgment, and impartial decisions, but from his severe integrity and estimable private character. Those who differed from him in opinion believed that he was acting from a sense of duty, and declared that there was not a dishonest fibre in his heart nor an element of meanness in his soul. He left three distinguished sons, George Read, second

EARLY ENGLISH SILVER TANKARD,
Which belonged to Colonel John Read, 1688-1756.

for thirty years United States district attorney of Delaware; William Read, consul-general of the kingdom of Naples; and John Read, Senator of Pennsylvania; and one daughter, Mary Read, who married Colonel Matthew Pearce, of Poplar Neck, Cecil County, Maryland. George Read, the signer, was an ardent member of the Church of England and afterwards of the American Episcopal Communion, and for many years one of the wardens of Emmanuel Church, New Castle; and he lies in that beautiful and quiet church-yard, where seven generations of the Read family repose.

The colonial Read mansion, on the west bank of Delaware Bay, in New Castle, in which George Read, the signer, lived and died, was the scene of elegant hospitality for many long years. Here the leading magnates of the colonies were entertained before the Revolution, and within its hospitable walls were gathered from time to time groups of fashionable friends from the different parts of the South, as well as from Philadelphia, Annapolis, and New York. Washington and many of the native and foreign Revolutionary generals and all the foremost statesmen of the republic slept under its roof-tree, and enjoyed the courtly hospitalities of its owners. A portion of this mansion was destroyed by fire in 1824, but it was restored and is still standing on the Delaware front in New Castle. It was one of the finest family residences in the South. In the extensive gardens about it grew venerable box, cut in fantastic shapes, and tulips of the greatest variety and beauty, this being the favorite flower of the family—as the oak was its favorite tree. In the rear of the extensive offices and out-buildings were the quarters of the slaves—that is, of the house servants, the field-hands being on the outlying plantations and at Mr. Read's country-seat, farther south on the Delaware shore. George Read was a man not only of the highest integrity, but of the greatest liberality, and he gave so generously both his time and his money to the service of his country that the aggregate dispensed amounted to a very large sum of money for that day. George Read was a man who gathered about him a large circle of warm friends who looked up to him for guidance and advice. One of the most notable proofs of his own devotion to friendship was the proof which he gave of his enduring affection for John Dickinson. The latter, having not only opposed but refused to sign the Declaration of Independence, thereby lost his popularity entirely. But through the friendship and political and personal influence of George Read he was after a time restored to public life, became President successively of the States of Delaware and Pennsylvania, and afterwards one of the delegates to the convention which framed the Constitution of the United States.

There are at least three original portraits of George Read, of Delaware. One is by Gilbert Stuart, another by Robert Edge Pine, and a third by Trumbull, in the historical painting "The Declararation of Independence," which is in the Capitol at Washington. He figures prominently also in various other historical pictures,—among others, in "The Signing of the Constitution of the United States," by Rossiter, and in a "Dinner at General Washington's to George Read, of Delaware," by M. Armand Dumaresq. The latter was painted for General Meredith Read, the great grandson of George Read, and a copy taken by permission of the owner is in the possession of William Astor, Esq., of New York. The principal personages represented are General and Mrs. Washington, Chief Justice Read, the Marquis de Lafayette and Richard Henry Lee. Monsieur



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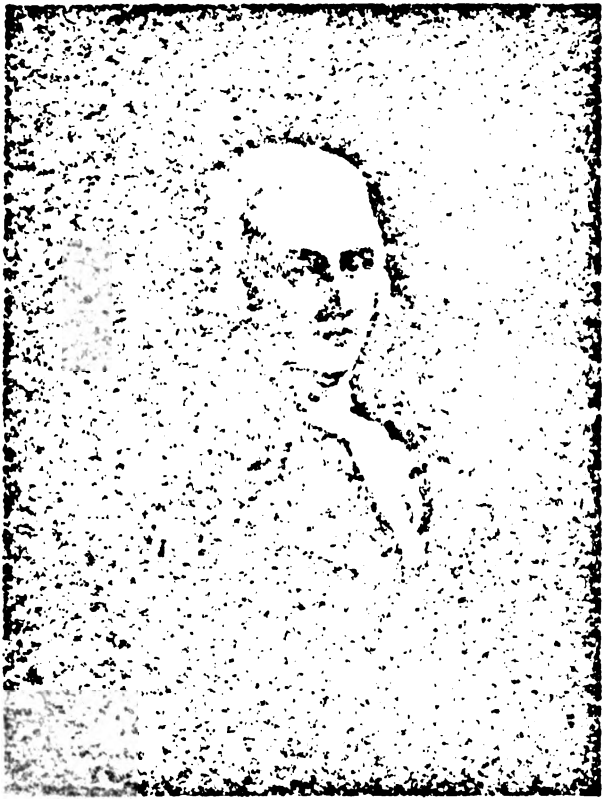
[illegible] had previously sketched the portraits [illegible] collection at New Haven. [illegible] is also an important figure in "The [illegible] of the Congress of 1776," also painted [illegible] Meredith Read to Mr. Armand [illegible]. The correspondence of George Read [illegible] the memoirs of this interesting and [illegible] gentleman. It [illegible] of the [illegible] eight [illegible] together [illegible] except Saturday, [illegible] Ralph, Lee [illegible] Washington and Harrison of Virginia, Chase [illegible] and Rodney and Read of Delaware and [illegible] of New York.

Commodore Thomas Read, the first naval officer [illegible] commission [illegible] America [illegible] Benjamin Rush, [illegible] the Declaration [illegible] ing year [illegible] Delaware, and Captain [illegible] and George Wilson [illegible] him at that [illegible] On the 7th of June, 1776, he was [illegible] highest grade in the Continental [illegible] assigned to [illegible] frigate [illegible] in the Delaware [illegible] Congress [illegible] 1776, the [illegible]

READ MANSION, ON DELAWARE BAY, NEW CASTLE [illegible] COUNTY, DEL.
Residence of George Read, Attorney-General of [illegible] and afterwards a member of the Declaration of Independence [illegible] Delaware [illegible] Constitution of [illegible]

[illegible]gator and discoverer. He was the son of Colonel John Read of Maryland and Delaware, and the brother of George Read of Delaware, the signer, and Colonel James Read, who was at the head of the Navy Department during the Revolution. He was born at the ancient seat, New Castle county, Delaware, in 1740, and was married, on the 7th of September, 1769, to Miss Mary Lloyd, [illegible] Poole, at his seat, White Hall, near Bordentown, New Jersey, by his friend, the Rev. William White, chaplain of the Continental Congress, afterwards the first Protestant Episcopal Bishop of Pennsylvania.

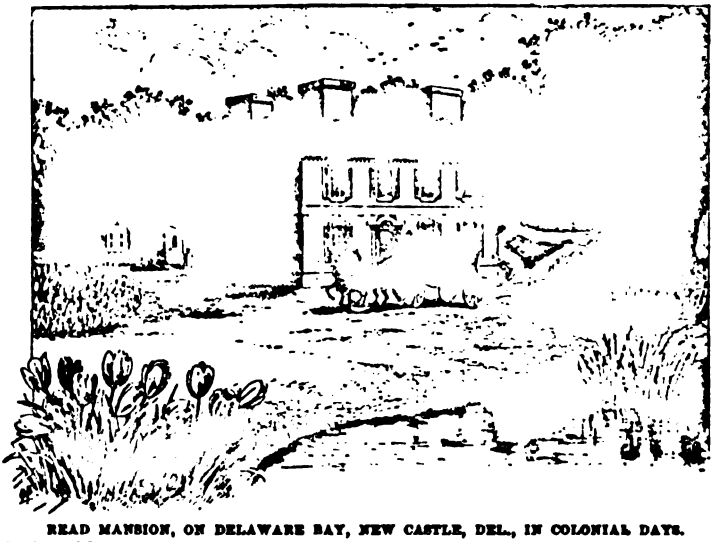
On the 23d of October, 1775, at the early age of forty-five, he was made Commodore of the Pennsylvania navy, and had as his fleet surgeon Dr. [illegible] in General Washington's [illegible] assistance in the celebrated [illegible] ware by Washington's army, and in the [illegible] Trenton [illegible] a battery [illegible] from his own frigate, which was [illegible] the Assunpink. [illegible] receive the thanks of a [illegible] officers, as stated in the letter [illegible] January, 1777, written to him with [illegible] Colonel James Read, who was [illegible] 1777. [illegible] 1781, where he resigned [illegible] in the [illegible] Commonwealth of which [illegible] members. His first [illegible] Morris [illegible]



Dumaresq had previously sketched the portraits in the Trumbull collection at New Haven. George Read is also an important figure in "The Dinner Club of the Congress of 1775," also painted for General Meredith Read by M. Armand Dumaresq. The correspondence of George Read has preserved the memory of this interesting and select social gathering. It was composed of the following eight members (who dined together every day except Saturday), viz., Randolph, Lee, Washington and Harrison of Virginia, Chase of Maryland, Rodney and Read of Delaware, and Alsop of New York.

Commodore Thomas Read, the first naval officer who obtained the rank of commodore in command of an American fleet, was a brave soldier, daring navigator and discoverer. He was the son of Colonel John Read, of Maryland and Delaware, and the brother of George Read, of Delaware, the signer, and Colonel James Read, who was at the head of the Navy Department during the Revolution. He was born at the family seat, New Castle County, Delaware, in 1740, and was married, on the 7th of September, 1779, to Mrs. Mary Field, *née* Peale, at his seat, White Hill, near Bordentown, New Jersey, by his friend, the Rev. William White, chaplain of the Continental Congress, afterwards the first Protestant Episcopal Bishop of Pennsylvania.

On the 23d of October, 1775, at the early age of thirty-five, he was made Commodore of the Pennsylvania navy, and had as his fleet surgeon Dr. Benjamin Rush, subsequently one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence. In the following year he made a successful defense of the Delaware, and Captains Souder, Jackson, Potts and Charles Biddle gallantly volunteered under him at that moment as seamen before the mast. On the 7th of June, 1776, he was appointed to the highest grade in the Continental navy, and was assigned to one of the four largest ships—the 32-gun frigate "George Washington," then being built in the Delaware. In October of the same year Congress regulated the rank of the officers of the navy, and he stood sixth on the list. His ship being still on the stocks, he volunteered for land service, and on the 2d of December, 1776, the Committee of Safety directed him, with his officers, to join General Washington. He gave valuable assistance in the celebrated crossing of the Delaware by Washington's army, and at the battle of Trenton commanded a battery composed of guns taken from his own frigate, which raked the stone bridge across the Assunpink. For this important service he received the thanks of all the general officers, as stated in the letter of the 14th of January, 1777, written to his wife by his brother, Colonel James Read, who was near him during the battle. After much active service by land and by sea he resigned, and retired to his seat, White Hill, where he dispensed a constant hospitality, especially to his old associates in the Order of the Cincinnati, of which he was one of the original members. His friend Robert Morris, the financier



READ MANSION, ON DELAWARE BAY, NEW CASTLE, DEL., IN COLONIAL DAYS.
Residence of George Read, Attorney-General in 1763, and afterwards a Signer of the Declaration of Independence and Framer of the Constitution of the United States.

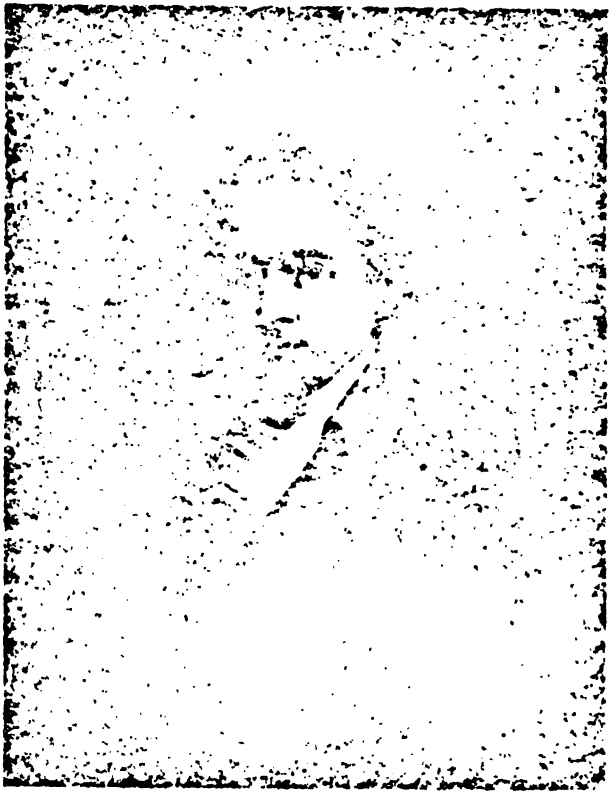
of the Revolution, having purchased his old frigate, "the Alliance," induced Commodore Read to take command of her, and to make a joint adventure to the Chinese seas and an out-of-season passage to China, never before attempted. Taking with him as his first officer one of his old subordinates, Richard Dale, afterwards the commodore in command, in 1801, of the American fleet sent to the Mediterranean, and Mr. George Harrison (who became an eminent citizen of Philadelphia) as

COMMODORE THOMAS READ DISCOVERING CAROLINE ISLANDS.

supercargo, he sailed from the Delaware on the 7th of June, 1787, and arrived at Canton the following 22d of December, having navigated on a track as yet unpracticed by any other ship, and also made the first out-of-season passage to China, and discovered two islands, one of which he named Morris and the other Alliance Island. These islands form a portion of the now celebrated Caroline Islands, and Commodore Read's discovery gave rights to the United States which have never been properly asserted. Commodore Read reached Philadelphia on his return voyage on the 17th of September, 1788, and on the 26th of October following died at his seat in New Jersey, in the forty-ninth year of his age. Robert Morris concluded his obituary of him in these words: "While integrity, benevolence, patriotism and courage, united with the most gentle manners, are respected and admired among men, the name of this valuable citizen and soldier will be revered and beloved. He was in the noblest import of the word, a man." Commodore Read left no descendants.

Colonel James Read, one of the fathers of the American navy, was a son of Colonel John Read, of Maryland and Delaware, and a brother of George Read, of Delaware, the signer of the Declaration of Independence and the framer of the Constitution of the United States, and of the daring navigator and discoverer, Commodore Thomas Read, of the Continental navy. He was born at the family seat, New Castle County, Delaware, in 1743, and died at Philadelphia, the 31st of December, 1822, in his eightieth year. He was regularly promoted from first lieutenant to colonel for gallant and distinguished services at the battles of Trenton, Princeton, Brandywine and Germantown. He was appointed by Congress, the 4th of November, 1778, one of the three commissioners of the navy for the Middle States; and on January 11, 1781, Congress invested him with sole power to conduct the Navy Board. When his friend, Robert Morris, became agent, he was elected secretary, and was the virtual head of the marine department, while Robert Morris managed the finance department of the American confederacy.

Colonel James Read married, on the 9th of July, 1770, Susanne Correy, of the Correys of Chester County, Pennsylvania, and left one son, James Read, born at Philadelphia in 1783. The latter was a great traveler in European and Oriental countries. In 1815 he visited Sweden with his friend, Sir Robert Ker Porter, and was



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COMMODORE [illegible] DISCOVERING CAROLINE ISLANDS.

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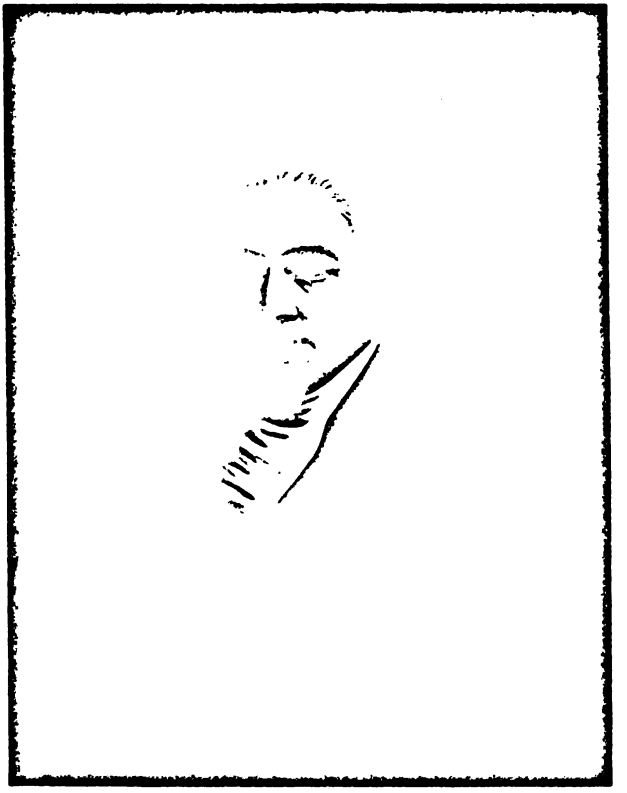

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ONE OF THE FATHERS OF THE AMERICAN NAVY

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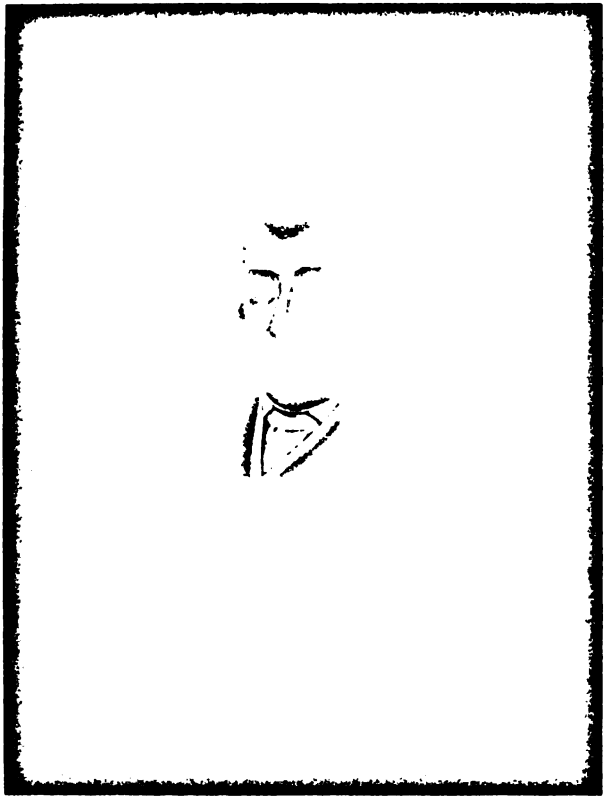

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[illegible] NEARLY THIRTY YEARS
[illegible] STATES DISTRICT ATTORNEY

[illegible] Maryland & Delaware by his wife Mary Howell and son of Hon [illegible] Independence and Framer of the Constitution of the United States [illegible] New Castle [illegible] died there in [illegible] officer at the latter's seat near Carlisle [illegible] Mrs [illegible] Mr Read was remarkable for his oratorical [illegible] developed. He owned large cotton plantations in M[illegible] of the Kingdom of Naples [illegible] brother of [illegible] the leaders of the Federal party. Mr Geo Read [illegible] was the father of [illegible] New Castle June [illegible] and April 10th 181[illegible] Louisa [illegible] Navy afterwards an eminent physician of [illegible] on the eve of [illegible] the United [illegible] were [illegible] owners of [illegible]

there created a Knight of the Order of the Vasa, with by the Queen of Sweden. He was a man of distinguished attainments as an amateur [illegible]. He died unmarried, at Philadelphia, on the 29th of October, 1853. Colonel James Read also left one married daughter, Susanne Read, who married, the 27th of March, 1803, Joachim Frederic Eckard, Danish consul at Philadelphia, and brother of His Excellency Christian Eckard, Knight of the Dannebrog and honorary counsellor to the King of Denmark, whose daughter married the Count Grand Hentsman Lutzow, Knight Grand Cross of the Dannebrog, whose sons and grandsons were knights of the same order and superior officers of the Schleswig-Holstein

1805 and died on the 12th of March, 1887. After graduating with honor at the University of Pennsylvania, he studied law with his cousin, Chief Justice John Meredith Read, and was called to the bar. But shortly afterwards he studied theology, and graduated at the Princeton Divinity School. He then, like was one of [illegible] fulness, and his work in India and China [illegible] dounded to the credit of America. In 1841 he published an [illegible] volume on China. Dr. Read married Mary [illegible] Esther, daughter of Dr. Nicholas [illegible] son of Commodore John Rodgers of Philadelphia. He [illegible] son, the Rev. Laughton W. [illegible] Read, born [illegible] September, 1844, [illegible]

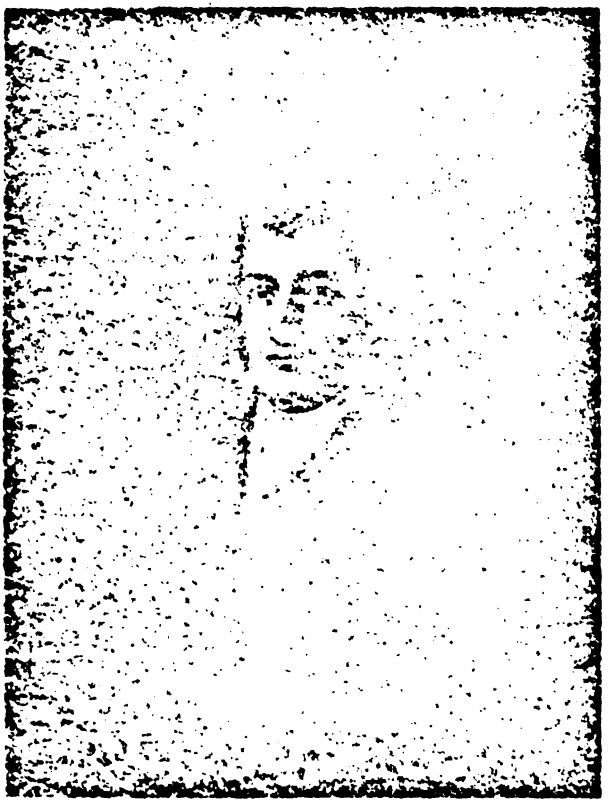
READ MANSION, [illegible]

When the Marquis de Lafayette was the guest there [illegible]

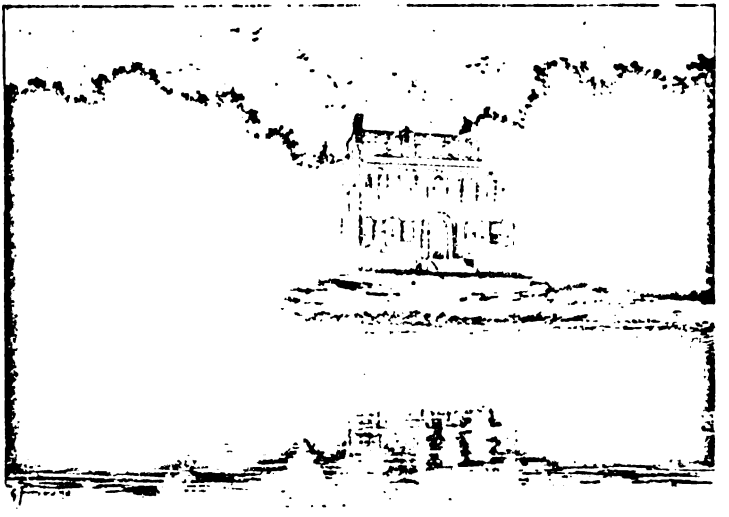
Consul-General Eckard died at Venezuela the 11th of September, 1877. Mrs. Susanne Read Eckard was a woman of remarkable accomplishments and great wit, and figures, under the name of Miss Rushbrook in a novel entitled "Justina," by Mrs. Simeon De Witt, published in 1823. It is there said: "She keeps the best literary and the most fashionable society in Philadelphia. Her manners are charming, her conversation full of mind and her heart is noble and generous." Mrs. Eckard was the author of the "Historical account of Washington delivering his Farewell Address." Mr. Eckard died at Philadelphia the 30th day of December, 1861, leaving two distinguished sons, viz., Dr. Frederick Eckard, and the Rev. Dr. James Read Eckard. The latter was born in Philadelphia on the 22d of November,

ette Co[illegible] in the Princeton Divinity School [illegible] distinguished [illegible]

He [illegible] Read, eldest son of [illegible] was born at New Castle the 14th of August, [illegible] the Read mansion. He married, on the 30th of October, 1786, Mary Thompson, daughter of General William Thompson, a distinguished military officer, at the latter's country seat, near Carlisle, Pennsylvania. Mrs. [illegible] was Catharine Ross, the sister of General [illegible] of George Read the signer. George Read [illegible] was an eminent jurist, and for many years [illegible] was United States District Attorney of Delaware. He was the owner of large plantations in Mississippi. He died at the Read mansion on the 23 September, 1836, and was buried in Immanuel



there created a Knight of the Order of the Amaranth by the Queen of Sweden. He was a man of distinguished attainments as an amateur botanist. He died unmarried, at Philadelphia, the 29th of October, 1853. Colonel James Read also left one married daughter, Susanne Read, who married, the 27th of March, 1803, Joachim Frederic Eckard, Danish consul at Philadelphia, and brother of His Excellency Christian Eckard, Knight of the Dannebrog and honorary counselor to the King of Denmark, whose daughter married the Court Grand Huntsman Tutein, Knight Grand Cross of the Dannebrog, while his sons and grandsons were knights of the same order and superior judges of Schleswig-Holstein.



READ MANSION, NEW CASTLE, DEL.,
When the Marquis de Lafayette was the guest there of Hon. George Read, son of George Read, "the Signer."

Consul-General Eckard died at Venezuela the 14th of September, 1837. Mrs. Susanne Read Eckard was a woman of remarkable accomplishments and great wit, and figures, under the name of Miss Rushbrook, in a novel entitled "Justina," by Mrs. Simeon De Witt, published in 1823. It is there said: "She keeps the most literary and the most fashionable society in Philadelphia. Her manners are charming, her conversation full of mind, and her heart is noble and benevolent." Mrs. Eckard was the author of the historical account of "Washington delivering his Farewell Address." Mrs. Eckard died at Philadelphia the 3d day of December, 1861, leaving two distinguished sons,—i. e., Dr. Frederick Eckard, and the Rev. Dr. James Read Eckard. The latter was born in Philadelphia on the 22d of November, 1805, and died on the 12th of March, 1887. After graduating with honor at the University of Pennsylvania, he studied law with his cousin, Chief Justice John Meredith Read, and was called to the bar. But shortly afterwards he studied theology, and graduated at the Princeton Divinity School. His long life was one of remarkable usefulness, and his work in India and China redounded to the credit of America. In 1845 he published an authoritative volume on Ceylon. Dr. Read Eckard married Margaret Esther, daughter of Dr. Nicholas Bayard, the son of Colonel John Bayard, of Philadelphia. He left one son, the Rev. Leighton Wilson Eckard, born 23d of September, 1845, who graduated at Lafayette College and at the Princeton Divinity School, and is also a distinguished clergyman.

Hon. George Read, (2d), of Delaware, eldest surviving son of George Read, the signer, was born at New Castle the 17th of August, 1765, at the Read mansion. He married, on the 30th of October, 1786, Mary Thompson, daughter of General William Thompson, a distinguished Revolutionary officer, at the latter's country seat, near Carlisle, Pennsylvania. Mrs. Thompson was Catharine Ross, the sister of Gertrude Ross, wife of George Read, the signer. George Read, (2d), was an eminent jurist, and for nearly thirty years was United States district attorney of Delaware. He was the owner of large plantations in Mississippi. He died at the Read mansion on the 3d September, 1836, and was buried at Emmanuel

Church. He was a handsome, dark-haired man, of rich complexion and courtly manners. His portrait was painted by Wortmiller. He restored the Read mansion, and entertained Lafayette there most sumptuously on the latter's second visit to America.

Hon. George Read (3d), of Delaware, son of George Read (2d), of Delaware, was born in the Read mansion, at New Castle, Delaware, June 4, 1788, and married, the 19th of April, 1810, Louisa Ridgeley Dorsey, whose family resided near Baltimore, Maryland, her father being Dr. Nathan Dorsey, a surgeon in the Revolutionary navy, who afterwards became an eminent physician in Philadelphia. After graduating at Princeton with honors, in 1806, he studied law with his father, and was called to the bar in Delaware. Distinguished as a lawyer, he was still more eminent as an advocate and remarkable for his conversational powers, fine taste and extensive and varied literary attainments. Frank, generous, benevolent, gentle and unassuming in manner, it was said of him that the *general* regard that his many admirable qualities attracted was only surpassed by the warm attachment, much more than any man we have known, which he elicited from his *immediate* friends. His father had occupied for many years the post of United States district attorney, and he also filled that office with ability during the administrations of three of our Presidents. George Read (3d), died at the family mansion, in New Castle, on the 1st of November, 1837, and on the eve of his nomination to the United States Senate. He had constantly refused the highest state and national offices.

George Read, (4th), son of George Read (3d), of Delaware, was born at New Castle, 16th Oct., 1812; married, in 1844, Susan Chapman, of Virginia, and died in August, 1859, forty-seven years of age at Rosemere, near Columbia, Arkansas. He showed early aptitude for business, and was trained in the counting house of an eminent firm in Baltimore. In company with his grandfather, George Read, (2d,) he purchased a cotton plantation of several thousand acres in Chicot County, Arkansas, on the borders of Louisiana, which grew under his masterly touch into one of the great representative plantations of the South. He took an active part in the organization of a parish in his neighborhood, where his kindness and generosity made him the object of warm affection. He died in the communion of the Episcopal Church, of which he was a prominent member, like all of his family. He was characterized by sound judgment, foresight and energy. He was most fastidiously refined, a man of medium height, of handsome face and carriage.

George Read (5th), of Arkansas, eldest son of George Read (4th), of Delaware, was born at Grand Gulf, Mississippi, in February, 1847, and succeeded by will to the great plantation of Rosemere, which was much damaged by the Union army during the War of the Rebellion. He married Susan Salmon, of Lynchburg, Virginia. He is also a successful cotton-planter, and a gentleman of great refinement and varied culture. His eldest son, George Read (6th), of Rosemere, died in infancy. Two children survive—Cleveland Read, born 4th July, 1884, and Alice Read, born 15th of February, 1880. George Read, (5th) of Rosemere, had seven brothers and sisters; all died without issue during the lifetime of their father, except one sister and William Thompson Read, born at Rosemere, 7th October, 1857, married, 7th January, 1879, Jono Saunders, of Chicot County, and has William Thompson Read, born at Rosemere 2d of April, 1880, and Earl Read, born 15th July, 1883. Mr. W. T. Read is a large and successful planter. The only surviving sister of George Read (5th), and William Thompson Read is Marion Read, who was born at Rosemere on the 3d of February, 1853; married, 10th November, 1880, F. M. Carlton, Esq., of King and Queen County, Virginia, and has George Read Carlton, born 9th July, 1883, and Marian Read Carlton, born August 1, 1884.

William Thompson Read, son of George Read (2d), of Delaware, was born in the Read mansion, at New Castle, on the 22d of August, 1792, and was baptized the 16th of September following at Emmanuel Church. He graduated at Princeton in 1816, studied law with his father and was called to the bar in Delaware. He resided at Washington for some years, and was at the head of one of the government departments, and became later secretary of the legation of the United States to Buenos Ayres, and a Senator of Delaware. He was also Grand Master of Masons of Delaware, and one of the founders of the Historical Society of Delaware. He was a man of great culture, an ardent churchman, and highly respected in all relations through life. He was the author of a life of his grandfather, George Read, the signer. He died in his mansion at New Castle on the 27th of January, 1873, having married Sally Latimer Thomas, who pre-deceased him. He left no issue. His brothers, Gunning Bedford Read and Charles Henry Read, both lawyers of great promise, died unmarried. His sister, Catherine Anne Read, who was born in 1794, in the Read mansion at New Castle, and died there in 1826; married, on the 18th of June, 1812, Dr. Allen McLane, of Wilmington, son of Colonel Allen McLane, of the Revolutionary army, and brother of the Hon. Lewis McLane, Secretary of State of the United States, and uncle of the Hon. Robert M. McLane, United States Minister to France.

William Read, first lieutenant of the United

States army, born the 24th of April, 1823, at the family mansion, New Castle, Delaware, was baptized on the 4th of April, 1824, at Emmanuel Church, New Castle. He was the son of the Hon. George Read (3d), of Delaware, and Louisa Ridgely Dorsey, his wife. He was appointed from Delaware a cadet at West Point the 1st of July, 1840; promoted to be second brevet lieutenant in the Sixth Infantry; served with distinction in the war with Mexico; was made second lieutenant of the Fifth Infantry in 1846, and first lieutenant of the same regiment in 1847; resigned 21st of July, 1850. He was Professor of Natural and Experimental Philosophy in the Kentucky Military Institute from 1851 to 1853; assistant examiner of patents at Washington from 1855 to 1861, and a planter in Montgomery County, Maryland, from 1861 until his death in 1884. He married M. E. Beale, the granddaughter of Commodore Truxton, of the United States navy.

J. Dorsey Read, a graduate of the Naval Academy at Annapolis, was a lieutenant in the United States navy. He died in 1858. Married Maria Chapman, of Virginia, but left no descendants. He was the third son of the Hon. George Read (3d), of Delaware, and Louisa Ridgely Dorsey, his wife.

Marian Murray Read, born at the Read Mansion, New Castle, Delaware, was baptized on the 6th of May, 1811, aged three months, at Emmanuel Church, New Castle; was the eldest daughter of the Hon. George Read (3d), of Delaware and Louisa Ridgely Dorsey, his wife. She married James G. Martin, Esq., of North Carolina, a graduate of West Point, who attained the rank of major in the United States army, and became a major general in the Confederate army.

James G. Martin, eldest son of James G. Martin, of North Carolina, was counselor-at-law, Asheville, North Carolina. He married Annie Davis.

Elizabeth Stark Murray Martin was the eldest daughter of James G. Martin, of North Carolina. She married William Bruce, Esq., counselor-at-law, Norfolk, Virginia.

Annie Hollingsworth Martin was the second daughter of James G. Martin, of North Carolina. She died unmarried.

Marian Martin, the youngest daughter of James G. Martin, Esq., of North Carolina, was married to Samuel Tennent, Esq., planter, Asheville, North Carolina.

Louise Gertrude Read, born at the family mansion, New Castle, Delaware, second daughter of Hon. George Read (3d), and Louisa Ridgely Dorsey, his wife, was married to Colonel B. K. Pierce, of the United States army, brother of General Franklin Pierce, President of the United States. He commanded at Governor's Island at the time of his wife's death, which occurred in 1840. She was buried at Governor's Island, New York, leaving no issue.

Annie Dorsey Read, third daughter of the Hon. George Read (3d), and Louisa Ridgely Dorsey, his wife, born at the family mansion, New Castle, Delaware, was baptized on the 2d of August, 1818, then aged three weeks, at Emmanuel Church, New Castle. She married Major Isaac A. Keiter Reeves, of the United States army, who was born in New York. He was appointed a cadet from New York to West Point in 1831, graduated in 1835, served with distinction in the Florida War, and attained the rank of major. He died prior to the Rebellion. Mrs. Major Reeves resides in one of the old Read mansions at New Castle, Delaware, and has the following children. Keiter Reeves, only son, an engineer in the United States navy, who married Henrietta Young and has two children—Keiter Reeves and Marian Reeves; Marian Legere Reeves, a well-known authoress, who has written under the *nom de plume* of Fadette, the following novels, "Ingemisco," "Randolph Honour" and "Wearie Thorne," and in connection with her aunt Miss Emily Read, of New Castle, has published "Old Martin Boscawen's Jest."

Annie Dorsey Reeves married the Hon. John H. Rodney, of New Castle, a great grand-nephew of the Hon. Cæsar Rodney, a signer of the Declaration of Independence, and has six sons and one daughter.

Caroline E. Reeves married Wm. S. Potter, Esq., a planter in Cecil County, Maryland, and has two sons and five daughters.

Caroline Read, fourth daughter of Hon. George Read (3d), of Delaware, and Louisa Ridgely Dorsey, his wife, born at the family mansion, New Castle, Delaware, was baptized on the 22d of July, 1820, at Emmanuel Church, New Castle. She married, on the 31st of March, 1840, Major-General William H. French, of the United States army, a graduate of West Point in 1837, a distinguished officer of the United States army during the Rebellion. He was born on the 3d of January, 1815, at Baltimore, Maryland. He retired in July, 1880, as Colonel of the 4th Artillery, with rank of major-general. He died on the 20th of May, 1881, at Washington. His wife, Caroline Read, died on the 26th of September, 1884, at Blue Ridge Summit, Franklin County, Pennsylvania. They left the following issue:

Lieutenant-Colonel Frank Sands French, born in 1841 at Houlton, Maine, entered the United States army, 1861, as second lieutenant of artillery, and was made captain and brevet lieutenant-colonel for gallant and meritorious conduct during the war; died 4th of September, 1865, at New Castle, Delaware, of wounds received at the battle of Antietam; unmarried.

William Henry French, of the United States army, born 17th of July, 1844, at Newport, Rhode Island, while his father was stationed at Fort Adams. He married Emily Ott in 1879, and has three daughters.

Lieutenant Frederick Halverren French, a graduate of West Point in 1877, second lieutenant United States army same year; first lieutenant 1860; retired January, 1885; unmarried.

Lieutenant George Ross French, United States Navy, born 8th July, 1857, at Fort McHenry, Baltimore, Maryland, while his father was stationed there; a graduate of the Academy, Annapolis, in 1880; midshipman of the United States Navy in 1882; ensign, June, 1884; married, in Baltimore, 26th of March, 1885, Elizabeth Hollingsworth, daughter of Charles Findlay, Esq. Mrs. French was born the 17th of November, 1856. They have one son, Findlay French.

Annie Read French, born the 24th of May, 1853, at Tampa, Hillsborough County, Fla., while her father was stationed there; married, the 24th of May, 1875, to Captain John M. Clem, of the United States army. He was born at Newark, Licking county, Ohio, in 1853, entered the United States army in 1862 as a drummer-boy, and distinguished himself in the battles of Chickamauga, and Shiloh, and became famous as the "Drummer-boy of Chickamauga," and for his distinguished services and gallantry was appointed, when only ten years of age, a sergeant in the United States army; became second lieutenant in 1870, first lieutenant in 1874, and captain and assistant quartermaster in 1882. They have one son, John Clem.

Rosalie French, born 4th June, 1861, at New Castle, Delaware, married Lieutenant J. Conklin, of the United States army.

Julia Rush Read, fifth daughter of the Hon. George Read (3d), of Delaware and Louisa Ridgely Dorsey, his wife, born at the family mansion, New Castle, Delaware, and married General Samuel Jones of Virginia, who graduated at West Point, and attained the rank of captain in the United States army. He became a major-general in the Confederate army, and commanded during the Rebellion the Departments of South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama and Florida. They have one child, Emily Read Jones, who is unmarried.

Emily Read, sixth daughter of the Hon. George Read (3d), of Delaware and Louisa Ridgely Dorsey, his wife, was born at the family mansion, New Castle, Delaware, where she still resides. She has contributed to the Encyclopædia Britannica, and has produced anonymously "Life in New Sweden Two Hundred Years Ago." She is also the authoress, in conjunction with her niece Miss Marian Reeves, of "Old Martin Boscawen's Jest," and "Pilot Fortune."

Lieutenant John Alexander Lockwood, of the United States army, Professor of Military Tactics at the University of Michigan, is the son of Dr. John Alexander Lockwood, born at Dover, Delaware, in 1812, by his wife, Julia Read McLane, born 21st of February, 1818, at Wilmington, Delaware, married the 20th of October, 1840, died the 21st of November, 1880, at Washington, D. C.

Lieutenant Lockwood was born on the 30th of October, 1856, at Dresden, Saxony, Germany. He is the grandson of Dr. Allen McLane and his wife, Catharine Anne Read, and fifth in descent from George Read, of Delaware, the signer. His sister, Florence Lockwood, born at Florence, Italy, the 26th of April, 1853, married, the 17th of February, 1878, Captain Charles Alfred Booth, of the United States army.

William Read, of Philadelphia, consul-general of the Kingdom of Naples, was the second son of George Read, the signer, of Delaware. He was born in the Read mansion, New Castle, Delaware, October 10, 1767, and died in his own mansion, at Philadelphia, September 25, 1846. He was married, at Christ Church, Philadelphia, on the 22d of September, 1796, by Bishop White, to Anne McCall, daughter of Archibald McCall and Judith Kemble, his wife. Mrs. Read was born on the 2d of May, 1772, and died the 17th of July, 1845. Mr. William Read, who removed to Philadelphia at an early age, was, for many years, consul-general of the Kingdom of Naples, and represented several other foreign powers. He was a brother of George Read (2d), of New Castle, and of the Hon. John Read, of Philadelphia. He resided in an ancient and spacious mansion on Second Street, then the most fashionable part of Philadelphia. His eldest son, George Read, of Pennsylvania, was born in Philadelphia, on the 10th of June, 1797, in the large mansion in Second Street, three doors above Spruce, on the west side. In accordance with the ancient family usage, he was taken to New Castle, Delaware, and christened on the 29th of October, 1797, in Emmanuel Church, of which his great-grandfather, the Rev. George Ross, was the first rector in 1703. Mr. Read resided nearly forty years in Spain, first going thither on the 10th of October, 1817. He was for a long time United States consul in that Kingdom. He is still living, and in his ninety-second year is extremely active in his habits, and his anecdotes are as interesting and his wit as vivacious as in his earlier years. He is unmarried. His three brothers,—William Archibald Read, a planter near New Orleans; John Read, a prominent lawyer of Philadelphia; and Samuel McCall Read, also a planter near New Orleans, Louisiana—died without issue. His only sister, Mary Read, born the 16th of June, 1799, died the 7th of July, 1875; married,

[illegible] French, of the United States [illegible] of July, [illegible], at Newport, Rhode [illegible] father was stationed at Fort [illegible] married Emily Ott in 1879, and has [illegible]

[illegible] Frederick Halverren French, a [illegible] of West Point in 1877, second lieutenant [illegible] S. [illegible] army same year; first lieutenant [illegible] January, 1886; unmarried.

Lieutenant George Ross French, United States Navy, [illegible] May, 1867, at Fort M[illegible] Baltimore, Maryland, while his father was [illegible] a graduate of the [illegible] Academy in 1880; midshipman of the [illegible] States Navy in 1882; ensign, June, 1884; [illegible] 26th of March, 188[illegible] [illegible], daughter of Charles Findlay, [illegible] was born the 17th of November, [illegible] have one son, Findlay French.

[illegible] Frank French [illegible] the 24th of May, [illegible] Hillsborough County, Florida, where his father was stationed [illegible] May, [illegible], Captain [illegible] County, Ohio, in 18[illegible] army in [illegible] [illegible] Castle, [illegible] of the [illegible]

[illegible] daughter of the Hon. George Read [illegible] of Delaware and Teresa Rodney [illegible] born at the family [illegible] New [illegible] Delaware, and married [illegible] Virginia, who graduated at West Point, [illegible] rank of captain [illegible] United States [illegible] became a major [illegible] and commanded [illegible] Regiments of South Carolina, Georgia, [illegible] Florida. They have one child, Emily [illegible], who is unmarried.

[illegible] Read, sixth daughter of the Hon. George Read [illegible], of Delaware, [illegible] Rodney [illegible], was born at the family mansion, New Castle, Delaware, where she still resides. She has contributed to the Encyclopædia Britannica, and [illegible] New Science in [illegible] Years Ago." She is associated with her [illegible] Miss Marion Reeves [illegible] "Martin Boscawen [illegible]" and "Pilot Force."

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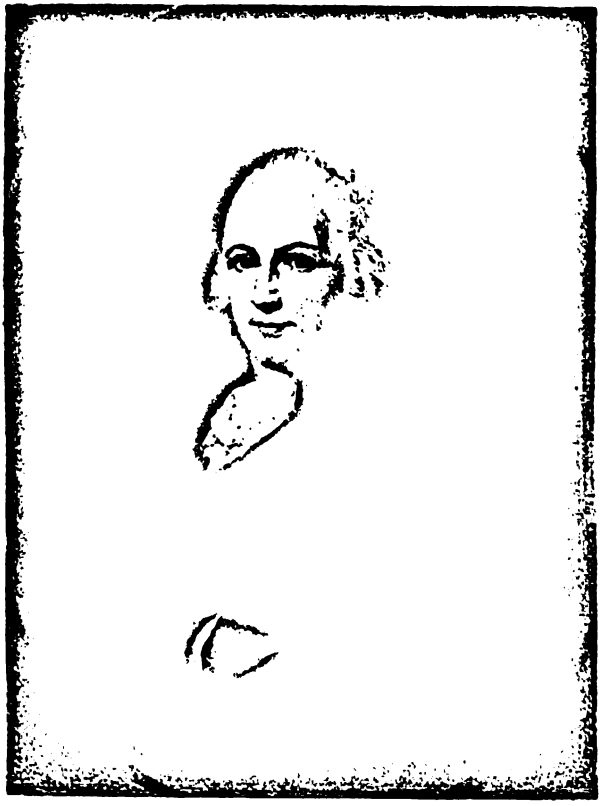
William Read, of Philadelphia, consul general of the Kingdom of Naples, was the second son of George Read, the signer, of Delaware. He was born in the Read mansion, New Castle, Delaware, October 10, 1767, and died in his own mansion in Philadelphia, September 25, 1846. He was married in Christ Church, Philadelphia, on the [illegible] 1796, by Bishop White, to Anne [illegible] daughter of Archibald McCall and [illegible] Kennedy, his wife. Mrs. Read died on the 30th of May, 1772, and [illegible] 1846. Mr. William Read, [illegible] at an early age, was [illegible] consul general of the Kingdom of Naples and represented several other foreign powers. He was a brother of George Read, Esq., of New Castle, and of the Hon. John Read, of Philadelphia. He resided in an ancient and spacious mansion on Second Street, then the most fashionable part of Philadelphia. His eldest son, George Read, of Pennsylvania, was born in Philadelphia on the 10th of June, 1797, in the large mansion in Second Street, three doors above Spruce, on the west side. In accordance with the ancient family usage, he was taken to New Castle, Delaware, and christened on the 29th of October, 1797, in Emmanuel Church, of which his great grandfather, the Rev. George Ross, was the first rector in 1703. Mr. Read resided nearly forty years in Spain, first going thither on the 20th of October, 1817. He was for a long time United States consul in that Kingdom. He is still living, and in his ninety-second year is extremely active in his habits, and his anecdotes are as interesting and his wit as vivacious as in his earlier years. He is unmarried. His three brothers,—William Archibald Read, a planter near New Orleans; John Read, a prominent lawyer of Philadelphia; and Samuel McCall Read, also a planter near New Orleans, Louisiana—died without issue. His only sister, Mary Read, born the 16th of June, 1799, died the 7th of July, 1875; married,



The Honorable John Read

1769 1801

The Honorable John Read

1760 1801

in 1827, Coleman Fisher, of Philadelphia, son of Samuel and grandson of William Fisher. Mr. Fisher was born in Philadelphia in 1793, and died there the 4th of March, 1857. Their children are the present William Read Fisher, Esq., of Philadelphia; Elizabeth Rhodes Fisher, who married Eugene A. Livingston, Esq., of Livingston Manor, New York, and died in 1877; Sally West Fisher and Mary Read Fisher. The eldest son, Coleman P. Fisher, a distinguished engineer, died some years ago unmarried. Mrs. Livingston left one son and two daughters.

The Hon. John Read, of Pennsylvania, an eminent lawyer, financier and philanthropist, and one of the leaders of the Federal party, was the fourth son of George Read, of Delaware, a signer of the Declaration of Independence, and a framer and signer of the Constitution of the United States. The eldest son, John, named in honor of his grandfather, had died in infancy, and the fourth son received the same name, and consequently seemed to take the place of his elder brother. His mother, Gertrude Ross, was the daughter of the Rev. George Ross, Rector of Immanuel Church, New Castle, a graduate of the University of Edinburgh in 1700, and of the Divinity School in 1702, who having been ordained by the Bishop of London, became one of the founders of the Church of England in America. Mr. Ross was born in 1679 and died in 1754. His daughter, Mrs. Read, was beautiful in person, her manners were refined and gracious, and her piety was shown in a constant succession of charitable deeds. As her pious father expressed it in his autobiography, the family escutcheon was without spot or stain. Her grandfather, David Ross, Esquire, of Balblair, was a descendant, through the house of Balamuchy, of the ancient family of the Earls of Ross. Her eldest brother, John Ross, had preceded her husband as attorney-general; a younger brother, George Ross, was a distinguished judge and a signer of the Declaration of Independence, while the patriotic sermons of another brother, the Rev. Æneas Ross (an eloquent divine of the Church of England, who had received his degrees at Oxford), had fired the heart of the colonies at the opening of the Revolution.

John Read was born in the Read mansion, New Castle, Delaware, on the 17th of July, 1769. He graduated at Princeton in 1787, studied law with his father, was called to the bar and removed to Philadelphia in 1789, where he married in 1796, Martha Meredith, eldest daughter of General Samuel Meredith, member of the Continental Congress, first Treasurer of the United States, and an intimate friend of General Washington. George Clymer, a signer of the Declaration of Independence and a framer of the Constitution of the United States, was Mrs. Read's uncle. Her mother was the daughter of Dr. Thomas Cadwalader, of the Supreme Executive Council of Pennsylvania, and the sister of General John Cadwalader, whose daughter Fanny married Lord Erskine and Colonel Lambert Cadwalader. Her brother-in-law, General Philemon Dickinson, commanded the New Jersey forces at the Millstone and at the battle of Monmouth, and John Dickinson, author of the "Farmer's Letters," was her cousin. Mrs. Read's grandfather, Reese Meredith, the son of Reese Meredith, Esquire, of the county of Radnor, was born in Wales in 1705, removed to Philadelphia in 1727, and married the granddaughter of Samuel Carpenter, owner of the "Slate Roof House," the partner of William Penn and one of the executors of his will. Reese Meredith sprang from the very ancient Cambrian family of Meredith to which belong Lord Athlumney, Baron Meredith and the Merediths, Baronets of Greenhills and Carlandstown, County Meath. He was one of the wealthiest men of his day; his town house was in Walnut Street below Second; his country seat was on the west bank of the Schuylkill opposite Fairmount. His son, General Meredith, resided in a large mansion on the north side of Chestnut Street, two doors above Fifth, opposite Independence Hall. His country seats were Greenhills, Philadelphia County; Otter Hall, near Trenton, New Jersey, and Belmont, near the present town of Scranton, Pennsylvania.

John Read was appointed by President John Adams, in 1797, Agent General of the United States under Jay's Treaty. He filled this important office with marked ability also under the administration of President Thomas Jefferson, and until its termination in 1809, and published a valuable volume entitled "British Debts." He was City Solicitor, a member of the Common and Supreme Councils of Philadelphia, and took an active part in the defense of the Delaware during the War of 1812. He was also a member of the Pennsylvania Legislature, and chairman of the Committee of Seventeen in 1816. He was Senator from 1816 to 1817; was appointed by the legislative body State Director of the Philadelphia Bank, and on the retirement of his wife's uncle, George Clymer, the signer, in 1819, became President of that Bank, which office he held until 1841. He was also the president of many other important corporations. An active, wise and liberal churchman, he constantly figured in the national councils of the Episcopal Church, and he was for many years Rector's warden of Christ Church, St. Peter's and St. James'. He died at Trenton, New Jersey, on the 13th July, 1854, in the eighty-sixth year of his age, and was buried in the Read vault, Christ Church, Philadelphia. He was the father of the Hon. John Meredith Read, Chief Justice of Pennsylvania. His humanity and philanthropy

were largely manifested during the terrible outbreak of yellow fever in Philadelphia, in 1793, when he contributed liberally from his purse, and exposed his life throughout the entire course of that epidemic in behalf of his suffering fellow-citizens.

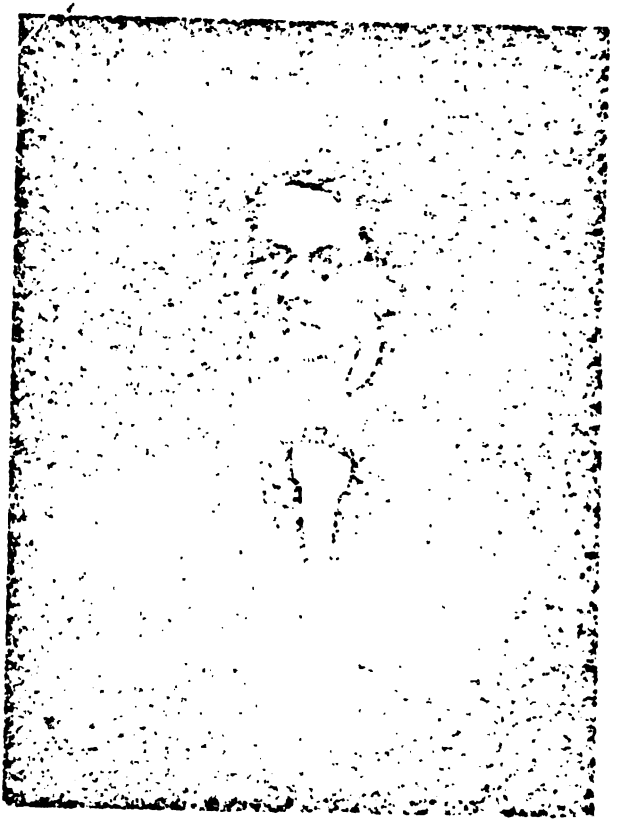
Mr. Read had three sons, chief justice John Meredith Read, of Pa., Edward Read, who died in infancy, and Henry Meredith Read, M.A., M.D. The latter was born at his father's mansion in Chestnut Street, Philadelphia, on the 31st October, 1802, graduated at Princeton in 1820, and at the Medical School of the University of Pennsylvania in 1823. He was a man of brilliant promise, but died prematurely and unmarried on the 16th of March, 1828, in the twenty-sixth year of his age. Mr. Read's daughters were Margaret Meredith, born 6th May, 1800 and died in 1802, and Margaret Meredith Read, born 7th April, 1806, and died, unmarried, the 13th March, 1854. The latter was a lady of remarkable accomplishments, and a general favorite in society. Mr. Read's children were all taken in infancy to New Castle to be christened at Emmanuel Church, in accordance with ancient family usage.

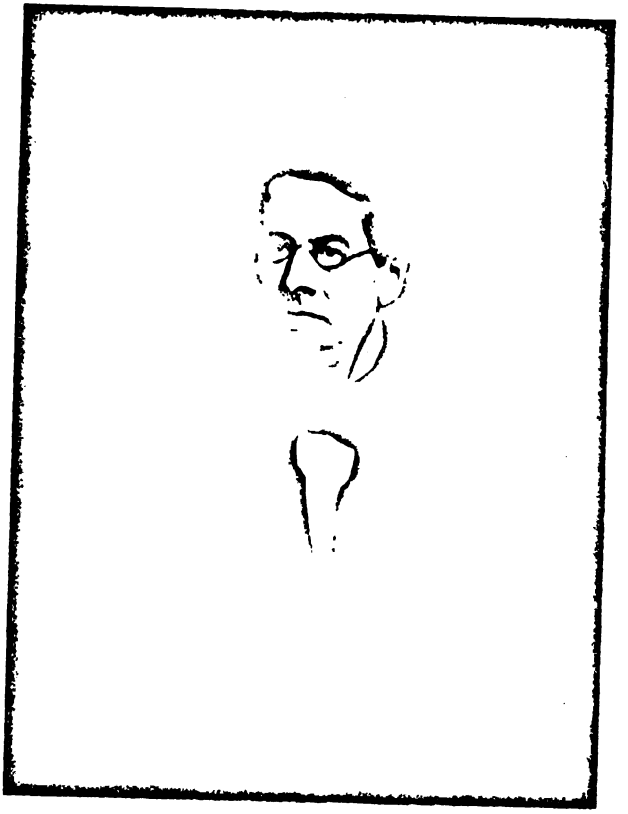
Mr. Read's spacious mansion stood on the south side of Chestnut Street, between Seventh and Eighth Streets, Philadelphia, surrounded with gardens, wherein tulips bloomed in profusion, running back to his stables which fronted on Sansom Street. To this hospitable house resorted all the wealth and fashion of the early part of the century. Mr. Read, like his father and grandfather, was a collector and reader of rare books. His reading was extended and profound, and his memory was remarkably retentive, and always obedient to his call. He related with dramatic force the incidents of his childhood, which was passed among the most stirring scenes of the Revolution.

Mr. Read's miniature by an unknown but admirable artist, represents him at the age of twenty-five. The oil painting by Sully gives an idea of him in his more mature years. Unlike his paternal and maternal family, he was not above the medium height, but he had the refined but strongly defined features of the Reads, and he inherited their courtly and agreeable manners.

The Hon. John Meredith Read, LL.D., "a great jurist and a wise statesman," was the son of the Hon. John Read, of Pennsylvania, grandson of the Hon. George Read, of Delaware, and the great-grandson of Col. John Read, of Maryland and Delaware. He was born in the mansion of his grandfather, General Samuel Meredith, to whom his parents were then paying a visit, in Chestnut Street, two doors above Fifth Street, opposite Independence Hall, on the 21st of July, 1797; and he died in Philadelphia, on the 20th of November, 1874, in the seventy-eighth year of his age. He graduated at the University of Pennsylvania at the age of fifteen in 1812; was called to the bar in 1818; elected to the Pennsylvania Legislature in 1822, and again in 1823; and afterwards became city solicitor and member of the select council, and drew up the first clear exposition of the finances of Philadelphia. He was appointed United States district attorney of the eastern district of Pennsylvania, in 1837, and held that office eight years. He was also judge advocate on the Court of Enquiry on Commodore Elliot, solicitor-general of the Treasury Department, and attorney-general of Pennsylvania. Although his family were eminent and powerful Federalists, he early became a Democrat and was one of the founders of the Free Soil wing of that party. This militated against him when he was nominated to the Senate in 1845, as judge of the supreme court of the United States; for the Southern senators opposed his confirmation, and he consequently requested the president to withdraw his name. He was one of the earliest, most ardent and effective upholders of the annexation of Texas, and the building of railways to the Pacific. He powerfully assisted Andrew Jackson in his war against the United States Bank, and yet after its downfall, Mr. Nicholas Biddle came to him and begged him to be his counsel. In the celebrated trial of Castner Hanway, for treason, Judge Read was engaged with Thaddeus Stevens, and Judge Joseph J. Lewis, for the defendant, and made such a masterly argument, that Mr. Stevens said he could add nothing, for his colleague's speech had settled the law of treason in this country. This great triumph gave Judge Read an international reputation, and English jurists paid the highest compliments to his genius and learning. He showed his repugnance for slavery in the Democratic Convention held in Pittsburgh, in 1849, where he offered a resolution against the extension of slavery, which concluded with these remarkable words: "Esteeming it a violation of States rights to carry it (slavery) beyond State limits, we deny the power of any citizen to extend the area of bondage beyond the present dimension; nor do we consider it a part of the constitution that slavery should forever travel with the advancing column of our territorial progress."

Holding these strong views he naturally became one of the founders of the Republican Party, and he delivered at the Chinese Museum, in Philadelphia, at the beginning of the electoral campaign in 1856, his celebrated speech upon the "power of Congress over slavery in the territories." This struck a key-note which resounded throughout the country, and his discourse formed the text of the oratorical efforts of the Republican Party. It was under his lead that the Republican Party gained its first victory in Pennsylvania, for he carried





John M. Read

that State in the autumn of 1858, as a candidate for judge of the Supreme Court, by nearly 30,000 majority. This brought him prominently forward as a candidate for the Presidency of the United States, and Mr. Lincoln's friends proposed to nominate Judge Read for President, with Mr. Lincoln for Vice-President. This arrangement was destroyed by the defeat of Judge Read's supporters by the friends of the Hon. Simon Cameron n the Pennsylvania Republican Convention, in February, 1860. Nevertheless Judge Read received a number of votes in the Chicago Convention, although he had thrown his influence in favor of his friend, Mr. Lincoln. The decisions of Judge Read run through forty-one volumes of reports. In whatever branch of the law a question arose, he met and disposed of it with a like able grasp and learning. He was familiar with civil and criminal law, and their practice, with international and municipal laws, with law and equity, with the titles, limitations, and descents of real and personal estates, with wills, legacies, and intestacies, with the constitution, charters, and statutes of the United States, the States and all our cities. His opinion was adopted as the basis of the Act of March 3, 1863, authorizing the President during the rebellion to suspend the writ of habeas corpus; and throughout the country his talents and his influence were constantly enlisted in behalf of the general government, and all his decisions were governed by the ardent and lofty patriotism which characterizes his conduct through life. He relieved the American Philosophical Society from arbitrary taxation by deciding that the land in Independence Square, on which its hall stands was granted by the State forever for public uses; and, as it could not be sold by any form of execution, no taxes could consequently be a lien upon it. His judgment also placed the Public Buildings of Philadelphia on their present site. Another famous decision was that refusing an injunction to prevent the running of the passenger tramways on Sunday. He could not consent to stop the "poor man's carriage, the passenger car." Many thousand copies of this opinion were printed in the East and West, and it carried public opinion with it wherever it was read. His associate on the Supreme bench, Judge Williams, in his address to the bar of Philadelphia said: "Chief Justice Read possessed talents and learning of a very high order, and his personal and official influence were very great. He was a gentleman in every sense of the word; a gentleman of the old school, of the very highest sense of honor, of great dignity of character, and in social intercourse kind, affable and courteous. He was a true friend, strong and unswerving in his attachments, ready to make any sacrifice for his friends, and when they were in trouble he was untiring in his efforts to serve them. He was a man of the strictest integrity, and despised everything that was low and vile With him the equity and justice of the case was the law of the case. He was a man of chivalrous courage, persistent purpose, and inflexible will. He did not know what fear is." A partial list of Chief Justice Read's published writings are to be found in Allibone's "Dictionary of Authors," and his merits as a lawyer and a judge, were ably and eloquently portrayed by the Hon. Eli K. Price, in his discourse upon Chief Justice Read, before the American Philosophical Society. "Judge Read was one of the last of the great Philadelphia lawyers, for he was a leader among such men as the Sergeants, Binney, Chauncey, the Rawles and the Ingersolls." In speaking of his inherited qualities. Colonel Forney said: "Chief Justice Read belonged to a race of strong men. He was a man of the most marked individuality, and was constantly engaged in originating useful measures for the welfare of the General and State Governments, and his amendments formed an essential part of the constitutions of Pennsylvania and New Jersey, and his ideas were formulated in many of the statutes of the United States which owed their existence to him He was contented to create useful legislation which smaller men often fathered. He never sought office, and frequently refused the highest national posts.

Chief Justice Read was Grand Master of Masons of Pennsylvania his great-grandfather, Dr. Thomas Cadwalader, having been one of the founders of Masonry in that Province, and members of his family, the Reads, having filled the highest offices in Masonry, in Delaware.

There are many portraits of Chief Justice Read. One hangs in Masonic Hall in the gallery of Grand Masters, another adorns the Supreme Court-room in Philadelphia, but perhaps the best likeness is a miniature by J. Henry Brown, which was admirably engraved by Samuel Sartain. This engraving was copied in the *London Graphic*, in connection with a spirited notice of Chief Justice Read, written by his kinsman, Charles Reade, the famous novelist.

Chief Justice Read married first, Priscilla, daughter of Hon. J. Marshall, of Boston, on the 20th of March, 1828; Mrs. Read who was born the 19th of December, 1808, died in Philadelphia, on the 18th of April, 1841. She was the granddaughter of Lieut. Marshall, of the Revolutionary army, and eighth in descent from a captain in Cromwell's army, who was promoted for conspicuous services at the siege of Leicester, and at the battles of Marston Moor and Naseby. Mrs Read and her sister Emily Marshall, afterwards, Mrs. William Foster Otis, of Boston, were the most celebrated belles of their day. By his first wife, Chief Justice Read had six daughters, of whom only one sur

vived infancy, viz., Emily Marshall Read, who married, in 1849, William Henry Hyde, Esq., and died in 1854, leaving an only daughter, Emma H. Hyde, who married George W. Wurts, Esq., First Secretary of Legation and *Chargé d'Affaires* of the United States, at Rome, and died at Rome without issue.

By his first wife, *neé* Marshall, Chief Justice Read had also an only son—General John Meredith Read, late United States minister to Greece.

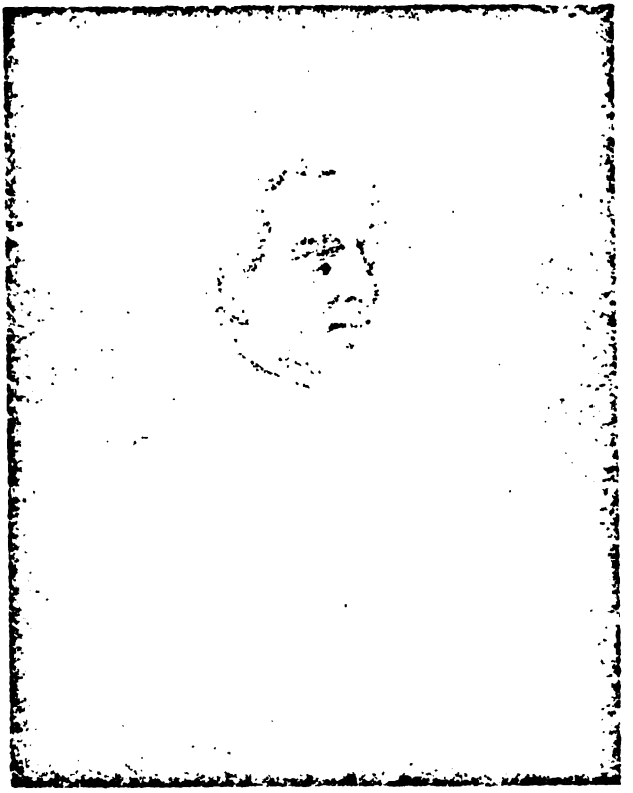
Chief Justice Read married secondly in 1865, Amelia, daughter of Edward Thomson, Esq., and sister of Hon. John R. Thomson, United States Senator from New Jersey, and of Admiral Edward Thomson of the United States navy.

Chief Justice Read died at Philadelphia, on the 29th of November, 1874, in his seventy-eighth year. His widow, Mrs. Amelia Thomson Read, survived him twelve years, dying the 14th of September, 1886, without issue.

General John Meredith Read, Knight Grand Cross of the Order of the Redeemer of Greece, F. S. A., M. R. I. A., F. R. G. S., son of Chief Justice John Meredith Read, of Pennsylvania, grandson of Hon. John Read, of Pennsylvania, and great-grandson of George Read, of Delaware, the Signer of the Declaration of Independence, and fifth in descent from Colonel John Read, of Maryland and Delaware, was born on the 21st of February, 1837, at his father's residence, 85 South Sixth Street, Washington Square, Philadelphia, and received his education at a military school. Graduated at Brown University, Master of Arts, 1859; at the Albany Law School, LL. B.; studied civil and international law in Europe; was called to the bar in Philadelphia; and removed to Albany, New York. At the age of eighteen, he commanded a company of national cadets, which afterwards furnished many commissioned officers to the United States army during the Rebellion. At the age of twenty he was appointed aide-de-camp to the Governor of Rhode-Island with the rank of colonel. He engaged actively in the presidential campaign of 1856, and in 1860 organized the wide-awake movement in New York which carried the State in favor of Mr. Lincoln for the presidency.

Having been offered shortly afterwards a foreign appointment or the office of adjutant-general of the State of New York, he accepted the latter, with the rank of brigadier-general, at the age of twenty-three. In February, 1861, he was chairman of the government commission which welcomed President Lincoln at Buffalo, and escorted him by a special train to the capital. In January of that year, in conjunction with Governor Morgan, he urged the appropriation of half a million of dollars by the Legislature to place the State of New York upon a war footing. This wise precaution was not taken by that body, which did not perceive that a struggle for national existence was imminent. But two months later, when the news of the firing upon Fort Sumter reached the north, General Read was appointed chairman of a committee of three to draft a bill appropriating three millions of dollars for the purchase of arms and equipments; and he afterwards received the thanks of the war department of the United States for his "energy, ability and zeal," in the organization and equipment of troops during the war, including the inspection and care of the wounded. Like most of those who were earnestly engaged on either side during the war of the Rebellion, General Read considered that when the war was finished animosity should entirely cease, and he has always been a strong friend of the South, where his family originated, and where many of his connections have always resided. In 1868 he took a leading part in the election of General Grant to the presidency, who appointed him consul-general of the United States for France and Algeria, to reside at Paris—a newly created post—which he was called upon to organize in all its various details. General Read likewise acted as consul-general of Germany during the Franco-German war, and directed, during a period of more than nineteen months, all the consular affairs of that empire in France, including the protection of German subjects and interests during the first and second sieges of Paris, 1870-71.

Upon the declaration of war Mr. Washburne was requested to act as Minister for Germany, and Baron Rothschild at the same time having resigned the office of German consul-general, General Read was requested to act as consul-general for Germany in France and Algeria. On the 17th of June, 1871, Mr. Washburne surrendered his charge of German affairs to Lieut. Colonel Count Waldersee, the new *Chargé d'Affaires* of the German Empire near the French government, Mr. Washburne having acted for ten months and a half. At the request of Count Bismarck and the French government General Read consented to continue to act as consul-general; and both sides acknowledged that his consenting to do so, with the thirty-five consuls and consular agents under him, prevented the possibility of a renewal of the conflict between the two countries, by rendering unnecessary the presence in France of German consular officials at a time when the minds of the French people were highly excited against all Germans. At this period the German Ambassador, in an official letter to General Read, said: "I cannot omit to express to you once more the sentiments of gratitude with which I am inspired by the persevering solicitude which you have never ceased to manifest in procuring for my compatriots the protection of the laws." As Vapereau, in his Biographical Dictionary, says: "Upon the decla-



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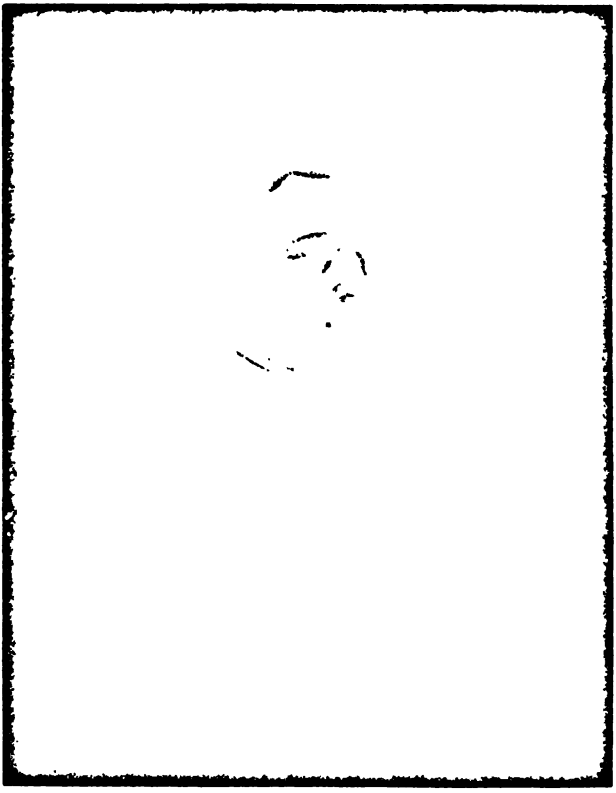

[illegible]

Was Assistant General of the State of New York [illegible]

ration of the Franco Prussian war, General Read was charged with the interests of German subjects in France, and employed himself usefully during nearly two years in preventing the possibility of a renewal of the conflict:" and Gambetta declared, that while General Read was shut up in Paris during the two sieges, he employed himself actively in relieving the distress of the French population. His kindness to the French was also warmly acknowledged by the Parisian press of all parties. His unremitting efforts in behalf of his own countrymen were universally recognised in the American press, and his attention to persons of other nationalities were warmly praised by the principal organs of the English press. For these various services he received the commendation of the President of the United States, General Grant, in his annual message to Congress on the 4th of December, 1871, which was couched in the following language:

"The resumption of diplomatic relations between France and Germany has enabled me to give directions for the withdrawal of the protection extended to Germans in France by the diplomatic and consular representatives of the United States in that country. It is just to add that the delicate duty of this protection has been performed by the Minister and the consul-general at Paris and the various consuls in France, under the supervision of the latter, with great kindness as well as with prudence and tact. Their course has received the commendation of the German government, and has wounded no susceptibility of the French."

He also received the repeated thanks both of the French and German governments and the official and personal thanks of Prince Bismarck. The Emperor himself desired to confer upon him an order of knighthood, and to present to him a rare and costly service of Dresden china. The joint resolution sent to Congress for the purpose of allowing the diplomatic and consular representatives in France to receive these marks of esteem from the Emperor of Germany having failed through the objection and the personal feeling of Mr. Sumner towards Mr. Washburne, the Emperor's intentions could not be carried out. Four years after General Read had ceased to act as consul-general for Germany, Prince Bismarck sent him his likeness with a complimentary autograph dedication. On a later occasion, the German government again took occasion to show its appreciation of General Read's services by directing its representative at Athens to give the American representative there the precedence. In France, his popularity was great, and in 1872 he was invited by General de Cissey, French Minister of War, to form and preside over a commission to examine into the expediency of extending the study of the English language in the French army; and for his successful labors in this direction he again received the thanks of the French government. In recognition of his various services, he was appointed on the 7th of November, 1873, United States Minister to Greece. During his mission there, which covered a period of six years, he received the thanks of his government for his ability and energy in securing the release of the American ship "Armenia," and for his success in obtaining from the Greek government a revocation of the order prohibiting the sale and circulation of the Bible in Greece. He also received the thanks of the Board of Foreign Missions of the Southern Presbyterian Church and of the British and American Foreign Bible Societies. During the great financial crisis in America in 1876–77, while studying at Athens the commercial situation, he became possessed of secret and valuable information from Russia and England, which convinced him that America could regain her national prosperity at a bound. He accordingly addressed a despatch to the Secretary of State, pointing out that the Russo-Turkish War had closed every grain port in Russia except one, and that America could actually deliver wheat at that point at a less price than the Russians, owing to the latter's heavy duties and their want of facilities for handling grain. He urged that a grain fleet should be immediately despatched from New York to peaceably capture the European markets, and in conclusion said: "We should strain every nerve, not only to furnish the world with breadstuffs, but also the ships to carry them." General Read's suggestion was taken up, and the exports of breadstuffs and provisions from America rose within a twelvemonth seventy-three millions of dollars, thus giving a grain supremacy upon which the subsequent prosperity of America was substantially based. General Read re-visited his native country in 1874, and was received with the warmest demonstrations of welcome by all political parties, banquets being given in his honor at Washington, Philadelphia and New York, while at Albany an imposing dinner was given to him by the citizens irrespective of party, over which the Mayor presided. On the latter occasion General Read spoke in the warmest terms of the services rendered during the Franco-German War by the consuls who served under him, by his deputy, Mr. Franklin Oden Olcott, and his secretaries, Mr. Thirion and Mr. David Fuller, and by the *personnel* of the consulate-general.

In England he has been the recipient of marked courtesy at the hands of the Queen and the leading members of the royal family. For his literary and scientific services he has received the thanks of the State Department of the United States, of the National Academy of Design, of the English East India Company, of the Russia Company, of the Society of Antiquaries of London, of the

Archæological Society of Greece, and of the French Academy. He took a deep interest in the foundation of the French Association for the Advancement of Science. He was President of the American Social Science Congress at Albany in 1868, and vice-president of the British Social Science Congress at Plymouth in 1870. He is an honorary member of a great number of learned societies. He had received the Thirty-second Degree in Masonry in America, and Greece conferred upon him the highest, namely, the Thirty-third. He has made a series of rich collections of unpublished historical documents in each country which he has visited. Among the more remarkable are those upon the Franco-German War, including the siege and the commune; upon modern and mediæval Greece; upon the Colonial and Revolutionary War of America, and upon English history and antiquities. During a visit to Switzerland in 1870, he discovered a series of important unpublished letters from many of the most distinguished men in Europe of the eighteenth century, including Voltaire, Rousseau, Gibbon, Frederick the Great and Malesherbes. He is the author of many public addresses, official reports, learned papers, and an important historical inquiry concerning Henry Hudson, originally delivered in the form of the first anniversary discourse before the Historical Society of Delaware, and published at Albany in 1866, which received the highest commendation from the most eminent scholars in Europe and America. An abridged edition of this work was published at Edinburgh in 1882 by the Clarendon Historical Society. In 1876 his letter upon the death of his friend, the eminent historian, Lord Stanhope, was published in Athens in Greek and English. General Read, as United States Minister, received the thanks of his government for his prompt and efficient protection of American persons and interests in the dangerous crisis in Greece in February, 1878. Shortly afterwards, the United States Congress having, from motives of economy, suppressed the appropriation for the Legation at Athens, General Read, at the suggestion of the State Department, and at the earnest request of the king and the minister of foreign affairs of Greece, consented to continue to act, and carried on the diplomatic representation at that court at his own expense until the 23d of September, 1879, when he resigned. On this occasion the Secretary of State addressed to him an official dispatch expressing the extreme regret of the United States government at his retirement, and concluding thus: "The manner in which you have conducted the duties as minister of this government in Greece has been such as to merit hearty approval; and the patriotic sacrifices which you have made in order to secure, without interruption, the representation of the United States in that country, entitle you to the respect and commendation of your countrymen. It gives me great pleasure to repeat the frequently-expressed satisfaction with which this government has regarded your conduct of the interests entrusted to you during a period of eleven years in the foreign service of the country, and my own sincere concurrence therewith. Your performance of the delicate and important duties of consul-general in Paris during the Franco-German War was such as to call forth the approbation not only of your own government, but also of the French and German authorities; and your subsequent service as a diplomatic representative of the United States in Greece has received the frequent commendation of this government. While the government is thus unfortunately deprived of your services in an important capacity, I cannot but hope that you will still have many years of happiness and usefulness before you, and that your country may continue to enjoy your active interest in all that concerns its prosperity." The official organ of the prime minister of Greece expressed its opinion in the highest terms, saying: "The departure of General Read from Greece has called forth universal regrets. He has become one of the most remarkable authorities in all matters relating to the Eastern Question, and there is certainly no foreigner who understands as well as he the character and capabilities of the Greek race. We are certain that his eminent abilities will not fail Greece in the present juncture, when the territorial question is not yet solved. He is so well known throughout Europe, and counts among his friends so many influential persons in England, France and Germany, that his views cannot fail to have the most happy influence." The moment he was freed from official ties, General Read set to work with generous ardor to promote the interests of the struggling people who were then pleading their cause before Europe, bringing all the resources of his unrivaled acquaintance with Eastern affairs to bear in the highest quarters. He journeyed, at his own expense, from one important point to another, arguing and urging the return to Greece of at least a portion of the ancient territories lying beyond her present borders. During his long sojourn in Greece he had won the confidence alike of the sovereign and of the people, and he was in a position to see that additional territory was essential to the existence of the Greeks as a nation. When the efforts of King George and his minister were crowned with success the unselfish labors of General Read were not overlooked. The newly-appointed Greek minister to London was directed, while passing through Paris, to convey to him the thanks of his government; and the King, who shortly afterwards visited that metropolis, called upon him to express His Majesty's personal thanks. In 1881, when

MAJOR HARMON P. READ.

the territories adjudged to Greece had been finally transferred, King George, in recognition of General Read's services since his resignation of the post of United States Minister, created him a Knight Grand Cross of the Order of the Redeemer, the highest dignity in the gift of the Greek government, at the same time that His Majesty conferred a similar honor upon M. Waddington, Prime Minister of France, who had presented the Greek claims to the Berlin Congress, and upon Count Hatzfeldt, Minister of Foreign Affairs of Germany, who had successfully urged the same claims at Constantinople. For his many eminent services to his own country during the War of Secession, General Read was named Honorary Companion of the Military Order of the Loyal Legion.

When the Historical Society of Delaware was organized in 1864, Chief Justice Read of Pennsylvania, was the chairman of the deputation appointed by the Historical Society of Pennsylvania to be present at the organization, and his cousin, Mr. William Thompson Read, of New Castle, was chosen first president, and General Meredith Read was invited to deliver the first anniversary address before the Society, as we have allusion has already been made. For this and many other services General Read was elected an honorary member of the Society.

General Meredith Read married at Albany, New York, on the 7th of April, 1859, Marie, daughter of Harmon Pumpelly, Esq., an eminent citizen of Albany, whose father, John Pumpelly, born in 1727 (on the same day as the celebrated General Wolfe,) served with distinction in the early Indian and French Wars, was present at the siege of Louisburg, was at the side of Wolfe when he fell, mortally wounded, on the heights of Abraham, in 1759, and assisted in closing that hero's commander's eyes. John Pumpelly was also an officer of merit during the war of the Revolution, and attained a great age, dying in his ninety-third year, in 1820. The Pumpelly family, like the Wadsworth family, removed in the latter part of the last century from Connecticut to Western New York, where they acquired large landed properties. Mr. Harmon Pumpelly, who was born in Salisbury, Connecticut, on the 29th of August, 1795, died at Albany on the 29th of September, 1882, in the eighty-eighth year of his age. His three elder brothers, James, Charles and William by name, reached an advanced age, and were distinguished also for their wealth, philanthropy and public spirit. Mr. Harmon Pumpelly was deeply interested in all the most important institutions and enterprises of central and western New York, and his home was the seat of a refined and unremitting hospitality.

Mrs. Read, *nee* Pumpelly, one of the most beautiful and attractive women of her day, was as popular at Athens as she was at Paris, and her salon in both cities was a centre of American and European fashion and culture. Mrs. Read also gave proof of the highest attributes of womanhood, courage and humanity, in the most trying moments of the Franco-German war. During the horrors of the siege of the Commune she remained in Paris with her husband and calmly faced the dangers of that time.

They have four children: Miss Harmon P. Read, John Meredith Read, Jr., Miss Emily Meredith Read, now Mrs. Francis A. Stone, of New York, and Miss Marie Meredith Read.

[illegible] Read [illegible] son of General Meredith Read, and his wife, Dorothea Marie Pumpelly, was born at Albany, New York, on the 12th day of [illegible] educated at Paris and Athens, [illegible] Esq., he became a [illegible] States of Pennsylvania and New [illegible] the Royal Geographical Society [illegible] fellow of the Geographical Society of France. He has devoted much time to historical research, and is an able and influential member of the Republican Party; was [illegible] State for the Legislature [illegible] strong Democratic district which he greatly reduced the Democratic majority; and was recently elected President of the Young Men's Association of Albany—a post to which some of the most prominent men in the State of New York have aspired. He is now Inspector of ordnance with the rank of Major in the New York State National Guard. Mayor Read is an enthusiastic Mason, and one of the most learned members of the craft in our country. His ancestor in the 17th degree was one of the four sons of the first Lord Mayor of London. His grandfather, Chief Justice Read of Pennsylvania, was Grand Master of Masons in that commonwealth. His uncle, Hon. William Thompson Read, of Delaware, while his father, General Meredith Read, has received the highest degree of masonry from the Grand Council of Princes.

John Meredith Read, Jr., second son of General Meredith Read, married Delphine Marie Pumpelly, born at Albany, New York, on the 27th of June, 1869, a descendant of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania and New York.

Emily Meredith Read, eldest daughter of General Meredith Read, and his wife Delphine Marie Pumpelly, married at her father's residence, Newport, Rhode Island, on the 21st of August, 1884, Francis Aspula Stone, Esq., of New York, son of the late A. G. Stone, Esq., by his wife, Louise Morris, of Morrisiana, a cousin and granddaughter of the Hon. Lewis Morris, a signer of the Declaration of Independence, and grandniece of Hon. Gouverneur Morris, one of the framers of the Constitution

MAJOR FARMER P. READ

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They have four children, Major Harmon P. Read, John Meredith Read, Jr., Miss Emily Meredith Read, now Mrs. Francis A. Stout, of New York, and Miss Delphine Marie Meredith Read.

Harmon P. Read, eldest son of General Meredith Read, and his wife, Delphine Marie Pumpelly, was born at Albany, New York, on the 13th day of July, 1860. Educated at Paris and Athens, at a military school, and at Trinity College, he became a member of the Historical Societies of Pennsylvania and New York, a fellow of the Royal Geographical Society of London, and a fellow of the Geographical Society of Paris. He has devoted much time to historical research; is an active and influential member of the Republican Party; was a candidate for the Legislature in a strong Democratic district, where he greatly reduced the Democratic majority; and was recently elected President of the Young Men's Association of Albany—a post to which some of the most eminent men in the State of New York have aspired. He is now Inspector of rifle practice with the rank of Major in the New York State National Guard. Major Read is an eminent Mason, and one of the most learned members of the craft in masonic history, and has reached the thirty-second degree. His ancestor in the sixth degree was one of the founders of the first Lodge of Masons in America. His grandfather, Chief Justice Read of Pennsylvania, was Grand-master of Masons, as was his cousin, Hon. William Thompson Read, of Delaware, while his father, General Meredith Read, has received the highest degree in masonry from the Grand Council of Greece.

John Meredith Read, Jr., second son of General Meredith Read, and his wife Delphine Marie Pumpelly, born at Albany, New York, on the 27th of June, 1869, is a member of the Historical Societies of Pennsylvania and New York.

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tion of the United States, and afterwards United States Minister to France.

Marie Delphine Meredith Read, second daughter of General Meredith Read, and his wife Delphine Marie Pumpelly, was born in Paris, while her father was United States Consul General to France, and was christened at the American Episcopal Church in the Rue Bayard, her godfather being Sir Bernard Burke.

Thomas McKean, the third of the Delaware signers of the Declaration of Independence, was born March 19, 1734, in New London township, Chester County, Pa., and studied law at New Castle, in the office of his relative, David Finney.

Thos. McKean

Before he was twenty years of age he became clerk to the prothonotary of the Court of Common Pleas, then deputy prothonotary and register for the probate of wills, and when he had attained his majority was admitted to the Delaware and Pennsylvania bar. In 1756 he was appointed deputy prosecuting attorney for Sussex County, and in the next year clerk of the House of Assembly, and in 1762 was chosen, in company with Cæsar Rodney, to revise and print the laws. In October, 1762, he was elected to the Assembly from New Castle County, and returned annually until 1779, although after 1773 he resided in Philadelphia. From 1764 to 1776 he was a trustee of the loan office for New Castle County, and was a delegate[1] to the General Congress which met in New York in October, 1765, where, in conjunction with Lynch and Otis, he prepared the address to the House of Commons. When President Ruggles and other members refused to sign the proceedings of this Congress, Mr McKean arraigned them so severely for unfaithfulness and cowardice that Ruggles extended him a challenge to a duel, which McKean promptly accepted, but the president departed from New York before dawn of the next day without fulfilling his engagement. Returning home through New Jersey, Mr. McKean announced to the people of that province that their representative, Robert Ogden, had also shrunk from signing the proceedings; Ogden threatened him with a challenge, but followed the example of Ruggles in declining to go upon the field. Mr. McKean was now appointed a justice of the New Castle courts, and sat upon the bench which in the November term, 1765, and February term, 1766, resisted the Stamp Act by ordering the officers of the court to use unstamped paper in the routine of their business. In 1771 he was appointed collector of customs at New Castle, and in October, 1772, was chosen Speaker of the Delaware House of Representatives. Although he had in the previous year made his permanent residence in Philadelphia, Delaware elected him to the Congress of 1774, and he was annually re-elected until February 1, 1783, his period of continuous service exceeding that of any other member. It is also remarkable that while he represented Delaware in Congress, he was, subsequent to July,

[1] The certificate of appointment of Messrs. McKean, Kollock and Rodney, as delegates of the government of the counties of New Castle, Kent and Sussex upon Delaware to the Stamp Act Congress was as follows:

"To whom these Presents may come:

"Know ye, That we, the subscribers, five of the representatives of the freemen of the government of the counties of New Castle, Kent and Sussex upon Delaware, sensible of the weighty and oppressive taxes imposed upon the good people of this government by divers acts of parliament and of the great infringement of the liberties and just-established rights of all his majesty's colonies of this continent, occasioned by the late measures in England; and being of opinion that the method proposed by the honourable house of assembly of the province of Massachusetts Bay is the most likely to obtain a redress of those grievances; and, taking into consideration the misfortune we at present labor under in not having it in our power to convene, as a house, and, in a regular manner, to appoint a committee; yet, zealous for the happiness of our constituents, think it our duty, in this way, to serve them as much as in us lies (assured of the hearty approbation of any future house of assembly of this government); and, therefore, do hereby nominate and appoint Jacob Kollock, Thomas McKean and Cæsar Rodney, Esqrs., three of the representatives of the same government, a committee, to repair to the city of New York, on the first day of October next, and there to join with the committees sent by the other provinces, in one united and loyal petition to his majesty and remonstrate to the honourable house of commons of Great Britain, against the aforesaid acts of parliament, therein dutifully, yet most firmly, asserting the colonies' right of exclusion from parliamentary taxation; and praying that they may not in any instance be stripped of the ancient and most valuable privilege of a trial by their peers, and most humbly imploring relief.

"In testimony whereof, we have hereunto set our hands, at New Castle, the twenty-first day of September, Annoque Domini, 1765.

"Kian Rice, Thomas Cook, William Armstrong, George Monro, John Evans."

Similar certificates, in substance, were signed by the members of the General Assembly from Kent and Sussex, as the Assembly could not be convened in time, as a body, to take action. The certificate from Kent was signed by John Vining, John Caton, John Barns, William Killen and Vincent Lockerman. That from Sussex County was signed by David Hall, Benjamin Burton, Levin Crapper, Thomas Robinson, Jacob Kollock, Jr.

1777, chief justice of Pennsylvania for twenty-two years, each State claiming him as her own. In Congress his work was important and multifarious. He was a member of the committee to state the rights of the colonies, the secret committee to contract for the importation of arms and ammunition, and the committee on the confederation of the colonies When George Read refused to vote for the Declaration of Independence, Mr. McKean sent a messenger to Delaware to summon Cæsar Rodney in order that the affirmative vote of the State might be cast, and the obstruction offered by Mr. Read was overcome. Mr. McKean was at that time colonel of a regiment of Associators in Philadelphia, with which he served in the Flying Camp for the remainder of the summer of 1776. In October he was elected a member of the Delaware Convention, and Robert Waln, Jr., author of the "Biographies of the Signers of the Declaration of Independence," relates that on his arrival at Dover "a committee of gentlemen waited on him and requested that he would prepare a Constitution for the future government of the State. To this he consented. He retired to his room in the tavern, sat up all the night, and having prepared it without a book or any assistance whatever, presented it at 10 o'clock next morning to the House, when it was unanimously adopted." In 1777 he acted in the double capacity of President of Delaware and chief justice of Pennsylvania. On July 10, 1781, he was chosen president of Congress, which office he resigned on October 23d, but at the request of Congress served until Nov. 5th A storm of opposition was aroused to his holding two or more offices at the same time, but he continued in the discharge of his duties. He was chief justice of Pennsylvania until 1799, when he was elected Governor of the State, a success which opened the way for the accession of Mr. Jefferson to the Presidency, of whom he was a warm supporter. In January, 1808, an unsuccessful attempt was made to impeach him. It would have been possible for him in 1803 to become the candidate of the Republican party for Vice-President, but he refused to permit the use of his name. After retiring from the Governorship of Pennsylvania, at the close of 1808, he held no further public position, and died June 24, 1817.

Cæsar Rodney, born at Dover in 1730, was descended from the ancient English family of De Rodeney, who trace their lineage back to the thirteenth century. The earliest record of the family is found in an ancient book belonging to the Cathedral of Wells, in which the name of De Rodeney is mentioned in connection with the founding of that church, three hundred years before the Norman Conquest. Rodeney Stoke was then their residence. A small river in Wales is called "Abba Rodeney," in memory of one Sir Richard De Rodeney, who, with his son Richard, was slain there in 1234 by Leolin, Prince of Wales Another Sir Richard de Rodeney accompanied Richard, Cœur de Lion, to the Holy Land, and was killed at the siege of Acre. Sir Walter De Rodeney was knighted in the great hall of the Abbey of Rainsham, county of Somerset, in the second year of Edward II. "Margaret Rodeney married Thomas Burdett, of Arrow, who was beheaded in the 17th year of Edward IV. for words spoken concerning a white buck." It is elsewhere told that the King, while hunting in Burdett's forest, shot this buck, which was much valued by its owner, who said in great anger "he would that

the horns of the buck were down the throat of him who killed it." For many generations the family was possessed of vast estates in Somersetshire, most of which were lost in the wars of the Commonwealth, and soon after Penn's settlement in America, William Rodeney came over and selected a new home in Kent County. Dying in 1708, he left a son Cæsar, who married the daughter of Rev. Thomas Crawford and became the father of the Revolutionary statesman and soldier. The latter inherited the large property of his ancestors, and in 1758 was chosen high sheriff of Kent, which county he represented in the Assembly of 1762–63, that began the revolutionary movement in Delaware. He was appointed a delegate to the General Congress of the provinces, and in 1766, in con-

junction with George Read and Thomas McKean, framed the address to the King thanking him for the repeal of the Stamp Act. During the next two years Rodeney, (now spelt Rodney) was a member of the Legislature, and brought in the proposition, which was defeated, to forbid the further importation of slaves into the province. When the new aggressions of Great Britain overthrew the expectations of safety in which the colonies had indulged, Rodney, again in consort with McKean and Read, wrote that address to the crown in which armed resistance to tyranny was foreshadowed. He was suffering at this time from the cancer which spread over one side of his face and ultimately caused his death. Philadelphia physicians, to whom he had resorted for aid, concurred with the members of his family in advising him to go to Europe for medical treatment, and the only thing that prevented him from doing so was his consciousness that a great crisis was upon America, and that he was needed at home. It was hardly as well known then as it is now that cancer of the face is incurable, and Mr. Rodney's refusal to absent himself from his imperiled country for any personal considerations affords an index to his heroic character. When the Assembly met in October, 1769, he was chosen Speaker, an office which he retained for several years, and he was also chairman of the Committee of Correspondence and Communication with the other colonies. The convention that assembled at New Castle on August 1, 1774, made him a delegate to the Continental Congress, in which he was appointed a member of the committee instructed to state the rights of the colonies and the means for obtaining a restoration of them. The Delaware Assembly, in March, 1775, re-elected him to the next Congress and conferred upon him the office of brigadier-general. In the succeeding spring and summer his attention was divided between the affairs of Congress and the organization of the Delaware militia. He was absent in the lower counties of Delaware on the latter business while the question of separation from Great Britain was being agitated in Congress, and, being summoned by a special messenger from Mr. McKean, arrived in Philadelphia just in time to give his vote in favor of the Declaration of Independence. He was so sick a man at the time, that John Adams thus described him: "Cæsar Rodney is the oddest-looking man in the world; he is tall, thin and slender and pale; his face is not bigger than a large apple, yet there is sense and fire, spirit, wit and humor in his countenance." In spite of his being one of the signers of the Declaration, the Delaware Convention, in the autumn of 1776, which was controlled by the Tory and conservative element, refused to re-elect him to Congress, but he continued to be a member of the Council of Safety and Committee of Inspection, and in January, 1777, made a visit to the Delaware regiment in camp at Morristown, New Jersey, for the purpose of giving them encouragement and ameliorating their hardships. While there are no records of the fact, all the circumstances indicate that on this, as on other occasions, he drew liberally upon his private funds to furnish the starving and ragged soldiers with clothing and provisions. He remained with the army nearly two months, performing the duties of brigadier-general, and even after the enlistment of the Delaware troops had expired, he offered his services in any capacity to General Washington, who spoke in high appreciation of him, but declined to longer detain him from his home affairs. He refused an appointment as one of the judges of the Supreme Court, which had just been organized, and by retaining his military office was enabled to suppress a Tory insurrection in Sussex. When, in the autumn of 1777, the British landed upon the shores of the Delaware, and Washington's headquarters were in the northern part of the state, Rodney hastened to his aid with all the troops he could collect in Kent, and endeavored, though with but partial success, to take with him the militia of New Castle County. By directions of Washington, he placed himself south of the main army, so as to watch the movements of the British, and, if possible, cut them off from their fleet. On December 17th he was called to take his seat in Congress, but determined to remain in Delaware in order to counteract the insidious work of the Tory party. He was not destined to re-appear in Congress, for in a few days he was elected President of Delaware, which he retained about four years. The correspondence of Washington during this period shows how often he turned to President Rodney for military supplies, and with what energy the latter collected cattle and stores for the army. In 1782 he declined a re-election to the Presidential office, and although in that year and the next he was chosen delegate to Congress, his illness kept him at home. The cancerous eruption had so spread over his face that he was obliged to cover it with a screen. He died June 29, 1784 (as some authorities give it, although it is believed the date is not precisely known), and was buried in an open field on Pardee's farm, in Jones' Neck, about four miles from Dover. A rough stone, with his name inscribed thereon, is the only mark of his grave, but at the present time (Dec., 1887) a plan is being formed by the young men of Dover to remove the remains to one of the public squares of the State capital and erect over them an appropriate monument.

Wm. Rodeney, the pioneer of the Rodney family in Delaware, came to America with William Penn. He lived in Philadelphia from 1682 to 1690 and

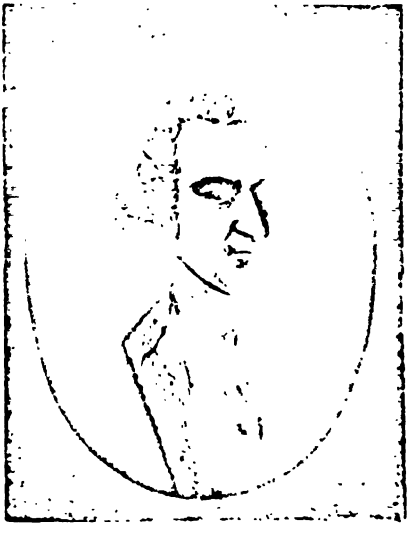
then settled in Dover. He was Speaker of the first Delaware Legislature, and died in 1708. In 1688 Mr. Rodeney married Mary Hollyman, of Philadelphia, who died in 1690, leaving one son, William. In 1693 Mr. Rodeney married Sarah Jones, daughter of Daniel Jones, of Sussex County, and their only child was Cæsar Rodeney, who married Mary, daughter of Rev. Thomas Crawford. Cæsar Rodeney was the father of the American patriot Cæsar Rodney and Col. Thomas Rodney, also a participant in the memorable struggle for independence.

Col. Thomas Rodney, son of Cæsar Rodney, was born in Sussex County, June 4, 1744. He was a delegate from Delaware to the Continental Congress from 1781–83 and 1785–87. He was also a member of the "Council of Safety;" of the General Assembly for several terms; judge of the Courts of Admiralty and Common Pleas; colonel in the Delaware militia, and rendered important services to the Continental army during the Revolutionary War. He was appointed United States Judge of Mississippi Territory in 1802, until his death, January 2, 1811.

Thomas McKean Rodney was born in Wilmington Sept. 11, 1800, and died April 24, 1874, at his residence in his native city. He was a son of Cæsar A. Rodney and was a cadet at West Point early in life, but resigned his commission to adopt the profession of law. In 1823 he was secretary of the American legation at Buenos Ayres (his father being minister), and he was subsequently consul-general at Havana, and at Matanzas, Cuba. He was a Republican Presidential elector in 1856, and the following year was a member of the Legislature. He was collector of customs from 1861 to 1866.

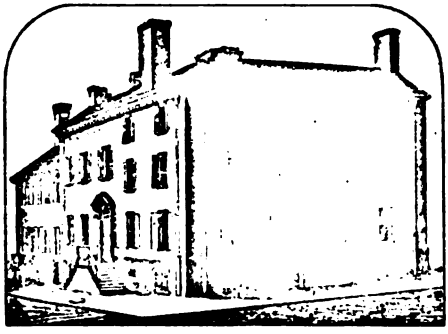
Governor Daniel Rodney was born in Lewes, Sept. 10, 1764, and while still in his minority had charge of a sailing vessel on the Delaware, becoming on two different occasions a prisoner of war. He afterward served as judge of the Court of Common Pleas for a number of years, and in 1809 was a Presidential elector. From 1814 to 1817 he served as Governor, and as a member of Congress in 1822–23. He was also elected to the United States Senate in 1826–27. Governor Rodney married the daughter of Major Henry Fisher, of Lewes, and died on Sept. 2, 1846.

Hon. John Dickinson, eminent as a writer on political topics and as a Delaware statesman, was born in Maryland, Nov. 13, 1732, and died in Wilmington, Feby. 14, 1808. His father was Judge Samuel Dickinson, of Dover. John Dickinson studied law in Philadelphia, and at the Temple, London, and practiced successfully in Philadelphia. He was elected to the General Assembly of Pennsylvania in 1764, and became well known by his publications on the attempted infringement of the liberties of the colonies by Great Britain. In his "Address to the Committees of Correspondence in Barbadoes," which had censured the northern colonies for their opposition of the Stamp Act, he made a masterly defense of the colonies. This address was published in Philadelphia in 1766. He was a deputy to the First Colonial Congress in 1765, and drew up its resolutions. In 1767 his "Farmer's Letters to the inhabitants of the British Colonies" attracted much attention. They were republished in London with a preface by Dr. Franklin, and afterwards in French in Paris. In 1774 he published his



"Essay on the Constitutional Power of Great Britain over the Colonies in America." The same year he was a member of the First Continental Congress, from Delaware, and wrote "the Address to the Inhabitants of Quebec," "the Declaration to the armies," the two petitions to the King, and "the Address to the States," all of which are important State papers. He opposed the Declaration of Independence, deeming it premature, and did not sign it. In consequence of this action he was for a time absent from public life. In October, 1777, he was made brigadier-general of the Pennsylvania militia, having previously served in the Continental army as a private. In 1779 he returned to Congress from Delaware. From 1781

to 1785 he was President of Delaware and Pennsylvania successively, and a member of the convention which framed the Federal Constitution. In 1788 he published his "Fabius" letters advocating the adoption of the new Constitution, and another series of "Fabius" letters in 1797 on the relations of the United States with France, comprised his last work of this character. He was a member of the Delaware Constitutional Convention of 1792. The political essays of Mr. Dickinson were published in two volumes in 1801. He founded the Dickinson College at Carlisle, Pa., and endowed it liberally. Mr. Dickinson was married July 19, 1770, to Mary, daughter of Isaac Norris, of Fair Hill, Pa., and two daughters survived him. Governor Dickinson's last residence in Wilmington was at the northwest corner of 9th and Market Street. The site is now occupied by the Wilmington Institute building. The Dickinson mansion was owned by Richard H. Bayard



JOHN DICKINSON'S MANSION.

for many years. He lived in it when a member of the United States Senate.

General Philemon Dickinson, a daring officer of the Revolutionary army, was born near Dover, April 5, 1739. He was educated under Dr. Allison, in Philadelphia, and became a small farmer near Trenton, N. J. In 1775 he entered the army and was placed in command of the New Jersey militia. With a force of only four hundred men, he attacked and defeated a large foraging party of the enemy on January 21, 1777. He commanded the militia at the battle of Monmouth. General Dickinson represented Delaware in 1782–83 in the Continental Congress, and in 1784 was a member of the commission to select a site for the national capital. From 1790 to 1793 he was a United States Senator. He died near Trenton, Feb. 4, 1809.

Recently-published minutes of the Executive Council of Delaware, throughout the War for Independence, 1776–83, exhibit remarkably the unfaltering devotion and intelligent courage of her rulers and citizens throughout that eventful struggle.

In all these events appears the name of a quiet and most efficient actor, who was Richard Bassett, who seems to have unceasingly pressed the forces of the State—moral and material—in aid of the "Rebellion," and in 1785 was present at the Annapolis Convention as a delegate from Delaware, when and where the impetus was lent which led to the Continental Convention of 1787 in Philadelphia, and of the formation of the Federal Constitution.

While the fate of the proceedings of the Constitutional Convention was surrounded by doubt, and the Union was hanging loosely together with its "ropes of sand," Delaware, under the active lead of Mr. Bassett, hastened in 1787 to lead the way to the adoption of the new government by her unanimous adhesion to the new Constitution on December 7th of that year.

The importance of this act of decision at this juncture can hardly be over-stated, and to appreciate its character and value it is only necessary to contrast it with the hesitation and dilatory action of most of the other larger States, such as Virginia and New York, not to mention North Carolina and Rhode Island, who joined the Union so reluctantly and slowly.

Mr. Bassett went at once into the United States Senate, and when the new government had gotten fairly under way, resigned and returned home to Delaware, having served from 1789 to 1793. While in the Senate he was the first man who cast his vote for locating the seat of government on the Potomac. He was a Presidential elector in 1797, and Governor of Delaware from 1798 to 1801. He served as chief justice of the United States District Court in 1801 and 1802. He was an eminent statesman and lawyer and a prominent member of the Methodist Church. His affluent circumstances enabled him to entertain extensively at his residences in Wilmington, Dover and Bohemia. He died in September, 1815. His daughter was the wife of the distinguished statesman, Hon. James A. Bayard.

Shepherd Kollock, a distinguished Delawarean, Revolutionary officer and journalist, was born in Lewiston in 1750 and died in Philadelphia July 28, 1839. He was commissioned a lieutenant early in the struggle for American independence, and was engaged at the battles of Trenton, Fort Lee, Short Hills and others. He resigned in 1779 and started the *New Jersey Journal* at Chatham. He removed to New York in 1783 and established the *New York Gazette;* from thence he went to Elizabethtown in 1787, and revived the *New Jersey Journal* and conducted it for thirty-one years. He was judge of Common Pleas thirty-four years and post master of Elizabeth until 1829.

George Ross, an earnest American patriot and signer of the Declaration of Independence from Pennsylvania, was born in New Castle in 1730. He was educated by his father, who was pastor of the Episcopal Church of New Castle, and studied law in Philadelphia. In 1751 he located in Lancaster and was a member of the Pennsylvania General Assembly in 1768–70. In 1774 he was elected to the First General Congress at Philadelphia and was charged with the duty of reporting to the Assembly instructions for himself and associates. The following year, in reply to Governor Penn's message, he drew up a report advising against any action on the part of the colony. He also wrote a report on measures necessary to put the city of Philadelphia and the colony in a state of defense. After signing the Declaration of Independence he was compelled, in 1777, to resign his seat in Congress. He declined a plate testimonial from the people of Lancaster. Mr. Ross was delegate to prepare a declaration of rights by the convention which assembled after the proprietary government was dissolved. He was a successful mediator with the Indians and was appointed a judge of the Admiralty Court in 1779. He died in Lancaster in July, 1799.

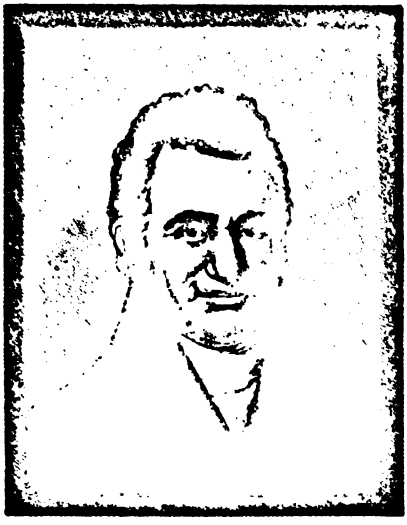
General Thomas Collins, a prominent figure in the history of Delaware, particularly at the time of the Revolutionary War, was born in 1732. In his early career he was high sheriff of Kent County and member of the General Assembly. He was a member of the Council of Safety in 1776 and was made brigadier-general of militia from 1776 to 1783. During his active labors in this position he experienced a rigorous campaign in 1777 in New Jersey, and later harassed Sir Wm. Howe's army in its passage through New Castle County. He was a member of the new Constitutional Convention, chief justice of the Court of Common Pleas, and President of the State from 1786 to 1789. General Collins died near Duck Creek, Kent County, March 29, 1789.

Hon. Nathaniel Mitchell was one of the early representatives of Delaware in the legislative branch of the national government. He served as delegate to the Continental Congress from this State from 1786 to 1788

Governor Bedford Gunning, who died in 1797, was lieutenant-colonel in the Revolutionary army, and after the declaration of peace was attorney-general of the State, member of the Legislature, and represented Delaware in the Continental Congress from 1783 to 1787. He was elected executive of the State in 1796. He was also a member of the National Constitutional Convention in 1787. After leaving the gubernatorial chair he was appointed by Washington the first judge of the United States District Court for Delaware.

Major John Patten, of Revolutionary fame, was born in Kent County April 26, 1746. He was a farmer and at the beginning of the Revolution was commissioned first lieutenant of Captain Caldwell's company, in the First Delaware Regiment. Upon the reorganization of the regiment, after the battle of Princeton, Captain Patten's company was the first to re-enlist for the war. Owing to the severe wound received by Colonel Hall at the battle of Germantown, causing him permanently to retire from the command of the regiment, there were several changes in the field officers. Captain Patten became major by seniority. Major Patten participated in all the battles of the war from Long Island to Camden, in all of which his command received the highest praise. At the latter battle Major Patten was taken prisoner and sent to Charleston. He was released on parole, and it is said walked almost the whole distance from Charleston to his home in Delaware. He did not secure his exchange in time to enter into active service before the surrender of Cornwallis at Yorktown, in October, 1781 After the close of the war he resumed his occupation of farming, but his fellow-citizens did not permit him to remain long in retirement from public affairs. He was a member of the Legislature from Kent under the first State Constitution, a delegate to the Continental Congress from Delaware in 1785–86 and was elected to the Congress of the United States in 1792 and again in 1794. His seat in the Third Congress was successfully contested by his opponent, Henry Latimer, on the ground of a technical irregularity, and although the major had received a majority of the votes cast, he was obliged to retire. He was returned to the Fourth Congress and took his seat without further opposition. He died at Tynhead Court, near Dover, December 26, 1800. Major Patten, in the latter part of his life, resided for some portion of the year in Wilmington, in a substantial three-storied brick house, which he had built on the north side of Front Street, between Orange and Tatnall Streets, and which is still standing. His portrait, which was painted by Peale, represents him in his uniform of major. The features are regular, the complexion florid, with dark eyes and hair, and the whole expression is indicative of intelligence and firmness. He was twice married,—first to Miss Ann, the younger daughter of Colonel Haslett. The only child by this marriage died in infancy, and the mother did not long survive. His second wife was Mrs. Mary Lockerman, the widow of Vincent Lockerman, the younger, and daughter of Rev. John Miller, both of Kent County. She survived the major only three months, and was buried by his side in the Presbyterian church-yard at Dover, where a modest tomb still marks their resting-place. The only two children of this last marriage were Ann, who married John Wales, and died November 10, 1843, and Joseph Miller, who died, unmarried, December 11, 1887.

Major Richard Howell, Revolutionary soldier and statesman, was born in Delaware in 1754. He was a lawyer by profession and commanded a company of grenadiers prior to the war for independence. In 1775 he was appointed captain of the Second New Jersey regiment. He distinguished himself at Quebec, was promoted to major in 1776 and continued in command of his regiment until 1779. In September, 1782, Major Howell was appointed judge advocate of the American army, but declined to accept. He was clerk of the Supreme Court from 1778 to 1792 and Governor from 1794 to 1801. He died at Trenton, April 28, 1802.



Rev. David Jones, a Baptist clergyman and celebrated as a Revolutionary patriot, was born in White Clay Creek, New Castle County, May 12, 1736. His ancestors settled at the "Welsh Tract" early in the seventeenth century. Rev. Mr. Jones was for many years pastor of the Upper Freehold Church in New Jersey, which he abandoned temporarily in 1772-73 to go on a gospel mission among the Shawnee and Delaware Indians. His patriotism made him so much an object of hatred to the Tories, that, believing his life to be endangered, he settled in Chester County, Pennsylvania, in 1775 and had charge of the Great Valley Baptist Church. He was chaplain of a Pennsylvania regiment under St. Clair at Ticonderoga, served in two campaigns under Gates and in all the campaigns of General Wayne, narrowly escaping at the Paoli massacre. He served in the War of 1812 under General Brown and Wilkinson, at the age of seventy-six years. He died February 5, 1820.

Col. Allen McLane, the distinguished Revolutionary officer and statesman, became a citizen of Kent County in 1774. He was born in Philadelphia August 8, 1746. In 1775 he enlisted as lieutenant in Cæsar Rodney's Delaware regiment. In 1776 he joined the army of General Washington, distinguished himself at the battle of Long Island and was also at White Plains and Trenton. At Princeton his gallantry won him the appointment of captain and he received his commission from Washington in 1777. He commanded the outposts of Philadelphia, and in July, 1779, was made a major in Lee's Legion, taking a prominent part in the battles of Paulus Hook and Stony Point and the siege of Yorktown. As a civilian he was a member and Speaker of the Delaware Legislature, for six years a privy councilor, for many years judge of the Court of Common Pleas; marshal of the Delaware District from 1790 to 1798 and collector of the port of Wilmington from 1808 until his death, which occurred May 22, 1829. Col. McLane was the father of Louis McLane, the statesman, and grandfather of Robert M. McLane, late Governor of Maryland, and now (1887) United States minister to France.

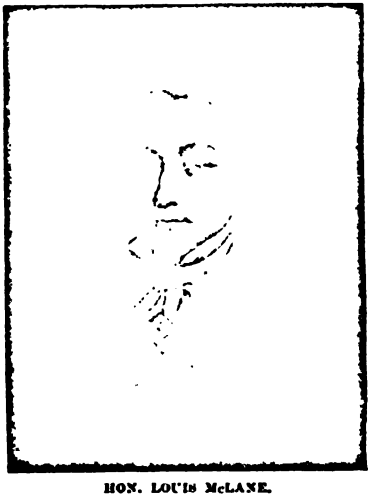
As a soldier Col. McLane was famous for his daring and intrepidity, and conducted his operations with a dash similar to that of the celebrated Light Horse Harry Lee, with whom he was frequently associated. He sent his spies into the British lines at Philadelphia disguised as farmers, and at times provisioned the enemy at market rates with "beef," which was nothing more nor less than the carcasses of British cavalry horses killed by the bullets of Continental soldiers. Colonel McLane's feats of daring were numerous. On one occasion he fell into an ambuscade near Philadelphia, accompanied by only four troopers, his company being far in the rear. One of his attendants saw the enemy and crying out, "Captain, the British!" fled with his companions. McLane saw the enemy drawn upon both sides of the road and a file of them fired on him. He, however, dashed away, followed by a shower of bullets, and ran into a larger body of British. Turning abruptly away from them, he pursued his flight followed by a dozen troopers. Of these he distanced all but two, one of whom he shot and the other he engaged in a hand-to-hand conflict, during which he received a severe sabre-wound in the hand. Finally he succeeded in killing this antagonist also, and then took refuge in a mill-pond, where he remained naked until the cold

water stopped the flow of blood from his wound. Another time, being surprised by a dozen troopers, he charged through them and escaped.

Hon. Louis McLane, son of Colonel Allen McLane, and celebrated for his public services, was born in Smyrna, May 28, 1786. In 1798 he entered the navy as midshipman, and cruised for a year under Commodore Decatur, in the frigate "Philadelphia." He studied law with Hon. James A. Bayard, and was admitted to the bar in 1807. In 1817 he was a member of Congress from Delaware, and remained in that office until 1827. During this period, in opposition to his constituency, but on conscientious grounds, he voted against permitting slavery in Missouri. From 1827 to 1829 he was United States Senator, and minister to England from 1829 to 1831. In the latter year, on his return, he entered the Cabinet as Secretary of the Treasury until 1833, when he was appointed Secretary of State, and retired from political life the following year. Mr. McLane was president of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad Company from 1837 to 1847, and in 1845 was entrusted by President Polk with the mission to England during the Oregon negotiations. He was a delegate to the Reform Convention at Annapolis in the winter of 1850–51. In 1812 Mr. McLane married the daughter of Robert Milligan. He died in Baltimore, October 7, 1857.

Robert Milligan McLane, son of Hon. Louis McLane, was born in Delaware, June 23, 1815; graduated from West Point in 1837, and served in Florida as second lieutenant First Artillery; in 1841 went to Europe to examine the dyke and drainage system of Holland; in 1843 located in Baltimore in the practice of law; elected to the Maryland General Assembly in 1845; to Congress 1847–53; minister to China in 1853; minister to Mexico in 1859; State Senator from Baltimore City in 1878; returned to Congress in 1879 and in 1881; Governor of Maryland in 1883, and appointed minister to France by President Cleveland during his term.

Colonel John Haslet was Irish by birth, but for several years preceding the war lived at Dover. He had been educated for the Presbyterian ministry, and preached frequently after coming to America, but subsequently abandoned the pulpit and became a practitioner of medicine. He was a large, athletic and handsome man, and in courage and impulse a typical Irishman. From the earliest days of the American conflict he was a stalwart Whig, and Cæsar Rodney early fastened upon him as a fit man for military command. Rodney wrote him daily from the Continental Congress in the early summer of 1776, inciting him to the work of raising troops. When the Declaration of Independence was adopted Rodney despatched a mounted messenger, Ensign Wilson, on the night of July 4th, to carry the news to Haslet. He found Haslet at Dover, extremely busy enlisting men. "I congratulate you, sir," wrote Haslet in reply, "on the important day which restores to every American his birthright,—a day which every freeman will record with gratitude, and the millions of posterity read with rapture. A fine turtle feast at Dover announced and anticipated the declaration of Congress." After the death of Haslet, at Princeton, his body was deposited in the burial-ground of the First Presbyterian Church in Philadelphia. In 1783 the Delaware Legislature caused a marble slab to be placed over his grave, and on February 22, 1841, they



HON. LOUIS McLANE.

appointed a committee to superintend the removal of the corpse to a vault to be built in the Presbyterian Church at Dover, and authorized them to have a suitable monument, with appropriate inscriptions and devices, placed over his final resting-place.

On July 1, 1841, his remains were disinterred and conveyed to Dover, escorted by the military of the city of Philadelphia; and on July 3d, after impressive religious services and an eloquent address from the Hon. John M. Clayton, they were deposited in the vault prepared for them. The slab placed over his grave in Philadelphia, in 1873, is preserved, by having been made one of the sides of this tomb, and bears this inscription:

"In memory of JOHN HASLET, Esquire, Colonel of the Delaware Regiment, who fell gloriously at the battle of Princeton, in the cause of American Independence, January 3d, 1777.

The General Assembly of the State of Delaware, remembering
His virtues as a man,
His merits as a citizen,
and
His services as a soldier,
Have caused this monumental stone, in testimony of their respect,
To be placed on his grave,
MDCCCLXXXIII."

The other inscription on the monument is:

"Erected by the State of Delaware,
as a tribute of respect,
to the memory of Colonel JOHN HASLET,
whose remains, according to a resolution of Legislature,
passed February 22, 1841,
were removed from their resting-place,
in the grave yard of the First Presbyterian Church,
in the city of Philadelphia,
and here re-interred
on Saturday, July 24, 1841."

Colonel Haslet left a son and two daughters. The son, Joseph Haslet, was twice, in 1811 and 1823, elected Governor of this State, - an honor Delaware never conferred upon any other citizen.

One of his daughters, Jemima, married Dr. George Monro, who was a skillful and learned physician, resident in Wilmington from 1797 until his death, in 1820. Of Dr. Monro's children, the only survivor was Mrs. Mary A. Boyd, of Wilmington. The other daughter of Colonel Haslet married Major Patten, but died childless.

Major Robert Kirkwood, a gallant Revolutionary officer, was born near Newark. After being educated at the Newark Academy he engaged in farming, but abandoned that occupation to enter the army. He enlisted as lieutenant in Haslet's regiment in January, 1776, and participated in the victories of Trenton and Princeton, as well as the disaster at Long Island. He was promoted to a captaincy and was engaged in all the important battles during the three succeeding campaigns. In 1780 his regiment went South with General Gates, and suffered severely at Camden. The survivors under Kirkwood and Jacquet were attached to Lee's Legion as light infantry, and at Cowpens, Guilford, Eutaw and other engagements Major Kirkwood distinguished himself. At the close of the war he was brevetted major and soon settled in Ohio, opposite Wheeling. He was killed at the battle of Miami, November 4, 1791.

Captain Caleb Bennett, Governor of Delaware from 1832 to 1836, and the last surviving officer of the Delaware Line, was born in Chester County, Pa., near the State line, November 11, 1758, and died at his residence on Market Street, next door south of the Lohr Building, May 9, 1836, at the age of seventy-eight years, after a lingering illness. He removed with his parents to Wilmington in 1761. In 1775, when but seventeen, his patriotic father placed him in the ranks as a soldier to fight for the cause of American independence. In the following year, with the Delaware regiment, he joined Washington's army at New York. He was promoted to the position of sergeant in 1776 and ensign in 1777, and with his company formed part of the detachment under General Sullivan in the attack on Staten Island. On September 11th of the same year he participated in the battle of Brandywine, and on the 4th of October following in the battle of Germantown, where the Delaware regiment lost in killed and wounded seven out of thirteen officers, and about one-third of the privates. Captain Holland, in command of the company, was killed and Ensign Bennett was wounded. In 1778 he joined General Washington at Valley Forge and afterwards was present at the battle of Monmouth. In 1780 he was promoted lieutenant, and his company, as part of the detachment under Baron De Kalb, was ordered to South Carolina, and on the 16th of August fought at the memorable battle of Camden. De Kalb being mortally wounded, he dictated before his death a letter expressive of the gallantry of the Delaware regiment, which in this engagement lost nine officers out of nine companies. Lieutenant Bennett was then sent to Delaware to raise recruits, and in 1781, with one hundred and twenty men he joined the French troops at Annapolis and proceeded to the siege of Yorktown. In this last crowning success of the American army Lieutenant Bennett bore a conspicuous part and commanded the left battery of the American force on the day that Lord Cornwallis surrendered.

He was present at the evacuation of Charleston, South Carolina, and remained in active service until the army was disbanded in 1883. He was then twenty-five years of age, eight of which were spent in the service of his country, and he endured the severest hardships; he was thrice wounded. When war was declared in 1812 he was appointed a major and had command of the forces at New Castle, remaining until the treaty of peace was signed. He was appointed treasurer of New Castle County and served until 1832, when he was nominated for Governor of the State and triumphantly elected November 13th of the same year, and died in office. Captain Bennett wore a queue until the time of his death. Late in life he drew a pension of three hundred and twenty dollars a year.

Major Lewis Bush was the son of David Bush, a prominent citizen of Wilmington in the latter part of the eighteenth century. Lewis had just prepared himself for the legal profession when the Revolutionary War began. He entered the colonial army, in which he became a major, and fell at the battle of Brandywine, September 11, 1777.

John Bush, brother of Major Lewis Bush, was a volunteer in the colonial army at the age of twenty years, and served through the Revolutionary War with the rank of captain.

Colonel David Hall, commander of the famous Delaware Line in the Continental army, was born January 4, 1752, at Lewes. He studied law and was admitted to the bar in New Castle County, August 18, 1773. While practicing his profession the Revolutionary War broke out and Colonel

Hall enlisted immediately as a private. Subsequently he recruited a company, of which he was elected captain. This company was attached to Colonel Haslet's command and gained considerable distinction at White Plains and Long Island. He subsequently recruited the celebrated Delaware Line regiment, and, April 5, 1777, was made its colonel. They participated at Brandywine, Germantown and Monmouth, were with Washington at Valley Forge and during the remainder of the war fought in the important battles, doing distinguished service in various lines of duty and earned a reputation second to no other troops in the Continental army. Colonel Hall was wounded at the battle of Brandywine. At the close of the war he resumed the practice of law in his native town and was elected Governor of the State, continuing in office until 1805. He was also an associate justice. His wife was Catherine Tingley, of New York. Colonel Hall died at Lewes, September 18, 1817. His son, Joseph Hall, was admitted to the bar October 10, 1809, but died soon after in early manhood.

Joseph Shallcross, who was a leading member of the Friends, was a true patriot and Washington knew it. Just before the battle of Brandywine the general sent a woman to Shallcross with a letter quilted in her petticoat. An answer was returned in the same way to Washington, giving him an account of the position of some squads of the British and of the fleet on the Delaware.

Captain James Montgomery, of Wilmington, commanded a small armed vessel in the Continental service He was a Scotchman by birth. One day, while sitting at breakfast in the sign of the "Ship," southeast corner Third and Market Streets, news was brought to him that several store-ships of the enemy were coming up the Delaware. Rising from the table, with an air of confidence, he said, "Now is my harvest-time" Quickly manning his vessel, she started for the mouth of the Christiana and down the Delaware as fast as her sails would bear her. Before sunset she turned up the creek amidst the shouts of the patriots who gathered along the banks. Three valuable prizes, the cargoes of three British vessels, were captured and brought into port. The gallant captain was hailed as a victor and carried through the streets in triumph on a large chair, supported by eight men. In the mean time a few daring patriots boarded and captured another store-ship of the enemy on the Delaware, near the mouth of the Christiana. She was on her way to Philadelphia.

Captain Joseph Stidham resided in a beautiful home, which he called White Hull near the Brandywine. He commanded a company of militia during the war. When the men-of-war "Roebuck" and "Liverpool," with their tenders, sailed up Delaware Bay, and bombarded Wilmington, the inhabitants could make but feeble resistance. As it was known to the commander of the "Roebuck" that a small body of soldiers was in the town, on its way to join Washington, a company of Hessians were sent ashore in boats to attack and disperse the party. The men, who were few in number, could make no stand against the Hessians, backed by the cannon of the men of-war. They were hidden hastily by their friends. One of them, who was Captain Joseph Stidham, after discharging his rifle in the face of the approaching line of soldiers, fled for his life, and took refuge in the house of his cousin, Jonas Stidham, on the outskirts of the village. The gunners on the 'Roebuck" saw him enter it, and they turned their fire upon the house. The Hessians attacked it furiously. "The balls rained down upon the roof." The mercenaries broke down the doors and windows, and rushed into the house searching for the Yankee captain. It was a large, rambling building, with many closets and lean tos. But Stidham took refuge in none of these. Passing through the house, he reached the barn-yard, and crept into the hollow trunk of an oak-tree, in which he had often played hide-and-seek when a boy. It was so long since he was hid in it, that the moss and lichen hung over the opening. The Hessians searched for him in vain. Two of them, it is said sat down upon the log while he was in it. They returned to the ship at nightfall, and he escaped to join Washington.

The adventures of Captain Kean, of the Delaware Line, and Captain Hugh Montgomery, of the Volunteer service, about the same time, were just as thrilling, and yet more amusing. The former was suffering with ague, and the latter was with him, in a house at the corner of Second and French Streets later owned by Mr. Keisler. When the British entered Wilmington on the morning after the battle of Brandywine, they heard of their whereabouts, entered the house and searched it from cellar to garret, but failed to find the "—— rebels," as they called them. The patriot officers were concealed in the chimney on the attic, and thus eluded discovery.

"It's too hot here," said Captain Montgomery to his companion; "we may be discovered yet by those red-coats."

"But how shall we escape?" inquired Captain Kean, shivering both with fear and ague.

"Let us call John Stapler, a Quaker, next-door, and consult with him," said the former.

Stapler came, dressed Captain Montgomery in the plain black suit then worn by a minister among the Friends, and placed his own best garments, including a low-crowned, broad-brimmed hat, on Captain Kean. He borrowed a large vest of John Benson, a neighbor, for him, and placed a pillow under it, to imitate corpulency.

In the afternoon both officers walked down street in their Quaker suits, when one of the soldiers asked Captain Kean how long he had been dropsical. They returned to the house, and later in the afternoon walked to the Brandywine, where the pillow was dropped, and they quickly made their way for the marshes along the Delaware, entered a small boat and began to row for the Jersey shore. They had gone but a short distance, when they found that the boat leaked. Captain Kean bailed the water out with his hat while his companion pulled the oars with great vigor. One of the enemy's ve sels bore in sight, and several shots were fired, but the two officers arrived on the Jersey shore in safety. Captain Kean died of yellow fever in 1802, when it raged in Wilmington. Captain Montgomery commanded the brig "Nancy," mentioned in this chapter.

On the southeast corner of Market and Second Streets, Wilmington, stood the residence of Thomas Wallace, a block-maker, who was a man of means and a patriot. He exchanged all his coins for Continental money, which would not pass when the British held the city, and he was compelled to ask assistance of Mr. Shallcross, his neighbor One day a British soldier asked his wife to bake some bread for him, which she did, when the soldier gave her flour in pay for her work. She did the same repeatedly, but always told the English that her prayers were for the patriot cause. Her daughter married Captain Thomas Baker, of Boston. He left Wilmington in the brig "Welcome," in 1815, for St. Thomas, West Indies, and was never heard of afterwards. It was thought the vessel was wrecked. His widow died in Elkton, Maryland, in 1852.

Sally Erwin, of Wilmington, married Israel Israel, who entered the service of his country during the war. The British knew it, and sent a squad of men to his home, on the shore of the Delaware, to capture his cattle, but the brave Sally, like Barbara Frietchie on a future occasion, dared the red coats to shoot them or her, as she defiantly drove her live stock into a stable, where they remained.

Captain Henry Geddes, one of the conspicuous soldiers of the Revolution from Wilmington, was born in Dublin, Ireland, June 13, 1749, and educated at Trinity College, in that city. At the age of nineteen he entered the British navy as midshipman, and continued in that service several years. In 1775 he came to America, landing at Wilmington. At the outbreak of the Revolution he entered the American army as quartermaster of Colonel Duff's Delaware regiment, and was with that command during 1776-77. In December, 1777, he returned from the army and took charge of a merchant vessel at Baltimore. Soon after this he became a captain in the United States navy. He commanded the sloop-of-war "Patapsco," and with it rendered important service to the country. He passed through many perilous adventures. In 1778 his vessel was upset. He and twelve others escaped in a small boat. For seventeen days they were without provisions or water, except twenty pounds of damaged flour and a dog. Five of their number perished from hunger and thirst, when a brig, bound for Alexandria, Virginia, came to the rescue of the others. In 1793 his vessel was again wrecked. At the close of the Revolution he returned to the merchant service. In 1810, when in command of a vessel bound for Dublin, he was driven by a violent storm into the Irish Channel and wrecked near White Haven, but he and his crew were saved. After the close of the second war with Great Britain he made two extensive voyages, and in 1816 was appointed inspector of revenue for the district of Delaware, which office he held to the time of his death, December 1, 1833, at the age of eighty-four years. In 1776 he married Miss M. Latimer, of Wilmington, with whom he enjoyed fifty-seven years of wedded life. She was a noble and worthy woman. She survived her husband to the age of eighty-five years. The remains of both lie near the centre of the Presbyterian Church-yard, on the west side of Market Street. Their home in Wilmington was on the east side of Market Street, a few doors below Second.

On the south side of the Christiana, where it forms a point, is a tract of land for a century or more known as Long Hook farm. It was the patrimonial estate of Major Peter Jaquett, who served with distinction as an officer in the First Delaware Regiment during the Revolution. His remains were borne to his grave by sixty young men, who thus wished to do honor to his memory. His great-grandfather was a French Protestant, who was vice-director at New Armstel, in 1658. Major Jaquett was one of the first converts of this region to Methodism during the visit here of George Whitefield. His house was known far and near, and was visited by many persons who shared his hospitality. Washington, Lafayette and Bishop White were among his guests. He was one of the ideal patriots of the great struggle for independence, and he never wearied relating the stories of that eventful period, describing many thrilling scenes in which he was a participant. He was a great favorite of children, and loved to relate to them the stories of the past. By his house on the north side of the Causeway were tall sycamore trees, lofty poplars and beautiful evergreens. The birds of spring-time early visited him, built their nests in the shady places around his mansion, tuned their voices with sweet melody to entertain the old veteran and his guests, and remained until late in the fall. A beautiful ivy vine covered one

end of the dwelling. It was gathered from the castle where Mary, Queen of Scots, was imprisoned, and presented to Mrs. Jaquett. She, also, cultivated the first Champney rose in this vicinity, and was a great lover of the beautiful in nature.

On his tomb in the old Swedes' Church-yard is the following inscription:

"A distinguished officer of the Revolutionary army, who died at his residence—Long Hook Farm—near this city, September 13th, A. D. 1834, in the 80th year of his age, having been born on the 6th of April, 1755. On the 4th of January, 1776, he joined the Delaware Regiment, and until April, 1780, he was in every general engagement under Washington which took place in Delaware, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, New York and the Eastern States. He was then ordered to join the Southern army under General Gates; and with the brave De Kalb, he was in the battle of Camden, of the 16th of August, in which the Delaware Regiment, consisting of eight companies, was reduced to two only, of ninety-six men each, the command of which devolved upon his brave comrade Kirkwood and himself, as the oldest officers left of this gallant band. He was also in the battle of Guilford Court-House, the second battle of Camden and in the battle of Eutaw Springs. He assisted in the siege of '81, and capture of the village of that name; and was also in every action and skirmish under General Green, in whose army he remained until the capture of Lord Cornwallis at Yorktown. He returned to his native State in 1782, and in 1794 married Eliza P. Price, daughter of Elisha Price, of Chester, Pa.; and, as a farmer, he lived upon his paternal estate until his death. The brave and honored soldier—the kind and obliging neighbor and friend."

Captain David Kirkpatrick, one of the last heroes of the Revolution, who lived in Wilmington, entered the army in the Fourth New Jersey Line as a sergeant, but his courage and abilities soon attracted notice, and he was promoted to a lieutenant and then to a captain of sappers and miners, under the command of General Duportail. He was engaged in the battles of Monmouth, Germantown, Brandywine, Trenton, Cowpens and others. At Brandywine he distinguished himself, and received a sword at the hands of General Lafayette as a testimonial of the estimation in which he was held by that illustrious commander. Captain Kirkpatrick was much beloved by the soldiers under his command, and often, during his life, they visited him to testify their admiration and love for his courage and kindness. He was twice wounded, and the many hardships and trials which he endured in defense of his country aided materially in impairing his constitution. Late in life a severe fall disabled him from walking, and subjected him to much suffering. Never was old age more beautifully portrayed than in Captain Kirkpatrick. The gentleness of his manners, the quiet tones of his voice, the benign expression of his eye, rendered him an object of deep interest; and never was filial piety more lovely than was exhibited in the comforts which surrounded the aged veteran. The tender hands of affectionate children had long "rocked the cradle of declining age," and their ministry ended only with his life.

Captain Kirkpatrick was a member of the Presbyterian Church of Wilmington and a member of the Society of the Cincinnati. His descendants are prominent morocco manufacturers in Philadelphia.

John Hamilton was born in Scotland, where he resided until the invasion of Ireland by William of Orange, when he joined his army and for his meritorious conduct was given a large estate, which afterwards fell into the hands of Lord Knox. By what means he became dispossessed of that property is not known. In 1771 he removed with his wife and nine children to this country, and settled in White Clay Creek Hundred, New Castle County, where he resided until his death. Of his children, John became master of a Philadelphia merchantman and died in Liverpool, January, 1828; Archibald, who practiced law in Wilmington, successfully, and died October, 1841; James became captain of a merchant vessel and died at sea, July, 1826; Charles also a sea captain; Robert, one of the youngest sons, settled in or near Wilmington. Robert Hamilton married Ann Little, the daughter of Archibald Little, and resided in Wilmington fifty years. He served in the Revolutionary War at the battles of Trenton and Princeton. He filled various official positions under the general and state governments. Late in life he purchased a farm on the shores of the Delaware, just north of Wilmington, whither he removed his family, and there he dispensed the kind and generous hospitality for which he was distinguished. He is said to have had no enemies and was the peacemaker, the counselor and adviser of his neighbors. He died July 22, 1826.

Captain Samuel Lovering, who was a native of Boston, sailed from Wilmington at the age of seventeen. He entered the army at Boston, and being taken prisoner by the English was confined six months in the old "Jersey" prison ship, where so many of the youths of our country fell victims to disease and cruel treatment. He was spared to reach his birthplace, Boston, where, from his skeleton form and tattered outer garments, he was not recognized by his fond mother. When he recovered strength he preferred a life on the ocean, and Wilmington became his home. Here he married a daughter of Joseph Shallcross, in whose employ he sailed. During the European war in San Domingo he and his crew were pressed by the French commander to aid in quelling the insurrection. He was detained six months in actual service, enduring perils and hardships. He returned to Wilmington, but died young, leaving a widow and three small children.

Hance Naff, who died October 9, 1841, aged eighty-six years, was one of the last soldiers of the Revolution in Wilmington. He was of Swiss descent, and at the opening of the war was a member of Colonel Duff's regiment, Captain O'Flinn's company, and took part in all the engagements of his regiment. He lived for many years in a log

cabin near Cool Spring. His widow survived him to the age of ninety-five years. Hance Naff, their son, and a familiar personage in Wilmington in his last years, lived on the Kennet Road, (now Delaware Avenue). He died at eighty and his wife at eighty-five. H J. Naff, the editor of the *Journal*, was his son.

Lydia Hall, an industrious colored woman, who lived to the age of one hundred and two years in a small house of her own on the west side of Market, just above Ninth Wilmington, had two sons in the War of the Revolution. One of them was captured by the British and never was returned; the other came home when peace was declared.

Jonathan Rumford, a worthy gentleman and shipping merchant, who owned the wharf above the drawbridge on the Christiana, leaned to royalty, but was not an avowed Tory. He then lived an Fourth Street, below Market. Some over-enthusiastic persons, without any definite cause, entered his dwelling and abused him in the most brutal manner. They fractured his skull with a blacksmith's hammer, and spread fire-brands through his house. Hugh Montgomery, the sea-captain, and militia captains Kean and Stidham came to his rescue at this instant and saved the house from destruction. Rumford partially recovered from his wounds, but his faculties were impaired; his business did not prosper afterwards. In 1792, soon after his decease, his mansion, then at the corner of Front and Thorn, and his wharf were sold to pay his debts. Dr. Nicholas E. McComb bought the property and generously presented part of the amount to Mrs. Rumford.

Joshua North, a well-to-do man who resided at Prospect Hill, was a Tory during the Revolution and was compelled to leave this country. His property was confiscated by authority of Congress. Many other valuable estates along the Delaware were taken by the government in the same way, notably that of Jacob Derrickson, a decendant of the early Swedish settlers.

Tory Jack was a notorious outlaw during the Revolution He owned a small gun-boat and frequently appeared in the Delaware in search of spoils. On one occasion he captured John Harris, a trading merchant of Wilmington, when in command of one of his vessels. and placed him on a British frigate. Harris escaped and soon afterward Tory Jack was captured down the river by some people of Wilmington, of whom Harris was one They brought him up the Delaware and hanged him on an apple-tree at "the Rocks," on the property of the McCullough Iron Works. Some of the Hessian soldiers deserted the army and remained in Delaware. Peter Davis, one of them, was long a sexton to Old Swedes' Church. He had charge of the old Academy on Market Street, Wilmington, and lived in its basement.

Many were the events of the Revolution in the good old Quaker town "'twixt the Brandywine and the Christeen," but few were afterwards described with more eager interest than the one which transpired at the large residence of Mrs. Hanson, on the northwest corner of Sixth and Shipley Streets. It was shortly after the battle of Brandywine that her two sons-in law, Colonel Tilton, of the Continental Line, and Captain Bellach, of the militia, temporarily away from their commands, were her guests. At midnight, when all were asleep, Miss Nancy Hanson, her daughter, was awakened by a noise on the streets below, and opening a window, saw that in front of their house was a squad of British soldiers. She took in the situation at a glance, aroused the rest of the family from their slumbers, but all remained quiet and all met in the parlor to devise plans for the escape of the officers. Captain Bellach had no clothing with him but a military suit, and for him to escape seemed difficult. The soldiers would search the house, find the clothing and thus detect the presence of the officers.

"Conceal the suit," said Miss Hanson, "underneath the bricks of the hearth, and in the morning I will go across the street and borrow another." She was one of the belles of the town and very intelligent. Early in the morning she attired herself in her best and appeared at the front door. Observing her winning charms, the British officer in command saluted her and began a friendly conversation.

"Beg pardon, sir, but may I go across the street to procure an article of clothing for a sick relative now in our house?"

"Most certainly! Queer it would be if such a request would not be granted," replied the officer as he escorted the young lady to the house opposite. He waited by the door-way, and a few minutes later gallantly returned with her to the Hanson mansion, politely carrying the package for her.

"Thank you for your kind attention; will you come in and take breakfast with my mother, my sister and I?"

"It would indeed be an honor to be so highly favored. Colonel Tilton, of the Continental Line, is your brother-in-law, I am told; and how did he fare in the late battle?" asked he, with the expectation of finding out where Colonel Tilton was.

"He escaped unharmed, so far as we have learned," replied the lady with the greatest composure, as she showed the man a seat in the parlor. When the breakfast was ready he ate with the little family, and talked freely of the events of the day in an entertaining manner, while his soldiers partook of their morning meal on the streets.

"A carriage has been sent for to convey our sick relative to his country house. Will you

please see that it is not detained by your soldiers? We shall be glad to reciprocate such kindness" said Miss Hanson in her sweetest tones, looking the British captain full in the face.

"It will afford me much pleasure to comply with your wishes," said he, as he arose from the table. "Such courtesy as you have shown me is rarely accorded the best of men. Would that this cruel war was over, and that I too might enjoy the pleasures of home." His stern heart was touched with emotion, and his last words were spoken in a tone of sadness, as he stepped outside the house to his men.

The carriage arrived. Colonel Tilton, clothed in a plain suit, feigning sickness, was led by Captain Bellach and Miss Hanson to it, and they drove to the old ferry and crossed the Christiana.

"'Twas Colonel Tilton who escaped in that carriage," shouted a red coat up Market Street, and in an instant a dozen dragoons were in hot pursuit of the fleeing patriot officers; but they had escaped, and ere the evening sun had set, were safe in the town of Dover. All the town and country round-about gave Miss Hanson the highest praise for her sagacity and great presence of mind, by means of which these two men were saved from capture.

A year or two after the Revolution she married Major D. G. Adams, a soldier of the Revolution. He served several years as brigadier-general of militia, and was sheriff of New Castle County.

General Smallwood, of Washington's army for a short time, had his headquarters at the public inn, corner Third and Market Streets, afterwards known as the Lafayette. One day he ordered some horses to be pastured in a fertile field north of town. The owners of the land were not avowed patriots, and his lusty wife became indignant at what she thought an unjustifiable act. She hastened to town, called at the hotel, and asked if "William Smallwood" was there. She was told that General Smallwood was in the parlor. Approaching the officer she thus accosted him: "Is thy name William Smallwood?" to which singular inquiry he answered "yes," with a significant smile, wondering who should address him so. The audacious woman answered, by saying, "Well, thee deserves *small wood* well laid across thy broad shoulders, thee naughty man, for destroying my fine pasture." The brave officer promised to pay for it some time in the future, and often laughed about his singular interviewer.

The residence of William Canby, near the Brandywine Bridge, when the British occupied the city, was entered by a Hessian soldier, who made a dash at Mrs. Canby with a sword, and cut the window-shutter as she jumped out of the window. She escaped unhurt, and ran to her husband's mill.

Joel Zane, a Friend, lived at the southeast corner of Fourth and Shipley Streets. His wife was well-known for her noble acts of charity. When the French soldiers of Washington's army were quartered in Wilmington, she every day gathered vegetables from her garden and made them soup, and gave them the choicest of the flowers from her yard.

As soon as it was announced in America that the "Tea Act" was to be carried into effect, it was generally denounced as a scheme to establish the right of Parliament to tax the colonies and to give the East India Company the monopoly of their trade. As it bore on all the colonies, it diverted attention from the local issues, which had been agitating them during the preceding three years, to the original question of taxation, and the determination of the Americans was not to pay a tax levied by a body in which they were not represented.

The scheme roused more indignation than had been created by the Stamp Act. The House of Representatives of Delaware immediately upon assembling took into consideration the several letters and other communications which had been addressed to the Speaker by the Assemblies of Virginia, Massachusetts and Rhode Island. On the 23d of October, 1773, Mr. McKean, chairman of the committee to whom the resolutions and letters had been referred, made the following report:

"WHEREAS, the speaker of the late assembly presented to the House several letters which he received during the recess of the House, one from the truly patriotic House of Burgesses of his Majesty's ancient Dominion of Virginia, inclosing a copy of certain resolutions, entered into by them on the 12th of March last, one from the honorable House of Deputies of the Colony of Rhode Island, and providence plantations inclosing certain resolutions, entered into by them on the 7th of May last and one from the free and spirited House of Representatives of the province of Massachusetts Bay, inclosing certain resolutions entered into by them on the 28th of May last, and requesting that a committee of this House may be appointed to communicate from time to time with the corresponding committees appointed by the said assemblies, and named in the said respective resolves;

"AND WHEREAS this House is of opinion that the measures adopted by the aforesaid assemblies, and proposed to this, are very salutary and highly necessary at this time, when the Rights and Liberties of all appear to be systematically invaded;

"*Resolved*, That this House have a very grateful sense of the obligations they are under to the House of Burgesses in Virginia, for the vigilance, firmness, and wisdom which they have discovered at all times in support of the rights and liberties of the American Colonies, and do heartily concur with them in their said judicious and spirited resolves.

"*Resolved*, That a standing committee of correspondence and inquiry be appointed to consist of five members, any three of whom to be a quorum; whose business it shall be to obtain the most early and authentic intelligence of all such acts and resolutions of the British Parliament, or proceedings of administration, as may relate to or affect the British colonies in America; and to keep and maintain a correspondence and communication with our sister colonies respecting these important considerations, and the result of such their proceedings from time to time to lay before this House.

"*Resolved*, That it be an instruction to the said committee that they do without delay inform themselves particularly of the principles and authority on which was constituted a Court of enquiry, held in Rhode Island, said to be vested with powers to transport persons accused of offences committed in America, to places beyond the seas to be tried.

"*Resolved*, That the said committee be further instructed to prepare and report to this house draughts of very respectful answers to the letters above mentioned, also a circular letter to the Speaker of the several other Houses of Assembly on this continent, inclosing the aforesaid resolves; and requesting them to lay the same before their respective assemblies, in confidence that they will readily and cheerfully comply

with the well-concerted and wise resolves of the House of Burgesses in Virginia."

The House adopted the report and appointed the following standing "Committee of Correspondence and Communication with the other Colonies:" Cæsar Rodney (Speaker), George Read, Thomas McKean, John McKinley and Thomas Robinson.

On December 16, 1773, a party of Bostonians, disguised as Indians, threw overboard from a vessel in their harbor several hundred chests of tea, and in the succeeding March, Parliament passed the bills closing the port of Boston, depriving the people of Massachusetts of every important vestige of self government, and ordaining that any person indicted for capital offenses committed in aiding the magistrates in the execution of the laws, might be sent by the Governor to any other colony or to England for trial. On the arrival of the news of the passage of these measures, the colonists in general made common cause with the people of Massachusetts, and in various ways expressed their sympathy with the inhabitants of Boston.[1] On June 17, 1774, the following card, signed "A Freeman," was published at New Castle:

"To the Gentlemen, Freeholders and others in the County of New Castle, upon Delaware, who have a vote in the election of Representatives in General Assembly:

"American Archives, fourth series, vol. i., p. 419.

The following letter was sent to the Committee of Correspondence of Virginia:

"NEW CASTLE ON DELAWARE, May 25, 1774.

"*Gentlemen:* The alarm which the British act of Parliament, for shutting up the port of Boston, has occasioned amongst us, makes it a matter of duty on this committee to contribute, as far as they may, to a general union of sentiments and measures in the colonies, as the most effectual method of relief, not only from the present encroachment on the rights of the inhabitants of Boston, but from future attempts of the like kind.

"We consider each colony on this continent as parts of the same body, and an attack on one to affect all. The people of Boston are singled out upon this occasion by the British Ministry for apparent reasons, and if they can succeed as far as to procure a submission, the like, or some such experiment, will be made on each colony in turn; if this should happen there would be an end of American freedom for a century at least.

"Imports and exports are things undoubtedly within the power of the Americans and they are become of great consequence to Great Britain; a total cessation of both, as to that kingdom, for a time, would not only alarm in turn, but procure applications for our relief from those who, in all likelyhood would be more favorably heard than the Americans; therefore we apprehend a measure of this sort a necessary previous step in the present exigency; and from our knowledge of the sentiments of the people within this small government, we can, with confidence, say that they would generally approve and firmly support such an engagement if adopted by the principal colonies.

"The conduct of the British Parliament on this occasion, as derogatory of the character which that Senate once had, needs no comment, a shadow of justice, a cloak of power used for America's scourge, indicates the necessity of a Congress of Deputies from the several colonies to determine and agree upon further measures for redress of present or future grievances; and we are confident that if such a proposal shall be made by any one of the principal colonies the Representatives of the people here will adopt it and embrace the first opportunity of carrying it into execution.

"We have inclosed a copy of the Boston resolves, transmitted to us from Philadelphia, as a paper omitted to be sent by their last express to you for North Carolina.

"As the inhabitants of this Government entertain a high opinion of the zeal and firmness of your colony in the common cause of America, we are persuaded that their resolutions at this important crisis will have great weight here, and we shall be glad to have your sentiments thereon. In the meantime, we who are of the committee of correspondence for the Delaware government are, gentlemen,

"Your most obt. humble servts,

"GEO. READ.
"THOS. McKEAN.
"JOHN McKINLY."

"The several acts of Parliament made for these ten years last past, relating to the British colonies in North America, and their operations upon the property, liberty and lives of the good people of this country, are too well known and too severely felt to require any enumeration or explanation—suffice it to mention that they have taken away the property of the colonists without their participation or consent; that they have introduced the odious and arbitrary power of excise into the customs; that they have made all revenue causes triable without jury and under the decision of a dependent party judge; that they have taken from the Assemblies all freedom of debate and determination in the instance of suspending the legislative power of New York; that they have extended the obsolete and arbitrary act of 35 Henry VIII., for trial of treason and misprision of treason, to the depriving of the subjects of a fair trial in the proper country, and exposing him to the most grievous exertions of tyranny and injustice; that they have maintained a standing army in time of peace above the control of the civil authority; and that they have not only *declared* that they can make laws to bind us *in all cases whatsoever*, but, to crown all, have *actually* deprived the great and lately flourishing town of *Boston* of all trade whatsoever, by shutting up their port and harbour with a formidable fleet and army; and, it is not doubted, have now moulded the charter of the Province of the *Massachusetts Bay*; and virtually indemnified all officers of the customs, the army and the navy, and others acting by their command, from all murders and other crimes which they may commit upon the loyal, brave and free people of that province. These are no phantoms arising from a heated brain, but real facts, not exaggerated.

"It is impossible that any people, impressed with the least sense of constitutional liberty, should ever patiently submit to these enormous grievances, and accordingly we find our brethren and fellow subjects in most of the colonies are deliberating and resolving upon such measures as are thought to be most likely to recover our lost rights and privileges.

"Shall the people of this large and wealthy county, heretofore the foremost on many occasions particularly in the time of the detestable Stamp Act, to oppose all attempts to deprive them of their personal security and private property, be now inactive and silent? Forbid it, liberty; let humanity forbid it.

"You are therefore most earnestly requested to meet together at the Court-House in the town of New Castle, on Wednesday, the 28th inst., at 2 o'clock in the afternoon, to consider of the most proper mode of procuring relief for our dear countrymen and brethren of Boston, the redressing the before-mentioned grievances, the restoring and securing our invaded property and expiring liberties—and establishing on a constitutional bottom the wanted, and by us so much desired, peace, friendship and love between Great Britain and these colonies. It is expected that none who have a due regard to their country, posterity or themselves, will be absent."

The meeting was held on the date named, and a committee appointed to collect subscriptions for the relief of the people of Boston. On July 28th, the largest popular meeting ever assembled up to that time in Delaware was held at Lewistown. Mr. McKean made the principal address of the day. He introduced the business of the meeting by an encomium on the happiness of the English Constitution, and went on to show that the *American* colonies brought all *British* liberties with them, as appears by their charters, the nature of their emigration, and many public declarations at that time made and since. That the colonies were pleased and happy in their union, commerce and mutual assistance given to and received from the mother country, even while almost the whole fruits of their labor and industry ever returned to Britain, to her strength and aggrandizement. That they have been, and still are, the most loyal and dutiful of all His Majesty's subjects, and the most closely attached to his present royal family. That they have always granted their aids of money and men when their sovereign constitutionally demanded them of their Assemblies, and even seasonably and beyond their proportion; so that in the last war a considerable sum was refunded to this little colony on Delaware, as well

as others. That the present undeserved frowns of the parent State most probably arise from the base calumnies, wicked insinuations and most false misrepresentations of the Bernards, Hutchinsons, Olivers and such other malicious enemies of the real interests of Britain and America, who have, absurdly as well as wickedly, represented the colonies as rebellious, independent, etc. That hence, for about ten years past, the conduct of the British ministry and a majority of Parliament seems to be one continual plan to rob us of our dearest liberties. That, if America be enslaved, the freedom of Britain will not long survive that wretched crisis. That the impositions and oppressions of the most loyal Americans are already become very numerous and very grievous.

He then went on to enumerate and explain, as nearly as he could recollect, after laying down these principles, viz.:

"That all lawful civil governments must be wholly employed to preserve the lives, liberties and properties of the subject.

"No Englishman is bound by any laws to which he has not consented by himself or his own chosen Representatives.

"A man has no property in that of which he may be rightfully dispossessed at the pleasure of another.

"Britons only can give their own money.

"No man can tax us but ourselves while we enjoy the British Constitution."

He went on to show that from these principles, well known to every freeman, the following will appear, to say the least, lawless usurpations, viz.:

"1st. Restraining the colonists from manufacturing their own iron by erecting slitting mills, &c.

"2d. Restraining the transportation, and thus the manufacturing, hats of our own pelitry, &c.

"3d. The grievous oppression of preventing farmers to carry their own wool even across a ferry, though the rivers, waters, havens, etc. are given us by our charters.

"4th. The changing the boundaries of colonies and obliging men to live under constitutions to which they never consented, as part of Massachusetts Bay joined to New Hampshire.

"5th. The suspending the legislative powers of New York by an Act of Parliament until they should quarter troops sent to raise an illegal tribute by military execution.

"6th. The memorable and detestable Stamp Act.

"7th. The Parliamentary claim to make laws 'binding us in all cases whatsoever;' consequently, to regulate our internal police, give, take away, change and infringe our Constitutions and Charters, for which we have the most solemn faith of the Crown and Nation for their inviolable security.

"8th. Their assuming to levy sundry taxes upon us, though self-taxation is the basis of English freedom. At the distance of 3000 miles, the Parliament arbitrarily demands the strings of every American purse, though ignorant of us and our ability, &c., though they are not included in the same tax nor ever were chosen for our Representatives.

"9th. Their denying to us the right to give our own money to our own King on his legal demand, a right which Britons, from earliest histories, have enjoyed, and to secure which they have often spent much blood and treasure.

"10th. Their laying a tax on paper, glass, painters' colours and tea.

"11th. And though this, with the Stamp Act, were repealed by the non-importation, the American virtue and the influence of our friends, yet a tax on tea was and is continued as the badge of our slavery.

"12th. The mean stratagem, unworthy the Representatives of a free and great nation, of attempting to enslave us by pretending a favour to the East India Company, which Americans bravely rejected and discounted.

"13th. Finding stratagem would not prevail, they have thrown off the mask and are now dragooning us into a surrender of our rights by the last Bill, and wreaking their unjust vengeance on those who cannot submit to their impositions.

"14th. Maintaining a standing army in times of peace, above the control of the civil powers, at Boston, &c., which no Briton can submit to.

"15th. Extending the obsolete act of Henry VIII., to drag Americans to Britain to be tried, contrary to our birth-right privilege of juries of our own neighbourhood. How shocking to humanity to see a fleet and army on the Act for preserving dockyards, &c., solemnly stationed to take any poor man, on suspicion of his being one of the justly execrated mob who injured the 'Gaspee' schooner, to be sent in irons in a man-of-war—worse than a Spanish inquisition—three thousand miles, to be tried by partial judges and ruined, if innocent, at last!

"16th. The wresting Castle William out of the hands of the owners, though the principal fortress where their property and stores were deposited, and putting it into the hands of those who yet unjustly detain it, over whom the civil authorities have no control, at a time when the military threatened the slaughter of the inhabitants.

"17th. The rewarding and advancing Capt. Preston for the very reason of his murdering some young men at Boston.

"18th. Fleets and armies sent to enable the Commissioners of the Customs, authorized by Parliament, in violation of all English liberty, to plunder freemen's houses, cellars, trunks, bed-chambers, &c.; and if they murder men, by a late Bill, they may not be tried in America, and the poor relatives cannot prosecute on the other side of the Atlantic; thus, the blood of our poor innocents may cry, indeed, to God from the earth, but from civil government there can be no justice.

"19th. The grievous partiality of those who have made their own judges independent even of the demesne of the crown, yet have made Judges, a Governour and Attorney General, during pleasure only, under no ties to the country, but biased to the Ministry, by whom they are supported by a tax unconstitutionally squeezed from Americans. Their circumstances tend to make them, like Judge Jeffries, the cruel instruments of tyranny and injustice.

"20th. Ungratefully disheartening us, and adding insult to injury; quartering insolent troops upon us, to provoke the injured to mobs; and sending over men of the worst character for Governours, judges and officers to some colonies; refusing to hear any complaints of maladministration; forgetting all our merit, though the most firmly of all his Majesty's subjects attached to the principles of the Revolution; supporting one-third of the nation and increasing her naval power and grandeur, and profusely spending our blood and treasure in all the wars of Britain.

"21st. Another distressing grievance is that the British Ministry receive no information of the state of the Provinces unless from their very enemies, the Governours, Judges and officers, while cries and petitions of injured and oppressed colonies, even from General Congresses and Assemblies will not be favoured unto a hearing and by them kept back from the ear of our Sovereign; while the betrayers of the union and happiness both of Britain and America are heard, supported and rewarded by the Administration for all their false and malevolent dissimulations.

"22d. Though in all nations the persons of Ambassadors are sacred or inviolable, the virulent torrent of abuse premeditated and prepared and poured out in a most scurrilous manner, even in the House of Lords, by the approbation of a majority of them, against Dr. Benjamin Franklin, the known agent of our Colonies; though his age, office, abilities and character (as a philosopher and politician well known in all Europe) might have exempted him from abuse, even among the rudest companies, his offence, strange to relate, was discovering to his country their false friends.

"23d. The comforting houses, performents and lucrative posts generally on those unhappy wretches who appear the sole cause of all the dissensions in Britain and her unjust resentm against her loyal sons, as Bernard, baronet, &c., &c., many of whom, if justice could be brought to her ancient channels, would justly forfeit their devoted heads.

"24th. And now, to complete our slavery by violence, which could not be done by fraud, the Boston Port Bill is executed on Boston; that ancient, loyal and flourishing city blockaded by a fleet and army, without ever hearing them, or even their agent, one word in their defence.

"25th. By our last accounts, another Bill has passed the lower House, which is designed to indemnify the officers of the customs, navy and army, and all their wretched assistants, in destroying our rights, from all the barbarities, rapines and murders they may commit against that brave, loyal and patient people of Boston.

"26th. And finally, to show us that the stipulated faith of the Crown during the reign of his present Majesty is good for nothing at all, and to convince us that we have nothing that we may call our own, even our charters and constitutions themselves, another Bill has also passed that House to change, infringe and destroy all that, was worthy these care in the solemn charter of the Massachusetts Bay. The same Parliament, on the same principles, with equal right may vacate the right to any man's house, plantation, deed of his lands, &c., whenever he may happen to displease any Minister of State or any of his tools, from a Bernard and Hutchinson to the most infamous informer and tide-waiter.

"27th. Hence, on the whole, we have gradually lost our free Constitution, *English* liberties and charters, and are really under military government, a state to be deprecated by all good men; so that if we say a word against a Tea tax, a Boston Port Bill, or any arbitrary and tyrannical imposition, we may expect, like Boston to have our estates, trade, docks, &c., taken away, and dragoons sent to insult us; and if they murder us they are not amenable under our laws. Our circumstances bear some resemblance to the time when they were forcing Bishops on Scotland, when every common soldier, in the reign of Charles II., was witness, judge and jury himself, and on asking two or three questions might shoot down any person he met.

"Here is a dreadful catalogue, indeed! And I doubt not," said he, "there are many more which have escaped my memory. Oh, that our gracious sovereign would condescend to read the catalogue and spend one hour apart from Lord North and the other authors of our calamities, to meditate upon them! Sure, his humane heart would bleed for the distresses of his reign, and he would vow redress to his loving and oppressed subjects. Any one of these twenty-seven grievous impositions would have driven a people careless of loyalty, patriotism, prudence and fortitude, into actual rebellion, to take arms in defense of such invaluable privileges. But, in defiance of all the whispers of our enemies, though we love liberty, we love Britain, too, and earnestly desire to continue the most inviolable union, connection and harmony with the land of our fathers. Though we are now above five millions (and at our present rate of population will soon double that number), if we were now united, we need not dread, under the conduct of that gracious and Almighty Being who hears the cries of oppressed innocence, any single prince or empire upon earth; but were we ten thousand times so many more, we would still revere, love and support our mother, Britain, while she will treat us as children and friends."

He concluded his address by showing the necessity and expediency of a General Congress to cultivate and restore our friendship with Britain, as well as to agree on a necessary non-importation covenant; which Congress, he showed, ought to be continued in all future times. He hoped, amidst their important affairs, they would fall on some honorable and safe expedient to put an end to our African slavery, so dishonorable to us and so provoking to the most benevolent Parent of the Universe; that this, with our luxury and irreligion, are probably the remote causes of our present alarming situation.

A convention of the members of the Legislature met at New Castle, August 1st, in pursuance of a call from Cæsar Rodney, Speaker of the House of Assembly. The following delegates were present:

New Castle County: Thomas McKean, John Evans, John McKinly, James Latimer, George Read, Alexander Porter.

Kent County: Charles Ridgely, William Killen, Cæsar Rodney, Thomas Collins.

Sussex County: Thomas Robinson, Levin Crapper, Boaz Manlove, John Wiltbank, Stephen Townsend.

Cæsar Rodney was elected chairman, and David Thompson clerk. Then the resolutions adopted at the county meetings were read, those of the New Castle people coming first in order. They were as follows:

"Resolved, 1. That the Act of Parliament for shutting up the Port of Boston is unconstitutional, oppressive to the inhabitants of that town, dangerous to the liberties of the British colonies, and that therefore, we consider our brethren at Boston as suffering in the common cause of America.

"2. That a Congress of Deputies from the several counties in North America is the most probable and proper mode of procuring relief for our suffering brethren, obtaining redress for American grievances, securing our rights and liberties and re-establishing peace and harmony between Great Britain and these colonies on a constitutional foundation.

"3. That a respectable committee be immediately appointed for the County of New Castle, to correspond with the other colonies and with the other counties in this government, in order that all may unite in promoting and endeavoring to obtain the great and valuable ends mentioned in the foregoing resolution.

"4. That the most eligible mode of appointing Deputies would be by the Representatives of the people of this government met in their legislative capacity; but as the House of Assembly have adjourned themselves to the 20th day of September next, and it is not expected his Honour, our Governour, will call them by writs of summons on this occasion, having refused to do the like in his other Province of Pennsylvania; therefore that the Speaker of the Honourable House of Assembly be desired by the committee now to be appointed to write to the several members of Assembly, requesting them to convene at New Castle not later than the 1st of August next, to take into their most serious consideration our very alarming situation, and to appoint Deputies to attend at the General Congress for the Colonies at such time and place as shall be generally agreed upon.

"5. That the committee now to be chosen consist of thirteen persons, to wit: Thomas McKean, John Evans, John McKinly, James Latimer, George Read, Alexander Porter, Samuel Patterson, Nicholas Van Dyke, Thomas Kearsly, Job Harvey, George Monro, Samuel Platt and Richard Cantwell; and that any seven of them may act.

"6. That the said committee immediately set on foot a subscription for the relief of such poor inhabitants of the town of Boston as may be deprived of the means of subsistence by the Act of Parliament commonly styled the Boston Port Bill; the money arising from such subscription to be laid out as the committee shall think will best answer the ends proposed.

"7. That the inhabitants of the county will adopt and carry into execution all and singular such peaceable and constitutional measures as shall be agreed upon by a majority of the colonies by their Deputies at the intended Congress, and will have no trade, commerce or dealings whatsoever, with any Province, city or town in the British colonies on this continent (if any such should be), or with any individual therein, who shall refuse to adopt the same, until the before-mentioned Act of Parliament, and two bills respecting the Province of Massachusetts Bay (if passed into Acts), are repealed."

The meetings in Kent and Sussex having been held subsequent to that in New Castle, they followed the pattern of the resolutions adopted in the larger county, with some notable exceptions. Thus, for instance, the Kent County people, who assembled at Dover, July 20th, led off their declarations with the resolution that—

"We do acknowledge, recognize and most expressly declare his Majesty, King George III, to be lawful and right King of Great Britain, and all other his Dominions and Countries; and that it is the indispensable duty of the people of this country, as being part of his Majesty's Dominions, always to bear faithful and true allegiance to his Majesty, and him to defend, to the utmost of their power, against all attempts upon his person, crown or dignity."

This emphatic assertion of loyalty to the King did not, however, stay the Kent men from adopting in substance the New Castle resolutions. They appointed as the Boston Relief Committee for their county, Charles Ridgely, William Killen, Cæsar Rodney, John Haslet, John Clark, Thomas Collins, Jacob Stout, James Sykes, James Wells, Thomas Rodney, Richard Bassett, Richard Lockwood and Zadock Crapper, who were also to petition the Speaker of the House of Assembly to convene that body as set forth in the New Castle resolve. The Kent meeting wound up its business with an instruction to the committee to

"embrace this publick opportunity to testify their gratitude and most cordial thanks to the patrons and friends of liberty in Great Britain for their patriotic efforts to prevent the present calamity of America."

On July 23d the Sussex County meeting was held at Lewistown, and while it opened its resolutions with the affirmation that "the inhabitants of this county do owe and will pay allegiance to his majesty King George III.," it went rather beyond either the New Castle or Kent declarations on two points. One is to be found in the second resolve—

"That it is the inherent right of British subjects to be taxed by their own consent, or by Representatives chosen by themselves only; and that every Act of the British Parliament respecting the internal police of North America is unconstitutional, and an invasion of our just rights and liberties."

The use of the words "internal police" in this connection is noticeable. It meant much more than a denial of the taxing power of the parent nation; it might, indeed, be construed as a repudiation of the authority of Great Britain in the local administration of the laws in the colonies, and there is a ring of defiance in it which clearly illustrates an important stage of the separatist movement; moreover, it comports with the second point in which the Sussex men were in advance of their brethren of the colony, and which was embodied in the subjoined resolution, the fourth of the Sussex series,—

"That it is our opinion that it would conduce to the restoration of the liberties of America should the colonies enter into a joint agreement not to import any articles of British manufacture, or carry on any branch of trade unless under such restrictions as may be agreed upon by the Congress."

New Castle and Kent had only progressed to the decision of ceasing commercial intercourse with such of the colonies as withheld their support from the proposed Congress and its measures, but Sussex went boldly in for non-intercourse with the kingdom. In the light of subsequent events its radical tendencies were justified, but the exhibition of them so early as July, 1774, is a testimony to the bravery and far-sightedness of its Revolutionary leaders. The committee appointed by this Lewistown meeting embraced Thomas Robinson, Levin Crapper, Boaz Manlove, Benjamin Burton, John Wiltbank, Stephen Townsend, David Hall, Rev. Matthew Wilson, Jacob Moore, John Clowes, Daniel Nunez, John Rodney and Wm. Perry.

On August 22d the convention reassembled and appointed Cæsar Rodney, Thomas McKean and George Read, or any two of them,

"Deputies on the part and behalf of this government in a General Continental Congress proposed to be held at the City of Philadelphia, on the first Monday in September next, or at any other time and place that may be generally agreed on; then and there to consult and adjise with the Deputies from other Colonies, and to determine upon all such prudent and lawful measures as may be judged most expedient for the colonies immediately and unitedly to adopt, in order to obtain relief for an oppressed people, and the redress of our general grievances."

These delegates were sent to Congress with a clear understanding of the sentiments of their constituents. The convention adopted a set of resolutions, which they were directed to press upon the attention of Congress and endeavor to have indorsed by that body. In these the convention declared—

"1. In the first place, that we most solemnly and sincerely promise and declare that we do, and will, bear faith and true allegiance to his most sacred Majesty, King George III., our most gracious Sovereign and rightful liege Lord; that we will, upon true revolution principles, and to the utmost of our power, support and defend the Protestant succession as established in the illustrious House of Hanover; and it is our most earnest desire that the connection which subsists between Great Britain and her colonies, whereby they are made one people, may continue to the latest period of time.

"2. That the subjects of his Majesty in the British American Colonies have had, and of right ought to have, and enjoy all the liberties, privileges and immunities of free and natural born subjects within any of his Majesty's Dominions, as fully and amply as if they and every one of them were born within the realm of England; that they have a property in their own estates, and are to be taxed by their own consent only, given in person or by their Representatives, and are not to be dispossessed of their liberties and free customs, sentenced or condemned, but by lawful judgment of their peers.

"3. That the only lawful Representatives of the freemen in the several Colonies are persons they elect to serve as members of the General Assembly there; and that it is the just right and privilege of the said freemen to be governed by laws made by their General Assembly in the article of taxation and internal police.

"4. That all trials for treason, misprision of treason, or for any felony or crime whatsoever, committed and done in the said colonies ought of right to be had and conducted in his Majesty's Courts held within the same, according to the fixed and known course of proceeding; and that the seizing any person or persons suspected of any crime whatsoever committed in them, and sending such person or persons to places beyond the sea, to be tried, is highly derogatory of the rights of British subjects, as thereby the inestimable privilege of being tried by a jury from the vicinage, as well as the liberty of summoning and producing witnesses on such trials, will be taken away from the party accused.

"5. That all acts and proceedings of the British Parliament for prohibiting and restraining American manufactures; imposing taxes on the British Colonies; extending the powers of Custom-House officers and Admiralty Courts here beyond their ancient limits; and seizing and sending persons suspected of committing treason, or misprision of treason, in these colonies to England for trial, are unwarrantable assumptions of power, unconstitutional, and destructive of British liberty.

"6. That the successive Acts of Parliament made in the last session, for inflicting pains and penalties upon the town of Boston, by shutting up their port and blocking up their harbour; for altering the administration of justice in certain criminal cases within the Province of Massachusetts Bay; and for new modelling the constitution of that Province, established by Royal Charter, are in the highest degree arbitrary in their principles, unparalleled in their rigour, oppressive in their operation and subversive of every idea of justice and freedom.

"7. That it is the indispensable duty of all the colonies, not only to alleviate the unexampled distress of our brethren of Massachusetts Bay, who are suffering in the common cause of America, but to assist them by all lawful means in removing their grievances, and for re-establishing their constitutional rights, as well as those of all America, on a solid and permanent foundation.

"8. That it is our fixed, determined and unalterable resolution, by all lawful ways and means in our power, to maintain, defend and preserve our before-mentioned rights and liberties, and that we will transmit them entire and inviolate to our posterity; and, further, that we will adopt and faithfully carry into execution, all and singular, such peaceable and constitutional measures as have been agreed upon by this Congress.

"9. That we are unfeignedly thankful to those truly noble, honorable and patriotick advocates in Great Britain, who have so generously and powerfully, though unsuccessfully, espoused and defended the cause of America, both in and out of Parliament, that we still feel the warmest affection for our brethren in the parent state; and that it is our opinion, as it is our hope, that the cool and dispassionate among our fellow-subjects in Great Britain will applaud our measures and co-operate with us in every manly struggle for the preservation of those our rights, with which their own are so intimately connected.

"And, further, we do most earnestly recommend it to our said Deputies to use their most earnest endeavors to prevail with the Deputies from other colonies to frame decent and becoming petitions to his most gracious Majesty, and to both Houses of Parliament, for the redress of all our grievances, and to agree to a non importation of goods from, and non-exportation to, Great Britain, until relief shall be obtained.

"Notwithstanding any thing heretofore mentioned, it is not our meaning that by these instructions our said Deputies should be restrained from agreeing to any measures that shall be approved by the Congress."

It is altogether proper that Delawareans of the present day should refer with a conscious glow of pride to these resolutions; for while the programme of the convention measured up to the fullest

exigencies of the crisis in 1774, its members foresaw that British oppressions, if continued, would demand a stronger policy than that of protest and non-intercourse. Therefore the delegates were given their freedom to join with such further resistance as the majority of the Congress might deem wise, and they were thus solemnly assured that the patriots at home would sustain them in any length to which they might go for the vindication of American rights. By this move Delaware was placed on the front line of the struggle, and there could be no doubt of her willingness to follow wherever it might lead.

Messrs. Rodney, McKean and Read presented their credentials to Congress at its meeting in Carpenters' Hall, Philadelphia, September 5, 1774, and the two former were on the next day appointed on "the first committee," and Mr. Read on "the second committee." In the official report of the proceedings they are designated as the "delegates from the Three Counties," or from the "Three Lower Counties on the Delaware," or from the "Delaware Counties." Delaware was assigned her place in the abortive plan submitted by Mr. Galloway on September 28th for an American government, "to be administered by a President-General, to be appointed by the King, and a grand council to be chosen by the representatives of the people of the several colonies in their respective assemblies once in every three years." Her three delegates signed the "Association" on October 20th—the non-importation, non-consumption and non-exportation agreement by which the colonies dissolved their commercial relations with the mother country, resolving neither to buy her products and wares after December 1, 1774, nor to export any merchandise or commodity to Great Britain, Ireland or the West Indies, except rice to Europe, after September 10, 1775, unless Parliament in the mean time should abrogate the obnoxious statutes.

This was the address which embraced the proviso that "we will neither import nor purchase any slave imported after the 1st day of December next; after which time we will wholly discontinue the Slave Trade, and will neither be concerned in it ourselves, nor will we hire our vessels nor sell our commodities or manufactures to those engaged in it." The Delaware members also concurred in the address to the people of Great Britain, the memorial to the inhabitants of the British colonies, the address to the inhabitants of Quebec, the address to the people of Canada and finally the address to the King. All these were recapitulations of the grievances of which the people of the thirteen colonies complained. The sympathy and assistance of the people of Great Britain were supplicated and the King was petitioned for the employment of his royal authority to remove the burdens under which the Americans suffered. Mr. McKean was made a member of the committee to revise the minutes of Congress, and for several weeks was closely engaged in Philadelphia in the performance of the duty.

The New Castle County committee was assembled at New Castle on November 28, 1774, with John McKinly as chairman and David Thompson as clerk, when the "Association" entered into by Congress was approved, and the people were especially recommended to fully and faithfully comply with the eighth, ninth, and thirteenth articles, which were as follows:

"8. That we will, in our several stations, encourage frugality, oeconomy and industry and promote agriculture, arts and the manufactures of this country, especially that of wool; and will discountenance and discourage every species of extravagance and dissipation, especially all horse-racing, and all kinds of gaming, cock fighting, exhibitions of plays, shows and other expensive diversions and entertainments; and on the death of any relative or friend, none of us, or any of our families, will go into any further mourning-dress than a black crape or ribbon on the arm or hat for gentlemen, and a black ribbon or necklace for ladies, and will discontinue the giving of gloves and scarfs at funerals.

"9. That such as are venders of goods or merchandise will not take advantage of the scarcity of goods that may be occasioned by this Association, but will sell the same at the rates we have been respectively accustomed to for twelve months last past. And if any vender of goods or merchandise shall sell any such goods on higher terms or shall, in any manner, or by any device whatsoever, violate or depart from this Agreement, no person ought, nor will any of us deal with any such person, or his or her factor or agent, at any time thereafter for any commodity whatever.

"13. That all manufactures of this country be sold at reasonable prices, so that no undue advantage be taken of a future scarcity of goods."

The committee met again on December 21st and resolved,

"That pursuant to an intimation given by the said Continental Congress, as well as from a full persuasion that a well-regulated militia, composed of the gentlemen, freeholders and other freemen, is the natural strength and stable security of a free government; therefore, it is recommended by this Committee to such of the inhabitants of this county as are from 16 to 50 years of age, that they assemble themselves on the second Tuesday in January next, at such places as shall be appointed by the Committees of their respective Hundreds, and then and there associate and enroll themselves into companies of not less than fifty nor more than seventy-five men, according as the several districts will admit, and choose a Captain, two Lieutenants, an Ensign, four Sergeants, two Corporals and one drummer for each company; and use their utmost endeavors to make themselves masters of the military exercise. That each man be provided with a well-fixed firelock and bayonet; half a pound of powder, two pounds of lead, and a cartouch box or powder horn, and bag for ball, and be in readiness to act in any emergency.

"That the committees of the respective Hundreds do divide the same into suitable districts, as they severally will admit of.

"That contributions from this county for supplying the necessities and alleviating the distresses of our brethren in Boston ought to be continued in such manner and as long as their occasions may require; and that it is the duty of the Committee of Correspondence of the said county to collect and transmit the same as soon as possible."

While the patriots were thus advancing the fortunes of the inchoate nation they were harassed by a fire in the rear from the strong Tory element of the province. The party divisions of Whig and Tory were recognized and the line of demarcation plainly defined. There were stern and prompt men in the leadership of the Revolutionists, and they would not hesitate to make an example of the enemy at home that would exert a repressive force upon the British sympathizers. In the *Pennsylvania Ledger* of the first week of Feb-

ruary, 1775, there was printed the following extract of "a Letter from Kent County:"

"With regard to political matters, the people here begin to change their sentiments, conclude in their more deliberate moments that such violent measures as have been pursued will not heal, but, on the contrary, widen the breach; many who have kept their sentiments to themselves begin to whisper their dislike of the proceedings gone into. I believe the Friendly Address and other performances of the moderate stamp have done much good in opening the blind eyes of many, and when people come to taste feelingly of the hardships which a suspension of trade will occasion they will change sides; nay, I believe if the King's standard were now erected nine out of ten would repair to it. The people have not till lately considered the consequences of a civil war with so brave and powerful a nation as that of Great Britain; the heat and rage of party had not given them leisure to reflect on the devastation and havock it would occasion; and if our rashness should yet bring one on, quere, if such reflections as these would not arise with many? I have seen this land blessed with peace and plenty under the happiest form of government in the world; every branch of business flourishing; men secured in their liberty and property; a trade open to foreign ports of the world, which ensured a ready sale for our produce. I have been in possession of a wife and many children, some of whom are numbered among the slain and others far separated; I have lived in a happy, harmonious neighborhood, where the violence of party and the appellations of Whig and Tory were unknown. Who could think that a three penny duty on tea could have occasioned all these difficulties, when only a refusal to purchase the article would have kept us free!"

Upon the publication of this letter the Philadelphia Committee of Correspondence made inquiry of the Kent County committee concerning the truth of the allegations which it contained, and the latter replied as follows, under date of February 15th:

"Gentlemen—We are this morning favoured with yours of the 13th inst., informing us of the purport of a piece of intelligence published in the *Pennsylvania Ledger* of Saturday last, said to be an extract of a letter from Kent County on Delaware, very injurious to the publick spirit of the inhabitants of this county. We can assure you, from the knowledge we have of the sentiments of the inhabitants, that they have not in the least changed their opinions with respect to the important subject of dispute between the mother country and the British Colonies in America, and are well disposed to make a virtuous stand against tyranny and oppression, from whatsoever quarter they may threaten us, as the inhabitants of any other of these Colonies; and that the said extract is a base calumny, replete with falsehood, and only designed by the wicked, insidious author to cause divisions and excite mutual suspicions and distrust in the minds of Americans, weaken our hands, and prepare the way to an easy victory for the enemies of America. We would, therefore, request the favour of your committee to call upon the printer of the above paper to discover, if he can, the author of this piece of slander, and that this letter may be published in all the Philadelphia papers."

The Kent County Committee of Inspection met at Dover, May 2, 1775, and received from Robert Holliday a communication in which he acknowledged to have written the obnoxious letter, but pleaded that he did not sign it; that the printed extract was somewhat altered from the original; that it was not dated at any place, and that he had informed Joshua Fisher & Sons, to whom it was directed, that he did not think it best it should be published. "I am," said Mr. Holliday, "sincerely sorry I ever wrote it, as also for its being published, and hope I may be excused for this my first breach in this way, and I intend it shall be the last."

It was resolved by the committee that this explanation was not satisfactory, and Mr. Holliday was requested to appear before the committee at its next meeting, on May 9th. He obeyed, and an apology was drawn up under the direction of the committee, which he signed and which was accepted as full reparation on his part for the mischief he had done. It read thus:

"With sorrow and contrition for my weakness and folly, I confess myself the author of the letter from which an extract was published in the third number of *Humphrey's Ledger*, said to be from Kent County on Delaware, but at the same time do declare it was published without my consent and not without some alterations.

"I am now convinced the political sentiments therein contained were founded in the greatest error, more especially that the malignant insinuation that 'if the King's standard were now erected, nine out of ten would repair to it' could not have been suggested but from the deepest instigation. True indeed it is that the people of this county have ever shown a zealous attachment to his Majesty's person and government, and whenever he raised his standard in a just cause were ready to flock to it; but let the severe account I now render to an injured people witness to the world that none are more ready to oppose tyranny, or to be first in the cause of liberty, than the inhabitants of Kent County.

"Conscious that I can render no satisfaction adequate to the injuries done my country, I can only beg the forgiveness of my countrymen upon those principles of humanity which may induce them to consider the frailty of human nature. And I do profess and promise that I will never again oppose those laudable measures necessarily adopted by my countrymen for the preservation of American freedom; but will co-operate with them to the utmost of my abilities in their virtuous struggle for liberty, so far as is consistent with my religious principles."

In the House of Commons, March 30, 1775, Sir Charles Whitworth reported from the Committee of the Whole the bill to restrain the trade and commerce of the colonies of New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia and South Carolinia to Great Britain, Ireland and the British Islands in the West Indies. Lord North defended the bill on the ground of necessity, and offered an additional clause, "To prevent frauds arising in the exportation of goods of the produce of the counties of Kent, Sussex and New Castle." A few observations were made on this extraordinary motion, which it was said was unprecedented in the annals of Parliament—that of condemning people unheard, nay, even without inquiry.

It was answered generally that the House was in possession of information sufficient to warrant the insertion of the clause; that the papers lying on the table contained that information; and that any gentleman who doubted that the inhabitants of these counties deserved no exclusive favor or particular indulgence, had need only to peruse the papers laid before the House to be convinced.

The House then agreed to the clause, and, on April 5th, passed the bill, the House of Lords concurring, on April 12th. Clause VII. of the engrossed bill is that relating especially to the Delaware counties, and is as follows:

"And in order to prevent frauds and abuses, which may be committed contrary to the intention and against the provisions of this act, by the exportation of any goods of the growth, product or manufacture of the colonies of New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Maryland and Virginia, from any of the ports within the government of the counties of New Castle, Kent and Sussex on Delaware, it is hereby further enacted that during the continuance of this Act no goods or commodities whatsoever shall be shipped, to be carried from any port or place within the said counties, or either of them, to any other land, port or place whatsoever, except to the Kingdoms of Great Britain or Ireland, or to some of the British Islands in the West Indies, until the owner or exporter of such goods shall have made oath, or being one of the people called Quakers, shall have affirmed before the Collector or other proper Officer of the customs at the port or place where the same shall be shipped (which oath or affirmation such collector or other officer is hereby authorized to administer) that such goods are really and *bona fide* of the growth, product or manufacture of one or the other of said counties, of which fact the

collector, or other proper officer of the customs shall, and is hereby required to give a certificate under his hand to the master of the ship or vessel on board which such goods are laden, for the security of her navigation; and in failure of producing such certificate, such ship or vessel, and the goods thereon laden, shall be forfeited, and shall and may be seized and prosecuted as hereinafter directed."

Pursuant to adjournment, on October 26th, the Delaware Assembly met at New Castle, March 13, 1775, and adjourned to the next day, when Thomas McKean, for himself and Messrs. Rodney and Read, made report of their attendance upon Congress. On the 15th the Assembly passed resolutions approving the proceedings of Congress and the conduct of the Delaware deputies, and thanking the latter "for their faithful and judicious discharge of the trust in them reposed." The Assembly also indorsed the action of the convention which elected the delegates to Congress, and agreed to allow them £60 each for their expenses, payment to be made by "orders drawn by the Speaker on the Trustees of the several loan offices of this government, according to the directions of the Proportion Act." On the 16th a resolution was passed appointing the same three gentlemen representatives in the American Congress to meet in Philadelphia, on May 10th,

"With full power to them, or any two of them, together with the delegates from the other American colonies, to concert and agree upon such further measures as shall appear to them best calculated for the accommodation of the unhappy differences between Great Britain and the colonies on a constitutional foundation, which the House most ardently wish for, and that they report their proceedings to this House at their next meeting."

Messrs. Evans, Ridgely, McKinly, Hall and Rench were appointed a committee to prepare instructions for the delegates, and drew up the following, which the Assembly confirmed on March 29th:[1]

"1. That in every act to be done in Congress you studiously avoid, as you have heretofore done, everything disrespectful or offensive to our most gracious sovereign, or in any measure invasive of his just rights and prerogative.

"2. That you do adhere to those claims and resolutions made and agreed upon at the last meeting of the Congress; yet, for the restoration of that harmony with the parent state, which is so essential to the success and happiness of the whole British empire, and which is so ardently wished for by this House, you may, in your parts, yield such contested claims of right as do not apparently belong to the colonists, or are not essentially necessary to their well being.

"3. If his Majesty should be pleased graciously to appoint any person or persons to treat with the colonies on the present unhappy disputes subsisting between them and the Parent State, you, or any of you, the Congress shall nominate, may treat with such person or persons on behalf of the inhabitants of this government.

"4. If the Congress when formed shall not, in every question to be voted by the Provinces, allow this government an equal vote with any other Province or government on this continent, you are decently but firmly to urge the right of this government to an equal voice in Congress with the other Colonies."

On March 20th the captains and subaltern officers of New Castle County met at Christiana Bridge, and chose as commanders for the Upper Division, James McKinly, colonel; James Latimer, lieutenant-colonel; and Thomas Duff, major. For the Lower Division they chose Thomas Cooch, colonel; Samuel Patterson, lieutenant-colonel; and Gunning Bedford, major.

[1] American Archives, 4th series, vol. ii., pp. 128-129.

One of the express messengers dispatched from Massachusetts to rouse the colonies with the news of the battle of Lexington, left Philadelphia at noon of April 26, 1775, and riding through Chester, reached New Castle at nine o'clock the same night, where his message was indorsed by Z. V. Leuvenigh and Stephen Spencer, who forwarded it to Lieutenant-Colonel Samuel Patterson, at Christiana Bridge. Col. Patterson received it at midnight and passed it to Col. Thomas Cooch, "who received it this moment, and he to forward it to Tobias Rudolph, Esq., head of Elk, in Maryland, night and day to be forwarded." With this indorsement the messenger pressed on to Baltimore.

A meeting of the New Castle committee was held on May 18, 1775, at which were present the justices of the peace and grand jurymen of the county, to take into consideration the raising of a defense fund. At the previous meeting, on May 3d, it had been resolved to collect a shilling and six pence in the pound from each taxable inhabitant, and also from the estates of non-residents; but this measure in part failed, and now the justices and the jurymen entered into a pledge that at the next meeting of the Levy Court they would vote for a tax of this amount "in addition to the tax which may be necessary for the current expenses of the county; out of which additional tax all sums of money already, or which may hereafter be, paid in compliance with the said resolves of the committee, are to be deducted and credit given for them to the persons who have paid, or may pay, the same." This stipulation was signed by George Monro, Morton Morton, Wm. Hemphill, Thomas Kean, George Evans, Wm. Anderson, John James, Robert Kirkwood, David Howell, John Hyatt, John Taylor, Wm. Read, Wm. Clark, John Jones, John Evans, Thos. Cooch, David Finney, James Latimer, R. Cantwell, John Malcolm, Geo. Craghead, John Stapler, William Patterson, Samuel Patterson, Thomas McKim and John McKinley. In explanation of their course, they appended to the document the statement that:

"It being found quite impracticable to raise the sums of money that were necessary for the purposes aforementioned, in so short a time as the urgency required, in the usual legal ways, therefore the Committee were obliged to adopt the foregoing method as appearing the most speedy, effectual and equitable manner of raising the same; and is hoped that all lovers of their country will readily pay their several quotas to the committee-men of their Respective Hundreds, who have undertaken to collect the same without fees or commissions, as the money is immediately wanted. Each of the Committee of Correspondence are required to be diligent in collecting, as speedily as possible, what money has been subscribed and not paid towards the relief of our suffering brethren at Boston, and to apply to such as have not before contributed to their support, as their situation is at present most deplorable."

May 25, 1775, the officers of some twenty companies of the Kent County militia met at Dover, with Captain John Haslet as chairman and Lieutenant Mark McCall as clerk, and divided the county into two divisions, each to contain one reg-

iment. For the Upper Regiment they elected Cæsar Rodney as colonel; Thomas Collins, lieutenant-colonel; and French Battell, major. The officers chosen for the Lower Regiment were John Haslet, colonel; Wm. Rhodes, lieutenant-colonel; and Robert Hodgson, major. All the officers present signed an agreement, "by the sacred ties of honour and love for our country, that we and each of us will, to the utmost of our abilities, well and faithfully execute the important offices conferred upon us by our fellow-subjects, and in our military and every other capacity, at the risk of our lives and fortunes, defend the liberties and privileges of America, as well natural as constitutional, against all invaders or such as may attempt the least violation or infringement of them."

The "Association," as they styled it, also promised that "we will subject ourselves to such pains, penalties, military punishments and disgrace as courts-martial, to be constituted from time to time, of the officers of our own body, shall or may inflict on any of us offending against the rules of military discipline, or contravening in word or deed the true interest of America, or the spirit and principle of this Association."

The Assembly met again on June 5th, but did nothing until two days later, when it received the announcement from the delegate to Congress that the latter body was "unanimously of the opinion that it is absolutely necessary for the preservation of the lives, liberties and properties of the good people of the twelve united colonies and of the parish of St. John, in Georgia, to have an armed force at their general expense sufficient for repelling and defeating all hostile attempts by arms to deprive them of the same." The Assembly resolved, without dissent, to bear whatever share of the expense of the military establishment which should be fixed by Congress, and authorized the Speaker to draw upon the loan offices for an immediate loan of £500, the money to be subsequently replaced in the offices. Then the House adjourned to August 21st.[1]

[1] Following the chronological order of events, mention should be made at this place of the project to organize a fourth county in Delaware. The committee having the plan in charge, held a meeting at Broad Creek, Head of Indian River, June 20, 1775, and adopted resolutions declaring that, although they were not represented in the Delaware Assembly, they yet repused such confidence in the delegates to Congress that they would bind themselves to support all its measures. The resolutions continue:

"And further to support the union of the Colonies on which, under God, our safety depends, we unanimously resolve that John Dagworthy, John Jones, John Tennant, John Collins, Simon Kollock, Wm. Holland, Samuel Stone, Joshua Polk, Clement Bayley, Wm Polk, John Mitchell, Peter Hubbard and Elijah Cannon be appointed a committee to meet and correspond with the other committees of this and the other governments, and that any seven of them may act.

"And whereas disadvantageous conclusions may probably be drawn from the conduct of the people here, with respect to their entering into this Association at this late period, this committee does with pleasure embrace this opportunity to satisfy our fellow-subjects in general that our backwardness in this affair has been totally and wholly owing to the fluctuating or unsettled state of the lines or boundaries between the two governments of Pennsylvania and Maryland, and not from the influence of any Tories amongst us, or any disregard to the common cause. But as those are now happily established, we hope to evince to the world that we have as proper a sense and as becoming a zeal for the liberties of America as our fellow-subjects in the other parts of this government."

"N. B.—In this new County military preparations for self-defence against the bloody attacks of the infatuated British ministry are carried on with great spirit. It is expected we shall soon have fifteen hundred or more of a well-trained militia; and the committee are endeavoring to obtain the necessary supplies of warlike stores."

Among the Tory episodes of 1775, the Sussex County committee had an interesting struggle with Thomas Robinson.[2] In a circular dated July 18th the committee say they have taken too little notice of the complaints of Robinson's Toryism, and that therefore:

"Mr. Robinson, weakly imagining that this tenderness and lenity proceeded from fear, began to vaunt and exult, and with an effrontery over the companion of ignorance, proceeded more boldly and openly to stamp his vile and slavish Ministerial principles upon the weak and unwary, over too many of whom, in the forests of Sussex and Maryland, by means of his office and store, he has too much influence."

At this meeting (July 18th) the committee took testimony concerning Robinson's Toryism. Peter Watson swore that on July 10th he was at Robinson's store, on the head of Indian River, and saw John Gozlin, clerk to Robinson, sell two parcels of tea, "one of which he delivered to a girl, the other to Leatherberry Barker's wife," the tea being taken out of a canister holding twelve to fifteen pounds. Then Robert Butcher testified that when he told Robinson that the committee was advising the people to muster in order to defend their liberties, Robinson replied that "they were a pack of fools, for it was taking up arms against the King; and that our charters were not annihilated, changed or altered by the late Acts of Parliament, and therefore we ought to obey the King and those that were put in authority under him; and that the great people were only leading the poor into a premunire, and after they had done it would not help them out of it." Nathaniel Mitchell testified that Robinson had declared that "the present Congress were an unconstitutional body of men and that the great men were pushing the common people between them and all danger."

This was quite enough for the committee, and they summoned Robinson to appear before the General Committee at the house of John Newbold on July 22d to answer to the charges against him. The citation was sent by Elisha Cottingham, who reported to the General Committee that he had served it upon the contumacious Tory, "who desired him to give his compliments to the gentlemen of the committee and acquaint them that he did not, nor could not, think of coming before them unless he could bring forty or fifty

[2] Thomas Robinson, of Sussex County, was prominent during the Revolutionary period for his Tory sentiments and antagonism of the patriots. He was tried on the charge of treason, and found guilty of being "an enemy to his country and a contumacious opposer of liberty and the natural rights of mankind." In response to a summons to appear and answer, Robinson sent a contemptuous message. He was fined £1000, had his property confiscated and was obliged to flee to Canada. Subsequently he returned to Sussex County, where he died. Thomas Robinson was a brother of Judge Peter Robinson, also of Sussex County, who was appointed justice of the Supreme Court of the State, October 8, 1781. Peter Robinson, for three terms Secretary of State and associate judge of the Superior Court, was a son of Thomas Robinson.

armed men with him." This bold defiance of their authority was more than the committee had anticipated or were prepared to meet. They had no force at their immediate command with which to drag Robinson from his forest home, and the most they could do was to place him under what a hundred years later came to be known as a boycott. They resolved to hold him "forth to the publick, as an enemy to his country and a contumacious opposer of liberty and the natural rights of mankind," and they enjoined all persons "to break off all dealings and commercial connections" with him.

The resolutions of the committee were published in Bradford's newspaper, and on Oct. 12th Robinson wrote to the publishers complaining that the publication was made without allowing him an opportunity to controvert the charges, and that although it had failed in Sussex of answering the private election purposes for which it was made, it might have an unfavorable effect for him upon people at a distance. He inclosed a certificate signed by five members of the Committee of Inspection to the effect that they had not yet had it in their power to fully discuss the character of Thomas Robinson, but they submitted a resolution adopted by a majority of the committee on Aug. 16th. By this resolution it was declared that the proceedings of the Committee of Correspondence on July 27th was illegal because it had been drawn up and sent to the press by only four members of that committee instead of the seven required to sanction such action. The five members of the Inspection Committee added that—"And from any circumstance that has yet appeared to us on the inquiry that we have been able to make, the charge against Thomas Robinson is altogether without foundation. The public is therefore desired to suspend their opinion in regard to said Robinson until he is heard by the General Committee." This was signed by Isaac Minshall, (chairman), Joseph Turpin, Isaac Bradley, John Laws and Alexander Laws.

At a meeting of the White Clay Creek (New Castle County) committee at Henry Darby's house, in Newark, Aug. 7th, William Patterson presiding, Rev. Morgan Edwards presented himself and signed the following recantation, which was voted satisfactory:

"Whereas, I have some time since, frequently, made use of rash and imprudent expressions with respect to the conduct of my fellow-countrymen, who are now engaged in a noble and patriotick struggle for the liberties of America against the arbitrary measures of the British Ministry, which conduct has justly raised their resentment against me. I now confess that I have spoken wrong, for which I am sorry and ask forgiveness of the publick; and I do promise that for the future I will conduct myself in such a manner as to avoid giving offense, and at the same time, in justice to myself, declare that I am a friend to the present measures pursued by the friends of American liberty and do heartily approve of them, and, as far as in my power, will endeavour to promote them."

A new committee for Kent County was chosen at an election in the hundreds on Aug. 14th The members elected were Cæsar Rodney, Wm. Meredith, John Dill, James Moor, James Tilton, John Baning, Wm. Killen, Vincent Loockerman, Benedict Brice, Benjamin Coombe, Nathaniel Luff, John Clark, John Davis, Rynear Williams, Elijah Morris, Belitha Laws, Benjamin Clark, Wm. Cullen, Edward Rees, Isaac Carty, Thomas Skillington, Silas Snow, Ezekiel Needham, Wm. Jorden, James Starling, James Wells, Jacob Stout, John Bell, Edmund Stout, Risden Bishop, Joshua Gordon, John Gordon, Vincent Loockerman, Jr., Jonathan Caldwell and Thomas Rodney. They convened at Dover on Aug. 17th and chose Cæsar Rodney as chairman; Mark McCall, clerk; and appointed as the Committee of Correspondence, Thomas Rodney, James Tilton, Wm. Killen, John Baning and Vincent Loockerman.

At a meeting of the committee of St. George's Hundred, New Castle County, Aug. 21st, Peter Hyett presided and Peter Cahoon, another suspected Tory, was brought up to the ordeal of examination. The committee accepted from him this apology:

"Whereas, I have some time since, frequently, made use of rash and imprudent expressions with respect to the conduct of my worthy countrymen, now struggling in the most noble cause of liberty, I do, therefore, take this opportunity publickly to declare that my expressions have proceeded from a very contracted knowledge of the British Constitution and the just rights of human nature, and am now sensible of my acting entirely wrong, for which I am extremely sorry and humbly ask forgiveness of the publick, upon assurance of my solemn promise to conduct myself for the future in such manner as shall be approved of by my countrymen, in promoting to the utmost of my power and heartily approving the different resolves and modes prescribed by our honourable Continental Congress for the preservation of American freedom, which I now plainly see is attempted to be rooted out of this country by a corrupted ministry. I hope this publick acknowledgement of my error, and a full conviction of the justice and legality of the cause, will wipe off the just resentments that my former bad conduct have raised against me and induce the publick to believe me determined, as I am for the future, to stand forth for freedom and the good of this country."

Charles McKinzie, master of the ship "Peace and Plenty," on Sept. 18th petitioned the New Castle committee for permission to take in a cargo for a foreign port. He had brought to the Delaware passengers from Belfast, Ireland, and was naturally anxious to avoid the loss of returning in ballast by carrying out a loading of freight. There seems to have been no reason for suspecting him of any ulterior purpose, but the committee peremptorily refused to allow him to ship a cargo and only permitted him to take on board enough provisions and stores for the crew. Such were the rigors of the non-intercourse policy.

The Delaware delegates in Congress on July 8th joined in signing the petition to the King. On July 29th Congress, having under consideration the allotment of the Continental currency to the various colonies, resolved that the proportion of each should be determined according to the total population of each, including negroes and mulattos; but as no accurate census was available arbitrary quotas were assigned, subject to revision as each

colony furnished a corrected list of inhabitants. Under this provisional enactment the allotment to Delaware was $37,219.50, which she was to redeem by special taxes.

The Council of Safety held an important meeting at Dover on Sept. 11th, when John McKinly was elected president and James Sykes secretary. The session continued for six days, and was mainly employed in perfecting the military organization of the three counties, which embraced altogether nine battalions. The three battalions of New Castle County commanded respectively by John McKinly, Thomas Cooch and Richard Cantwell, were formed into one brigade, with McKinly as brigadier-general. Kent County reported two battalions under the command of Cæsar Rodney and John Haslet, which, with the Western Battalion of Sussex County, were formed into a second brigade under Brigadier-General Rodney; and the three battalions of John Dagworthy, David Hall and Jacob Moor were organized into a third brigade under Dagworthy as brigadier general. Commissions for these officers were made out, and it was entered on the minutes that "there are about 5000 effective men in this government associated and determined to defend their just rights and liberties with their lives and fortunes."

The Kent County committee had at their meeting on Oct. 16th at Dover, to deal with Daniel Varnum, who had obeyed a citation for his appearance. A special accusation, to which he pleaded guilty, was that he had declared "he had as lief be under a tyrannical King as a tyrannical Commonwealth, especially if the d—d Presbyterians had the control of it," for which he thus made retraction over his signature and in the presence of the committee:

"Being conscious that such language by me used is the language of the worst of enemies to America, and that it hath a direct tendency to injure the common cause in which all should be engaged, I take this publick method of declaring my sorrow for my imprudence and folly, and that in future I will pay a strict regard to the resolves of the Continental Congress and rules and directions of the Committees of said county, carefully avoiding everything that has the least tendency to violate or contravene the same."

Samuel McMasters wrote to Dr. James Tilton from Lewes Nov. 14, 1775:

"This informs you that an indictment was found by the Grand Jury of Sussex County against a number of zealous friends to their country for, it is said, insulting a certain J. C. The particulars are as follows: J. C., some time in the month of September, came to Lewes, and in an open, profane manner cursed the honourable Continental Congress and all those that would not curse it; calling upon the Supreme Being in a most solemn manner to d—n the Congress and all that would not d—n it; that the d—d set would ruin the Country. For which expressions and such like it was thought proper he should be had up before the Committee of Inspection as guilty of treason against the liberties of America and also the Congress; for the Congress acting suitable to the power delegated that body ought to be esteemed as King, and, therefore, whatever is said against that body should be deemed treason. C., being had up before the Committee, and the fact before it sufficiently proved, one of the audience said 'it sounded like a death warrant.' C., in an insulting, swearing way, said 'Put it in execution.' However, upon mature consideration of the Committee, some of which were no better than C., a sort of recantation was drawn up and signed by C., but by no means satisfactory to the people. Upon which some concluded we should proceed in the new mode of making converts, by bestowing upon C. a coat of tar-and-feathers; but after some hesitation and much persuasion, were prevented from using any violent measures, unless beating the drum a few rods, and two boys throwing an egg upon unknown to the men, which as soon as they were observed were immediately stopped. No threatening or abusive language was made use of to intimidate or affright him. This is as near the state of the matter as I can recollect. This they have made a riot of, and J. M., Esq., as King's attorney, has acted in this matter.

"Now, if such offenders as C. are permitted to bring us under the cognizance of the civil law, all the friends of liberty here in Sussex may as well give up as contend any longer; for we are too weak to oppose Ministerial tools."

Dr. Tilton replied very promptly. After expressing his surprise at the information imparted by Mr. McMasters, he added:

"I have heard a great deal of Sussex Toryism, but imagined if you had really such among you, they would have acted more ingenuously than by playing off the civil law as an engine against the Sons of Liberty. The recent success of Mr. H., I should have thought, would have taught them better. Your Grand Jury must certainly have been infatuated with very undue prejudices or they never could have countenanced such an indictment as you mention.

"I wish I was able to give you such advice as would be profitable to your deluded countrymen; but when I consider that I am writing to a man younger than myself, and who has, perhaps, as little influence in Sussex as I have in Kent, I conceive I cannot testify my esteem for a lover of our liberty better than by communicating my sentiments or present troubles in as short and plain a manner as I can.

"I lay it down as a maxim that the claim of England on America 'to tax her in all cases whatsoever' is affronting to common sense, not to be tolerated, but spurned at by freemen, and to be resisted to the last extremity whenever attempted to be put in execution. It is found equally true by our experience that the civil or municipal laws of the Provinces are not sufficient to defend us against the unjust and cruel means used to bring us under unjust and arbitrary taxation. What resource, then, had America left her? Why, she appealed to the law of nature, which, having a like respect to all, is founded only in justice and truth. In doing this, however, the Americans have not violated the Constitution of England (as their enemies have suggested) for that, being founded in liberty, cannot be repugnant to the eternal and immutable laws of truth and justice. By the law of nature, then, and the Constitution of England we are perfectly right in defending our rights and liberties. The law of nature is above all others and constantly governs in the last exigency of affairs. In our present struggle, is it not equally necessary to guard against intestine enemies as foreign foes? But by what law of the Land can we do it? By none, and therefore we appeal to the law of nature. By this law, the representatives of a people in Committee publish an enemy and make him infamous forever; and by this law the people at large tar and feather Tories and traitors. The sole object of natural law is justice; and agreeable to it, in Mr. C.'s case, the only question should be, has his punishment been more than adequate to his crimes? If he has discovered himself unfriendly to his country, and especially to America, his light escape could be owing to nothing but great partiality or uncommon humanity in his countrymen. And as to those men who would now take advantage of the civil law against those who were the instruments of justice on C. in behalf of their country, I take it for granted they have a plentiful stock of ignorance or an uncommon share of baldness or wickedness; and I will venture to add that were they in any part of the United Colonies besides Sussex, they would in the one case meet with proper instruction, and in the other suitable correction."

Early in 1775 a permanent lookout scout was stationed at Lewes, and pilots were warned not to bring any British armed vessels up the bay. The river below Philadelphia was obstructed after September 9th with the *chevaux-de-frise*, about forty vessels being allowed to pass out before the last day of grace. A narrow, intricate channel only was left, the secret of which lay with two trusty pilots, who were in the pay of Pennsylvania, and whose duty it was to bring up vessels with stores and ammunition, privateers and other authorized crafts. The buoys had all been removed from the Delaware, and pilots were ordered to lay up their boats except when on special service. To prevent the enemy from coming up, fire-rafts were built and a floating battery was constructed at Philadelphia.

When Washington was made commander-in-

chief of the Continental army on June 15, 1775, he was also commander of the navy too. Instructions were immediately given for the organization of a navy in the Delaware, and a number of vessels were fitted out. John Paul Jones, the first lieutenant aboard the "Alfred," under Commodore Esek Hopkins, was the first to hoist the American flag[1] on the Delaware. Captain John Barry, of the "Lexington," was the first to put to sea from the Delaware, in Dec., 1775, in a regular commissioned national vessel for a regular cruise. The Delaware people were now about to have an experience of actual warfare. The British man-of-war "Roebuck" came up the bay in the last week of March, 1776, accompanied by a tender, and at once there was commotion from Cape Henlopen to Philadelphia. The Pennsylvania Committee of Safety had charge of the fortifications that had been erected above the mouth of the Brandywine, and there had been provided a flotilla of "row-gallies"—large, heavy open boats, the biggest of which required twenty oarsmen and carried a ten-pounder carronade in the bows. When the Pennsylvania committee were notified, on March 27th, by Henry Fisher, of Lewes, that the enemy were in Lewes Road, they ordered four of the armed boats to report to Capt. Barry, of the brigantine "Lexington" (in the Continental service), and "to exert their utmost endeavors to take or destroy all such vessels of the enemy as they might find in the Delaware." Colonel John Haslet, then in command of the Delaware militia, was on the lookout and kept Mr. Read, then president of Congress, fully informed of the progress of affairs, which is detailed in his letter of April 9th:

"I beg leave to inform you that, being well acquainted with the defenceless condition of the County of Sussex, on the first intimation of the Roebuck being in the Road of Lewes, two companies of the battalion still under my command were directed to do duty there, where they still continue. The Council of Safety for this government ordered the militia arms of this county into the hands of the Continental troops for the purpose of training; but I forbade them to be carried out of it. I have ventured on my own risk to send them, but know not how soon the Council will order them to be returned. I beg leave to inform you that the spirit of the troops is high, and hope their ardour in the generous struggle will produce its proper effects, provided they can be supplied with arms, which there is no probability of our being able to procure in this place.

"The commanding officer at Lewes has sent up to headquarters the Third Lieutenant of the Man-of-war and three soldiers, who were put on board the 'Alarm' pilot there, by them taken and fitted out as a tender. On Wednesday, the 27th ultimo, cruising to the southward of the Cape, they sent all their men on board a 'Plymouth' sloop they had made prize of, except the Lieutenant and three others. About 4 o'clock next morning, the helmsman falling asleep, Providence steered the boat ashore and they were soon after taken. The Lieutenant informs us that the 'Roebuck' left England last September bound to Halifax, where she wintered, commanded by Capt. Hammond. She carries forty-four eighteen and nine pounders mounted, and can mount ten more. I propose to keep the officers and men here under guard till the Congress is pleased to direct in what manner they shall be disposed of."

Colonel Haslet wrote from Dover, April 10th, to President Hancock, inclosing the report of the officer commanding the detachment of the Delaware battalion at Lewes upon the engagement with the "Roebuck's" tender. The report said:

"On Sunday, 7th April, an express came from the Light House Guard to Lewes, with intelligence that Capt. Field, who commanded a schooner sent by the Council of that County to Eustatia for powder, had just arrived and demanded assistance to unload her. I gave orders for the troops to march as soon as the boats could be had to ferry them across the creek, which the inhabitants procured with amazing despatch. We then marched with the utmost expedition to reinforce our guard, which had taken post by the schooner to assist in discharging her cargo—mostly coarse linens. She then lay seven or eight miles to the southward of our Cape. At the time of our arrival the tender, making sail, bore down upon the schooner; on observing this the men immediately ran her on shore. Our troops were outgone by the tender, though they marched at the rate of seven miles per hour. Just before our arrival the tender gave our guard a broadside with swivels and musketry, which they returned. On our junction a constant fire was kept up for some time, until we perceived the distance too great. We then left off firing and unloaded the schooner, though several hundred shots were fired at us to prevent it. Our people picked up many of their balls rolling in the sand. The tender dispatched one of the barges to the ship for assistance, who made sail immediately, but was soon obliged to come to anchor for fear of running on the Hen and Chickens. About the time the ship turned the Cape, the tender anchored within musket shot of the schooner and kept up a continual fire with her swivels. We had by this time got the swivels in the schooner loaded with grape-shot, and a constant fire for two hours was kept up on both sides. We undoubtedly wounded their men, for we perceived some to fall and others run to their assistance. They made several efforts to purchase their anchor, which were prevented by our fire, but at last they succeeded. Fortunately, however, one of our swivels cut their halyards and down came their mainsail, which compelled them to anchor once more. At last, the wind shifting, they had a boat to tow them off. We then turned our fire on the boat, where two men were seen to fall; the barge, returning from the ship, joined to tow them out. Our men escaped unhurt. The militia officers at Lewes acted with a spirit which does honour to their Country."

This spirited little skirmish was most efficacious in removing from the minds of the patriots the exaggerated impression of the invincibility of the British ships and sailors, and they flocked to the shores of the bay in readiness for another encounter. The schooner spoken of in the above report was owned by Nehemiah Field, of Lewes. Dr. James Tilton, writing from Lewes, April 17th, to a Philadelphia friend, said:

"Lewistown is at this time made up of officers and soldiers, and the people altogether seem determined to defend our little place. As for Tories, there are none such among us. That infamous name is quite done away since danger came so near us. The 'Roebuck' still remains in our road all alone, and has, I believe, but her tender; a few days ago some say they saw a sloop take her to the southward of our Cape. We have between 50 and 100 men on guard at the light-house, Arnold's and the Creek's Mouth, and are determined to watch them closely. They made application to fish on our beach. We would not let them, but desired them to go to Newfoundland for that purpose. If they should attempt to fish on the beach, we are determined to show them Yankee play,

[1] It is of the brig "Nancy," Capt. Hugh Montgomery, of Wilmington, that the story is told that she was the first vessel to hoist the American colors in a foreign port. In the winter of 1775 she was chartered from her owners, Joseph Shallcross and Joseph Tatnall, by Robert Morris, and in March, 1776, sailed for Porto Rico under British colors, where she landed Don Antonio Serania to procure arms and ammunition under a contract with the Spanish government. At St. Croix and St. Thomas the munitions of war were secretly shipped, and the vessel was completing her cargo at the latter port in the last week of July, when Captain Montgomery received the news of the declaration of Independence. He resolved that the brig should now show her true colors, and Thomas Mendenhall, one of the petty officers, went to work to make them. On the day set for sailing from St. Thomas, the Danish Governor and his suite, with twenty other residents of the island, were invited on board to dine. As the barges approached with the guests they were ordered to halt while a salute of thirteen guns was fired from the brig, and the colors were run up to the accompaniment of cheers for the National Congress, and shouts of "Down with the Lion; up with the Stars and Stripes!"

In 1777 a brig owned by Joseph Shallcross & Co., merchant traders of Wilmington, and commanded by Capt. Hugh Montgomery, homeward bound from a foreign port, in order to escape being captured by the British, was unloaded and her cargo concealed at Egg Harbor. Joseph Shallcross was sent word, and, with Barney Harris, William Woodrack and a number of ship-carpenters, went to refloat the vessel. A squad of British made an attack on them at night with the design of capturing Shallcross and Montgomery, but being awakened in time, they escaped in an open boat, with British rifle-balls flying all around them. The darkness of the night alone saved their lives.

as we did on Easter Sunday, when we were unloading Capt. Field. I do assure you that if you were here you would be pleased with the spirit of the people."[1]

In the first week of May the "Roebuck" was joined in the bay by the sloop-of-war "Liverpool," twenty-eight guns, commanded by Captain Bellew, and the two vessels moved to and fro between Chester and the mouth of Christiana Creek. Orders were given for an attack upon them by the armed boats, which then numbered thirteen, and were under the command of a young Philadelphia sailor named Houston,[2] although he was subordinate to Captain Barry. On May 8th these open boats advanced to the perilous assault. A Philadelphia paper of May 15th contained a readable story of the engagement:

"On Wednesday, about 2 o'clock in the afternoon, the galleys hove in sight of the Men-of-war, and about 3 o'clock began the attack, which brought on a very heavy cannonading on both sides that lasted three or four hours, when the 'Roebuck' ran aground and the 'Liverpool' came to anchor to cover her. It being then dark, firing ceased on both sides, and in the course of the night the 'Roebuck' got off. During the engagement the 'Wasp,' schooner, of six guns, commanded by Charles Alexander, came out of Christiana Creek, into which she had been chased the day before, and took a brig in the employ of the pirates, having on board a great number of water casks belonging to the 'Kingfisher' to fill. On Thursday afternoon at 5 o'clock the armed boats renewed the attack on them with so much spirit and skill that they obliged the ships to make the best of their way down the river, when the boats pursued them, keeping up a constant fire until they got below New Castle, six miles from the place of action, where the boats moored for that night. The ships have since gone further down the river. We are well assured, by a gentleman who has since been alongside the ships, that our cannon did great execution to their hulls, and that they were obliged to keep their carpenters patching and mending for two days after. Several of our armed boats were slightly damaged. One man was killed in the first and two wounded in the second engagement. The greatest praises were given to the courage and spirit of our officers and men by the many thousand spectators who lined the shore on both sides of the river.

"The ships of war had chased a small schooner bound to the West Indies, which ran ashore near Christiana, and plundered her of some goods; lost her boat behind, and a tow line which they had carried on board to haul her off. They took and burned a shallop, or small sloop, near Cohanzy, which the crew had abandoned.

"We are told that the 'Roebuck' is one of the handsomest ships of war belonging to the King of Britain, and was built last summer under the particular patronage of Lord Sandwich, whose favorite she is. The Captain is also of his particular appointment. Query—what must his Lordship say of his ship when he hears that she was beat by the 'cowardly Americans,' who have nothing but rusty guns, broomsticks, &c?"

John Adams wrote to Mrs Adams from Philadelphia, May 12th: "There has been a gallant battle in Delaware River between the galleys and two men-of-war, the 'Roebuck' and 'Liverpool,' in which the men-of-war came off second best, which has diminished in the people on both sides of the river the terror of a man-of-war."

On June 11th, William Barry, a seaman captured by the British in the Delaware, made a very interesting deposition before Justice Samuel Patterson at New Castle regarding the cruise of the British ships and the fight with the American boats. He had been first mate of the Philadelphia ship "Grace," Captain Erwin, which on March 13th left Cape Henlopen, bound for York River, Virginia. On March 17th they encountered a sloop carrying a distress signal in her shrouds. Supposing the stranger to be an American, Captain Erwin made no effort to keep away, but soon found that he was under the guns of an enemy who had a ruse to bring him within cannon-shot distance. From this point Barry's narrative proceeds to say:

"The sloop then fired several shots at them, as they apprehended with an intent to kill them, upon which the Captain of the ship hauled down the sails and went on board them; that this deponent then up with the sails again to try to get off; but they fired; so he got wounded in the leg and was forced to come to; and as they had no boat belonging to the sloop there came a number of men back in their (the 'Grace's') boat, which the Captain had taken, and took them all prisoners on board the sloop, which was called the 'Lord Howe,' commanded by a certain —— Ord, a second lieutenant belonging to the 'Roebuck,' whose tender the sloop was. They took the ship and called her their prize. The crew were all, except the Captain, put in irons, though this deponent's leg was very sore; after which they were all put on board the 'Roebuck,' commanded by Capt. Hammond, which was then lying in Hampton Roads, and who strongly urged them to enter (the British service) freely, which this deponent would not do, nor the captain and some of the men, though some of our men did, rather than be kept in irons and ill-used. However, after some time they were taken out of irons and made to do ship's duty (which all prisoners must do) with many insults and very bad usage. About three days after he went on board the 'Roebuck' she came to Henlopen and cruising out and in there took several vessels said to belong to the Rebels in America, which they said were by their orders to be lawful prizes, though when their sailors asked when they would get their shares they were abused by the officers and told they must go to England first. About three weeks after they came to Cape Henlopen there came three men one night in a small boat from Lewestown shore on board and vessel and stayed on board until about 10 o'clock at night. The next night when they came alongside they reached up a small bag, which one of the men belonging to the ship told the deponent were letters, &c. Said three men were kindly received and entertained by the captain and officers, but no prisoners permitted to speak to them. Said three men informed the people on board that they had, or that there were, cattle, stock, &c., for them at Indian River, which the tenders endeavoured to get, but were prevented by Barry's brig, and a small schooner; but he was not in the tenders. When the three men went off in their boat they rowed as far as the back of the Light-house, as he could see, and were convoyed by one of the man-of-war's tenders. One of the people that came on board as aforesaid had a mark like a half moon on (he thinks) his left cheek and looked like a cut—a well-coloured man, and had on, he thinks, a brown coat and buckskin or other leather breeches; which man he would know again.

"About the first week in May the 'Roebuck' and 'Liverpool' frigates, tenders, &c., came up Delaware River a piece and sent some boats on the Jersey shore to try to get fresh provisions, of which there was great want on board (viz: of fresh, fowls, &c.) and where they brought on board several cattle, which were very poor, but were greedily eaten; after which they proposed to go up the river for fresh water, of which they were in great want, and then afterwards, as he understood from the lower officers, they designed to go to Philadelphia and take it if they could pass the chevaux-de-frise; but if they could not pass them, then to return and lay at Chester awhile. As they came up the river they fired several shots at vessels that were before them, and opposite New Castle they fired two or three shots out of the low guns at a small sail-boat; that, knowing the cruel disposition and threats of the men-of-war, he was in great pain for some acquaintance he had in New Castle, but with the spy-glass perceived the doors and windows shut and no smoke in the chimneys, and seeing many carts carrying off goods, was in hopes they had fled.

"On or about the 8th of said month (May) the row-galleys attacked the men-of-war, which the officers looked on with distress, as apprehending they could do little damage to them. However, the 'Roebuck' had a deal of her rigging damaged and some shot in her sides; and as she was endeavouring to get near the row galleys to sink or destroy them she got into shallow water, so that she could not steer, and ran on the ground near the Jersey shore, above or near Christiana Creek's mouth. At night they expected the fire-ships and galleys down upon them; and as she lay and took such a heel they could not bring her guns to bear and could not make any resistance to bear in the 'Roebuck' but with small arms. There were therefore an anchor and two stream-cables carried out to endeavour to get her

[1] The intention of the British government to make a determined effort for the subjugation of the Southern Colonies was shown in a speech of Colonel Wm. Innes in the House of Commons, November 8, 1775, in which he said: "I think there can be little doubt that the force intended (20,000 men) is sufficient to subdue the colonies to the southward of the Delaware River, and that sloops-of-war may easily obstruct the passage of an army from the Northern Provinces should an attempt be made to cross that extensive river to join the insurgents on the other side." American Archives, 4th series, vol. vi., p. 149.

[2] George Read's letter to Rodney and McKean, dated Wilmington, May 10th.

off, and three boats were kept out all night rowing around her and often going nigh the galleys to watch their motions, as they were expected every minute to come down on them, and, so far as he could learn, if they came and hailed them, they had orders to fly on board the 'Liverpool' frigate to save their lives (for which purpose boats were ready) and then the 'Liverpool' was to retreat. But about 4 o'clock in the morning they got the ship off; after which about 40 men were employed in filling and stowing away fresh water (of which they were scarce) though they had stove many of their water casks, and also did not expect the galleys would attack them again, as they thought they were much damaged; but as they attacked the man-of-war the second day with more courage and conduct the 'Roebuck' received many shots betwixt wind and water; some went quite through, some in her quarter; and was much raked fore and aft; but the carpenters soon covered most of the holes with what some called a 'plaster,' which prevented her from receiving in the water; otherwise would soon have filled. During the engagement one man was killed by a shot, which took his arm almost off. Six were much hurt and burned by an eighteen-pound cartridge of powder taking fire, among whom was an acting lieutenant, and several were hurt by splinters; but night coming on, and it being difficult to sight her guns in the night, and the galleys could not be seen, it was judged best to retreat, during which they ceased firing for awhile and every man got a dram given him at his quarters, with directions for every man who was called by his name to be ready to go ashore at New Castle under cover of the cannon to plunder the town and afterwards to burn and destroy it that night, but they were prevented by the row-galleys following so close. During the engagement the captain ordered several of the guns to be loaded with round and grape shot, which were fired at the Rebels (as the captain called them) who stood on the shore and banks. After the vessels had passed New Castle they came to in the bight below the town that night to repair the rigging, etc., and the next day the vessels went down to Ready Island, where Captain Hammond hailed the 'Liverpool' and ordered her to go in betwixt the island and the main and destroy the town of Port Penn (we heard drums beating ashore). Accordingly he went, and soon after returned and informed there was not depth of water to get near enough and was afraid his vessel would get aground. Next day the vessels went to the Capes and came to anchor, the carpenters are yet still repairing the vessels, having taken, as he supposes, forty of the row-galleys' balls out of the 'Roebuck,' and some cannot be come at."

A few weeks after this disastrous business in the Delaware the "Liverpool" sailed for Halifax and the "Roebuck" for Norfolk. Barry made his escape from the latter ship while she was off the Virginia coast and returned to Delaware. John Emmes, a Delaware pilot, knew a great deal about the expedition of the "Roebuck." On September 9, 1775, he had left Philadelphia in the brigantine "Sea Nymph," bound for Jamaica. On the 17th the vessel was captured off the Virginia Capes by the British sloop-of-war "Mercury," and after imprisonment on various British ships his familarity with the navigation of the Delaware was discovered, and on May 3, 1776, he was put on board the "Roebuck" off Cape Henlopen. His narrative, made in an affidavit at Philadelphia on June 21st, relates the passage of the ships up the river and the engagement with the armed boats. Captain Hammond, he says, cleared his ship for fighting as soon as the galleys appeared. About one o'clock in the afternoon the galleys began to fire upon the frigate, at first without reach of their shot, whereupon the ships worked further up the stream and brought their broadsides to bear upon the Americans. The battle continued for several hours before the "Roebuck" went aground, which was at full tide in the afternoon. The ship was practically helpless until the "Liverpool" pulled her off on the rise of the tide twelve hours later. She was listed so much that the lower deck ports were closed to keep out the water on the reclined side, and her guns could not have been pointed. Her officers were in expectation of an attack, and when it failed to come could only conclude that the Americans were out of ammunition. Emmes says that during the first day's fight the "Roebuck" was only hulled once by the American shot and some slight damage done to the sails and rigging, but he has a different story to tell concerning the second day:

"The fight was renewed by the galleys coming down the river, the ships immediately on the approach of the galleys being got under sail. The wind being pretty free at southwest the ships turned downwards, working to windward and firing upon the galleys till the ships had proceeded three miles below the town of New Castle, when, it being near ten in the evening, the galleys ceased to fire and retired from the ships. In the second fight the galleys drew nearer to the ships than in the first, though seldom nearer than three-quarters of a mile or thereabouts; on the second day's action one shot of eighteen pound was lodged in the 'Roebuck's' side about three strooks above the water's edge, and another like it on the opposite side nearly as low; one eighteen pound shot entered an upper port, ruined the carriage, dismounted a nine pound cannon, killed one man and wounded two others; five others were wounded, two of them considerably, by a cartridge taking fire. Another eighteen pound shot entered the stern and lodged on board the ship, and two other shots also struck the ship, or seven in all, the rigging, sails and spars of the 'Roebuck' were often struck, damaged and cut, particularly one mizzen shroud, one of the foretopmast shrouds, and two of the back stays were cut off the main-stay cut as far as a strand and a half and much running rigging broken; the mizzen yard twice wounded so that the lower end was obliged to be cut off, the main yard wounded so that it could not be depended upon, the sails pierced several times, not easy to be numbered; the long boat had been damaged in the first fight."

June 11th the Lewistown Committee sent to Congress a notification of the assembling of Tories, supposed to number one thousand, at a spot eighteen miles distant from the town. It was believed that they proposed some movement in co-operation with the British men-of-war lying off Lewes, and the Committee asked Congress "for such immediate assistance as will enable us to take up the principals of this faction and quell this most dangerous insurrection." Captain Henry Fisher's letter from Lewes of the same date, to the Pennsylvania Committee of Safety, gave additional information of the situation at the Delaware entrance to the Bay:

"The 'Liverpool' remains in the Road. The 'Kingfisher' is gone out to sea. As to the restriction you have laid upon me not to man the armed boat with pilots, I must beg leave to acquaint you that our pilots bear a different character to what yours do, and as the boat is to be stationed at our creek's mouth, I cannot see there will be the least danger in letting six pilots go in her, and the remainder landsmen, as the pilots are acquainted with great guns and they always can see their danger before they can be surprised. I think I can venture to say the pilots here have been, and are, willing to do everything for the safety of your trade that lies in their power. . . You must think, gentlemen, that we have no view in this matter but your interest, as we have no trade of our own. . . I have further to add, that last evening the 'Kingfisher' returned into our Road with a prize brigantine, Captain Walkers of Wilmington; but, luckily for us, before the pirates boarded her our brave Captain Barry had been on board of her and taken out some powder and arms. In sight of the 'Kingfisher' this day, about noon, came into our Road and anchored another frigate, whose name I could not learn. . . You will be so kind as to inform the Congress of the proceedings of the Tories at the head of our country, as I think there will be occasion for some troops from upward to quiet them, as they are breaking out in a surprising manner, and believe me that I shall do everything in my power to give you the earliest accounts of the proceedings of the pirates."

June 13th, Thomas Mc Kean wrote from New Castle, to President Hancock:

"The Assembly here have information this moment by express that there are 1000 Tories under arms in Sussex County, that they assembled near Cedar Creek, about 18 miles on this side Lewes, and that

their intention was to proceed there and join the British forces from on board some men-of-war now in the Horekill Road, who were to land this night in order to cut off three companies of the continental troops at that place, and that it is apprehended that they have been supplied with arms and ammunition by the men-of-war, and, perhaps, may intrench. The militia from Kent marched yesterday, at least half a dozen companies, and the rest were to follow as soon as they could be ready. The detachment of Colonel Haslet's battalion at Wilmington are ordered down; the like orders will be given to the militia of this county. I should be glad if a ton of powder and some lead could be sent down by land immediately, as it is uncertain to what a height this mad affair may be carried. The militia and regulars are very ill provided with arms, but we expect soon to give a good account of these misguided people."

On the same night Mr. McKean wrote that the insurgents had dispersed after a conference between some of their leaders and members of the Council of Safety. They denied having had any communication with the British ships or that they were disaffected to the American cause, but Mr. McKean professed his inability to understand what other motives could have prompted so large and apparently so hostile a gathering. It was deemed so alarming by the patriots that a thousand of the Sussex Whigs, an equal number of the Kent militia, a couple of companies of the New Castle militia, and Colonel Haslet's Continentals had been brought together at New Castle to fall in superior force upon the Tories, and were only awaiting orders from the House of Assembly, which had appointed a committee to quiet them by argument, and if that was not possible, to permit the troops to deal with them. However, their dispersal obviated any necessity of a resort to arms, and this "strange affair," as Mr. McKean terms it, was submitted to the Civil Jurisdiction. The country far and near had been stirred up by their proceedings. George Evans, at Brandywine, had been ordered by Colonel Haslet to provide wagons to follow the Continental battalion to Sussex with provisions and found himself without a dollar with which to execute his instructions. He wrote to Michael Hillegas, of Philadelphia, asking for $1000 or 1500 to meet the emergency, as being "the only gentleman I have any acquaintance with, or can make free with to request so great a favour of."

On the occasion of the parade of Colonel Haslet's Continental battalion at Dover, on May 15th, Rev. Mr. Magaw delivered a lofty, patriotic and inspiring address.

When Congress met on May 10, 1775, the three counties on the Delaware were represented as were ten other colonies. All had been chosen before the clash of arms occurred at Lexington, and were not ready for independence. With the beginning of 1776 a great change had begun to work and it was with great difficulty, after the battles of Lexington and Bunker Hill, that John Dickinson and John Jay had procured the consent of Congress to the second petition to the king. On the day it was presented to him, he issued a proclamation declaring the colonies in rebellion, and invoking all the forces of the empire to suppress the rebellion. Howe was sent to supersede Gage in Boston; Dartmouth himself was supplanted by Lord George Germaine, and the bargain was consummated for sending the soldiers of Hanover, Darmstadt, and Hesse across the ocean to help conquer the Americans. The news of these things began to be received in America about November 1, 1775. At the same time the king's arms seemed to be checked in their progress everywhere; the colonies were a unit; their levies and musters prospered, and Congress assumed a bolder tone, while the moderates became proportionately discouraged. The press and the people simultaneously took up the cry of independence; the only question was as to the expediency of particular times and methods. The correspondence of the day between the patriots teems with the one idea of permanent separation and independent government. The patriots of Delaware headed by McKean and Rodney urged independence and confederation from day to day, and the camps took up the idea so absolutely that prayers for the king became distasteful.

The feeling spread rapidly in Congress. On Friday, June 7, 1776, Richard Henry Lee, of the Virginia delegation, offered the following resolution: "Resolved, That these united colonies are, and of right ought to be, free and independent States; that they are absolved from all allegiance to the British Crown, and that all political connection between them and the State of Great-Britain is, and ought to be, totally dissolved."

This resolution was debated from day to day. As Jefferson said, "the colonies of New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, and South Carolina were not matured for falling from the parent stem, but that they were fast advancing to that state, it was thought most prudent to wait awhile for them."

The vote on the resolution for independence was postponed to Monday, July 1, and a resolve was adopted for the appointment of a committee, "to prepare and digest the form of a confederation to be entered into between these colonies." This committee, appointed June 12, contained among others Thomas McKean of Delaware.

The committee appointed to prepare the declaration brought in a draft of a form on June 28. It was read and laid upon the table. In accordance with the resolution of postponement, on July 1, Congress went into committee of the whole House to consider the resolution of independence offered by R. H. Lee. After due deliberation, at the request of South Carolina, the resolution was not acted upon until the next day. The trial vote on July 1st was indecisive: New York had been excused from voting; the votes of South Carolina and Pennsylvania were given in the negative, and the two delegates from Delaware tied. Nine colonies

voted yea. By agreement the final vote was postponed until next day, in the vain hope of securing unanimity. During the night McKean sent express to Cæsar Rodney, his colleague in Delaware, to help him outvote George Read. On July 2d McKean and Rodney cast the vote of Delaware, and Rutledge brought the South Carolina delegates to vote yea, while Pennsylvania's *pro forma* affirmative was secured by the absence of two members. The resolution having been adopted, the Declaration was taken up in Committee of the whole. It was again discussed on July 3rd. On Thursday, July 4th, Mr. Harrison of Virginia, from the committee reported the Declaration of Independence. It was adopted, and copies were ordered to be sent out to the several Assemblies, Conventions, Committees or Councils of Safety, etc., throughout the country, and to the commanders of the Continental troops, so as to have it everywhere proclaimed.

July 2, the day of the adoption of Richard Henry Lee's resolution, is the real independence day. John Adams wrote to his wife next day: "The 2d of July, 1776, will be the most memorable epoch in the history of America." But the 4th was the day of the formal adoption of the formal public declaration of reason for the act, and Congress resolved to celebrate the day as the official Birthday of American independence. This was secured by a resolution adopted July 19, to the effect that "the Declaration passed on the 4th be fairly engrossed on parchment, with the title and style of 'The unanimous Declaration of the thirteen United States of America,' and that the same, when engrossed, be signed by every member of Congress." The journal further says, August 2, that "the Declaration being engrossed and compared at the table, was signed by the members." The signers, however, are not in many instances identical with the members who voted on July 2d and 4th. George Read of Delaware did not vote for independence on the 1st, 2d, or 4th of July, yet his name appears on August 2d as a signer. His objection to the Declaration at the time of its passage was that it was premature. His opposition to independence, however, did not cost him the confidence of his constituents, who re-elected him to Congress and honored him with many high appointments.[1]

Early in June Congress passed the resolves to call the militia into the general service. President Hancock's letter, informing the Delaware Assembly of this decision, was dated June 4th. In it he spoke of the increased peril to the Revolutionary cause on account of the purchase of the German mercenaries to uphold the British arms in America, and the prospect that the Canadians and Indians would join the King's standard.

"In this situation," he wrote, "what steps are we to pursue? Our Continental troops alone are unable to stem the torrent; nor is it possible at this day to raise and discipline men ready to take the field by the time they will be wanted. From the secrecy with which the Ministry carry on their machinations we neither know their views or how near our enemies may be. In this difficult and trying situation of our affairs, the Congress have come to the enclosed resolves. . . You will there find the Congress have judged it necessary to call upon the militia at this alarming crisis. . . The militia of the united colonies are a body of troops that may be depended upon. To their virtue their delegates in Congress now make the most solemn appeal. They are called upon to say whether they will live slaves or die freemen. They are requested to step forth in defence of their wives, their children, their liberty and everything they hold dear. . . Your colony, I am persuaded, will not be behindhand. Exert, therefore, every nerve to distinguish yourselves. Quicken your preparations and stimulate the good people of your government, and there is no danger, notwithstanding the mighty armament with which we are threatened, but you will be able to lead them to victory, to liberty and to happiness."

Two companies of Colonel Haslet's battalion were on June 18th ordered to Cape May to take the place of the companies previously stationed there, which had been ordered to join their regiment for the expedition to Canada.

On July 5th the Assembly received from President Hancock the following dated on the preceding day:

"GENTLEMEN:—The Congress have this day received intelligence which renders it absolutely necessary that the greatest exertions should be made to save our country from being devastated by the hand of tyranny. General Howe having taken possession of Staten Island, and the Jerseys being drained of their militia for the defence of New York, I am directed by Congress to request you will proceed immediately to embody your militia for the establishment of the flying camp, and march them with all possible expedition, either by battalions, by detachments of battalions or by companies, to the city of Philadelphia. The present campaign I have no doubt, if we exert ourselves properly, will secure the enjoyment of our liberties forever.

"All accounts agree that Great Britain will make her greatest effort this summer. Should we, therefore, be able to keep our ground, we shall afterwards have little to apprehend from her. I do, therefore, most ardently beseech and request you, in the name and by the authority of Congress, as you regard your own freedom, and as you stand engaged by the most sacred ties of honor to support the common cause, to strain every nerve to send forward your militia. This is a step of such infinite moment that, in all human probability, your speedy

[1] *The Delaware Register*, Vol. I., pp. 23-24, says: "Not long before the vote was taken on the Declaration, Mr. Rodney had obtained leave of absence from Congress and returned to Delaware to use his personal influence among the people in favor of the measure. During his absence, however, the important question of independence came up; and his colleagues, Mr. McKean, well acquainted with his views, and anxious that the declaration should be carried by a unanimous vote of the states, looked for his return with great anxiety; as the day appointed, however, approached, Mr. Rodney, who was unacquainted exactly with it, did not make his appearance, and Mr. McKean sent a special messenger to convey the intelligence to him. The messenger no sooner reached him, than, laying aside all other engagements, he hastened to Philadelphia, where he arrived just in time to give his vote and secure the unanimity of the daring measure. He transmitted an account of it to Dover on the same day; and his friend, Colonel Haslet, in acknowledging his letter on the 6th of July, thus refers to it: 'I congratulate you, sir, on the important day which restores to every American his birthright; a day which every freeman will record with gratitude, and the millions of posterity read with rapture. Enoch Wilson arrived here last night; a fine turtle feast at Dover anticipated and announced the declaration of Congress; even the barrister himself laid aside his aire of reserve, mighty happy.' At the time Mr. Rodney's letter reached Dover, the election of officers of a new battalion was going on; the Committee of Safety, however, immediately met, and after receiving the intelligence, proceeded in a body to the court-house, where (the election being stopped) the President read the Declaration of Congress, and the resolution of the house of Assembly for the appointment of a convention; each of which received the highest approbation of the people, in three huzzas. The committee then went in a body back to their room, where they sent for a picture of the King of Great Britain, and made the drummer of the infantry bear it before the President; they then marched two and two, followed by the light infantry in slow time, with music, round the square; then forming a circle about a fire prepared in the middle of the square for that purpose, the president, pronouncing the following words, committed it to the flames: 'Compelled by strong necessity, thus we destroy even the shadow of that king who refused to reign over a free people.' Three loud huzzas were given by the surrounding crowd; and the friends of liberty gained new courage to support the cause to which they had embarked."

compliance will prove the salvation of your country. It is impossible we can have any higher motive to induce us to act. We should reflect, too, that the land of this campaign will inevitably pentrate the war, and that in order to gain it we have only to exert ourselves and to make use of the means which God and nature have given us to defend ourselves. I must, therefore, again repeat to you that the Congress most anxiously expect and request that you will not lose a moment in carrying into effect this requisition with all the zeal, spirit and despatch which are so indispensably required by the critical situation of our affairs."

Under the resolve of Congress to form a flying camp of ten thousand men to serve until December 1st, six hundred were apportioned to Delaware, 3400 to Maryland and 6000 to Pennsylvania. The detail of the militia to the flying camp gave the Tories freedom to attempt further mischief. In July they became exceedingly active, particularly in Sussex County. Colonel David Hall kept as close an inspection as possible of their movements, and wrote President Hancock from Lewes, on July 5th, the information that he had gained:

"Sir:—I have the honor to enclose sundry depositions containing, as we think, a true state of the general disaffection that prevails among the people in the county of Sussex. Sundry gentlemen from the neighborhood of Broad Creek and Wicomico have been qualified to the truth of it, on whose attachment to the cause of America we very much depend. The Council of Safety has ordered down part of an independent company now under their direction. A company of the Delaware Battalion is also preparing to march. The most alarming circumstance is the danger of Lord Dunmore's recruiting with success among the disaffected, who repair to him without reserve and supply him with the produce of the country. We earnestly entreat that Congress may take the matter into their serious consideration, and order what may be thought necessary to fix the minds of the wavering and secure the common safety."

The communication enclosed by Mr. Hall, chairman of the Sussex Council of Safety, was signed and sworn to by Jonathan Bell, John Polk, John Creighton, Joseph Forman, John Mitchell, Isaac Horsey, Levin Connaway and Robert Houston: patriotic residents of the Broad Creek district. They said:

"The situation of the part of the country in which we live having of late appeared to us rather critical, and a number of armed vessels lately appearing in our rivers, occasions us to think ourselves bound in duty, both to our country and our families, to lay our case before you, both for advice and assistance. We need not inform you that a large majority of the people in the lower part of this county appear disaffected, which, being lately fully demonstrated by these hostile appearances, seems some troops to be sent from above to quiet them, and we are sorry to say that it is our opinion they (viz.: the enemies of the cause) are not better affected than they were before these troops came (we mean in the parts near us), although we are fully of the opinion that the gentlemen appointed and sent down as heads of that business thought proper to have a few hundred riflemen sent amongst us at that time, who took up some of the most insolent and put them in confinement, disarmed the offenders of less note, and left a few troops as a protection to the well disposed. Things at this time should have worn a face much more in favour of the country than it now does."

The memorialists recited their discovery of the British war-ship *Fowey* and several tenders in the Nanticoke River, Maryland, where they were being furnished with cattle and provisions by the people, and added—:

"This much you may depend upon, that vast numbers of the inhabitants of Somerset and Dorchester Counties in Maryland and Sussex County in Delaware have men on board these men-of-war and tenders, either trading, enlisting, taking the oath of allegiance, or something we are really not informed of, but we have it from such authority that we do really believe that they purchased some sorts of goods from the tenders very low, and also that the captain of the tenders registers the name of every person who goes on board of them. We are also fully convinced that numbers of the inhabitants have actually voluntarily entered into the service under Dunmore, some of whom, we have reason to believe, now bear command on board those tenders, and we look upon them as a more dangerous enemy than the Europeans. They know our country and are able to carry the vessels they command to the heads of our rivers; and it is reported (and we believe it to be true) that these traitors have sent word, by their neighbors who have been down on board trading, to their relations who live in the heart of the country that in a very short time they, with their armed vessels, will pay them a visit. It would be impossible for us to relate to you on paper every threat that has been thrown out by the disaffected amongst ourselves, as well as the people on board the tenders and ship-of-war, and, therefore, shall only add that from the disaffection amongst ourselves which we conceive to be so great that there is at least six disaffected to one firm man for America. We say from that melancholy appearance and from the arrival of these armed vessels we think it our duty to make application to you for the assistance of men, and make no doubt but that if it is in your power you will grant it to us. If it is not in your power, we must be candid enough to inform you that self-preservation will oblige us either to leave our livings or fall in and run with the current, either of which will be hateful to us. But we believe it cannot be required of us to offer ourselves sacrifices for our country without their being some prospect of benefit arising therefrom.

"If, gentlemen, upon reflection, you judge it practicable and expedient to grant us men, we beg that they may continue stationed among us until we shall appear able to protect ourselves, and for that purpose we pray you will in our behalf make application to Congress that we may not be liable to have them called away and again be left destitute, for if we should have them only a short time and then taken from us our case would be worse than now, as revenge might prompt our enemies to more desperate actions. Although we represent our case to be distressing, we do not mean to represent it as past hope, for we are of opinion, if you favour us with only three or four good companies with prudent officers, we shall not only be able to defend ourselves, but also that it will be a means of to reclaim a considerable number of the disaffected and bring them to their duty, as it will enable our officers to pursue such steps as is necessary to accomplish this purpose so much wished for."

To this petition was affixed the affidavit of Enoch Scudder, who testified that on July 3d, travelling down from Philadelphia, he met four men near Cedar Creek, who questioned him regarding the landing of Lord Dunmore, and informed him that 1500 men could be collected in that vicinity to join the British commander.

Cæsar Rodney did not think it advisable at this time to send troops into Sussex County to suppress the Tories. Regarding such measures he wrote from Philadelphia, July 10, to his brother Thomas:

"I am of opinion that any good effect that might flow from them must be local—I mean that it would be confined principally to the inhabitants of that county; and on the other hand—at a time of such imminent danger, when powerful armies are actually knocking at our gates and the serious attention of every friend of American liberty is employed in giving that manly opposition to those vile invaders of their just rights, privileges and property—whether it would be prudent to hold out to the world such numbers of internal enemies, especially as by the manly and determined spirit prevailing in Congress, their wings must and will be clipped. The declaration has laid the foundation and will be followed by laws fixing the degree of offence and punishment suitable. Some people have done things which, if done in the future, nothing less than life will be sufficient to atone for. These enemies to our righteous cause will, I apprehend, be less on their guard if they are not held up in that publick way than if they are, and will undoubtedly meet their due reward, provided you pursue steadily your line of patriotism and at the same time keep a watchful eye toward their conduct in the politicks of your country."

On June 14th the resolution passed by Congress on May 15th, relative to the formation of a government in each of the Colonies, was unanimously approved by the Assembly, which on the next day passed the following:

"Whereas, it has become absolutely necessary for the safety, protection and happiness of the good people of this colony forthwith to establish some authority adequate to the exigencies of their affairs until a new government can be formed:

"*And Whereas*, the representatives of the people, in this Assembly met, alone can, and ought, at this time to establish such temporary authority:

"*Resolved*, unanimously, that all persons holding any office, civil or military, in this colony on the 13th day of June, inst., may and shall

continue to execute the same in the name of the government of the counties of New Castle, Kent and Sussex, upon Delaware, as they used legally to exercise it in the name of the King, until a new government shall be formed agreeable to the resolution of Congress of the 15th of May last."

In pursuance of this resolution on July 27th, the House of Assembly resolved to recommend to the people of the counties to elect deputies to a convention "to order and declare the future form of government for this state." In making this call the Assembly announced that its members did not consider themselves authorized by their constituents to execute the important work of setting up a new state, but they declared their opinion that the convention should consist of ten members from each county, to be elected by the freemen on August 19th, under the laws regulating elections for members of the Assembly, except that the Inspectors should be chosen on the morning of election day in each of the Hundreds. If one or more of the judges of election required it, any elector offering his vote was to be placed upon oath to support and maintain the independence of this government as declared by the honorable Continental Congress." The State Convention was ordered to meet at New Castle, August 27th. The policy of the Whigs was outlined in Cæsar Rodney's letter from Philadelphia, August 3d, to his brother Thomas, of which the following is an extract:

"With respect to the choice of a convention I would leave it to you and your friends whether, when you have fixed on such ticket as merits your approbation, it would not be better to pause, and endeavour to improve the utility of such choice being made by the people (especially at a time when the establishing their rights and privileges as freemen depends on such choice) upon your former plan, I mean of true Whigs, true patriotism. This plan, if pursued with diligence and such cool argument and reasoning as the case will point out and justify, I think must carry with it persuasion and conviction. It certainly will with all such as are not governed by a party spirit. If any person or persons be proposed in opposition to your ticket who have heretofore been unfriendly to the cause, point out to the people their former conduct and submit to them the impropriety of trusting to such men at such an important crisis. Your scheme ought to hold out more of the patriot than party man. I will again submit whether the inquiry and examination proposed to be had before the committee will not tend to irritate an occasion many people, by taking sides in the matter, to lose sight of the cause—their true interest; for if they are led to believe that you and your friends are governed more by a party spirit than by the true interests of America, they will hold you in the light of all other party men, and deal with you accordingly. You say the committee are about to make this inquiry. Are there a sufficient number of patriots in that committee to answer your expectation? Are there a considerable majority of them that wish the inquiry should be had? Will they, if matters turn out as you expect, publish their opinions to the country, so that the friends of liberty may benefit by it? It is an inquiry that ought to have been made, but it is an inquiry that ought to be made by men of understanding only. Do such make a majority of the committee?—the good men. By what authority do they take it up? Are not many of the members principals in the matter of inquiry? All these things I submit to the prudence and good sense of you and your friends, though you seem to be determined on the measure, by your letter, before my opinion was asked. In short, it is difficult to give an opinion in this case, as I am a stranger to the present complexion of the committee. However, as this convention is undoubtedly the most important Assembly that ever was chosen in that government, I would advise the avoiding every kind of violence, and, on the other hand, the utmost diligence and persuasion to procure as many friends to liberty on the return as possible. By this means men who have heretofore been unfriendly, if properly pointed out, cannot prevail."

General Rodney was apprehensive that the Tory or Conservative element might elect a majority of the delegates to the Convention. Writing again to his brother, on August 14, he said:

"By your letter I stand informed as to the names of your antagonists in the coming election, and am pleased to find you hope to succeed. But are you not too sanguine in your expectation? I wish your ticket may be supported by the freemen of the country, because I believe those men who to have the great work in which we are now engaged finished in such a manner as to afford to the community at large that personal safety, security of property, free enjoyment of religious persuasion and that equal and easy distribution of justice which they have a right to expect, and without which they cannot be happy. I did not expect to be carried in the other ticket because I see some names there who I believe are too far gone in personal prejudice and private emolument to do justice to merit or to consider the rights and privileges of the people at large their interest. But if the people cannot, or will not, see these things, though glaring, they must suffer."

At the opening of the polls at Dover, on August 19, the subjoined address was delivered:

"Countrymen, Friends of Liberty:—Having a few things to mention to you previous to your entering upon the principal business of the day, without making any formal apology for so doing, which you would deem unnecessary, for I know your candour, I only request your favourable attention a little while. Where measures relating to the publick are founded on pure, liberal and upright principles, they who take an active part in them, being properly qualified for the task, cannot but possess a conscious firmness, a noble self-complacency, while they who in the more retired walks of life observe and feel the salutary effects of those measures have little more to do than give their approbation and to sit down in quiet; they earnestly wish and hope for their country's safety, should that remain yet doubtful, and will heartily rejoice therein when it becomes established. Of this latter number I account myself. With many others, peacably yet very ardently, am I looking for the complete propitious issue of American defensive efforts; and though there be manifold dangers still to excite apprehension and difficulties not a few to be encountered, yet have we cause to thank a gracious Providence that thus far our affairs are tolerably successful. Publick men and publick operations throughout these rising States will, with very few exceptions, I really believe, shed on the American name conspicuous, lasting honor."

The writer touched upon the causes of the Revolution and proceeded:—

"It may be laid down, indeed, as a first principle, (and I presume we have the best writers on government to support us) that all power resides originally in the people. Some have talked, and written too, of a Divine right upon a very different principle, but never yet could they render their positions even plausible. It appears much more reasonable to suppose that the Ruler of the Universe hath lodged the Divine right in the hands of the governed. By whomsoever the reins of government are held—whether its forms be simple or compound—whether the departments be few or many in the state—it is the people's authority that is deposited with such, and to them the constituted powers are beyond a doubt accountable. The general welfare—the people's happiness—being the end and main object of all they are to judge; for they can discern and feel how far that end is answered, and in their collective capacity to act as exigencies may require, but ever through the medium of prudence and sound discretion.

"Had not the rulers of Great Britain, to whom we so long with pleasure acknowledge ourselves subordinate, infringed upon our liberties and broken down the barriers of public security; had they not made light of the most sacred compacts and given wounds to the good old constitution, at least so far as America is concerned, would by no means have taken those steps that of necessity we must now pursue. A fondness for innovation we have never shown. Opposition to constitutional authority we have never given. All we have been asking for, and all we wish now to attain, is 'peace, liberty and safety,' and if we cannot enjoy these blessings in one system we must try another. This is the footing on which we stand; here is the ground on which we proceed, and we trust in God it is firm enough to bear us.

"You must be sensible, then, my respected countrymen, of the high privilege long since clearly recognized, fully ascertained to you; the privilege, the right of governing yourselves, a circumstance absolutely essential to civil liberty. But as this can only be effected by delegation, it being utterly inconvenient and impracticable for the whole people personally (for instance, in such a body as attends here to-day, or one a vast deal larger) to be present at the passing of every ordinance and law, it is incumbent on them to be exceedingly careful who they appoint to act in their behalf. Want of proper circumspection in this particular is highly culpable; I scarce know anything that can excuse it. And whether such infidelity to themselves and to their country proceeds from people's indolence of temper; from a supine indifference about the matter—who or what kind of men are appointed; or whether it springs from venal, corrupt views; or, lastly, from faction and the manœuvres of party business, the evils accruing to society are much the same; the consequences in the end may prove fatal.

"Now, brethren convened on this occasion, you are well acquainted with the purpose of your meeting; you know the importance of it. There never was, perhaps, an election held in this country, or this government, half so interesting as the present. Be very cautious, be

rational, be dispassionate, be prudent, be just to yourselves and to your children.

"What you have to do is to choose suitable men; men who have skill and integrity equal to the business you are sending them upon. The Congress hath pronounced you independent and free; it will rest with your convention by their judicious management to secure to you the happiness and safety that may result from that declaration. For a state may be free and independent with respect to the impositions of any foreign power; and nevertheless, through the vices of its own policy or the arbitrary disposition of its own rulers, the people of it be slaves, or at best have a very precarious security and a defective enjoyment of their privileges. Here good meaning in your representatives, without capacity, is insufficient; so is capacity without an honest heart. You can find men among you possessed of both; men, I trust, unbiased by prejudice, not warped by passion, above the narrowness and illiberality of injuring the general welfare out of private resentment or for private interest. They also, in particular, who have already conducted themselves well in the sphere of publick usefulness ought not to be overlooked now by a grateful, sagacious people.

"Be on your guard against a party spirit, or you will be misled. Beware of those who would increase subsisting jealousies and exasperate you against each other. Though such supporters of the common cause, be they of what distinction or side they please, it matters not, do assume a patriotic semblance, or may address you under signatures no less than of Roman dignity, listen not to their story with attention over-credulous; think for yourselves; judge for yourselves. 'They zealously affect you, but not well.' Their ways and means are quite incompetent to beneficial ends. The spirit of patriotism is no boisterous, noisy effervescence, nor any ebullition of the mind; it delights not in tumult, revenge or outrage. It is a pure, manly flame, superior to the mists of faction, regarding no party names, exalting the soul to deeds of diffusive virtue. It is allied so close to the spirit of Christianity as to claim those as its predominant qualities; an unshakeable firmness, a generous, expansive benevolence, with zeal, wisdom and clearness of understanding; for it, too, is 'a spirit of power and of love and of a sound mind.'

"Permit me, then, to charge you with an affectionate solicitude—to entreat you as a brother and fellow-inhabitant, whose hopes and interests are one with yours, to lay divisions and animosities entirely aside; they will, unless relinquished, distract your councils; enervate, retard and disfigure our most useful proceedings at home, and utterly ruin us abroad. Let us be united and at peace by all means among ourselves. If ever unanimity was a virtue it must be in one at the present juncture, and a pre-eminent virtue it is in a worthy cause.

"It is more than probable that in the process of this day there will be diversity of opinions amongst you and a contrariety of endeavors; there will be planning, no doubt, and counter-planning. This may arise from the nature of the business, for aught I know, and possibly in itself may not be censurable in the least or hurtful to the bonds of peace, provided men act from an upright motive, conducting their plans or their opposition, if they must oppose one another, with humanity, good sense and decency. But 'bitterness and wrath and clamour and evil speaking and malice.' Oh, fy, fy on them! they are to be classed with things most 'rank and foul in nature.'

"At an election it is implied that certain persons, either upon their own motion or proposed by some one or other of the electors, do stand candidates for an appointment, whatever it is. Here, then, the electors or constituents have a right to exercise their own judgment, and people will differ sometimes in opinion. They have the privilege of choosing for themselves, and they may differ in their choice. But, still, it is every one's indispensable duty to inform his judgment as well as possible and to use his privilege so as not to abuse it. The sure way is to conduct yourselves clear of prejudice and undue influence.

"I step not forward as an advocate for tests, on occasions of this sort especially; yet, perhaps, if everyone who sets upon an election and every voter, laying his hand upon his heart, were virtually to put some such test to himself as the following: Do I solemnly think that I am a suitable person for the place or trust I am soliciting? or, do I solemnly believe that the person or persons I vote for and whose interests I am pushing, are duly qualified? and is my opposition to others grounded on principle? it would tend to preserve both moral and civil liberty.

"The mention of this test brings to my mind another: I mean that which the Honorable Assembly have empowered the judges of election to put, as they may think fit, to any or all of the voters. What I would observe on it (and I do it with great deference) is no more than this: If it was only meant as a restraint upon those who may be disaffected to the American cause, it was meant well; but if it should prove a bar to any tender or scrupulous consciences, so that a considerable class of men, otherwise good friends to their country, are withheld from their right, it is a pity. However, you, gentlemen, Inspectors and Judges, have a discretionary power in the matter, and we need not doubt your exercising it in a manner delicate and unexceptionable. Now, I conclude, wishing this county success in the event of this interesting day and desiring for the sister counties a similar felicity. May we and they always have a succession of able, good men to manage our political concerns, incorruptible guardians of the rights of freemen, the honest representatives of an honest people. Like another Sparta, may this little state be wise and brave and great; great in strength but greater still in virtue, holding its rank with unimpaired dignity in the scale of American empire."

Thomas Rodney was defeated as a candidate for the Convention, and Cæsar Rodney's letter, of August 21, points to the cause:

"Last night by the post I received an account of your defeat at the election, and in which I was not disappointed, being conscious you continued to be too sanguine in your expectations without taking the necessary steps to carry a point of that sort; added to all the rest of your bad policy, you suffered Caldwell's company to march away just before the election when there was no necessity for it, as the other companies were not half full in any of the counties. Parke tells me the conduct of your light infantry heretofore had drawn down the resentment of the people, which put it in the power of that party who were opposed to you to make this use of it."

The Delaware Convention assembled at New Castle, August 27, 1776, and was continued by adjournment to September 21. Each member took this oath:

"I —— —— will, to the utmost of my power, support and maintain the independence of this state as declared by the honorable the Continental Congress; and I will, to the best of my ability, endeavor to form such a system of government for the people of this state as in my opinion may be best adapted to promote their happiness and secure to them the enjoyment of their natural, civil and religious rights and privileges."

"I —— —— do profess faith in God the Father, and in Jesus Christ his only Son and in the Holy Ghost, one God blessed forevermore; and I do acknowledge the Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testament to be given by Divine inspiration."

The Constitution adopted contained thirty articles. The first declared that hereafter the government of the counties of New Castle, Kent and Sussex, shall in all public and other writings be called "The Delaware State." The Constitution further provided for the formation of the General Assembly, the popular branch of which was styled the House of Assembly and made up of seven members from each county, elected annually by the freeholders. The upper branch, or Council, consisted of nine members, three to be chosen for each county at the time of the first election for the Assembly. They were required to be freeholders and over 25 years of age. In regard to them a curious system of rotation in office was established. The Counsellor having the smallest number of votes in his county served but one year; he having the next largest number, two years; and he having the greatest number, three years, the vacancies being annually filled by election as they occurred. The right of suffrage remained as under the colonial government, and each house was invested with full power over the election of its officers, and to judge of the election and qualifications of its members. A member might be expelled for mis-behavior, but if his constituents should return him he was confirmed in his seat. All money bills must originate in the House of Assembly, but in all other legislation the powers of the branches were co-ordinate. The executive office was lodged in a "President or Chief Magistrate," chosen by joint ballot of the two branches, the Speaker of the Council to have an additional and deciding vote in case of a tie. His term of office was three years and he was not eligible to re-election until three years after its expiration; an "adequate

but moderate" salary was attached to the office. His powers were very strictly defined thus:

"He may, by and with the advice of the Privy Council, lay embargoes or prohibit the exportation of any commodity for any time not exceeding thirty days in the recess of the General Assembly. He shall have the power of granting pardons or reprieves, except where the prosecution shall be carried on by the House of Assembly or the law shall otherwise direct, in which cases no pardon or reprieve shall be granted but by a resolve of the House of Assembly; and may exercise all the other executive powers of government, limited and restrained as by this Constitution is mentioned, and according to the laws of the State."

In case of the President's death, disability or absence from the State his functions devolved upon the Speaker of the Council, and if the latter was incapacitated or should die the Speaker of the House of Assembly assumed the office until a new election.

An important addition to the executive establishment was the Privy Council, without the concurrence of which the President's prerogative was little more than nominal. This body was made up of two members chosen by each branch of the Assembly, but no regular officer of any army or navy was eligible, and a member of either branch elected to it must give up his legislative seat. Three members of the Privy Council made a quorum and their proceedings were to be open to the Assembly whenever it called for the record. They were required to attend the President upon his summons. Two members were removed by ballot, one by each branch of the Assembly, at the end of two years, and the remaining two the year, their places to be filled by election as in the original manner. No Privy Counselor could again fill the office within three years at the expiration of his term. With the advice and consent of this Council, the President could call out the militia, of which, and of all other military forces of the State he was Commander-in-Chief. Either house of the General Assembly could act independently in the matter of adjournment, but they were required to sit at the same time and place. The President was not permitted to adjourn or dissolve them, but with the concurrence of the Privy Council, or on the application of a majority of the members of either house he could call a special session. The delegates to the Federal Congress were chosen annually, but the General Assembly could supersede them at any time by a joint ballot.

The judiciary system was provided for by the 12th article:

"The President and General Assembly shall by joint ballot appoint three Justices of the Supreme Court for the State, one of whom shall be Chief Justice, and a Judge of Admiralty and also four Justices of the Courts of Common Pleas and Orphans' Courts for each county, one of whom in each Court shall be styled Chief Justice (and in case of division on the ballot the President shall have an additional casting voice) to be commissioned by the President under the great seal, who shall continue in office during good behavior; and during the time the Justices of the Supreme Court and Courts of Common Pleas remain in office, they shall hold none other except in the militia. . . . The President and Privy Council shall appoint the Secretary, the Attorney-General, Registers for the Probate of Wills and granting Letters of Administration, Registers in Chancery, Clerks of the Courts of Common Pleas and Orphans' Courts and Clerks of the Peace, who shall . . . remain in office during five years if they behave themselves well; during which time the Registers in Chancery and Clerks shall not be Justices of either of the said Courts of which they are officers, but they shall have authority to sign all writs by them issued and take recognizances of bail."

The House of Assembly was empowered to name twenty-four persons in each county, from whom the President and Privy Council should appoint twelve as justices of the peace to serve for seven years; members of the Legislature and Privy Council were ex-officio justices of the peace. All officers of the army or navy were to be elected by the General Assembly, but the President could appoint all civil officers not otherwise provided for by the Constitution. The Court of Appeals was constituted of the President and three members to be chosen by each house of the Assembly, and exercised all the powers and authority given by law in the last resort to the King in Council under the old government. The President and all other officers were liable to impeachment by the House of Assembly before the Legislative Council for offenses against the State, "either by mal-administration, corruption or other means, by which the safety of the commonwealth may be endangered," within eighteen months after the offense was committed, and punishment upon conviction was that they should be "forever disabled to hold any office under government or be removed from office, *pro tempore*, or subjected to such pains and penalties as the laws shall direct." The 26th article was:

"No person hereafter imported into this State from Africa ought to be held in slavery on any pretense whatever; and no negro, Indian or mulatto slave ought to be brought into this State for sale from any part of the world."

The first election for the General Assembly was appointed to take place October 25, 1776, and the body was directed to meet October 28th, the members to be elected yearly. To prevent any violence or force being used at the elections, no armed person was allowed to come to any of them, no muster of the militia could take place on election day, and no battalion or company could give in their votes immediately succeeding each other if objection was made by a voter offering his ballot. No company or battalion was permitted to remain within a mile of a voting-place within the twenty-four hours preceding or following election day. Having thus guarded against military interference, the framers of the Constitution took care of religious freedom, while providing against sectarian influence in public affairs:

"There shall be no establishment of any one religious sect in this State in preference to another, and no clergyman or preacher of the gospel, of any denomination, shall be capable of holding any civil office in the State, or of being a member of either of the branches of the Legislature, while they continue in the exercise of the pastoral function."

The final paragraph of the instrument ordained that the provisions relating to the name of the State, the status of the Legislature, the slave trade and the exclusion of the clergy from office ought never to be violated on any pretense whatever. As to changes in other parts of the Constitution, they might be made with "the consent of five parts in seven of the Assembly and seven members of the Legislative Council."

In this convention George Read presided, and James Booth was clerk. The members from the three counties were the following:

New Castle,—Nicholas Van Dyke, Richard Cantwell, Alexander Porter, John Thompson, Abraham Robertson, Thomas McKean, George Read, John Evans, John Lea, John Jones.

Kent,—Thomas Collins, Charles Ridgely, James Sykes, Richard Bassett, Jacob Stout, John Cook, Samuel West, John Clarke, Thomas White, Richard Lockwood.

Sussex,—Jacob Moore, James Rench, Isaac Bradley, John Wilthank, Isaac Horsey, Wm. Polk, Joshua Hill, Peter Hubbert, Phillips Kollock, Alexander Laws.

The "Declaration of Rights and Fundamental Rules," a strong and compact document, read:

"1. That all government of right originates from the people, is founded in compact only and is instituted solely for the good of the whole.

"2. That all men have a natural and unalienable right to worship Almighty God according to the dictates of their own consciences and understandings, and that no man ought or of right can be compelled to attend any religious worship or maintain any ministry contrary to or against his own free will and consent, and that no authority can or ought to be invested in, or assumed by any power whatever, that shall in any case interfere with, or in any manner control, the right of conscience in the free exercise of religious worship.

"3. That all persons professing the Christian religion ought forever to enjoy equal rights and privileges in this State, unless under color of religion any man disturb the peace, the happiness or safety of society.

"4. That the people of this State have the sole, exclusive and inherent right of governing and regulating the internal police of the same.

"5. That persons entrusted with the Legislative and Executive powers are the trustees and servants of the publick and as such accountable for their conduct; wherefore, whenever the ends of government are perverted and publick liberty manifestly endangered by the Legislative singly, or a treacherous combination of both, the people may and of right ought to, establish a new or reform the old government.

"6. That the right in the people to participate in the Legislature is the foundation of liberty and of all free government, and for this end all elections ought to be free and frequent; and every freeman having sufficient evidence of a permanent common interest with and attachment to the community hath a right of suffrage.

"7. That no power of suspending laws or the execution of laws ought to be exercised, unless by the Legislature.

"8. That for redress of grievances and for amending and strengthening the laws the Legislature ought to be frequently convened.

"9. That every man hath a right to petition the Legislature for the redress of grievances in a peaceable and orderly manner.

"10. That every member of society hath a right to be protected in the enjoyment of life, liberty and property, and therefore is bound to contribute his proportion toward the expence of that protection and yield his personal service when necessary, or an equivalent thereto; but no part of a man's property can be justly taken from him or applied to publick uses without his own consent or that of his legal representatives; nor can any man that is conscientiously scrupulous of bearing arms in any case be justly compelled thereto if he will pay such equivalent.

"11. That retrospective laws punishing offences committed before the existence of such laws are oppressive and unjust and ought not to be made.

"12. That every freeman for every injury done him in his goods, land or person by any other person, ought to have remedy by the course of the law of the land, and ought to have justice and right for the injustice done to him freely without sale, fully without any denial and speedily without delay, according to the law of the land.

"13. That trial by jury of the facts where they arise, is one of the greatest securities of the lives, liberties and estates of the people.

"14. That in all prosecutions for criminal offences, every man hath a right to be informed of the accusation against him, to be allowed counsel, to be confronted with the accusers or witnesses, to examine evidence on oath in his favor and to a speedy trial by an impartial jury, without whose unanimous consent he ought not to be found guilty.

"15. That no man in the Courts of Common law ought to be compelled to give evidence against himself.

"16. That excessive bails ought not to be required, nor excessive fines imposed, nor cruel or unusual punishments inflicted.

"17. That all warrants without oath to search suspected places, or to seize any person or his property, are grievous and oppressive; and all general warrants to search suspected places or to apprehend all persons suspected, without naming or describing the place or any person in special, are illegal and ought not to be granted.

"18. That a well regulated militia is the proper, natural and safe defence of a free government.

"19. That standing armies are dangerous to liberty and ought not to be raised or kept up without the consent of the Legislature.

"20. That in all cases and at all times the military ought to be under strict subordination to and governed by the civil power.

"21. That no soldier ought to be quartered in any house in time of peace without the consent of the owner; and in time of war in such manner only as the Legislature shall direct.

"22. That the independency and uprightness of Judges are essential to the impartial administration of justice and a great security to the rights and liberties of the people.

"23. That the liberty of the press ought to be inviolably preserved."

The convention was not controlled by the more advanced section of the patriot party, and although it acted mainly under the influence of George Read, who is, indeed, credited with being the author of the Constitution, its proceedings and results were far from being satisfactory to his colleagues in Congress, Messrs. McKean and Rodney. Much apprehension existed on the part of the latter that the convention would arrogate to itself the function of electing delegates to Congress, in which case Rodney and McKean would surely have been displaced. Mr. McKean was determined that the convention should not turn himself or any one else out of Congress, and if such a move were attempted, he would make the issue before the people. Mr. Rodney's letter of August 28th, from Philadelphia to his brother Thomas, exhibits the same firm purpose. Thomas Rodney was in full sympathy with this antagonism toward the majority of the convention, and wrote in reply:

"Though the people in a popular government often put away good men for bad ones, and though such a change could not be more dangerous at any time than the present, yet I look on the press at change with us as an example which favors liberty. If the people will not continually support those men who have served them faithfully at all hazards, it cannot be supposed that they will long support those men who, in opposition to the publick weal, pursued their own private interest only. These men, by a violent exertion of the influence of the Magistracy, and also calling to assist the most base, low and infamous falsehoods, have succeeded for once because the people were so blinded that they could not see their true interest. But be assured that they that set them up will pull them down again."

Much harsh comment was also directed against the Constitution and the form of government which it set up. "Philo-Alethias" published on October 10th a sharp criticism, in which he applied Montesquieu's remarks that "There are some good things in the Delaware Constitution, which are evidently borrowed from the Pennsylvanian, but mangled like a school-boy's abridgement of a *Spectator* paper. Some of their Bill of Rights, explained by Tories, might prevent all American defense. Justices of the Peace may also be As-

semblymen, *i. e.*, 'Make and execute laws which destroy all liberty!'" The most particular fault which "Philo-Alethias" found with the Delaware political establishment was, that while it contained only three counties, it had four distinct legislative bodies—an Assembly, Legislative Council, President and his Privy Council. "All these opposite and incoherent powers," he says, "in that small and greatly-divided handful must produce endless jars and confusions, till one of these powers becomes an aristocracy, and, like Aaron's serpent, swallows up all the rest or betrays the whole to some foreign power, which we know the present representatives of two of these counties, who have been counted all along enemies to the cause of America, would, if they durst, presently do. However, they have the nomination of members of Congress, and may thereby expect it if such discolored parts of other States prevail. They have also made their form of government without an appeal to the people, or hearing any objections, or giving any appeal to Congress, though one whole county was not represented in convention, except only the Tories in it."

However, Delaware settled down under this new form of government and proceeded with the raising of troops, the record of which we shall now follow throughout the war. We have already seen that previous to the Declaration of Independence the militia of the three counties had been rudely organized and had done duty in various skirmishes on the western shore of the bay, but the time had now arrived for the formation of corps fit to meet the highly-disciplined troops of the enemy. The first regiment raised was that of Col. John Haslet, which was, in fact, in process of formation before independence had been declared. They were State troops—that is, a command organized under the colonial laws and furnished by the colony or State of Delaware upon the call of Congress, who appointed their field officers. The regiment comprised eight companies of about one hundred men each, and on January 19, 1776, Congress elected as its field officers, John Haslet, colonel; Gunning Bedford, lieutenant colonel; and John MacPherson, major.[1]

Although the fact was not known to Congress, Major MacPherson was dead at this time. He was an aid to General Montgomery and was killed beside his chief at the storming of Quebec, December 31, 1775. Consequently, Thomas Macdonough was elected to the position on March 22, 1776, and the only roster of the regiment in existence shows the field officers already mentioned and the following officers of companies, a list more complete than Mr. Whitely was able to obtain:

[1] "The Revolutionary Soldiers of Delaware," a paper read by Wm. G. Whitely before the Delaware Legislature, February 15, 1875. To Mr. Whitely's paper we are indebted for many of the facts comprised in these pages.

Name and Rank.	Date of Commission.
1st, Capt. Joseph Bidmean	Jan. 15, 1776.
2d, Capt. Jonathan Caldwell	Jan. 15, 1776.
3d, Capt. David Hall, Jr.	Jan. 16, 1776.
4th, Capt. Henry Darby	Jan. 17, 1776.
5th, Capt. Charles Pope	Jan. 18, 1776.
6th, Capt. Nathan Adams	Jan. 19, 1776.
7th, Capt. Samuel Smith	Jan. 20, 1776.
8th, Capt. Joseph Vaughan	Jan. 21, 1776.
1st, 1st Lieut. Lewis Howell	Jan. 15, 1776.
2d, 1st Lieut. John Patten	Jan. 15, 1776.
3d, 1st Lieut. Jonathan Harney	Jan. 16, 1776.
4th, 1st Lieut. Robert Kirkwood, Jr.	Jan. 17, 1776.
5th, 1st Lieut. James Wells	Jan. 18, 1776.
6th, 1st Lieut. James Moore	Jan. 19, 1776.
7th, 1st Lieut. John Dickson	Jan. 20, 1776.
8th, 1st Lieut. Joseph Frisl	Jan. 21, 1776.
1st, 2d Lieut. Enoch Anderson	Jan. 15, 1776.
2d, 2d Lieut. George McCall	Jan. 15, 1776.
3d, 2d Lieut. John Learmonth	Jan. 16, 1776.
4th, 2d Lieut. Wm. Popham	Jan. 17, 1776.
5th, 2d Lieut. Alex. Stuart, Jr.	Jan. 18, 1776.
6th, 2d Lieut. James Gordon	Jan. 19, 1776.
7th, 2d Lieut. James Macdonough, Jr.	Jan. 20, 1776.
8th, 2d Lieut. John Perkins	Jan. 21, 1776.
1st, Ens. Thomas Holland	Jan. 15, 1776.
2d, Ens. James Stephens	Jan. 15, 1776.
3d, Ens. Cord Hazard	Jan. 16, 1776.
4th, Ens. Peter Jacquett, Jr.	Jan. 17, 1776.
5th, Ens. John Wilson	Jan. 18, 1776.
6th, Ens. Thomas Nixon, Jr.	Jan. 19, 1776.
7th, Ens. Alexis Curry	Jan. 20, 1776.
8th, Ens. Wm. Vaughan	Jan. 21, 1776.

STAFF OFFICERS.

Chaplain	Rev. Joseph Montgomery.
Surgeon	James Tilton, M.D.
Quartermaster	Robert Ball.
Adjutant	Thomas Holland.

A large proportion of the regiment were at Dover on July 5th, when the news of the Declaration of Independence reached there. The troops were assembled under the direction of the Committee of Safety, and a picture of King George was procured. The drummer bore it before the President, and after a march around the square, a circle was formed about a fire which had been prepared and the picture was cast into the flames, the President pronouncing these words: "Compelled by strong necessity, thus we destroy even the shadow of that king who refused to reign over a free people." On July 20th the regiment was ordered to Philadelphia, where it attracted much commendation. Abram Clark, writing on August 6th, to Colonel Dayton, says:

"I dare say you have a good regiment and hear their commendation with pleasure, but had you seen a regiment that went near two weeks ago to New York, raised in Maryland, and another paraded this day in the State House yard, from the Delaware government, you would have altered your opinion; they were all shirtmen, mostly of an age and size. The two battalions above-mentioned were the finest I ever saw."

On August 7th Congress directed that the regiment be equipped with arms lately imported, and then report to General Washington at Amboy, N. J., where they were brigaded with four Pennsylvania regiments and Smallwood's Maryland regiment, under command of Brigadier-General Lord Stirling.

In the mean time the seat of war had been transferred to New York, which city the British general, Sir William Howe, determined to take, and for the purpose landed over twenty thousand troops on Long Island. Washington, who, with the main

army, was fortified on New York Island, placed General Putnam in command of about eight thousand men posted in Brooklyn. Generals Sullivan and Sterling were under Putnam, the Delaware and Maryland troops being in Stirling's brigade. Early on the 27th of August, General Putnam notified General Stirling that the enemy were approaching the Gowanus road along Martense Lane,[1] and ordered him to take three regiments, "advance beyond the line and repulse the enemy." Hastily gathering Haslet's Delaware battalion, Major Macdonough commanding,[2] Smallwood's Maryland and Atlee's Pennsylvania regiments. Stirling advanced upon the left wing of Lord Howe's army, consisting of two brigades, one Highland regiment with several pieces of artillery, and two companies of New York Tories, the whole under the command of General Grant.

About eleven o'clock Howe reinforced Grant with two thousand men, whereupon Stirling ordered forward his Delaware reserves, when a sharp contest ensued. At the same time another detachment of the British pushed forward through a wood from the hills near the Porte road, and encountered the left of the Delaware battalion near what is now Tenth Street and Fourth Avenue, Brooklyn. Sullivan's command soon melted away before the fierceness of the British assault, and the contest upon the left of the American line was no longer a battle, but a rout and massacre.[3] On all sides the enemy were closing around the feeble band commanded by Stirling, with the intention to crush it, as they had done Sullivan's flying army. The situation was terrible, but Stirling did not lose his self-possession. Cornwallis had taken possession of the Cortelyou house, in the rear of Stirling, and the latter saw if he could not drive him back, or at least hold him where he was, his whole command would suffer death or capture. He resolved upon a costly sacrifice to save his retreating columns, which were now toiling through the salt marshes and across the deep tide-water creek in their rear. The remnant of Sullivan's forces were endeavoring to escape through the morasses and thickets, and dense masses were crowding the dam at Freeke's Mill. Many were shot while struggling through the mud and water, and some were drowned.

General Stirling selected five companies of the Maryland regiment, commanded by Major Mordecai Gist, to hold Cornwallis in check while the rest made good their escape. At the head of this devoted band marched their general, to whom even victory had now become less important than an honorable death, which might purchase the safe retreat of his army. These brave men "flew at the enemy with unparalleled bravery. Washington, who watched the scene from the lines, wrung his hands, as he exclaimed, 'My God! what brave men must I this day lose!'" When broken, they rallied and charged the enemy again and again, until the Delaware and the rest of the Maryland regiment had made their escape by wading a marshy creek, in which several were drowned.

Stirling, with the remains of the five companies who had sacrificed themselves for the safety of the rest, were taken prisoners. But their courage had checked the pursuit, and the army was saved.

This defeat made it necessary for the Americans to withdraw from Long Island. To General Mifflin, commanding the Pennsylvania battalions of Shee and Magaw and the shattered remnants of Haslet's and Smallwood's battalions, was confided the task of covering the retreat. "Torn with the shock of battle, and enfeebled by the terrible and exhausting exertions of its struggle, these brave men still kept the post of peril, and on their courage and devotion the commander-in-chief depended for covering the retreat." Under pretense of attacking the enemy, they remained under arms all night, marching and counter-marching, while their comrades were being safely conveyed across the river. On their courage and devotion depended the fate of the army, and perhaps of the cause of American liberty. As daylight dawned the great task was accomplished, as the last of Washington's army crossed from the beach between Fulton and Main Streets. The enemy did not discover the retreat until the last detachment was half-way across East River and out of reach.

Colonel Haslet, in a letter to Thomas Rodney, dated "Camp at Mount Washington, October 4, 1776," gives a very good report of the part taken by the Delaware regiment in the battle of Long Island. He says:

"On Sunday, the 25th of August last, my regiment was ordered to Long Island in Lord Stirling's brigade, composed mostly of the southern troops, by whom we were much caressed and highly complimented on our appearance and dexterity in the military exercises and manœuvres. On Tuesday, the 27th, his brigade, consisting of five regiments, and a

[1] Now forming the southern boundary of Greenwood Cemetery, Brooklyn.

[2] Colonel Haslet and Lieutenant-Colonel Bedford, of the Delaware battalion, and Colonel Smallwood and Lieutenant-Colonel Ware, of the Maryland regiment, did not participate in the battle of Long Island, as they were ordered by General Washington to sit on the court-martial, in New York, for the trial of Lieutenant-Colonel Zedwitz. In this engagement the Delaware regiment was commanded by Major Macdonough.

[3] A letter from an officer in Frazier's British battalion says—"The Hessians and our brave Highlanders gave no quarter, and it was a fine sight to see with what alacrity they despatched the rebels with their bayonets, after we had surrounded them so that they could not resist. We took good care to tell the Hessians that the rebels had resolved to give no quarter to them in particular, which made them fight with desperation, and put all to death who fell into their hands."—*American Archives, 5th Series* i., p. 1259.

Colonel Von Heeringen, a Hessian officer in command, says: "The English soldiers did not give much quarter, and constantly excited our men to do the same."—*Eiking's Ancedotes in America.*

An officer of high rank in the British army says, in a letter: "The Americans fought manfully, and, to do them justice, could not be broken till they were outnumbered, and taken in flank, front and rear.

"*We were greatly shocked at the massacre made by the Hessians and Highlanders, after victory was decided.*"

tow of Sullivan's, not exceeding 3000 men, were ordered to advance beyond the lines and repulse the enemy. To oppose this small band were 17,000 regulars, much better furnished with field-pieces and every other military appointment than we are. Several of the regiments were broken and dispersed at the first onset. The Delawares and Marylanders stood firm to the last, and after a variety of skirmishing the Delawares drew up on the side of a hill and stood upwards of four hours with a firm, determined countenance in close array, their colors flying, the enemy's artillery playing on them all the while, not daring to advance and attack them, though six times their number and nearly surrounding them. Nor did they think of quitting their station till an express order from the General commanded their retreat through a marsh and over a creek, the only opening left, which they effected in good order, with the loss of one man drowned in passing. The Delaware alone had the honour of bringing off 23 prisoners. . . . Twenty-seven of the Delaware next morning were missing. In that number were Lieutenants Stewart and Harney,[1] the latter a prisoner, the other not yet heard of. Major Macdonough was wounded in the knee; a ball passed through the sleeve of his coat without wounding his arm or his body. Lieutenant Anderson had a ball lodged in his throat; Lieutenant Corn a ball still in his back; they are recovered. The standard was torn with shot in Ensign Stephens' hands, who is now in his element and a most excellent officer. . . . The Delaware battalion, officers and men, are respected throughout the army.'

After this battle the regiment went into camp at King's Bridge, Westchester County, New York. The weekly return of Washington's forces at Harlem Heights, October 5, 1776, shows present for Colonel Haslet's command a lieutenant-colonel, a major, seven captains, six first lieutenants, five second lieutenants, seven ensigns, the adjutant, the surgeon and his mate, twenty-two sergeants, twelve drummers and fifers, three hundred and eighty-five rank and file fit for duty, six sick present, one-hundred and forty-nine sick absent, twenty-nine in detached service and none in furlough, making a total of five hundred and sixty-nine.

Haslet shortly returned to camp, and on October 21st, with his regiment and some other details, made a descent upon Rogers' corps of Tories at Mamaroneck, capturing thirty-six prisoners and sixty muskets. He wrote as follows to General Rodney of his victory:

"On Monday night Lord Stirling ordered me with 750 men to attack the enemy's outposts ten miles from this place, at the village of Mamaroneck, which was done and their guards forced. We brought in thirty-six prisoners, a pair of colors, sixty stand of arms and a variety of plunder besides. The party we fell in with was Colonel Rogers', the late worthless major. On the first fire he skulked off in the dark. His lieutenant and a number of others were left dead on the spot. Had not our guards deserted us on the first onset he and his whole party must have been taken. On our side three or four were left dead and about fifteen wounded; among the latter is Major Green, of the Second Virginia Regiment, wounded in the shoulder, and Captain Pope, who acted as major and behaved with great bravery, wounded in his leg; both likely to recover. As this was the first effort of the kind and a plan of his Lordship's, he was so highly pleased with our success that he thanked us publicly on the parade."

On October the 28th the battle of Chatterton's Hill took place, and again the Delaware men were called into the thick of the fight by the orders of General Washington. Haslet's report of the reverse of the Americans on this occasion, made to Rodney, bears hard upon the Pennsylvania and New York militia. He wrote:

"I received his Excellency's orders to take possession of the hill (Chatterton's Hill) beyond our lines and the command of the militia regiments there posted, which was done. We had not been many minutes on the ground when the cannonade began, and the second shot wounded a militiaman in the thigh, upon which the whole regiment broke and fled immediately and were not rallied without much difficulty. Soon after General McDougall's brigade took post behind us. Some of our officers expressed much apprehension from the fire of our friends so posted. On my application to the general he ordered us to the right, formed his own brigade on the left and ordered Brooks' Massachusetts Militia still farther to the right, behind a stone fence.

"The troops being thus disposed, I went up to the top of the hill in front of our troops, accompanied by Major McDonough, to reconnoitre the enemy. I plainly perceived them marching to the White Plains in eight columns and stop in the wheat field a considerable time. I saw their general officers on horseback assemble in council and soon their whole body fall about and in one continued column march to the hill opposite to our right. I then applied to General McDougall again to vary his position and advised him to order my regiment farther onward and replace it with Colonel Smallwood's or order the colonel forward, as there was no dependence to be placed on the militia. The latter measure was adopted. On my seeing the enemy's march to the creek begun in a column of their main body, and urging the necessity of bringing our field pieces immediately forward to bear upon them, the general ordered one and that so poorly appointed that myself was forced to assist in dragging it along the rear of the regiment. While we employed a cannon ball struck the carriage and scattered the shot about, a wad of tow blazing in the middle. The artillerymen fled. One alone was prevailed upon to tread out the blaze and collect the shot. The few that returned made not more than two discharges when they retreated with the field-piece. At this time the Maryland Battalion was warmly engaged and the enemy ascending the hill. The cannonade from 12 or 13 pieces well served kept up a continual peal of reiterated thunder. The militia regiment behind the fence fled in confusion without more than a random, scattering fire. Colonel Smallwood, in a quarter of an hour afterwards, gave up also. The rest of General McDougall's brigade never came up to the scene of action. Part of the first three Delaware companies also retreated in disorder, but not till after several were wounded and killed. The left of the regiment took post behind a fence on the top of the hill with most of the officers, and twice repulsed the Light Troops and Horse of the enemy; but being ourselves deserted by all hands and the continued column of the enemy advancing, we also retired. Covering the retreat of our party and forming at the foot of the hill, we marched into camp in the rear of the body sent to reinforce us."

The general army return of Nov. 3d, 1776, showed Colonel Haslet's to have fit for duty 28 commissioned and non-commissioned officers and 273 rank and file; 254 men were sick and 21 were detailed on special duty. Washington was compelled to retreat through New Jersey to the banks of the Delaware, and when Haslet's regiment was in camp there on December 22d the whole number present and fit for duty was 15 officers and 92 men. Much of this depletion was due to the fact that a large number of its officers, as well as of the rank and file, had returned home to enlist in a new regiment which was being organized, under a law of Continental Congress, for service during the war, and under conditions offering better pay and regularity of promotion. With less than one-hundred men Haslet took part in the battle of Trenton on Christmas day, 1776, but there are no records of the performance of the command in that affair. Its last service was at the battle of Princeton, January 2, 1777, in which Colonel Haslet was killed while leading his handful of men gallantly into action. They were then in Mercer's brigade, which formed the left wing of Washington's army in the proposed movement upon New Brunswick. They had reached Stony Brook at sunrise and were marching along the Quaker road when they came upon Mawhood's British regiment. In the fight that immediately ensued Haslet was shot through the head. Lieutenant-Colonel Bedford was at the time on Washington's staff, and

[1] The revised returns showed that Stewart and Harney were both killed.

Major Macdonough[1] carried the regiment through the remainder of the engagement, after which it was disbanded. The next military organization with which we have to deal is that of the militia for service in the "Flying Camp," which was made up in the autumn of 1776 to protect the shores of the Delaware and Chesapeake Bays while Washington was occupied in the defense of New Jersey. It was proposed that ten thousand men should be enrolled for this purpose, to serve only until the end of the year, and the call from Congress was received by the Delaware Convention in September. On the 26th of that month President Read informed President Hancock that a force of four hundred and eighty men, including officers, had been raised. "The want of arms," continued Mr. Read, "and the great extent of our frontiers on the river and bay of Delaware must apologize for the smallness of this aid—it is the widow's mite."

This little battalion was placed under the command of Colonel Samuel Patterson.[2] The other officers were George Latimer, lieutenant-colonel, and Captains William Moody, Joseph Caldwell, Thomas Kean, James Dunn, Thomas Skillington, Matt. Manlove, John Woodgate and Nathaniel Mitchell. It was very difficult to obtain men to enter this command. John Clark, sheriff of New Castle County, met with the utmost discouragement in his effort to enroll a company. A paper has been preserved in which he set down the answers of sixteen men whom he approached on the subject, and is very pertinent in this connection:[3]

Names.	*Answers.*
Slator Clay,	Will not march.
Richard Janvier,	Will not march.
John Powell,	Ready and willing to march.
David Morton,	Same.
George Read,	Same.
Thomas Coach, Jr.,	Same.
Robert Wiley,	I'm damned if I march.
Edward Sweney,	Family in distress.
James Wilson,	Hired one in his place.
John Booth, Jr.,	Substitute in Continental Army.
Joseph Tallow,	Will not march.
Daniel Smith,	Son in his place.
James Faith,	Will not march.
William Hazlett,	I never will march.
Thomas Noden,	I'm damned if I march.

The upshot in this instance was that out of sixty-three men only twenty-two proffered themselves ready and willing to march. Colonel Patterson's letters to George Read are a little more than a prolonged growl about his troops. When he got them to Philadelphia they found that the Pennsylvanians had been paid a small bounty to enlist, and nearly three hundred of the four hundred and eighty mutinied and refused to do duty unless they were equally favored.[4] Patterson was a man of nerve and determination, and he brought them to terms by summoning the Continental infantry to disarm and arrest them. This was in the second week of September, 1776, and the Delawareans were to be sent over into New Jersey. "I at last," says Patterson, writing on September 19th, "got them down to the wharf, fixed bayonets at the head of it and sent them off. Captain Woodgate's arms not being done, I kept his company to go with me, but this morning I learned, to my astonishment, that his whole company, save eleven men, had deserted during the night." He added: "I shall give you a small opinion on battalion affairs. If ever you order one other, never sacrifice liberty to licentiousness, by leaving the officers to be chosen as mine were. Had I known the men in general, I would not have went with them. Some few excessive good; others, perhaps, another day may be brave, not at present. In my opinion, they had better have staid at home."

The command went to New Brunswick and then on to Amboy, and by October, Patterson had instilled a little discipline into them.[5] In his letter of October 4th he appears in better humor, except with the Kent and Sussex men. He had then four hundred and sixty-one men, and wrote about them: "If ever I come campaigning again, I should never be for bringing up the men from *below*. They are not fit for *fatigue, have no constitutions and are always dissatisfied*. Almost fifty or sixty of them every day sick and unfit for duty, and fond of desertion, as you have seen at Philadelphia."[5]

This severe judgment he mollified a good deal by adding in a postscript that "Since they left Philadelphia the Battalion is sorry for their misbehavior. It was owing to a rascal telling them they were fools to go without their bounty."

A portion of the Delaware division of the Flying Camp was ordered back to Philadelphia preceding Washington's movement on Trenton, and formed a part of General Putnam's command, which was directed to co-operate on December 25th with Washington in the blow that was ex-

[1] Major Thomas Macdonough was a physician at the village now called by his name in St. George's Hundred, New Castle County. After the battle of Princeton he retired to private life and the practice of his profession. He was the father of Commodore Thomas Macdonough, who in the War of 1812 defeated the British fleet at the battle of Lake Champlain.

[2] Patterson was a brigadier-general in the State militia and lived near Christiana, where he owned and operated the largest grist-mill in the colony. He was a rich man and a sound patriot, for on December, 1775, he addressed to the Delaware delegates in Congress this letter, which is given literally: "As our representatives in Congress, from some late vague information, I heard that gold was hard to be had in the city of Philadelphia. To answer valuable purposes, I am, and was always, willing to contribute my small mite to the times; I now will inform you, if you want, y u can have one thousand pounds in gold; and will for exchange take the Congress bills as now by that authority circulating. If of service to the common cause, send for it and the exchange, as above. I should be glad my offers were of any service to the grand cause. Your answer shall be punctually obeyed by your most humble servant."

[3] Mr. Whiteley's address, p. 20.

[4] The Delaware men were eventually paid a bounty of six dollars each by act of the Legislature, February 19, 1777.

[5] Patterson was unjust in his wholesale denunciations of the Kent and Sussex soldiers. Hazlet and Hall had many of them in their regiments, and they proved their gallantry on many a hard-fought battle-field.

pected to sweep the British from the Jerseys. The effort was a partial failure, because, while Washington succeeded in crossing the river at Trenton and defeated Rahl, Putnam and Cadwallader were so obstructed by the ice in the stream between Bristol and Philadelphia that their intention was nullified. Thomas Rodney had come up from Delaware and, after joining the troops as a volunteer at Philadelphia, was promoted to a sort of informal command, and was with them in this movement. Afterwards, when they were at Allentown, twelve miles from Princeton, on December 30th, he wrote his brother Cæsar the narrative of this incident of the campaign:[1]

"On the 2'th inst., in the evening, we received orders to be at Shamony (Neshaimy) Ferry as soon as possible. We were there according to orders in two hours and met the riflemen, who were the first from Bristol; we were ordered from thence to Dunk's Ferry on the Delaware, and the whole army of about 2000 men followed as soon as the artillery got up. The three companies of Philadelphia infantry and mine were formed into a body under the command of Capt. Henry (myself second in command) which were embarked immediately to cover the landing of the other troops. We landed with great difficulty through the ice and formed on the ferry shore, about 200 yards from the river. It was as severe a night as I ever saw, and after two battalions were landed the storm increased so much, and the river was so full of ice, that it was impossible to get the artillery over, for we had to walk 100 yards on the ice to get on shore. Gen. Cadwalader, therefore, ordered the whole to retreat again, and we had to stand, at least, six hours under arms—first, to cover the landing and till all the rest had retreated again; and by this time the storm of wind, hail and rain and snow with the ice was so bad that none of the infantry could not get back till next day. This design was to have surprised the enemy at Black Horse and Mount Holly at the same that Washington surprised them at Trenton, and had we succeeded in getting over we should have finished all our troubles. . . . The next night I received orders to be in Bristol before day; we were there accordingly, and about 9 o'clock began to embark one mile above Bristol, and about 3 o'clock in the afternoon got all our troops and artillery over, consisting of about 2000 men, and began our march to Burlington, the infantry, flanked by the Riflemen, making the advanced guard. We got there about 9 o'clock and took possession of the town, but found the enemy had made precipitate retreat the day before, bad as the weather was, in a great panic. The whole infantry and riflemen were then ordered to set out that night and make a forced march to Bordentown (which was about 11 miles), which they did and took possession of the town about 9 o'clock with a large quantity of the enemy's stores, which they had not time to carry off. We stayed there until the army came up; and the general, finding the enemy were but a few miles ahead, ordered the infantry to proceed to a town called Crosswick's, four miles from Bordentown, and they were followed by one of the Philadelphia and one of the New England battalions. We got there about 8 o'clock, and at about 10 (after we were all in our quarters) were informed that the enemy's baggage was about 16 miles from us under a guard of 300 men. Some of the militia colonels applied to the infantry to make a forced march that night and overhaul them. We had then been on duty four nights and days, making forced marches, without six hours' sleep in the whole time; whereupon the infantry officers of all the companies unanimously declared it was madness to attempt, for that it would knock up all our brave men, and one of whom had yet gave out, but every one will suppose were much fatigued. They sent off a party who were fresh, but they knocked up before they got up with them and came back and met us at this town next morning. They surrounded a house where there was six Tories; took three of them; one got off; and one who ran and would not stop was shot dead. They gave him warning, first by calling and then shot two bullets over his head, but he still persisted; and the next two shot; one bullet went through his arm and one through his heart. The enemy have fled before us in the greatest panic that ever was known; we heard this moment that they have fled from Princeton and that they were hard pressed by Washington. Never were men in higher spirits than our whole army is; none are sick and all are determined to extirpate them from the Jersey, but I believe the enemy's fears will do it before we get up with them. The Hessians, from the General to the Common Soldier, curse and imprecate the war and swear that they were sent here to be slaughtered; that they never will leave New York again until they sail for Europe. Jersey will be the most Whiggish colony on the continent; the very Quakers declare for taking up arms. You cannot imagine the distress of this country. They have stripped everybody almost without distinction, even of all their clothes, and have beat and abused men, women and children in the most cruel manner ever heard of. We have taken a number of prisoners in our route, Hessians and British, to the number of almost twenty. It seems likely, through the blessing of Providence, that we shall retake Jersey again without the loss of a man, except one General Washington lost at Trenton. The enemy seem to be beating their way to Amboy with all speed, but I hope we shall come up with the Princeton baggage yet and then get a share of their large stores at Brunswick. I hope, if I live, to see the conquest of Jersey and set off home again in two weeks. Some of my men have complained a little, but not to say sick; they are all now well here."

The Flying Camp was mustered out at the appointed time. Meanwhile, the first Legislature elected under the new Constitution met at New Castle, Monday, October 28, 1776. The members of the Council for the several counties were as follows, with the votes they had received: New Castle—George Read, 280 votes; Nicholas Vandyke, 246 votes; Richard Cantwell, 244 votes. Kent—Thomas Collins, 645 votes; James Sykes, 642 votes; Richard Bassett, 639 votes. Sussex—John Wiltbank, 542 votes; William Polk, 541 votes; Daniel Dingee, 541 votes.

George Read was chosen Speaker, Slator Clay clerk, and Robert Booth doorkeeper. Messrs. Sykes and Vandyke were appointed to act with the Messrs. McKean, Cook and Robinson, of the House of Assembly, as a committee to devise a great seal of the State, and, on November 2d, brought in a report for a design of silver three inches in diameter, "and that there be engraven Britannia on the right side thereof and on the left, opposite to her, Liberty (in the usual shapes) with a label proceeding from Britannia to Liberty in these words: 'Go to America,' and that there be engraven on the top the shape of a book having these words therein, 'The Bill of Rights,' and at the bottom another book having these words therein, 'The system of Government,' and that there shall be an inscription round the same near the edge thereof, 'The Great Seal of the Delaware State,' with the figures 1776." Messrs. Sykes and McKean were selected to have the seal made, but on January, 16, 1777, they reported that they could procure no engraver to perform the work, and two days later the matter was settled by the adoption of a device embracing a sheaf of wheat, an ear of Indian corn and an ox in a shield with a river dividing the wheat and corn from the ox; the supporters to be an American soldier under arms on the right and a husbandman with a hoe in his hand on the left; that a ship be the crest and that the State inscription be placed round the edge. Pending the completion of this design, the seal of New Castle County was to be used as the great seal of the State.

Up to this time the plan of raising troops had been experimental and ignorant. Congress had learned that a genuine army could only be formed by long-term enlistments, and, therefore, on September 26th, it had resolved on the creation of eighty-eight battalions, or regiments, by which

[1] "American Archives," vol. iii. 5th series, pp. 1488-1489.

Delaware's quota was one battalion of eight hundred men, to serve during the war. The inducements held out were the small bounty of twenty dollars, in Continental money, to privates and non-commissioned officers, and one hundred acres of land to those who served throughout the war, or to their heirs if they were killed. It was also provided that, though the officers should be commissioned by Congress, their appointments were to be left to the several States, and each State must furnish arms, accoutrements and clothing. The resolutions of Congress were read in the Delaware Legislature October 30th, and a committee, embracing Messrs. Sykes, Vandyke, and Collins for the Council, and Robinson, Ridgely and McKean for the House, was appointed to confer upon the question. It was debated from November 2d until the 5th, when it was agreed that the battalion be raised; that a commissioner be appointed by each branch of the Legislature to visit the camps of Haslet's and Patterson's regiments and ascertain what number of officers and men would take service in the new command, preference in selecting the commissioned officers to be given to Haslet's officers, and the vacant places remaining to be tendered to the officers under Patterson. The commissioners were instructed to consult with General Washington regarding appointments and promotions, and could issue no commission without his approbation. The Council appointed as commissioner Thomas Collins, and the House chose Samuel West, who at once set off on their mission.

On November 6, 1776, the Council concurred with the House on the proposition to elect delegates to Congress, but declined to participate in the election of a Council of Safety unless the Legislature should adjourn before electing the President and Privy Council. On the next day the House replied that it did propose to so adjourn, whereupon the Council agreed to the scheme as a whole, and, on the 10th, the election resulted in the choice of George Read, John Dickinson and John Evans as members of Congress and the following Council of Safety, which had full power of action during the recess of the Legislature.

New Castle County—James Latimer, John McKinly, Abraham Robinson, John Lea, Nicholas Vandyke.

Kent County—Cæsar Rodney, James Sykes, Thomas Collins, John Baning, Richard Bassett.

Sussex County—David Hall, Jacob Moore, John Wiltbank, John Rodney, James Rench.

On November 9th the Legislature adjourned to January 6, 1777, after appropriating for the expenses of the session a little more than eighty-two pounds. When it re-assembled no business was done until January 15th, when the resolution setting apart February 27th as a day of fasting and prayer was passed, and it was resolved to strictly enforce the prohibition against the exportation of bacon, salt beef, salt pork, soap, tallow and candles.[1] Messrs. Vandyke, Sykes, Cantwell and Wiltbank were appointed a committee to frame a bill for a better militia establishment than then existed, and it was ordered that two chains of fire-rafts be built for the defense of the Delaware, and that a large quantity of provisions, arms, powder and lead be bought for the use of the militia and the Continental troops in service within the State. It was, however, very difficult to find clothing for the troops, for one of the resolutions of this series directed the Speaker to inform the President of Congress "that the persons employed in Pennsylvania under the Congress to buy clothing for the army have purchased almost all of the articles of that kind which were to be had in this State, and therefore it is hoped that they will be pleased to give some direction for the speedy clothing of the Delaware Battalion, as a single company of them will not be able to march without new clothes."

The election of a President and other officers of the government was approaching, and as the Constitution presented no mode of taking the ballot, committees of the House and Council spent two weeks in elaborating a system. It provided that when the House and Council met in joint convention each member might propose a candidate for the Presidency, and all the names should be written out and left on the table for the consideration of members. After they had slept a night the joint convention would re-assemble the next day and proceed with the ballot. To elect a President required a majority of the votes of the members present, and in case of a tie, the deciding vote was to be cast by the Speaker of the Council. On the day of the election of President the nominations of the judges and the delegates in Congress would be made, and their election would take place on some future day. On February 12th, John McKinly was chosen President by 19 votes out of the 23 cast, and the nominations for judges and Congressmen were made. Further elections were deferred to the 21st, when the joint convention again met and all the offices were filled by the choice of these gentlemen.

Justices of the Supreme Court,—Richard McWilliams, Cæsar Rodney, James Sykes.

Judge of Admiralty,—Nicholas Vandyke.[2]

[1] Daniel Dingee was, at his own request, temporarily excused from attendance upon this session, because of the suspicions cast upon him by the testimony of Jacob Bennett, the woman captured by the British frigate "Roebuck," who in his affidavit, already mentioned, stated that one of the Tories who came on board the ship after the fight with the American boats gave the name of Mr. Dingee. A committee of the Council investigated the affair and reported that Mr. Dingee's name had been falsely used, whereupon he was fully acquitted and requested to resume his seat in the Council.

[2] Messrs. Williams and Rodney declined to accept the offices and Mr. Sykes preferred to become clerk of the Kent County Court, and consu-

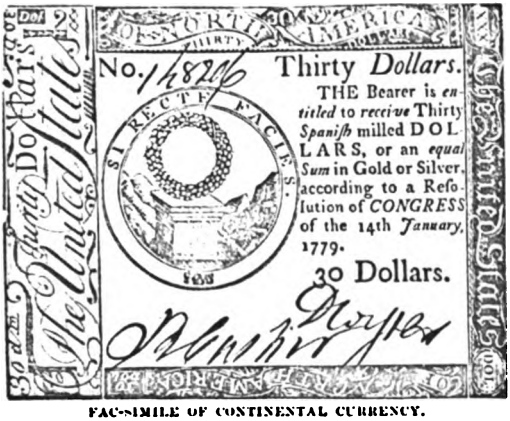
Justices of the Courts of Common Pleas and Orphans' Court: New Castle County,—John Jones, James Latimer, John Thompson, Abraham Robinson. Kent County,—Thomas Tilton, John Clark, Richard Smith, Thomas White. Sussex County, John Wiltbank, Wm. Polk, John Laws, Isaac Smith.

Military Treasurers,—Samuel Patterson, New Castle; John Baning, Kent; John Rodney, Sussex.

Commissioner of the Continental Loan Office, Samuel Patterson.

Nicholas Vandyke and James Sykes were delegates to Congress in place of Dickinson and Evans.

Fiscal legislation was one of the matters prominent at this session, and on February 22, 1777, an act was passed to issue fifteen thousand pounds in bills of credit of the State "to be let out on loan," and for striking the further sum of ten thousand pounds, to be used in the defense of the State, and providing a sinking fund. The act conferred upon the bills the compulsory legal-tender quality and provided the death penalty for counterfeiting the names of



FAC-SIMILE OF CONTINENTAL CURRENCY.

the official signers. On the same day a measure was passed making the Continental currency issued by authority of Congress a legal-tender, and punishing with death any counterfeiting of the currency, or of the Continental Loan Office certificates, or of the tickets of the public lottery. The Council elected as Privy Counsellors, Thomas Macdonough and George Latimer, and the Legislature adjourned to June 6th, but on May 1st was convoked in special session by President McKinly. John Jones and Samuel S. Sloss were seated as members for Sussex in place of Polk and Wiltbank, who had been appointed Judges of Court, and John Baning took the seat of Mr. Sykes for Kent, who had also gone upon the bench. An act was passed making Dover the meeting-place of the future regular sessions of the Legislature, and measures were taken for completing the battalion of troops for the army.

On June 7th the Legislature adjourned until October, and during that long recess Delaware was the theatre of stirring events. The battalion of regulars was recruited, organized and placed under the command of Col. David Hall. He had in it many of the veterans of Haslet's command, who had left the latter in the autumn of 1776 to join Hall, who could offer the strongest attractions to men who had decided to fight the war out to the end. Of Haslet's officers, Captain David Hall became colonel of this new regiment; Captain Charles Pope, its lieutenant-colonel; Captain Joseph Vaughan, its major; Lieutenant John Patten, a captain; Lieutenant Robert Kirkwood, a captain; Lieutenant Anderson, a lieutenant; Ensign Peter Jacquett, a captain; Lieutenant Learmonth, a captain; and Lieutenant James Moore, a captain. Thus nine officers from Haslet's regiment obtained appointments in Colonel David Hall's new regiment. These officers doubtless carried off a great many of their men. No wonder, therefore, that on the 3d of November, and on the 22d of December Haslet made such a poor show in his return of both officers and men.[1] He himself had evidently become disgusted and chagrined; there was found in his pocket when he was killed an order permitting him to return home to recruit for his regiment.

It was Hall's regiment that made the perpetual fame of the Delaware soldiers in the Revolution. The first company to join it was Captain John Patten's, which was mustered in Nov. 30th, but Kirkwood's followed in the next day. Then followed much delay in filling the ranks, and the command was not ready to march until the following spring. Muster-rolls of Patten's and Kirkwood's companies at the time of enlistment are extant, but there is no roster of the regiment except that which is dated in February, 1780. Patten's included these names:[2]

Captain, John Patten; Lieutenant, William McKennan; Ensign, Elijah Skillington; First Sergeant, William Maxwell; Second Sergeant, Archibald McBride; First Corporal, Henry Rowan; Second Corporal, David Young; Third Corporal, Dennis Dempsey; Privates, thirty-two.

Kirkwood's roll showed:

Captain, Robert Kirkwood; Lieutenant, Richard Wilds; Ensign,

quently, on June 5th, Wm. Killen, John Evans and John Cook were elected justices of the Supreme Court. Nicholas Vandyke declined the Admiralty judgeship, and on June 5th Cæsar Rodney was chosen to fill the position.

[1] See preceding pages for Haslet's muster rolls on these dates.

[2] Mr. Whitely's address, pp. 21 to 31.

Griffith Jordan; Sergeants, Daniel Corbran, James Dougherty, Samuel Davis, Robert Howe; Corporals, James Monson, Moses Jenk, James Lowery, Archibald McBride; and twenty-two privates.

The field and staff were:

Colonel, David Hall; Lieutenant-Colonel, Charles Pope; Major, Joseph Vaughan; Adjutant, George Purvis; Paymaster, Edward Burke; Quartermaster, Thomas Anderson; Surgeon, Reuben Gilder; Surgeon's Mate, John Platt.

In June Lord Howe advanced from Brunswick, but his retreat to Amboy and embarkation aboard his transports was soon known. What was his destination, — New England, the Hudson, the Delaware or the South? Washington was sorely puzzled to tell, and until it was known, no definite movements could be made. Every preparation was made along the Delaware to meet the enemy, and to get prompt and certain intelligence of the line on which he would advance. The committee for driving off cattle were increased, with orders to act upon the first appearance of the enemy. The shores of the Delaware and the chief roads from it westward were ordered to be surveyed as far south as Christiana Creek, and on the east bank to Salem, and all the topographical peculiarities of the ground to be carefully noted, swamps, natural obstacles, cover for marksmen, etc. Circulars were issued to wagon-masters to hold themselves ready to remove stores and provisions under the direction of the Committees of Safety. The outlook at the Delaware Capes was the centre of a painful interest at this time, and the feint of entering made by Howe's fleet, with the subsequent steady course southward, made things still more uncertain. Washington moved his army to the Delaware; it lay at Coryell's Ferry, Howell's Ferry and Trenton, and there waited. The march to Germantown one day was followed the next by a march back to Coryell's. It was merely marching to occupy time. The enemy's movements must be more developed before any movements of Washington could be made in one direction or the other.

On the 30th of July the enemy's fleet was seen at Cape Henlopen, and on the 31st Congress received a letter, dated the 30th, from Brigadier-General Cæsar Rodney, at Dover, Delaware; and one of the same date from H. Fisher at Lewes, informing that body that the enemy's fleet had appeared at the mouth of the Delaware, about four miles from the light-house. Congress immediately took the subject under consideration, and believing the destination of the enemy to be Philadelphia, ordered all the provisions and stores to be removed from the city, and "*Resolved*, That the militia of the States of New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware and Maryland be immediately called forth to repel any invasion of the enemy in said States." Congress also ordered all the live-stock to be driven off from the Delaware borders to the interior. Howe's plans were fully developed by the middle of August, when his war-ships and transports approached Elk River, and the debarkation began at the head of the Chesapeake Bay.

On Sunday, August 24th, the main body of the Continental army, ten thousand strong, under Washington's personal command, marched into Philadelphia, and took the road to Chester and Wilmington. Washington immediately wrote to General Rodney, who commanded the Delaware militia: "For the present you can do no more than keep scouts and patrols towards the enemy to watch their motions, but as soon as you are joined by more force from this State (Pennsylvania), by the militia of the Eastern Shore of Maryland, and by Richardson's Maryland battalion, I would have you move as near the enemy as you can with safety."

In the mean time Washington ordered General Smallwood to proceed to Maryland and organize the militia on the Western Shore of the Chesapeake and Colonel M. Gist the militia on the Eastern Shore. Rodney's Delaware and Colonel Richardson's Maryland militia were afterwards ordered to co-operate with Smallwood, who was placed in command of the entire force to operate in the rear of the enemy. The Delaware militia, under Cæsar Rodney, were hastily posted at the head of the Elk, where, upon the approach of the British, they pressed into service all the teams within reach and secured the greater part of the public stores, only leaving several thousand bushels of corn and oats, which fell into the hands of the enemy.

Washington reached Wilmington on the same day the British landed at the head of the Elk. His army passed through Wilmington and advanced to the high land west of it, where it encamped, some going as far as Newport. Washington took up his headquarters on Quaker Hill, in a house which for many years afterwards stood on the west side of West Street, midway between Third and Fourth. Here he issued the following order:

"*To Brigadier-General Rodney:*

"SIR—The Congress having called upon the state of Delaware for its proportion of Militia, to assist in defeating the hostile designs of the enemy in this quarter, you are, without loss of time, to use your utmost exertions towards accomplishing that necessary purpose, and for assembling and arranging in the best order possible, the quota assigned your state, at Middletown and its neighborhood. When assembled they are to co-operate more immediately with the militia from the Eastern Shore of Maryland in watching the motions of the enemy, and taking every opportunity of harassing them, by alarming them frequently with light parties, beating up their Pickets, and intercepting, as of ea as it can be done, whatever parties they may send out to procure supplies of forage, horses, cattle, provisions and necessaries of every kind; which will equally serve to distress them and shelter the inhabitants from their depredations, and ought therefore to be an object of your peculiar care. The more effectually to distress them in this respect, I would have you to remove such grain, cattle, horses stock and other articles of subsistence, that lie so contiguous to them, as to be in more immediate danger of falling into their hands, out of their reach, and to continue doing this as they continue their progress through the country. You will also withdraw every kind of carriage which might serve to facilitate the transportation of their baggage and stores to a distance from their camp, than which you can do nothing that will be more injurious to them, as there is nothing they are so re in want of.

"One more precaution in this way I must recommend to you to use—which is, if there should be any Mills in your neighborhood, to take away the runners and have them removed out of their reach. This will render the Mills useless to them and will be little or no detriment to the inhabitants, more especially to the well affected who it is probable will,

for the most part, quit their homes where they appear, and to whom they can be restored at a proper time.

"While you are attentive to annoying and distressing the enemy, you will not neglect any expedient necessary for your own security—for this purpose you will take posts the most advantageous and the best liable to surprise, you can find, and will station proper guards at every pass by which you are accessible, obliging them to observe the strictest vigilance and order. You will find scouting parties by day and patrules by night, going from post to post, and towards the enemy, extremely useful both to discover every thing, that is passing with them, and to guard yourself from any attempt to surprise you.

"If the enemy should march towards Philadelphia, as is expected, you will hang constantly upon their right flank and rear, and give them all the annoyance in your power, keeping yourself in such a situation as to be always ready to communicate and co-operate with this army.

When you arrive at the place of your destination you will inform me of it, and of your numbers and situation, from time to time; and you will make a point of giving me instant and certain advice of every occurrence of importance that comes to your knowledge.

"Apply to the Quarter Master and Commissaries of provisions and forage, and settle a plan with them for furnishing you duly with such supplies as you will have occasion for, in their respective departments.

"As General Maxwell will want persons well acquainted with the country to remain with him, in the capacity of guides, you will leave with him thirty or forty men, fit for the business, out of the militia'men that are now advanced towards the enemy. These should be select men, who have a thorough knowledge of the country, intelligent and of known attachment and fidelity to the American cause.

"I need not urge it upon you how essential your utmost care and activity are upon this occasion. You are fully sensible of its importance, and that the cause loudly calls for the greatest efforts of every friend to his country. We have no time to spare, and cannot be too soon prepared, as we have reason every moment to expect the enemy will pursue their march towards the object they have in view.

"Given at Head Quarters, Wilmington, this 31st August, 1777.

"G. WASHINGTON."

General Armstrong with the Pennsylvania militia from Wilmington, and General Rodney with the Delaware militia, and Generals Greene and Weeden reconnoitered the country between Wilmington and the head of the Elk. Washington proceeded to the scene of operations and also made a personal reconnoissance before the enemy took up their line of march. On the 3d of September their lines extended from Glasgow, then called Aiken's or Aikentown, to Iron Hill. On that day a severe skirmish took place between them and the Delaware and Maryland militia near Cooch's Bridge. The Americans lost about forty in killed and wounded; the British loss is unknown. After this engagement the British burned Cooch's Mill near Iron Hill, and committed many other acts of wanton destruction of property. They removed the records of the Cecil County court-house and burned the building. "A writer of the period says the British captured all the records and public papers of New Castle County and every shilling of the public money, together with the fund belonging to the trustees of Newark Academy."

Howe[1] advanced from the head of Elk to Elkton, Maryland, whence he began to move on September 3d, while Washington was still in Wilmington. Howe had 17,000 picked men and Washington 11,000. The latter was in danger of being driven into the Delaware or down the peninsula, when Howe, on the date mentioned, marched by the left flank and sought to turn the American right and occupy the upper fords of the Brandywine River. It was only by extreme activity that Washington was able to break through this flanking strategy, and after several skirmishes along its banks, the two armies found themselves, on September 11th, on opposite sides of the Brandywine, the British planning to force the passage of the stream, the Americans seeking to hold the fords and attack the enemy wherever he tried to cross.[2]

The Brandywine is a historic river, yet not much more than a mill-stream in its dimensions. Its source is a double stream, uniting in Chester County, Pa., seeking the Delaware lowlands and emptying into the Christiana. There were numerous fords, especially on the upper stream, with hills on either side. The main road from Delaware to Philadelphia crosses the Brandywine at Chadd's Ford; a mile and a half below was Pyle's Ford; two miles above was Brinton's Ford. Howe's army was massed at Kennett Square, several miles south of the Brandywine, on the road to Chadd's

[1] To allay public alarm, and to insure immunity for his straggliers, General Howe on the 27th of August issued the following:

"Declaration to the inhabitants of Pennsylvania, the lower counties on the Delaware, and the counties on the Eastern Shore of Maryland:

"Sir William Howe, regretting the calamities to which many of his Majesty's faithful subjects are still exposed by the continuance of the rebellion; and no less desirous of protecting the innocent than determined to pursue with the rigors of war all those whom his Majesty's forces, in the course of their progress, may find in arms against the king; Doth hereby assure the peaceable inhabitants of the province of Pennsylvania, the lower counties on the Delaware, and the counties of Maryland on the eastern shore of Chesapeake Bay, that in order to remove any groundless apprehensions which may have been raised of their sufferings by depredations of the army under his command, he hath issued the strictest orders to the troops for the preservation of regularity and good discipline; and has signified that the most exemplary punishment shall be inflicted upon those who shall dare to plunder the property or molest the persons of any of his majesty's well disposed subjects.

"Security and protection are likewise extended to all persons, inhabitants of the province and counties aforesaid, who (not guilty of having assumed legislative or judicial authority) may have acted illegally in subordinate stations, and conscious of their misconduct, been induced to leave their dwellings; Provided such persons do forthwith return and remain peaceably in their usual place of abode.

"Considering, moreover, that many officers and private men, now actually in arms against his majesty, may be willing to relinquish the part they have taken in this rebellion and return to their due allegiance,—

"Sir William Howe doth therefore promise a free and general pardon to all such officers and private men as shall voluntarily surrender themselves to any detachment of his majesty's forces, before the day on which it shall be notified that the said indulgence shall be discontinued.

"Given under my hand, at head-quarters of the army, the 27th of August, 1777.

"By his Excellency's command,

"HENR. MCKENZIE, Secretary."

[2] Howe's movement on Philadelphia by the route through Maryland and Delaware was somewhat unaccountable except on the supposition that in the Delaware and Maryland counties and the lower district of Pennsylvania he would derive great aid from the Tories, and that even if the first movement on Philadelphia failed, it would be easy to cut off Washington from his magazines at Lancaster, and the supplies from the rich counties to the westward of that city. But Howe was disappointed in the feeling of the peninsular counties. Galloway, a Tory, who acted as a British guide, said, in his testimony before the House of Commons, in 1779; "At and about the head of Elk, a number of persons did desert their houses and carry off their effects, but not all, after Sir Wm. Howe had advanced into the country from thence about eight or ten miles, I don't believe that I saw, in the whole route of the army, from thence to Philadelphia, consisting of at least 70 miles, above ten, or at most fifteen, houses deserted. The inhabitants were found quietly at their houses, and to me there appeared every mark of pleasure at the troops arriving in the colony." Still the disaffection was rather passive than active. The inhabitants remained at home on the principle of peaceful non-interference, and the extent of their assistance to the British was to answer inquiries as the eligible lines of march and the vicinity of the enemy, and occasionally to furnish from their well-stocked farms and dairies supplies to the invaders.—*Life of Joseph Reed*, vol. i., p. 308.

Ford. Washington's army—Armstrong, with the Pennsylvania militia, held Pyle's Ford; Washington, with Wayne and Greene, held the centre; Weeden's and Muhlenberg's brigades, Greene's division, held the heights in the rear of Chadd's Ford as a reserve. On a hill at the ford was Proctor's artillery, sheltered by a rude redoubt and supported by Wayne's brigade. Maxwell's light infantry were in the advance, holding the south side of the ford and the approaches to it. On the right, connecting with Wayne and Greene and with pickets, videttes and light cavalry thrown out up-stream to the forks, was Sullivan's division and those of Stephen and Stirling, holding Brinton's Ford. Sullivan was charged to look to the security of that flank, but had not the means with which to do it, and, besides, was not competent to command the entire wing of an army.[1]

He had only some light cavalry under Bland. Stirling was brave, but dull; Stephen was a superannuated veteran and dull besides. The country was disaffected in the extreme — full of Tories and Quakers—and while Howe, guided by Galloway, had all the intelligence he needed, Washington not only did not know of the enemy's movements, but seemed to be only partially acquainted with the lay of the land. He was very anxious for Howe to attack him at Chadd's Ford, confident that he would be able to defeat him there, and that was precisely what Howe did not intend to do.[2]

The relation of the battle of the Brandywine need be but brief. Although it was partially fought on Delaware soil, there exists no chronicle of the doings of Col. Hall's regiment in it. We do not even know to what brigade they were attached. Probably their officers described the action in letters and reports, but nobody took care to preserve the documents that at the present day would be invaluable. The official reports of the army mentioned only the brigades and did not specify the regiments which composed them. It is a conjecture that receives the color of probability that the Delawareans were with the Maryland troops in Sullivan's[3] division and consequently shared in the defeat inflicted by Cornwallis upon Sullivan near Trumbull's and Jeffrey's Fords. Sullivan's dispositions were bad, in addition to his being surprised and flanked. At daybreak the column under Cornwallis moved along the Lancaster road, which for several miles ran nearly parallel with the Brandywine. General Howe was with this division. Knyphausen and his command moved forward at nine o'clock. A dense fog enshrouded the country, and the scouting-parties of both armies often came in close contact before they were aware of their proximity. From behind the walls of the graveyard of the Kennett meeting-house, and also of houses, trees and clumps of bushes, parties of militia kept up an annoying fire upon the advancing enemy. Knyphausen, however, pushed forward toward Chadd's Ford. He sent a strong advance party to dislodge Maxwell. They met at about ten o'clock and a severe engagement ensued. Maxwell was driven back to the verge of the stream at the ford, where he was re-enforced. Turning upon his pursuers, he made a furious charge, the ranks of the enemy were thrown into confusion and fell back upon Knyphausen's main column. Unable to cope with Maxwell in open battle without bringing a larger force into action, Knyphausen sent a detachment through the woods to make an attack on his flank. Perceiving this movement, Maxwell retreated across the stream, leaving the whole west bank of the Brandywine in possession of the enemy. Knyphausen now brought forward his advance, and from the brow of the hill upon the west side of the stream he kept up a strong cannonade upon the Americans without attempting to cross. The fire was returned with spirit by Proctor's artillery. Knyphausen did not cross the Brandywine, because he was instructed by Howe to amuse the Americans with feigned efforts to make the passage of the ford until Cornwallis should cross above and gain the right and rear of the patriots. This strategy Cornwallis successfully accomplished, and when he did so he won the day by taking Sullivan in the flank and doubling his divisions one upon the other. Just as this movement was developing, Washington was preparing to attack Knyphausen in front, while Armstrong crossed below and Sullivan above. But Howe's flank movement was the more quickly executed. His columns pressed in between the American divisions and drove all before them and were rapidly gaining the main road, when the reserve, under Washington and Greene, came up and checked the enemy long enough to prevent a rout and cover the withdrawal of the army.[4]

Many records and traditions of the engagement

[1] Scharf's "History of Philadelphia," vol. i., page 347.

[2] "It will appear that the movement of General Howe was as brilliantly executed as it was eminently scientific and peculiar to his military habit."—*Lossing's "Battles of the Revolution," page 374.*

[3] On the 16th of September the Delaware and Maryland delegates in Congress requested that body to remove General Sullivan and place the Delaware and Maryland troops "under the command of some other major general." Upon the ayes and nays being called, it was decided in the negative—New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Virginia, North Carolina and South Carolina voting "no," and Maryland and Delaware voting "aye." Georgia was divided.

[4] The number of the killed and wounded is only conjectural. Washington was unable to make a return of the American loss on account of the confusion which followed the defeat, many of the militia companies being thinned by desertion. General Greene estimated the loss of the Americans in killed, wounded and prisoners at 1,500, and Howe reported his loss at 90 killed, 488 wounded and 6 missing.

Detachments of the British army, many of whom were Hessians, after the battle entered Wilmington, bringing some of their wounded with them. The old Presbyterian church on Market Street was used as a hospital, and many houses were demanded to be opened for the care of the wounded.

survive in the Wilmington and Brandywine region. The hardest fighting occurred between the Birmington meeting-house and the residences then occupied by Mrs. James Davis and Mrs. Jones. Many were killed near the meeting-house, which was situated about half-way between the Brandywine River and the Wilmington road. General Howe used it as a hospital, and several officers who died there were buried in the adjacant graveyard. Lafayette was shot through the leg after he had leaped from his horse, and, sword in hand, was endeavoring to rally the flying Americans. His aide, Gimat, helped him back to his saddle, and he rode to the rear, where his wound was dressed. On the morning of the battle Washington took his breakfast at the mansion of James Brindley, on the Wilmington side of the river, walking the floor in deep thought or standing with his cup of coffee in his hand, eating little and soon hastening on to Chadd's Ford.[1]

Washington's headquarters were at the house of Benjamin Ring, where Lafayette lodged with him the night before the battle, although the Frenchman's headquarters had previously been fixed at the residence of Benjamin Gilpin. Tradition says that Thomas Cheyney, a Delaware Whig, whose descendants still reside in Wilmington, gave Washington the first intelligence of the approach of the enemy. He was riding out alone and reconnoitering and came suddenly upon the British. They fired upon him, but he escaped to the quarters of Washington with his news. Cheyney was an active spy while the American army was in the vicinity of the Delaware and often suffered much from the Tories.

According to Hilliard d'Auberteuil, who published at Paris in 1782 his "Essais Historiques et Politiques sur la Revolution de l'Amerique," a romantic incident occurred at the home of Wm. Harvey, upon the battle-field. Harvey's young and handsome daughter Molly had for a lover a young American soldier named Seymour, whom her father had discountenanced because of his poverty. Seymour commanded a company at Brandywine, and after the battle was granted a brief leave of absence. Repairing to the house of his sweetheart, he found that the opposition of Harvey to their marriage had been overcome by his gallantry as a soldier and his promotion. The marriage immediately took place, but while a hastily improvised wedding feast was taking place two Hessian soldiers scouting in the neighborhood came upon the scene and endeavored to make a prisoner of Capt. Seymour. He resisted, and the bride, in rushing between him and the soldiers with whom he was struggling, was thrust through by a bayonet and killed. D'Auberteuil professed to have received this story from companions of Lafayette.

General Howe remained in camp on the Brandywine, and on the evening after the battle sent a detachment of troops to Wilmington to seize President John McKinly and secure such plunder as might fall in their way. They took the President from his bed at dead of night, and seizing a sloop that lay in the stream, loaded it with valuables stolen from the people, a large quantity of public and private money, many of the public and private records and all the papers and certificates of the loan and treasury offices. With these rich prizes the marauders returned to camp, but on the 12th and 13th Wilmington was occupied in force by the British, while the men-of-war "Roebuck" and "Liverpool" laid opposite the town. Many of the British wounded had been brought into Wilmington, and the people at least knew that they were safe from bombardment so long as any of their houses were turned into British hospitals. The two armies confronted each other on the 16th near Warren tavern, twenty three miles from Philadelphia, and Congress, taking alarm from the near approach, on the 18th adjourned from Philadelphia to Lancaster, where it assembled on the 27th, but after three days adjourned to meet at York, Oct. 1st. On Sept. 20th Wayne was defeated at Paoli and five days later the British took possession of Philadelphia, while at the same time the whole British fleet, under command of Admiral Howe, appeared in the Delaware. There were no defenses of the river except the double set of *chevaux-de-frise*—one just below the mouth of the Schuylkill and protected by Fort Mercer, at Red Bank, on the Jersey shore, and one at Fort Mifflin, on Mud Island. The American flotilla consisted of the sloops-of-war "Delaware," "Montgomery" and "Fly" and a number of armed boats, all under the command of Commodore Hazlewood. On September 27th this fleet engaged the British batteries and was beaten off with the loss of the "Delaware." On October 2d, a party of the British crossing the river at Chester, the garrison at Billingsport spiked their guns and hastily fled. A panic seemed to prevail all along the river; the militia who were to defend Red Bank (afterwards called Fort Mercer) disappeared, and those of New Jersey refused to do duty, while from the forts and flotilla there were numerous desertions. Washington having received intelligence that General Howe had detached a part of his force for the purpose of reducing Billingsport and the forts on the Delaware, called a council of war, the result of which was the decision to attack the enemy in and around Germantown. That battle was fought on October 4th and ended in the defeat of the Americans, although in the early part of the day

[1] Mrs. Elizabeth Montgomery's "Reminiscences of Wilmington," page 52.

they had victory within their grasp. The Delaware battalion was engaged in the battle of Germantown, and lost a great number of its men in killed and wounded. Col. Hall was so severely wounded that he was never able to take the field again. Capt. Allen McLane, who commanded an independent company of light cavalry, piloted two regiments that struck the British at Mount Airy, on the Philadelphia road, and drove in the pickets there.

The Delaware regiment remained under Washington, who quickly took position at White Marsh, within fourteen miles of Philadelphia. Howe finding it difficult to feed his army in the beleaguered city, determined to open a passage for his fleet up the Delaware. On Oct. 22d Count Donop and his Hessians assaulted Fort Mercer, but were repulsed and he was killed. Fort Mifflin, on the Pennsylvania shore, was bombarded by the ships-of-war "Augusta," "Roebuck," "Merlin" and several others, which had broken through the obstructions in the channel. These three of the British vessels grounded, and the morning of Oct. 23d disclosed their perilous position. Commodore Hazlewood advanced to the attack with twelve galleys and two floating batteries. A hot engagement ensued, during which the "Augusta" was set on fire and blown up and the "Merlin" was burned by her own crew. Undaunted by the failure of this attack, Gen. Howe built shore batteries which commanded Fort Mifflin,[1] and on Nov. 10th renewed the assault from them and from his fleet. On the 16th the Americans were compelled to evacuate the fort, and Fort Mercer was also abandoned, thus completely opening the river to the British. Commodore Hazlewood succeeded in sending twenty-five galleys and the "Province" sloop up the Delaware past Philadelphia to a place of temporary safety, but the other American vessels were driven on shore and abandoned, and most of them were burned at Gloucester Point. The British were masters of the river and bay from Philadelphia to the Atlantic.

The Delaware Legislature met at Dover Oct. 20th with Thomas McKean, Speaker of the House of Assembly, acting as President of the State in the absence of Mr. McKinly, who was still held prisoner by the British. George Read was elected Speaker of the Council. The presence of the enemy in the State had deterred many members from attending the session, and a memorial from the freeholders of Sussex County complained that on Oct. 1st they were prevented by an armed force from holding their election. On Oct. 29th it was resolved to raise six hundred militia for the defense of the State, to be paid by a draft of five thousand pounds upon the loan office of Kent County. By the signatures appended to these resolutions it appears that of the Council there were present only George Read, Nicholas Vandyke, Thomas Collins, John Baning, John Jones and Peter Hyatt; and of the House, Richard Lockwood, Samuel West, John Davis, John Clayton, Wm. Molleston, George Craighead, Robert Armstrong, Samuel Patterson, James Black, Wm. Clark, Isaac Lewis, Robert Bryan and Jacob Stout.

On Dec. 2d the Legislature met again, and on the 17th elected Cæsar Rodney, Nicholas Vandyke and Thomas McKean delegates to Congress for the ensuing year. A bill was passed to borrow from Vincent Loockerman, seven hundred and fifty pounds to purchase clothing for the Delaware regiment, then under the command of Lieut.-Colonel Charles Pope at Valley Forge, with Washington's starving and destitute army.

On Dec. 19th General Sullivan was relieved of the command of his division, composed of the two Maryland brigades, then in camp at Valley Forge, and General Smallwood placed in command, with orders to proceed to Wilmington and put "the place in the best posture of defense." He was directed by Washington not to "let any neglect or deficiency on his part impede" his operations, and was "vested with full power to seize and take (passing receipts) such articles" as were wanted for the public service. He was also instructed "to keep officers and men to their duty and to avoid furloughs except in cases of absolute necessity," and was to use his utmost endeavors to collect all stragglers from both of his brigades and to get the men clothed in the most comfortable manner.

On the reassembling of the Legislature in February, 1778, measures were taken to reinforce Smallwood's position at Wilmington[2] and to bring the regular battalion up to its proper complement of numbers. To accomplish this, four hundred and twenty men were needed, and it was resolved to pay each recruit $45 and to allow an officer $35 for every man he might enlist; the money, $40,000, was to be borrowed from Congress or from any individuals who might be willing to lend it.[3] At the March session the Legislature passed a bill providing against desertion and the harboring of deserters with heavy fines and long imprisonment. Mr. McKinly being still in the hands of the British and Mr. Read requesting to be relieved of the duties of the executive office, Cæsar Rodney was, on March 31st, elected President for three years, receiving twenty votes out of the twenty-four

[1] In the assault on Fort Mifflin Captain Hazzard, of Delaware, was wounded.

[2] While stationed at Wilmington in April, 1778, General Smallwood suppressed an insurrection of Tories at Jordan's Island, about ten miles from Dover.

[3] In June, 1780, the allowance to the recruiting officer for each soldier was increased to one hundred and ninety dollars, and the soldiers' bounty to two hundred dollars in addition to the two hundred dollars allowed by Congress.

cast in the joint convention, and Thomas Rodney was chosen judge of the Admiralty Court in his place. The President was authorized to raise a company of troops in each county to guard the Delaware shores and capture the Tories who were engaged in trade with the enemy. A long controversy ensued between the House of Assembly and the Council on a proposition emanating from the former to demand the resignations of Wm. Killen and John Cook as justices of the Supreme Court, on the ostensible ground that they both resided in the same county, but really because they were suspected of disloyalty. The Council refused to assent to their removal in this manner, claiming that under the Constitution of the States they were entitled to impeachment and trial. On May 16th the bill for creating a militia establishment was passed, and in compliance with its provisions George Evans was chosen lieutenant, and Henry Darby and Samuel Smith sub-lieutenants for New Castle County; Samuel West, lieutenant, and Francis Manny and Benjamin Coombs sub-lieutenants for Kent; and Henry Neill, lieutenant, and Nathaniel Waples and Charles Moore sub-lieutenants for Sussex. Another measure of importance adopted was that "for the further security of the State" which required all citizens to take the oath of fidelity to the Federal and State government and imposed the duty of bearing arms upon all except members of the Society of Friends, who were, however, compelled to pay an equivalent for their personal service. A third act provided severe penalties for dealing with the British or furnishing them with supplies, and was accompanied by an act of amnesty to all previously disloyal persons who should consent to take the test oath. On June 20th, Wm. Killen was elected chief justice of the Supreme Court, David Finney a justice in the place of John Cook, and John Jones, the third justice; Killen and Cook having resigned in accordance with the request of the House of Assembly. Thomas Rodney was made chief justice of the Kent County Court, and George Craighead was elected commissary general of prisoners.

Strengthened by the recruiting measures taken by the Legislature, the Delaware regiment, now under command of Lieutenant-Colonel Charles Pope,[1] was stronger in the spring of 1778 than it had been at any other period since its formation. It had shared in the rigid training enforced at Valley Forge by that veteran martinet, Baron Steuben, and out of a special loan of $75,000 made by the State, had received a good supply of arms and clothing. On May 18th it was placed in the corps of observation that, under Lafayette, advanced to Barren Hill, half-way between Valley Forge and Philadelphia. It was the first really independent command of Lafayette as a major-general, and the trust reposed in him largely grew out of the fact that on May 7th news had been received of the armed alliance formed between France and the United States. Capt. Allen McLane's independent corps of Delaware light cavalry was posted near the Ridge road, in company with fifty Indian scouts, and threw pickets out farther into the forest. On May 19th five thousand British troops were ordered to surprise the camp at Barren Hill, but timely warning of their advance was given by McLane's videttes and after a small skirmish Lafayette retired to Valley Forge. On June 18th the British began the evacuation of Philadelphia, withdrawing, of course, all the detachments that had harassed the country down to and across the Delaware line. Washington crossed the river at Coryell's Ferry, some forty miles above Philadelphia, and in the last week in June the Delaware regiment formed a part of the advanced corps commanded by Lafayette, that the commander-in-chief pushed in the direction of Monmouth, N. J., with orders to "take the first fair opportunity to attack the rear of the enemy." This was the division of the army which was in a few days turned over to the command of General Charles Lee, whose disobedience of Washington's orders at the battle of Monmouth, June 29th, prevented the execution of the latter's plans and permitted the escape of Sir Henry Clinton's army. The Delawareans participated in this engagement, and marched with Washington to his camp at White Plains on the Hudson. By his order of Sept. 27th, announcing the disposition of the army for the approaching period of winter-quarters, they were assigned with the Maryland and Pennsylvania troops to the camp at Middlebrook, N. J., near the general head-quarters. In December, Col. Pope, Capt. Patten and other officers of the regiment united in petitions and letters to the Legislature representing their lack of clothing and supplies, which, on Dec. 9th, were presented to the Council. Copies were also sent to John Dickinson, who, on Jan. 18, 1779, was elected a delegate to Congress for a year, the other two chosen being Nicholas Vandyke and Thomas McKean. On Jan. 21st the Legislature directed Mr. Craighead, the clothier-general, to deliver to each field-officer a full suit of clothes or £80 in money; and also to furnish each field-officer with additional clothing at the prices prevailing when they entered the service, the State to pay the difference between those figures and the present market price of the goods.

The Articles of Confederation and Perpetual Union adopted by Congress were submitted to the Delaware Council and House of Assembly in De-

[1] Charles Pope lived at Smyrna, where he kept a general merchandise store previous to entering the military service. He remained with the regiment until his resignation, which was accepted by the Legislature on December 28, 1779. Soon after the conclusion of the war he removed with his family to a new home in Georgia.

cember, 1778, but were not taken into consideration until the succeeding month, when a strong objection to some of their features was developed in the Council and embodied in resolutions which declared :—

"That this State think it necessary for the peace and safety of the States to be included in the Union, that a moderate extent of limits should be assigned for each of those States as claim to the Mississippi or South Sea, and that the United States, in Congress assembled, should and ought to have the power of fixing their western limits.

"That this State consider themselves justly entitled to a right, in common with the other members of the Union, to that extensive tract of country which lies to the westward of the frontiers of the United States, the property of which was not vested in or granted to individuals at the commencement of the present war; that the same hath been or may hereafter be gained from the King of Great Britain or the native Indians by the blood and treasure of all, and ought, therefore, to be a common estate, to be granted out on terms beneficial to the United States.

"That the courts of law established within this State are competent for the purpose of determining all controversies concerning the private right of soil claimed within the same, and that they now and at all times hereafter, ought to have cognizance of all such controversies; that the indeterminate provision proposed in the ninth article of the Confederation for deciding upon controversies that may arise about some of those private rights of soil, tends to take away such cognizance and is contrary to the Declaration of Rights of this State, and, therefore, ought to receive an alteration."

Notwithstanding these objections to these Articles of Confederation which seemed to place no limit upon the westward and southern extension of the then frontier States, while the seaboard members of the Union were already confined to inelastic boundaries, and the further objection of an invasion of State jurisdiction over internal questions, the Council satisfied itself with the quoted protest and at the same time authorized its delegates in Congress to ratify the Confederation, "In firm reliance that the candor and justice of the several states will in due time, as far as possible, remove the objectionable parts thereof." The urgency of tightening the bond of union between the States, which Washington had forcibly pressed upon Congress and which was set forth in its resolutions, was palpable to the statesmen of Delaware, and with patriotic self-abnegation they waived the immediate interests of their own people for the general benefit of the American cause.

On Jan. 25, 1779, President Rodney transmitted to the Assembly the request of General Washington for authority to quarter Pulaski's legion of cavalry within the State, and on Feb. 1st the necessary legislation was passed. It was recruited quite largely while stationed in Delaware. Money was still wanted to procure clothing for the troops in the field, and it was ordered that twelve thousand dollars be appropriated from the fund derived from the sale of forfeited estates in New Castle County, and the action of Col. Pope in seizing cloths and linens from various fulling-mills was indorsed.

At the May session of the Legislature in this year an act of Congress, passed on the 16th of the preceding December, for annexing Capt. Allen McLane's company to the Delaware regiment was presented. Washington had already issued an order to the same effect, and Capt. McLane had sent in a petition to the Legislature praying its sanction to such a disposition of his command. This assent was at once granted by resolution of June 1st, and thereafter the company lost its separate identity. It had become reduced to a skeleton force through hard service, its muster-rolls for March, April, May and June, 1779, showing that while it had nominally nine commissioned and non-commissioned officers, its rank and file numbered but twenty. These rolls embrace the following names:

Captain, Allen McLane, commissioned January 13, 1777; First Lieutenant, A. M. Dunn, commissioned January 13, 1777; Second Lieutenant, Wm. Jones, commissioned January 13, 1777, killed at Wyoming, April 17, 1779; First Sergeant, John Edenfield; Second Sergeant, John Regan; Third Sergeant, George Rowan; Fourth Sergeant, Robert Farrell; First Corporal, Matthew Cusick; Second Corporal, John Vandergrift; Drummer, Philip Wheelan; Fifer, Eleazer Crane.

Privates. James Burk, Lidford Berry, Edward Hines, Thomas Finn, Thomas Wells John Rankes, Wm. Stratton, Robert Sehoney, Perry Scott, Charles McMunigill, Thomas Parker, Barret Alley, Francis Bolstone, Ezekiel Clark, Lazarus Carmody, James Longa, Henry Marmeyman, Moses McLane, Patrick Dagney and John Butcher.

Early in June, 1779, the Delaware regiment left Middlebrook and was transferred to the vicinity of Washington's new headquarters, New Windsor, the Commander-in-chief having quitted the Jerseys to take position at the entrance of the Highlands of the Hudson. On the 19th of July, Capt. McLane's company was detailed to the expedition under Col. Henry Lee that surprised and defeated the British at Paulus Hook, now the site of Jersey City. The command was made up of Capt. Levin Handy's two companies of the Fifth Maryland Regiment, three hundred Virginians and McLane's Delawareans. They formed at New Bridge, on the Hackensack River, on the afternoon of the 18th, and took up the line of march at five o'clock for Paulus Hook, twenty miles distant. The troops were divided into three columns and the British works were to be carried at the point of the bayonet. It was planned that the attack should be made shortly after midnight, but the progress of the Americans was so much delayed that it was after four o'clock on the morning of the 19th before they charged the fortifications. "We," wrote Capt. Handy in a private letter, "advanced with bayonets fixed, pans open, cocks fallen, to prevent any fire on our side; and believe me when I assure you we did not fire a musket." The assault was completely successful. The garrison, which consisted of a detachment of the Sixty-fourth British Regiment and a few Hessians, made a stubborn resistance, in the course of which fifty were killed by the American bayonets. About one hundred and sixty prisoners were taken, while Lee's loss was but twenty. By daylight he was on the way to the east side of the Hudson, making a march over mountains and through morasses and defiles, his rear threatened by a strong force of the enemy.

After the Paulus Hook affair Washington established his headquarters at West Point and re-

mained there till December, when the army went into winter-quarters. Throughout the summer much trouble existed in recruiting the regiment to its proper number of men. The Legislature strove diligently to fill the ranks. By an act passed June 3d it requested President Rodney to apply to General Washington to order three or more officers of the regiment into Delaware on recruiting service, and the President was authorized to appoint mustering officers in the State. A bounty of $80, in addition to the $200 given by Congress, was offered to each enlisted man, and each officer was promised $100 for every man whom he could enlist that might pass the muster. The sum of $36,000 was appropriated for the execution of these measures and the expenditure placed wholly in the hands of the President.[1]

Before adjourning on June 7th the Legislature fixed the tax levy for the year at $495,000. It reassembled at Dover on October 20th, and after continuing the embargo on the exportation of wheat, rye, flour, Indian corn, bread, beef, bacon, live stock, or any other provisions from the State except for the use of the army, added an amendment permitting the exportation of grain and flour on condition that the vessels in which they might be carried should return with imports to be sold to retailers and consumers within the State. This was a measure designed to provide the people of Delaware with such manufactured goods as they did not produce and encouraged such trade as was possible in a country in a condition of invasion.

The next session of the Legislature began at Wilmington, Nov. 29th, and on Dec. 14th the House of Assembly received a grievous complaint from the officers of the Delaware regiment, sent ten days previously from their camp on the Hudson, relative to the non-execution of the law to supply them with clothing and the "necessaries of life" contemplated by the laws of the previous June. The address and the signers were as follows:

"We, the officers of the Delaware Regiment, do, in the most grateful manner, thank the Honorable, the House of Assembly, for the two generous Resolves they were pleased to pass in our favor. But whilst we thus express our gratitude, we cannot but complain, that through some defect in the Resolves, or neglect in those who were intrusted with the execution of them, we find our situation little better than it was before they were passed. We have yet received but two months of the supplies allowed, and have no prospect of receiving any more, as Colonel Craighead informs the Commanding Officer in a letter, dated October 7th, '79, that he has received but 1400 pounds to pay him a quarterly supply of necessaries, that it is inadequate to the purpose, and therefore desires we will each take a dividend of that money in lieu of the necessaries which we are entitled to receive from him, by the Resolve of the Honorable House. This desire we must refuse to comply with, for we cannot conceive that the Honorable House would wish we should compound with Colonel Craighead, and accept one-third of the value, instead of the articles; as this would, in a very great measure, deprive us of the benefit of the Resolve, and again subject us to suffer by the depreciation of our currency, which evil their Resolve was generously intended to prevent.

"We further beg leave to acquaint the Honorable House that of the suit of clothes, which they have ordered us to be supplied with, though the season is so far advanced, none of us have received a full suit, some not one article, and in general we want many things that are difficult to obtain, and cannot be dispensed with at this season, but at the risk of our health.

"We would also beg leave to represent to the Honorable House, how necessary a part of an Officer's dress a hat is, and that we imagine a mistake only was the cause of its not being enumerated among the other articles of clothing, and, therefore, hope they will be pleased to allow us that useful article. We also hope the Honorable House will continue their bounty by allowing us a suit of clothes yearly, at least whilst the currency remains depreciated.

"Labouring under many difficulties which the distance from our respective homes, and the general depreciation of the money had thrown upon us, we were once before obliged to make application to the Honorable House for their assistance in removing or alleviating them. The spirit of generosity shown in their resolves on that occasion, encourages us to submit this to their consideration, confident that the welfare and honor of the Regiment, that claims this patronage are, next to the happiness of their country, their greatest wish, and that upon this representation of our case, they will minutely enquire, from what cause their resolves have not been executed, and make such provisions for their execution as will in future prevent applications of this kind from their

"Very humble servants,

"C. P. Bennett, L. D.	Peter Jacquett, Capt. D. R.
Edward Roche, Lieut. and P. M.	J. Learmouth, Capt. D. R.
Thos. Anderson, Lieut. and Q. M.	John Wilson, Capt. D. R.
R. Gibler, Surgeon.	Daniel P. Cox, Lieut.
John Platt, S. Mate.	Henry Duff, Lieut.
J. Vaughan, M. D. R.	E. Skillington, Lieut.
Robert Kirkwood, C. D. R.	Charles Kidd, Lieut.
John Corse, Lieut. D. R.	Stephen McWilliams, Ensign D. R."

This plaintive appeal spurred the Legislature to the immediate passage of an appropriation of £15,000 to furnish the officers with clothing and supplies. On December 22, 1779, the two Houses met in joint convention and chose John Dickinson, Nicholas Vandyke and George Read delegates to Congress for the ensuing year, and the new office of purchaser for the army was filled by the choice of Thomas Duff for New Castle County, John Cook for Kent County and Simon Kollock for Sussex. On the 24th Mr. Read's declination of further service in Congress was presented, and with it the resignation of George Craighead of the office of commissary general of prisoners. Thomas McKean was elected in the place of Mr. Read and Major Henry Fisher in the place of Mr. Craighead, the latter still continuing as clothier-general of the State. The Legislature sat on Christmas day of this year and celebrated it by concurring in the Massachusetts proposition for the appointment of commissioners to meet at Philadelphia on the first Wednesday of the succeeding January to fix the prices of produce, merchandise and labor in each of the States. George Latimer and the members of Congress were made the representatives of Delaware in the commission. But while Delaware stood ready to join the other States in a general endeavor to restrict the cost of food, clothing and the common necessaries of life, she forcibly resented the interference of Congress in so much of the question as related purely to home affairs. Con-

[1] It was also deemed necessary to "encourage the officers of the Delaware regiment," and for that purpose an act was passed on June 4th providing that they be furnished at the expense of the State with certain "necessaries of life," for which they were not able to pay out of their private fortunes. Each field officer was allowed monthly two gallons of rum, six ounces of tea, two pounds of coffee, two pounds of chocolate and six pounds of sugar. A proportionately decreased allowance was made to the staff and line officers. The appropriation to pay for the supplies was fixed at £1400 per quarter, and the seven years, half-pay after the conclusion of the war provided by Congress was continued by the State during the life of the recipient, or to his widow after his death.

gress had, on November 19th, enacted that any State which had failed to limit the selling prices of such articles to twenty-fold the prices prevailing in 1774, should be charged in the public accounts with the aggregate amount of the difference of prices paid after February 1, 1780, in the State. Delaware had not so restricted her merchants and dealers, and unless she did so, the law of Congress would have inflicted an enormous tax upon her slender treasury, for there were many staples of ordinary consumption that in 1780 cost forty or fifty times as much as six years previously, measured by the depreciated value and purchasing power of the Continental currency. The resolution adopted by the Council and Assembly declared that this legislation of Congress was "an infringement on the rights and liberties of the people and inconsistent with the freedom and independency thereof," and the delegates in Congress were instructed to endeavor to procure its repeal. This entire controversy grew out of the mercenary schemes of selfish speculators in provisions, breadstuffs and clothing. Every State was afflicted with shrewd and far-sighted men who had hoarded their funds with the view of what we would in 1888 speak of as "cornering the market" in the things that people must have in order to be clothed and fed. These keen and grasping mongers had pushed the prices for their commodities up to enormous figures, and a popular outcry arose that the power of the people, as embodied in the Legislatures and Congress, must be employed against them. Delaware, with the traditions of English law fixed in the minds of her public men, resorted to the act "to prevent forestalling and engrossing," which established the profit which an individual might be allowed upon any article which he had bought to sell again, and provided fine and imprisonment for the demand of a higher price. Taxation was rapidly increasing and the act of December 26, 1779, decreed the raising of $1,300,000 between February 1 and October 1, 1780. On December 28th, in accepting the resignation of Lieutenant-Colonel Pope, the Legislature resolved that the remaining officers of the regiment be promoted in rotation to fill up the vacancies. This was the last day of the session, but on March 28, 1780, both Houses were convened in special session at Lewes by President Rodney, to consider various propositions of Congress in regard to furnishing supplies for the army and enforcing the legal-tender function of the Continental currency. The appropriate bills were enacted and a law was passed conferring upon the subjects of the King of France all the privileges and immunities granted to citizens of the United States by the Franco-American treaty of amity and commerce. The extra session ended on April 16th.

The spring campaign of 1780 had now begun with the schemes of the British to crush the Southern States, and thereby counteract the defeat and disaster with which they had met in the North. Sir Henry Clinton, who had succeeded Howe in the command of the armies of invasion, was a bold, if not a skillful, strategist. Parliament and the crown had been generous toward him in the winter of 1779–80. Every mail from London, to his headquarters at New York, bore tidings of fresh bargains with the sordid German princes, to sell their stalwart veterans to the British effort to conquer the revolting nation across the sea, and also told him of reinforcements for his English regiments. He strongly fortified New York and Brooklyn, and withdrawing his forces from the Hudson River, and concentrating them within his works, made preparations for an expedition to capture Charleston, and reduce South Carolina. Leaving the command in New York to General Knyphausen, Clinton embarked eight thousand five hundred men, accompanied by Lord Cornwallis, and on December 26, 1779, set sail under convoy of Admiral Arbuthnot. Storms scattered and impeded the fleet, and it was not until the end of January that all the ships arrived at Tybee Bay, Savannah River. On February 10, 1780, the army sailed from Savannah to North Edisto Sound, where the troops disembarked on the 11th, on St. John's Island, thirty miles below Charleston. From this point Sir Henry Clinton, by a slow and cautious march, proceeded to Ashley River, opposite the city, while a part of the fleet went round by sea, for the purpose of blockading the port. On March 12th he took up a position on Charleston Neck, a few miles above the town, and began the investment. His original strength of ten thousand men was increased to thirteen thousand by the arrival of Lord Rawdon's eight regiments from New York.

Washington had every confidence in General Lincoln, the American commander at Charleston, whom he proceeded to reinforce with the Maryland division of two thousand men and the Delaware battalion then under command of Capt. Kirkwood,[1] and numbering a few less than five hundred rank and file. The last muster-roll of the regiment, no further returns having been made after the movement southward, on file in the office of the Secretary of State, is for February, 1780, and is as follows:

[1] Robert Kirkwood was born in Mill Creek Hundred, but was living in Newark and engaged in mercantile pursuits at the outbreak of the Revolution. He went out with Haslet's regiment as a lieutenant and raised the second company of Hall's battalion. He fought at Brandywine, Germantown, Monmouth, and went south in 1780, and upon the capture of Vaughan and Patten succeeded to the command, by virtue of being senior captain after Patten's promotion to major, of what was left of the battalion after the battle of Camden. When, after the Revolution, the army under St. Clair was raised to defend the West from the Indian enemy, this veteran resumed his sword as the oldest captain of the oldest regiment. In the action of the 4th of November, 1791, he was killed at the head of his command, bravely sustaining his point of the action. "It was the thirty-third time," says Lee in his "Memoirs," "he had risked his life for his country, and he died as he had lived, the brave, meritorious, unrewarded Kirkwood."

Muster-Roll of the Field, Staff, other officers and privates of the Delaware Regiment of Foot, commanded by Col. David Hall, for the month of February, 1776.

David Hall, colonel, commissioned April 5, 1777.
Charles Pope, lieutenant-colonel, commissioned April 5, 1777.
Joseph Vaughan, major, commissioned April 5, 1777.
George Purvis, adjutant, commissioned August 13, 1776.
Edward Roche, paymaster, commissioned September 10, 1776.
Thomas Anderson, quartermaster, commissioned September 10, 1776.
Reuben Gilder, surgeon, commissioned April 5, 1777.
John Platt, surgeon's mate, commissioned April 5, 1777.

FIRST COMPANY.

John Patton, capt., commissioned November 20, 1776.
Wm. McKennan, 1st lieut., commissioned April 5, 1777.
Elijah Shillington, 2d lieut., commissioned September 8, 1776.

Non-Commissioned Officers and Privates.

Wm. Maxwell, 1st sergt.
David Young, 1st corp.
Henry Rowan, 2d corp.
Archibald McBride, 2d sergt.
Dennis Dempsey, 2d corp.
Benj. Jones, drummer.
Joseph Staton, fifer.

Privates.

John Clifton.
Patrick McCallister.
Ebenezer Blackshire.
Patrick Duey.
John Andrews.
Wm. Walker.
John Benson.
Cornelius Hagney.
Thomas McCann.
Patrick Burk.
Levin Leonett.
John Barnes.
James Neill.
Wm. Kilty.
Wm. Newell.
John Mitchell.
James Brown.
Samuel Pice.
Alexander Clark.
Samuel Dodd.
Richard Davis.
Robert Miller.
Frederick Reid.
John McCabe.
John McGill.
John Hatfield.
John Robinson.
Isaac Griffin.
Michael Dorman.
Robert Dyer.
James Bennett.
Abraham Mears.
Whittington Clifton.
Hugh Donnelly.
John Highway.

SECOND COMPANY.

Robert Kirkwood, capt., commissioned December 1, 1776.
Daniel P. Cox, 1st lieut., commissioned April 5, 1777.
Charles Kidd, 2d lieut., commissioned September, 1776.

Non-Commissioned Officers and Privates.

Jonathan Jordan, 1st sergt.
Wm. Rublin, 2d sergt.
Christopher Willett, 2d corp.
Wm. Seymour, 3d sergt.
Nehemiah Nichols, 1st corp.
Edward Robinson, drummer.
John Johnson, fifer.

Privates.

Adam Johnson.
John McKnight.
Wm. Keyes.
Thomas Townsend.
Wm. Drew.
John Stuart.
Levi Bright.
James Hammon.
John Miller.
Francis Williams.
Benj. Bennett.
Stephen Anderson.
John Brown.
James Weighswright.
Benj. Thompson.
Wm. Lewis.
John Kirving.
John Carr.
Wm. Whitworth.
Henry Willis.
Eli Dodd.
Stephen Brown.
Wm. Donaldson.
Peter Croft.
James Mooney.
Cornelius Grimes.
Thomas Toole.
Joseph Preston.
Thomas Walker.
Wm. Hoegans.
Joseph Ferguson.
Andrew Bollard.
John Norman.
Joseph Culver.

THIRD COMPANY.

John Learmouth, capt., commissioned April 5, 1777.
Henry Dull, 1st lieut., commissioned August 16, 1776.
Thomas Anderson, 2d lieut., commissioned September 10, 1776.

Non-Commissioned Officers and Privates.

John Eshaus, 1st sergt.
Seth Brooks, 2d sergt.
Wm. Black, 2d corp.
George Collins, 3d sergt.
Charles Hamilton, 1st corp.
Wm. Hook, drummer.
Wm. Skinner, fifer.

Privates.

Michael Leonit.
Levi Jackson.
James Turner.
Timothy Layfield.
Elisha Pain.
Wm. Parker.
James Cook.
James Crampton.
Mark Beckett.
Wm. Orion.
Thomas Harper.
Charles Connelly.
George Mershaw.
Samuel Latimers.
John Middleton.
Wm. Phenson.
George Hill.
Thomas Holston.
Wm. Lingo.
Jeremiah Brown.
Wm. Hook.
Charles Wharton.
Dennis Flavin.
Jonathan Ireland.
Andrew Dixon.
Michael Garvin.
Thomas Harris.
Thomas Flinn.
Henry Neisbett.
Robert Hennings.
Peter Ricords.
David Davis.
John Watkins.

FOURTH COMPANY.

Peter Jacquett, capt., commissioned April 5, 1777.
James Campbell, 1st lieut., commissioned April 5, 1777.
Stephen McWilliams, 2d lieut., commissioned October 27, 1776.

Non-Commissioned Officers and Privates.

Mitchell Kershaw, 1st sergt.
Jenkins Evins, 2d sergt.
Abijah Houston, 2d corp.
Mordecai Berry, 3d lieut.
Michael Elwood, 1st corp.
Adam Leland, drummer.

Privates.

Wm. Wallis.
Isa Williams.
Wm. Abe.
John Turner.
Wm. Wright.
James Demar.
Michael Dougherty.
John Leland.
James Redmand.
Wm. Jones.
Andrew Daley.
Johnson Fleetwood.
Matthew Hilford.
Henry Norwood.
Wm. Furbush.
John Gaford.
David Willaby.
Cary Hall.
Zadock Tucker.
Thomas Derrick.
Hambleton O'Neall.
John Noble.
Bartholomew Adams.
Jacob McKinley.
Hugh Fleming.
Wm. Simpson.
John Cook.
John Gorman.
James Scott.
John Castle.
Timothy Kilkenny.
Jacob Boston.
Robert Stafford.
John Peoples.

FIFTH COMPANY.

John Wilson, capt., commissioned March 1, 1777.
Paul Quenewit, 1st lieut., commissioned January 26, 1776.
Edward Roche, 2d lieut., commissioned September 10, 1776.

Non-Commissioned Officers and Privates.

Moses Pharis, 1st sergt.
John Spencer, 2d sergt.
Joseph Emerson, 3d corp.
John Cox, 2d sergt.
James Husbands, 1st corp.
John King, 3d corp.
Michael Green, fifer.

Privates.

Solomon Price.
Robert Downs.
Robert Timmons.
Jesse Timmons.
Wm. Fleming.
Wm. Slay.
Richard Moore.
Nathaniel Norton.
Joshua Brown.
Nathan Arnet.
Wm. Fish.
Samuel Miller.
Samuel Long.
Isaac Carrall.
John Wiley.
John Service.
Elias Meeker.
David Ellis.
Frederick Vanderlip.
Neil Levinston.
Jacob Cook.
John Hill.
Benj. Mendy.
Joseph McAfee.
Wm. Simpson.
Isaac Landsley.
Levin Painter.
Kinley Haslett.
Samuel Wooden.

SIXTH COMPANY.

John Caree, capt., commissioned March 1, 1779.
Caleb Brown, 1st lieut., commissioned September 10, 1776.

Non-Commissioned Officers and Privates.

James Murphy, 1st sergt.
Emanuel Pierson, 2d sergt.
Charles Dowd, corp.
John Jackson, fifer.
Patrick Dunn, 2d sergt.
Alexander McDonald, corp.
Thomas Miller, corp.
Wm. Lewis, drummer.

Privates.

Patrick Flinn.
John Todd.
Zedekiah Ridgway.
Littleton Pickron.
Wm. Burch.
James Wilkinson.
John Conner.
John Hill.
Wm. Stanton.
James Marsh.
Harmon Clark.
Purnell Truitt.
Edward Hallowell.
James Carson.
Moses Niels.
John Blake.
George Lee.
Wm. Legg.
Jasper Moncord.
Thomas Rhodes.
Richard Taylor.
Anthony Delaveaia.
John King.
Wm. Dixon.
John Furbis.
John Stewart.
Wm. Perry.
John Patterson.
Roger McCormick.
John Harris.
John Beatty.
Wm. Grave.
Samuel Ross.
Edward Morris.

SEVENTH COMPANY.

John Rhodes, capt., commissioned December 4, 1776.
Caleb P. Bennett, 1st lieut., commissioned August 16, 1776.

Non-Commissioned Officers and Privates.

Hosea Wilson, 1st sergt.	Charles Coulter, 2d sergt.
Samuel Cross, 1st corp.	Thomas Nash, 2d corp.
Robert Thompson, drummer.	Wm. Baily, fifer.

Privates.

Wm. Smith.	Patton Barris.
Wm. Willis.	George Clifton.
Patrick Coleman.	Neill McCann.
Edward Conner.	Wm. Kelty.
Wm. Murphey.	Samuel Nicholas.
Thomas Bacon.	Martemus Sipple.
Thomas Collins.	John Pemberton.
Jacob Cook.	Daniel Lawler.
Richard Hudson.	Richard Carryfoot.
Joshua Sherborn.	John Preston.
John Hurbert.	Richard Harris.
Christopher Crook.	Wm. Holt.
John Nelson.	John McConnaughey.
John Cornell.	Richard Coffil.
Richard Pierson.	

EIGHTH COMPANY.

George Purvis, capt., commissioned October 15, 1777.
Joseph Hosman, 1st lieut., commissioned August 16, 1776.

Non-Commissioned Officers and Privates.

Joseph Hosman, 2d lieut.	John Kenan, 1st sergt.
Thomas McGuire, 2d sergt.	Thomas Thompson, 3d sergt.
Jacob Finly, 1st corp.	Dennis Leary, 2d corp.
James Corse, 3d corp.	David Miller, drummer.

John Hackney, fifer.

Privates.

Jonathan Coate.	Nathan Bowen.
Ellis Flower.	Wm. Pelman.
Alexander Dunlap.	Patrick McCurdy.
Daniel Handley.	Joseph Tapp.
Alexander Flower.	Zadock Morris.
Patrick Mooney.	John Randorn.
John Lahent.	Wm. Roe.
Frederic Holden.	John Phillips.
John Duffy.	Thomas Mason.
John Cullen.	Thomas Mattingly.
Jesse Royall.	Daniel Daily.
John Purnell.	Wm. Oglesby.
Wm. Gattery.	Daniel Murray.
James Perrine.	James Kennig.
Charles Freeman.	John Stephens.
Levin Hicks.	Thomas Gordon.
Thomas Clark.	Thomas Townsend.
John Carter, sergt.-major.	Hardman Anderson, drum-maj.
Robert Oram, 2d sergt.-major.	Timothy Cook, fife major.

This will show an average of only about thirty-five men to each company, but within two months after it was made they had been recruited up to about sixty each. The Southern expedition was placed under the command of Major-General Baron De Kalb, and left Morristown on April 16, 1780, for the head of Elk River, Maryland, passing through Philadelphia and Wilmington. There were no better troops in the American army, and as they marched through Philadelphia they created an impression equal to that which had been made by Haslet's regiment nearly four years previous. A Philadelphia lady, in writing to a friend of the appearance of these Delawareans and Marylanders, said:

"What an army, mid both Whig and Tory, as they saw them pass. The shorter men of each company in the front rank, the taller men behind them—some in hunting-shirts, some in uniforms, some in common clothes—some with their hats cocked and some without, and those who did cock them, not all wearing them the same way, but each man with a green sprig, emblem of hope, in his hat, and each bearing his firelock with what, even to unmilitary eyes, had the air of skilful training."

The troops embarked at the head of Elk, on May 3d, for Petersburg, Va., where they were massed on the 26th for the march south. Before they started General Lincoln had been compelled to surrender Charleston, after a brave defense, and on June 13th Congress appointed General Horatio Gates to succeed him in the command of the Southern Department, acting independently of Washington. Clinton looked upon the fall of Charleston as deciding the fate of the South, and embarking with a part of his forces on June 15th, he sailed for New York, leaving the remainder of his army under the command of Lord Cornwallis, who was instructed to pursue a vigorous campaign with the view of extending British domination over all the territory between the Chesapeake Bay and the Savannah River.

De Kalb pushed southward, with the resolution characteristic of that intrepid officer, against most distressing obstacles. Sergeant-Major William Seymour, of the Delaware regiment, kept a diary in which he recorded from day to day the incidents of this painful march. The expectations of a supply of provisions and a reinforcement of militia, made by the Governor of North Carolina, were disappointed. When they arrived at Buffalo Ford, on Deep River, on July 6, 1780, where General Gates took command on the 25th, the commissariat was absolutely empty. "At this time," says Seymour, "we were much distressed for want of provisions; men were sent out to cut the grain (corn) for daily sustenance, but could scarcely get enough to keep the troops from starving, which caused many of the men to desert. . . . For fourteen days we drew but a half pound of flour per man; sometimes a half-pound of beef, but so bad that scarce any mortal could make use of it; and we lived chiefly on green apples and peaches, which rendered us weak and sickly."

Seymour's rough narrative is confirmed by George Washington Greene in the life of his father, General Greene. Wiser than the men, the officers denied themselves the unripe corn, apples and peaches and ate only of the beef from the lean cattle driven out of the woods and cane-brakes in which they had wintered. They used for soup such of the beef as was too tough for mastication and thickened the soup with their hair powder, which was a soft starch in an imperfect condition of crystallization. When Gates arrived he ordered an immediate march to Camden, South Carolina, with the promise "that plentiful supplies of rum and rations were on their way and would overtake them in a day or two." The sagacious De Kalb, who had already taken the measure of the weak, headstrong and foolish Gates, had no more confidence in his assurances of rations than in his judgment concerning the proper line of march to Camden. De Kalb would have gone around by way of Salisbury, "through the midst of a fertile country inhabited by a people zealous in the cause of

America;" but his stubborn commander was invincible to the arguments of fact and reason. Early on the morning of July 27th the army was put in motion over Buffalo Ford on the direct road to Camden through a sterile region. Colonel Otho Holland Williams, De Kalb's adjutant general, continued De Kalb's protest and made a number of other suggestions to Gates, who only replied that he would confer with his general officers at noon.[1] Colonel Williams wrote in his "narrative of the Campaign of 1780"—

"After a short halt at noon, when the men were refreshed upon the grape in their knapsacks, the march was resumed. The country exceeded the representation that had been made of it—scarcely had it emerged from a state of sterile nature—the few rude attempts at improvement that were to be found were, most of them, abandoned by the owners and plundered by the neighbors. Every one in this uncivilized part of the country was flying from his home and joining in parties under adventurers, who pretended to yield them protection until the British army should appear, which they seemed confidently to expect. The distresses of the soldiery daily increased—they were told that the banks of the Pee Dee were extremely fertile—and so indeed they were; but the preceding crop of corn, the principal article of produce, was exhausted, and the new grain although luxuriant and fine, was unfit for use. Many of the soldiery, urged by necessity, plucked the green ears and boiling them with the beef which was collected in the woods, made for themselves a repast, not unpalatable to be sure, but which was attended with painful effects. Green peaches were also substituted for bread, and had similar consequences. Some of the officers, aware of the risk of eating such vegetables, and in such a state, with poor fresh beef and without salt, restrained themselves from taking anything but the beef itself, boiled or roasted. It occurred to some that the hair-powder, which remained in their bags, would thicken soup, and it was actually applied. The troops, notwithstanding their disappointment in not being overtaken by a supply of rum and provisions, were again amused with promises, and gave early proof of that patient submission, inflexible fortitude and undeviating integrity which they afterwards more eminently displayed."

On August 3d this half-famished army, two-thirds of the men suffering with dysentery, crossed the Pedee in batteaux at Musk's Ferry, and was joined on the southern bank by Lieutenant-Colonel Porterfield's little detachment of Virginians, who had been struggling northward since the surrender of Charleston. Says Adjutant-General Williams:

"The expectation, founded on assurances, of finding a plentiful supply of provisions at May's Mill, induced the troops again to obey the order to march with cheerfulness; but being again disappointed, fatigued and almost famished, their patience began to forsake them; their looks began to be vindictive; mutiny was ready to manifest itself, and the most unhappy consequences were to be apprehended, when the regimental officers, by mixing among the men and remonstrating with them, appeased murmurs for which there was, unhappily, too much cause. The officers, however, by appealing to their own empty canteens and mess-chests, satisfied the privates that all suffered alike, and, exhorting them to exercise the same fortitude, of which the officers gave them the example, assured them that the best means of extricating themselves from the present distress should be immediately adopted; that if the supplies expected by the General did not arrive very soon, detachments should go from each corps in all directions to pick up what grain might possibly be found in the country and bring it to the mill. Fortunately, a small quantity of Indian corn was immediately brought into camp—the mill was set to work, and as soon as a mess of meal was ground it was delivered out to the men; and so in rotation they were all served in the course of a few hours—more poor cattle were sacrificed—the camp-kettles were all engaged—the men were busy, but silent, until they had each taken his repast, and then all was again content, cheerfulness and mirth. It was as astonishing as it was pleasing to observe the transition."

At the Cross-Roads, on Lynch's Creek, Aug. 7th, and at Clermont, or Rugley's Mills, on the 13th, De Kalb was joined by the North Carolina and Virginia militia, some three thousand men. Lord Rawdon was posted at Camden, thirteen miles from Clermont, and on the 14th was joined by Lord Cornwallis. They occupied a position possessing great natural advantages for defense, which they had increased by earthworks. Gates resolved on giving battle against the advice of his more experienced subordinates. On the 14th he sent a detachment under the command of Colonel Woolford, of the Maryland Line, to the support of General Sumter, who was undertaking a movement to capture the enemy's wagon-train, and on the next day marched with his main force to take post about seven miles from Camden. Seymour says that at midnight on the night of the 15th, just before the order to march, "instead of rum we were given molasses, which instead of enlivening our spirits, jallop would have been no worse." Simultaneously, by a singular coincidence, Lord Cornwallis with a force of three thousand men had marched out of Camden to assault the American camp at Clermont. The two armies met about one o'clock in the morning of August 16th about half-way between their respective encampments. With remarkable folly Gates had placed in his advance the cavalry of Armand's legion, an undisciplined command largely made up of deserters and raw recruits. They broke at the first fire from the enemy, and in endeavoring to rally them Lieutenant-Colonel Porterfield was mortally wounded. In their frantic rush to the rear they disordered the Maryland line and only halted to plunder the Delaware and Maryland wagon-train. The British did not follow up the advantage they had gained, and both armies waited upon the field for daylight. Gates called a council of war and asked his officers what was best to be done. Although De Kalb was of the opinion that they should regain their former position at Clermont and wait for an attack, he said nothing at the time, and the conference broke up after the declaration of General Stevens, of the Virginia militia, that "Gentlemen, it is *now* too late to do anything but fight."

At dawn Gates formed line of battle with the Second Maryland Brigade and the Delaware battalion on the right, under De Kalb. Stevens' Virginia militia were on the left and Caswell's North Carolinians in the centre. The artillery was in battery on the right and centre near the road. Each flank rested on a marsh. The first Maryland Brigade, under Smallwood, formed a reserve a few hundred yards in rear of the second. The British were formed in one line, with reserves on each flank. The disposition of the American troops was bad, as it brought the raw levies from Virginia and North Carolina directly in front of the British veterans. Colonel Otho H. Williams began the battle by attempting with some fifty Virginia volunteers to draw the fire of the British line. This expedient, tried for the purpose of sparing and reassuring the militia, proved a

[1] "Scharf's "History of Maryland," vol. ii., p. 362.

failure, for as the enemy advanced firing and cheering, a panic infected the whole body of Stevens' men, who fled in the uttermost confusion. "Few discharged their guns," writes Colonel Williams, "and fewer still carried them off the field." Many threw down their arms and ran into the enemy's ranks. "The unworthy example of the Virginians was almost instantly followed by the North Carolinians; only a small part of the brigade, commanded by Brigadier-General Gregory, made a short pause. A part of Dixon's regiment of that brigade next in line to the Second Maryland Brigade fired two or three rounds of cartridge, but a great majority of the militia (at least two-thirds of the army) fled without firing a shot."

Armand's cavalry scurried away with the flying militia, and the Delawareans and Marylanders, twelve or thirteen hundred at most, were left to face three times their number. Gates had betaken himself to a place of safety and De Kalb was the senior officer remaining, and Williams, if not actually the next in seniority, followed him in the actual direction of affairs. It was a grim and deadly fight, made immortal by the heroism of this little band of American regulars. De Kalb dismounted and put himself at the head of his troops. Rawdon charged them, only to be hurled back with shattered ranks from that firm and blazing front, which then advanced and secured a number of prisoners. But just then the First Brigade, which formed the second line, was pressed back by the weight of superior numbers, and a gap of two hundred yards was opened between the two American lines. De Kalb reformed his ranks and cried "Give them the bayonet, men! give them the bayonet." The gallant Williams shouted "Take trees, men, choose your trees, men, and give them an Indian charge." It was in vain. The enemy having collected their corps, and directing their whole force against these two devoted brigades, a tremendous fire of musketry was kept up on both sides with equal energy and perseverance until Cornwallis pushed forward. Tarleton's dragoons and his infantry charged at the same moment with fixed bayonets, and ended the contest. De Kalb fell with eleven wounds in his body. His aid-de-camp, Dubuysson, supported him in his arms and was repeatedly wounded in protecting him. De Kalb died three days afterward, after dictating to Dubuysson, from his death-bed, a letter in which he spoke of "the gallant behavior of the Delaware regiment."

They had earned the compliment. They went into the fight five hundred strong. Lee, in his "Memoirs," Colonel Williams, in his account of the battle, and Sergeant Seymour, in his journal, use the same expression—"In this battle the regiment of Delaware was nearly annihilated." Of the five hundred there remained four captains, seven subalterns, three staff officers, nineteen non-commissioned officers, eleven fifers and drummers and one hundred and forty-five rank and file. Eleven commissioned officers and thirty-six privates were made prisoners, making, including prisoners, a total of two hundred and thirty-five, and leaving a roll of dead and wounded of two hundred and sixty-five for a short fight of one hour. Lieutenant-Colonel Vaughan, who was in command, and Major Patten were among the captives,[1] all of whom were taken to Charleston. Generals Gates and Caswell arrived at Charlotte on the night of the action. On the following day Caswell was requested to rally the militia of the State; but Gates believing that he could receive no effectual succors short of Hillsborough, where the Legislature of North Carolina was about to convene, hastened thither, where he was followed on the next day by Caswell. On the 18th, Captain Kirkwood and some officers of the Maryland brigades arrived at Charlotte, having under their command a few hundred survivors of the Camden catastrophe and went to work to collect the remnant of the scattered army. With the assistance of Colonel Sumter's force they hoped to make some semblance of opposition to the enemy until the militia of the State could be collected and the troops of the Southern States could be called into service by Congress. All day of the 18th irregular squads of men arrived in the town, and on the morning of the 19th the officers of the various commands attempted the business of re-organization. In this task with the Delawareans, Captain Kirkwood was assisted by Capt. Jacquett,[2] and they had re-formed

[1] Joseph Vaughan was English by birth and owned an iron furnace near Concord, Sussex County. He joined Haslet's regiment in 1776, and became a captain. Upon the organization of Hall's regiment, he was elected major, and upon the retirement of Hall and Pope became lieutenant-colonel. He was never exchanged after the battle of Camden and saw no further service. After the war he removed to "The Forks," in Maryland, on the Santicoke River, where he died.

John Patten, as hereinbefore stated, was a farmer, near Dover. He was appointed a lieutenant in Hall's regiment, and in September, 1776, when Congress called for troops to serve during the war, and fixed our quota at a regiment, or battalion as they called it, he raised a company, was made its captain, and his company was the first to join the regiment, and thus he became senior captain. Captain Patten, by virtue of his seniority among the captains, was promoted to be major, and, with Vaughan, was taken prisoner at Camden, and being paroled, but not exchanged, did not afterward join his regiment.

[2] Peter Jacquett was born on the family estate of Long Hook, on the Christiana opposite Wilmington, and enlisted in Haslet's regiment early in 1776. He was by Haslet's side when the latter was killed at the battle of Princeton, and subsequently joined Hall's battalion as captain of the Fourth Company. It was a Wilmington tradition that when Baron De Kalb was fatally wounded at the battle of Camden he fell into the arms of Jacquett. The major served from 1776 until the close of the war, spending but six weeks at home in all that time. He was in thirty-two battles and many skirmishes, and was twice wounded, though not severely. When Cornwallis' surrender at Yorktown ended the war he was at the South and was placed by General Greene in charge of a party of sick and wounded men, with instructions to convey them home, which he succeeded in doing after many hardships. Passing through Virginia, they were made welcome at the home of a patriot, where a lady presented Jacquett with some gold pieces which she had secreted. In after-years he repaid her heirs the principal and interest, amounting to over five hundred dollars. He arrived at home, broken down in health, to find that his estates had almost gone to ruin during his absence. His physician directed him to take a voyage to the West Indies in search of renewed vigor, but he had no money to spend on such a trip. Joseph Tatnall, the miller, offered him twelve hundred barrels of flour, with the proceeds of which he paid

two companies, when, on the 19th, intelligence was received that Colonel Sumter, whose arrival had been looked for so hopefully, had been surprised by Tarleton at his camp on the Wateree River and had only escaped after the loss of half his men. Charlotte being an open, defenseless place, General Smallwood, who had taken command of the American fragments, retreated to Salisbury and then on to Hillsborough, where General Gates convened a board of officers who determined that all the effective men should be formed into two battalions and one regiment; that the sick and convalescent troops should remain in camp; all the invalids to be sent home, and the supernumerary officers to return to their respective States to assist in the recruiting service. The force thus organized was made up of one hundred and seventy-five Delaware men, seven hundred and seventy-seven Marylanders and fifty Virginians. The Maryland regiment and the two Delaware companies, with Singleton's company of Virginia artillery, were brigaded under Smallwood and camped in the immediate neighborhood of Hillsborough, where, by the perseverance of their officers and their own good dispositions, they soon resumed their wonted discipline.[1] Colonel Williams wrote:

"The usual camp-guards and sentinels being posted, no person could come into or go out of camp without a permit. Parade duties were regularly attended, as well by officers as soldiers. . . . In this encampment no circumstance of want or distress was admitted as an excuse for relaxing from the strictest discipline, to which the soldiers more cheerfully submitted as they saw their officers constantly occupied in procuring for them whatever was attainable in their situation. Absolutely without pay, almost destitute of clothing, often with only a half-ration, and never with a whole one (without substituting one article for another), not a soldier was heard to murmur after the third or fourth day of their being encamped. Instead of meeting and conferring in small squads, as they formerly had done, they filled up the intervals from duty with manly exercises and field sports; in short, the officers very soon had the entire confidence of the men, who divested themselves of all unnecessary care and devoted themselves to duty and pastime within the limits assigned them. The docility and contentment of the troops were the more extraordinary, as they were not unfrequently remoded (when permitted to go into the country) how differently the British troops were provided for. The article of rum, the most desirable refreshment to soldiers, was mentioned among other inducements for them to desert; but so great was their fidelity to the cause, or so strong their attachment to their fellow-sufferers and soldiers, that they not only rejected the most flattering propositions to go over to the enemy, but they absolutely brought some of the most bold and importunate incendiaries into camp, who were delivered to the civil authority and some of them punished."

Tidings of the disaster to the Delaware regiment were made known at their homes in the last week of September and created a most painful meeting. The Legislature did not convene until November 1, 1780, when it at once passed an act granting two months' pay *in specie* to the officers made prisoners at Camden, and one month's pay, also in specie, to other officers of the command in service in the Southern Department. The two months' allowance was also made to Captain James Moore and Lieutenant John Hyatt, who were held prisoners on Long Island; eighty-five thousand dollars was appropriated to buy the needful specie, and fifty-five thousand dollars more to purchase clothing and stores for the men. Captain William McKennan was at this time in the State, having been detailed from the camp at Hillsborough on recruiting service.

In the summer and autumn of 1780 privateers were busy on Delaware Bay, and boats belonging to Tories committed numerous depredations on the property of Americans. In November the "Fair American," Captain Stephen Decatur, captured one of the enemy's craft near New Castle, and on the 4th of the month the Delaware Legislature passed an act directing President Rodney to fit out an armed vessel of not less than sixty tons burthen, with such accompanying boat or boats as he might deem necessary, to cruise against the British and Tories who were interrupting and impeding trade on the bay. It was also enacted that, as the trade and commerce of Pennsylvania and New Jersey were harassed in the same manner, the President should propose conjoint action of the three States.

Notwithstanding the efforts made at home to fill up the ranks of the Delaware command so that it might be raised again to the status of a regiment, recruiting was slow, and Captain Kirkwood was still in North Carolina with only the two companies There was accordingly no chance of his receiving the promotion which he had so richly earned and which never came to this noble and competent officer. He was at Charlotte with his men when, on December 4, 1780, Major-General Greene arrived at that point to relieve Gates of the command of the Southern army. Two months previously General Daniel Morgan's legion of light troops had been formed. It was made up of four picked companies of Colonel Williams' Maryland regiment, a company of riflemen under Major Rose, and the dragoons of Colonel William Washington and Colonel White. When Greene arrived at Charlotte the Delaware companies were attached to his command under temporary orders, and to strengthen them, some men were drafted from the Second Maryland Regiment into their ranks. On December 20th, the divisions of the Southern army moved in opposite directions from Charlotte, the main body towards the Pedee, and Morgan's detachment toward the country watered by the Broad and Pacolet Rivers. The main army reached in eleven days a new camp on Hicks' Creek, and on the 25th, Morgan halted at Grindell's Ford, on the north bank of the Pacolet, where he was reinforced by Colonel Pickens and Major McCall with two hundred and sixty mounted Carolinians. On the 28th or 29th, General Davidson brought in one hundred and twenty men and returned to forward five hundred more.

Cornwallis' plan was to penetrate between the

the expense of his journey and returned in full physical soundness. He survived until September 13, 1834, and was eighty years old when he died. He was buried by the side of his wife, Eliza Price, of Chester, Pa., in the Old Swedes' Cemetery. The stone above his grave records his eminent services to his country. He left no children.

[1] Scharf's "History of Maryland," vol. ii., p. 271.

two divisions of the Americans and crush them in detail. On January 1st he sent Tarleton forward from Winnsborough with instructions to destroy Morgan or push over Broad River towards King's Mountain, the main body of the British to co-operate by advancing to the same point, and in case Morgan's forces should succeed in crossing the river, to intercept their retreat and compel them either to fight, disperse or surrender. Tarleton reached the Pacolet on the 15th, while Cornwallis, proceeding up the eastern bank of the Broad River, arrived at Turkey Creek on the following day. Morgan at once broke camp and pushed over the mountain road to Hancocksville; then, turning into a by-road, he proceeded towards the head of Thicketty Creek, and arrived at the Cowpens about sundown, when he ordered a halt. Sergeant Seymour wrote of this march that it was made very difficult by "crossing deep swamps and climbing very steep hills," and added that "the inhabitants along this way live very poorly; their plantations uncultivated, and living in mean houses; they seem chiefly to be of the offspring of the ancient Irish, being very affable and courteous to strangers."

Bivouacking at the Cowpens on the night of the 16th, Morgan went among his men to encourage them for the battle of the morrow. Major Thomas Young, a volunteer in the fight, wrote:

"He went among the volunteers, helped them to fix their swords, joked with them about their sweethearts and told them to keep in good spirits and the day would be ours. Long after I laid down he was going about among the soldiers encouraging them and telling them that the 'Old Wagoner' would crack his whip over Ben (Tarleton) in the morning as sure as he lived. 'Just hold up your heads, boys,' he would say; 'give them three fires and you are free. And then, when you return to your homes, how the old folks will bless you, and the girls kiss you for your gallant conduct!' I don't think that he slept a wink that night."

Morgan placed Major McDowell, with sixty picked men of the South Carolina militia, and Major Cunningham, with the same number of Georgians, one hundred yards in advance of his front line to act as skirmishers. In the rear of these were ranged in open order, on a line three hundred yards long and one hundred and fifty yards in advance of the main body, three hundred and fifty Georgia and North Carolina militia. In the rear of these and on the brow of a hill were the Delaware and Maryland men, this part of the line being commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel John Eager Howard, who posted to the right and left respectively the Augusta riflemen and the Virginia militia. Still farther to the rear were Colonel Washington's horsemen and McCall's volunteers. Morgan specially addressed Howard's men, telling them to fire low and deliberately, not to break on any account, and if forced to retire, to rally on the eminence in their rear, where, supported by the cavalry and militia, defeat he regarded as impossible; and he concluded by declaring that upon them the fortune of the day and his hopes of glory depended.

Advancing under protection of a heavy fire from their artillery, the British pressed courageously on to the foremost rank of militia, who at first stood firm and answered them with volleys that opened great gaps in their ranks. But when the enemy were within one hundred and fifty yards the militia broke and made for Howard's main line; but before reaching it, they were charged by the British dragoons and sought the protection behind the hill, whither they were closely pursued. It was the decisive moment of the battle; for if the Delaware and Maryland men had wavered the day would have been lost. "Tarleton," wrote Seymour, "endeavored to outflank us on the right, to prevent which Captain Kirkwood wheeled his company to the right and attacked their left flank so vigorously that they were soon repulsed." The British, indeed, had deemed the victory already secured by the retreat of the militia, and had thrown themselves with cheers on Howard's front. The pieces of his men blazed and the enemy recoiled, but charged again, and for twenty minutes pressed against the Continentals with the whole weight of their compact line. Then they fell back slightly, and Tarleton ordered up his reserve, and the British again moved forward, while their dragoons, taking a wide circuit to the left, were preparing to attack the American right flank. At this critical moment that portion of the British horse which had pursued the flying militia flew past the American left, closely followed by Washington's cavalry, while Pickens' South Carolina militia had rallied and were moving to the support of Howard. The British line still advanced with the reserve overlapping Howard's front and endangering his right flank. To meet the threatened attack and protect himself until the cavalry and militia could be brought to his assistance, Howard ordered Kirkwood's company to change front, but mistaking the order, the men, after coming to the right-about, marched to the rear, a movement in which they were slowly imitated by the remainder of the line. Howard, supposing that they had been ordered to fall back to the hill in the rear, calmly noticed the admirable deportment of his men, who moved as if in parade. His first impulse was to correct the mistake, but struck with the manner in which the retrograde movement was effected, he allowed it to proceed.[1]

Morgan seeing his main line in full retreat, rode with feelings of alarm and astonishment up to Colonel Howard, who quickly explained to him the cause of the movement and removed the apprehension he expressed, by pointing to the line and remarking that "men were not beaten

[1] Scharf's "History of Maryland," vol. ii., p. 405.

who retreated in that order." Morgan was at once reassured and directed Howard to ride along the front and order the officers to halt and face about the moment the word was given, while he rode forward to select a place where the columns should be once more deployed for action. Morgan had scarcely left when a messenger reached Howard from Colonel Washington, who had charged and broken the British cavalry. "They are coming on like a mob," were the words Washington had put into the mouth of his courier, "Give them another fire and I will charge them" The order to halt and turn upon the enemy was caught up from man to man. "Face about boys, give them one good fire and the victory is ours!" sang out the strident voice of the old Virginia wagoner as he galloped along the ranks. The British were within thirty yards and rushing on in some disorder. They were stunned by the fire which Howard poured into them. It has been said of this battle that never before was there known such quick loading, discharge and reloading of the flint-lock muskets and rifles as the Americans then displayed. The rapidity and accuracy of their fire demoralized the British. Before they had recovered from the shock Howard shouted the order to charge. This completed the panic of the enemy in his front. Before his cold steel touched them the greater number had thrown down their arms and were begging for quarter, while others had turned their backs in speedy flight. The only part of the field in which the battle was still raging was off to the American right, where Washington was endeavoring to capture the British guns, which were defended by Tarleton's light cavalry and by the crack Seventy-first Regiment of infantry. Pickens' militia came to the assistance of Washington and Howard charged into the midst of the Seventy-first. Tarleton made a dash to save his guns, but was quickly beaten off and escaped with forty men, but not before he and Washington had met face to face. Tarleton received a sabre cut on the hand and Washington a pistol wound in the face. Howard had so smashed the Seventy-first that he had at one time in his hands the swords of seven officers who had personally surrendered to him. The defeat of the British was complete. They lost one hundred killed, one hundred and fifty wounded, six hundred prisoners, three pieces of artillery, two stands of colors, eight hundred muskets, thirty-five wagons and baggage and one hundred cavalry horses. It was an utter destruction of their force, which amounted to eleven hundred and fifty veterans. There were but eight hundred Americans engaged, and they lost but twelve killed and sixty-one wounded The outrages inflicted by Tarleton upon prisoners and even upon non-combatants were fresh in the minds of the victors when his troops threw down their arms. The ominous cry of "Tarleton's quarter" passed with bitter emphasis from one end of the line to the other, but the intervention of Morgan, Howard and other officers prevented the shedding of the blood of the captives. Incensed at the defeat of Tarleton, Lord Cornwallis, who was not more than thirty miles distant from the scene of action, determined to pursue his retreating adversary, regain his captured troops and baggage, re-establish the royal government in North Carolina and press forward to form a junction with the British troops under Arnold on the Chesapeake. Leaving Lord Rawdon with three thousand effective men to hold South Carolina, Cornwallis, having been reinforced by Leslie's command, began, on January 19, 1781, his long march to the North. Collecting his army at Ramson's mill, on the south fork of the Catawba, he resolved on the 25th to sever his communications with South Carolina and to put his army in light marching order. Destroying his extra baggage and nearly all his wagons, he took up his "flying march" in pursuit of the American army. Morgan, anticipating the tactics of Cornwallis, on the 25th wrote to General Greene, advising a junction of their forces. On the receipt of this letter, Greene placed his army under the command of Major-General Huger, with orders to push forward with all speed by the direct road to Salisbury, while Greene, accompanied only by an aide and a sergeant's guard of dragoons, rode across the country nearly one hundred and fifty miles and on the 30th reached Morgan's camp at Sherrald's Ford, on the Catawba. The design was to unite all the forces at Salisbury, but it was necessarily abandoned because of the rapid advance of Cornwallis and the crippled condition of the American troops. "More than half our members," wrote Greene to Sumter, "are in a manner naked, so much so that we cannot put them on the least kind of duty; indeed, there is a great number that have not a rag of clothes on them except a little piece of blanket in the Indian form around their waists." These tatterdemalion heroes, however, formed the junction of Morgan and Huger's commands at Guilford Court-House on February 8th. All told they were too weak to offer battle to the enemy, and to cover their retreat Greene organized a picked force of cavalry and infantry, in which Kirkwood's Delawareans were included. He desired Morgan to take command of it, but the "Old Wagoner's" days of campaigning were ended. Rheumatism had done for him the work which the enemy's bullets failed to accomplish, and the trust which he was compelled to decline was placed in the capable hands of Colonel Otho H. Williams. Greene ordered him to "harass the enemy in their advance, check their progress, and,

if possible, give us an opportunity to retire without a general action." Williams obeyed orders and the battle of Guilford followed.

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"The light corps was rather better off, but among its officers there was not a blanket for every three; so that among those whose hour admitted rest it was an established rule that at every fire one should, in routine, keep on his legs to preserve the fire in vigor. The tents were never used by the corps under Williams in the retreat. The heat of the fires was the only protection from rain and sometimes snow; it kept the circumjacent ground and air dry while imparting warmth to the body." The North Carolina militia becoming discouraged, by the third day all but about eighty of them had deserted, majors and captains going off with their men. "You have the flower of the army," wrote Greene to Williams; "do not expose the men too much, lest our situation should grow more critical." Early on the following morning he wrote again: "Follow our route, as a division of our forces might encourage the enemy to push us further than they will dare to do if we are together. I have not slept four hours since you left me, so great has been my solicitude to prepare for the worst. I have great reason to believe that one of Tarleton's officers was in our camp night before last."

On February 14th, Greene crossed the Dan river into Virginia, his last troops landing on the Virginia shore by the time the astonished and mortified enemy had reached the opposite shore. Cornwallis gave his troops a day's rest, and then fell back by easy marches to Hillsborough. Greene set Pickens and Lee on his track, and on February 27th, Cornwallis marched his whole force across the Haw River and encamped near Allemance Creek. Early in March, Greene received re-enforcements from Maryland, Virginia and North Carolina, and the Delawareans were strengthened by some fifty men enlisted under an act passed by the Legislature on February 10th. With these additions to his ranks, Greene decided to risk an engagement with the enemy, and on March 14th encamped near Guilford Court-House. He had 1651 regular troops and more than 2000 militia, and Cornwallis had 2400 veterans.

The battle of Guilford occurred on March 15th. Kirkwood's Delawareans were on the right flank of the army, in company with Col. William Washington's dragoons and Col. Lynch's Virginia militia. Near them, on the left, was the First Maryland regiment, under Command of Colonel Gunby. The North Carolina militia, who were the first to be attacked, gave way and fled, "none of them having fired," says Greene "more than twice, very few more than once, and more than half not at all" The British then attacked the second line, which was made up of Hawe's Virginians, who made a gallant defense, but were forced back to the position of Gunby's Marylanders and the Delawareans. Once more these tried soldiers of neighboring States proved that they were superior to the Hessians, Highlanders and English; "the enemy rushed into close fire," wrote General Greene "but so firmly was he received by this body of veterans (Gunby's regiment), supported by Hawe's regiment of Virginia and Kirkwood's company of Delaware, that with equal rapidity he was compelled to recoil from the shock." Henry Lee's account of the battle is "that though the British general fought against two to one, he had greatly the advantage in the quality of his soldiers, General Greene's veteran infantry being only the First Regiment of Maryland, the company of Delaware, under Kirkwood, to whom none could be superior, and the Legion infantry, making all together 500 rank and file."

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Kirkwood," and Mr. Johnson, writing of the corps of Marylanders and Delawareans in the *Maryland Journal* of April 3, 1781, said:

"They did not exceed 285 in number, yet, unassisted, they drove from the field in the first instance the 33d Regiment, 322 strong, supported by the Hessians and the light infantry of the Guards. Before they had yet breathed from the performance of this service, they pierced the flank of the first battalion of the Guards, and aided by the cavalry of Washington, disputed a corps far exceeding their own in number, and the very boast of the British nation. Volleys of grape shot poured through their own ranks by the enemy, and the near approach of two British regiments on their left flank, arrested them in the pursuit; but they calmly and in perfect order returned to their position and exhibited a spirit that seemed only to covet more arduous service."

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While the Delaware soldiers were engaged in this campaign in the South, no important events occurred in the State. On February 10, 1781, Thomas Rodney, Thomas McKean and Nicholas Vandyke, were elected delegates to Congress for the ensuing year. On the 1st of March, the Articles of Confederation and Union between the States were formally ratified by Congress.

Immediately after Cornwallis left the vicinity of Guilford, Greene started in pursuit, eager for battle. Dismissing his militia, he set out with one thousand eight hundred regulars for the enemy's outposts in South Carolina. The strongest of these was Camden, which was held by Lord Rawdon, with a garrison of nine hundred men. Greene determined to take this, as he believed he would thus break the enemy's line in the centre, and the other outposts would fall in detail. On April 20th he arrived at Hobkirk's Hill, on the north of Camden, a mile and a half in advance of the British redoubts. He was expecting to be rejoined by Lee's legion, which he had sent to capture Fort Watson, on the left bank of the Santee; but before Lee returned, Rawdon marched to the attack, on the morning of the 25th. Greene wrote:

"Kirkwood, with his light infantry, was placed in front to support the picketts and retard the enemy's approach. As soon as the picketts began firing Kirkwood hastened with his light infantry to their support, and the quick sharp volleys from the woods told how bravely he was bearing up against the weight of the British army. Still he was slowly forced back, disputing the ground foot by foot, to the hill on which the Americans were waiting the signal to begin. . . . And soon Kirkwood, with his light infantry, and Smith, with camp-guards, were seen falling slowly back, and pressing close upon them the British van."

The battle of Hobkirk's Hill terminated unfavorably to the Americans through confusion and mistaken orders in their own lines, but the Delawareans maintained their untarnished reputation. Greene, in his orders of the day on the 26th, alluded to "the gallant behavior of the light infantry, commanded by Capt. Kirkwood;" and Seymour recorded in his diary that "In this action the light infantry under Capt. Robert Kirkwood, were returned many thanks by Gen. Greene, for their gallant behavior." They were a confirmation of the opinion of the Duke of Marlborough, that if he "could put a regiment through three battles in which its bravery reduced it to a skeleton the remnant made the most dependable soldiers in the world." The Delawareans had precisely followed John Churchill's formula.

Though Rawdon was victorious at Hobkirk's Hill, the movements of Marion and Sumter compelled the British to evacuate all the northwestern portion of South Carolina except Ninety-Six. They still held Augusta, on the banks of the Savannah River, but that place was captured by Lee during the last week of May. The Delawareans were in this engagement, after which Lee hastened with his troops to join Greene in the siege of Ninety-Six, where he arrived on May 28th. Lord Rawdon was marching from Charleston with two thousand men to the relief of the post, and Greene thought it best to expedite affairs by assailing the formidable British entrenchments before Rawdon could come up. Lee was charged with the attack on the stockade fort on the right with Kirkwood's company and the infantry of the Lee legion. Fascines were prepared to fill the ditches, and close upon the footsteps of the forlorn hope came men with iron hooks fastened to the ends of long poles with which to pull down the sand bags. Major Rudolph commanded Lee's forlorn hope. Lee's command easily gained possession of the stockade in their front, which was held by a very small force of the enemy, but elsewhere along the line the American storming-parties were repulsed with heavy loss, and when Greene ordered them to retreat Lee abandoned the advanced position which he had gained. Thus ended the siege of Ninety Six, which lasted twenty-eight days, and cost the American army one hundred and eighty-five men. Greene went into camp on the High Hills of Santee, about ninety miles northwest of Charleston, and rested until August 23d, when he moved to attack the British at their post near the junction of the Wateree and Congaree Rivers. They retreated before him and halted at Eutaw Springs. Early on the morning of September 8th he was close upon them before they were aware of his approach. Kirkwood's Delawareans and Washington's cavalry were the American reserve, the army also embracing the North Carolina militia under Colonel Malmedy, South Carolina militia under Marion and Pickens, Sumner's North Carolina regulars, Campbell's Virginians and Williams' Maryland men under Howard and Hardman. Lee with his legion, and Henderson with the militia under Hampton, Middleton and Polk protected the flanks. Greene also had four cannon, four and six-pounders.

The Americans began the battle with the militia of the Carolinas in front, who fought stubbornly until their ammunition was exhausted, when they fell back under the protection of Lee and Henderson. Sumner, with his North Carolina Continentals, was ordered up to fill the gap, while the

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if possible, give us an opportunity to retire without a general action." Williams obeyed orders and the battle of Guilford followed.

On February 10th the American army was at Guilford, N. C., and Cornwallis at Salem, twenty-five miles distant. On the same day Greene started with his main body for Boyd's Ferry, while Williams, Howard, Washington, Henry Lee and Carrington placed themselves in front of the enemy. The object of the movement of these light troops was to mislead the British in order to cover Greene's retreat, and it was quite a success. Cornwallis, who always needed twenty-four hours in which to comprehend truthfully a military situation, saw Williams' command in front of him and imagined that he had the whole American army in position where he could crush them with his overwhelming force. Greene meanwhile was pushing forward and had gained nearly a day's march. Williams was skilfully covering the retreat by destroying the bridges in front of the British advance and stripping the region of provisions. It was a chase in which both armies suffered almost incredible privations. "Most of the men," says Sergeant Seymour, "were entirely without shoes and had no time to cook what provisions they had." Lee wrote of Williams' corps, in which the Delawareans were embraced:

"The light corps was rather better off, but among its officers there was not a blanket for every three; so that among those whose hour admitted rest it was an established rule that at every fire one should, in routine, keep on his legs to preserve the fire in vigor. The tents were never used by the corps under Williams in the retreat. The heat of the fires was the only protection from rain and sometimes snow; it kept the circumjacent ground and air dry while imparting warmth to the body." The North Carolina militia becoming discouraged, by the third day all but about eighty of them had deserted, majors and captains going off with their men. "You have the flower of the army," wrote Greene to Williams; "do not expose the men too much, lest our situation should grow more critical." Early on the following morning he wrote again: "Follow our route, as a division of our forces might encourage the enemy to push us further than they will dare to do if we are together. I have not slept four hours since you left me, so great has been my solicitude to prepare for the worst. I have great reason to believe that one of Tarleton's officers was in our camp night before last."

On February 14th, Greene crossed the Dan river into Virginia, his last troops landing on the Virginia shore by the time the astonished and mortified enemy had reached the opposite shore. Cornwallis gave his troops a day's rest, and then fell back by easy marches to Hillsborough. Greene set Pickens and Lee on his track, and on February 27th, Cornwallis marched his whole force across the Haw River and encamped near Allemance Creek. Early in March, Greene received re-enforcements from Maryland, Virginia and North Carolina, and the Delawareans were strengthened by some fifty men enlisted under an act passed by the Legislature on February 10th. With these additions to his ranks, Greene decided to risk an engagement with the enemy, and on March 14th encamped near Guilford Court-House. He had 1651 regular troops and more than 2000 militia, and Cornwallis had 2400 veterans.

The battle of Guilford occurred on March 15th. Kirkwood's Delawareans were on the right flank of the army, in company with Col. William Washington's dragoons and Col. Lynch's Virginia militia. Near them, on the left, was the First Maryland regiment, under Command of Colonel Gunby. The North Carolina militia, who were the first to be attacked, gave way and fled, "none of them having fired," says Greene "more than twice, very few more than once, and more than half not at all" The British then attacked the second line, which was made up of Hawe's Virginians, who made a gallant defense, but were forced back to the position of Gunby's Marylanders and the Delawareans. Once more these tried soldiers of neighboring States proved that they were superior to the Hessians, Highlanders and English; "the enemy rushed into close fire," wrote General Greene "but so firmly was he received by this body of veterans (Gunby's regiment), supported by Hawe's regiment of Virginia and Kirkwood's company of Delaware, that with equal rapidity he was compelled to recoil from the shock." Henry Lee's account of the battle is "that though the British general fought against two to one, he had greatly the advantage in the quality of his soldiers, General Greene's veteran infantry being only the First Regiment of Maryland, the company of Delaware, under Kirkwood, to whom none could be superior, and the Legion infantry, making all together 500 rank and file."

The Delawareans and Gunby's men charged with the bayonet upon the disordered ranks of the British. Gunby was shot down, but Col. John Eager Howard took his place at their head, and Washington's dragoons charged by their side. They were cutting down O'Hara's British brigade with sword and bayonet, when Cornwallis ordered his artillery to fire upon the struggling mass of friends and foes. Arrested by this terrible fire, Howard collected his men among the dead and dying and retired in good order, followed by Washington. The battle was won, chiefly by the exertions of the Delaware and Maryland veterans. Greene, in his report of it, spoke of the "Old Delaware Company under the brave Captain

Kirkwood," and Mr. Johnson, writing of the corps of Marylanders and Delawareans in the *Maryland Journal* of April 3, 1781, said:

"They did not exceed 283 in number, yet, unassisted, they drove from the field in the first instance the 33d Regiment, 322 strong, supported by the Tories and the light infantry of the Guards. Before they had yet breathed from the performance of this service, they pierced the flank of the first battalion of the Guards, and aided by the cavalry of Washington, dislodged a corps far exceeding their own in number, and the very boast of the British nation. Volleys of grape shot poured through their own ranks by the enemy, and the near approach of two British regiments on their left flank, arrested them in the pursuit; but they calmly and in perfect order returned to their position and exhibited a spirit that needed only to meet more arduous service."

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The battle of Hobkirk's Hill terminated unfavorably to the Americans through confusion and mistaken orders in their own lines, but the Delawareans maintained their untarnished reputation. Greene, in his orders of the day on the 26th, alluded to "the gallant behavior of the light infantry, commanded by Capt. Kirkwood;" and Seymour recorded in his diary that "In this action the light infantry under Capt. Robert Kirkwood, were returned many thanks by Gen. Greene, for their gallant behavior." They were a confirmation of the opinion of the Duke of Marlborough, that if he "could put a regiment through three battles in which its bravery reduced it to a skeleton the remnant made the most dependable soldiers in the world." The Delawareans had precisely followed John Churchill's formula.

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veterans of Williams, Howard and Kirkwood were held back for the final struggle. The British advance was commanded by Colonel Stewart, a dashing and brilliant officer, who personally led his men in charge after charge. In one of these he pushed Sumner back, and the British left, springing forward as if to certain victory, fell into confusion. Before they could recover, Williams was upon them with the bayonet and pierced their centre. At the same moment Lieutenant-Colonel Wade Hampton, who had taken command of the cavalry on the left flank after the wounding of Henderson, charged, and Washington and Kirkwood plunged with sabres and bayonets upon Major Majoribanks, who was holding the British right.[1] Washington's horse was shot under him, and he was wounded and taken prisoner, together with nearly forty of his men, in the effort to dislodge Major Majoribanks, who held a strong position, from which he endangered the American left wing. The thicket was too dense for the movement of cavalry, and the men were taken one by one without the opportunity to resist. Kirkwood and Wade Hampton made a similar attempt with persistent valor, but Majoribanks only retired to a still stronger position and eventually behind the palisades of a garden which surrounded a stone house which the British had converted into a fortress. Unfortunately, after the earlier charges of Kirkwood, Howard and Williams had driven the enemy from every other portion of the field, and the Americans were in possession of the British camp, many of the soldiers drank of the liquors which they found in the tents so plentifully that whole companies became intoxicated. Of the incident when Greene was endeavoring to restore his disorganized line, and ordered the charge upon the house and garden held by Colonel Sheridan and Major Majoribanks, George Washington Greene, wrote:

"Kirkwood and Hampton were now at hand, and the men of Delaware pressed forward with the bayonet, while Hampton, collecting the shattered remains of Washington's cavalry, still bleeding, but not disheartened, made another trial with them, but the position was too strong to be forced, and though Kirkwood held his ground, Hampton was compelled to retire."

It is unquestionable that in this, their last, battle, Kirkwood's little corps added to the laurels which they had already gained. General Greene said, in his official report to the President of Congress:

"I think myself principally indebted for the victory obtained, to the free use of the bayonet made by the Virginians and Marylanders, the infantry of the legion, and Captain Kirkwood's light infantry, and though few armies ever exhibited equal bravery with ours in general, yet the conduct and intrepidity of these corps were peculiarly conspicuous."

Greene did indeed gain the victory on the 8th of September, 1781, at Eutaw Springs, through the efficacy of his bayonet charges, for during the night the British positions were evacuated. On October 29th, Congress passed a resolution—

"That the thanks of the United States, in Congress assembled, be presented to the officers and men of the Maryland and Virginia brigades and the Delaware battalion of Continental troops for the unparalleled bravery and heroism by them displayed in advancing to the enemy through an incessant fire, and charging them with an impetuosity and order that could not be resisted."

General Greene and his army rested a few days near Eutaw Springs and then crossing Nelson's Ferry on September 12th, returned by slow marches to his old camp on the Heights of Santee. He had so effectually cleared the British out of Georgia and the Carolinas that they held only the ports of Wilmington, Charleston and Savannah, but his own forces were greatly thinned and worn out. They were not expected to do any more immediate fighting; but although the war was drawing rapidly to a close, there were reasons for fear of further aggressive movements by the enemy, and Greene sent many of his officers home on missions to recruit their commands.

In Delaware, during the summer of 1781, the most difficult work of the authorities was to raise forty-five thousand dollars in specie or supplies for the use of the general government. It was voted at the session of June 14th, at Lewes, and two days later a bill was brought in to expedite the enlistment and forwarding of recruits for the Delaware battalion. At the same time the President of the State was requested by the Legislature to order the first class of the militia to hold themselves in readiness to march wherever General Washington might direct; this was in pursuance of a requisition of Congress of May 31st; but as Delaware could neither arm or equip these troops, the Board of War was asked to lend the State sufficient weapons and accoutrements. Whether it was that the Board could not comply, or that the militia could not be mobilized, they were not brought into service. The efforts to raise enough men for Kirkwood to again elevate his command to the rank of a battalion, which would have involved his own promotion to a colonelcy and corresponding benefits to his subordinate officers, were more successful in one aspect, though not in that of the first consequence to Kirkwood and his handful of veterans. Recruiting progressed favorably in Delaware in the early months of 1781, and some three hundred men were obtained under the expectation that they would be added to Kirkwood's ranks in the Carolinas. But at that time the traitor, Benedict Arnold, had been dispatched by Sir Henry Clinton to the Chesapeake, with a fleet of sixty sail, and sixteen hundred men to replace General Leslie, who had gone to reinforce Cornwallis. The land force was composed of British, Hessians and Tories; and as Clinton distrusted Arnold, he sent with him Colonels Dundas and Simcoe, two experienced British officers, who

[1] Carrington's "Battles of the Revolution," p. 560.

were to be consulted in every movement. Arnold overran the country on both sides of the Chesapeake, and burned and plundered Richmond, Portsmouth, Petersburg and other towns. On Jan. 1, 1781, Congress instructed General Washington "that he should immediately make such distribution of his command, including those of our allies (the French) under Count Rochambeau, as will most effectually counteract the views of the enemy and support the Southern States." In compliance with these instructions, Lafayette marched south with twelve hundred men, and Admiral des Touches, upon whom the command of the French fleet devolved upon the death of Admiral de Ternay, dispatched from Newport, Rhode Island, Captain de Tilly with the men-of-war "L'Eveillee," "Gentile," "Surveillante" and "La Gueppe," to co-operate with him. De Tilly took his ships into the Chesapeake, but sailed to sea again without encountering the British fleet, and Lafayette was so hampered that he did not reach Virginia until May. These operations, however, brought the closing work of the war into the Virginia peninsula between the York and James Rivers, and so it occurred that when Cornwallis concentrated his forces in that State, and Washington and Rochambeau hurried thither to meet him, the Delaware recruits, instead of being sent to Kirkwood, were stopped on their march southward and ordered to join the army that in September began the siege of Cornwallis' army at Yorktown. There are various indefinite allusions to their arrival at that focus of the concluding military events of the Revolution, and it is only certain that they were in the vicinity when General Lincoln opened his first parallel on the British front on October 6th. The surrender of Cornwallis took place on the 19th, and Washington at once started northward with all his troops except the Maryland, Pennsylvania and Virginia Continentals, who, under command of General St. Clair, were sent to the support of General Greene in the South. On October 27th the Delaware Legislature passed a resolution reciting that as Washington with a portion of his command would shortly pass through the State by the post at Christiana Bridge, that post should be thoroughly provisioned, and General Patterson, Lieutenant-Colonel Henry Darby, Major James Black and Captain William McClay were authorized to purchase the necessary provisions and storage upon consultation with Deputy-Quartermaster Yeates. On November 6th the term of Cæsar Rodney, as President of the State, having expired, the Legislature met in joint convention, and by a vote of twenty-five out of twenty-six members present elected as his successor John Dickinson for the legal term of three years. On the 9th resolutions were passed appropriating three hundred pounds in specie to Lieutenant-Colonel Charles Pope, for the purpose of protecting the trade of the bay and river. He was authorized to "take the command of the State schooner now lying at New Castle," and also of "the State barge, or long-boat, at the Cross-Roads," in the county of Kent; to put them into proper fighting condition; to recommend to the President of the State one person to be commissioned as lieutenant of marines and to enlist forty men for service on the vessels, which were to cruise on the bay and river only. On the 13th Mr. Dickinson appeared before the joint convention of the Legislature and accepted the position of President in a brief address, in the course of which he said:

"If, in my attempts to discharge this complicated duty, any part of it escapes my attention, I ask, and shall at all times gratefully receive, your advice or information. As it does not appear to me inconsistent with this duty, so it will be a pleasing employment to consult the ease of the good people of the State, as far as can be done without weakening our exertions in maintaining this just and necessary war, which men of sense and virtue cannot desire. May a happy harmony in sentiment and measures, so beneficial to society, always prevail among us, or, if there must be a division, let it only be between those who generously contend for the freedom, independence and prosperity of their country, and such as weakly wish for a dangerous and dishonorable submission to enemies so infatuated as to hate where they ought to admire, and to provoke their own and pursue the ruin of these States, though nature and policy point out that we should be blessings to one another."

The Legislature also made appropriations of £100 each to Thomas Rodney, Nicholas Vandyke and Thomas McKean, the delegates in Congress, and furnished the past and present officers of the Delaware troops with money as follows:

Colonel David Hall, Lieutenant Joseph Vaughan, Captain Peter Jacquett and Captain Robert Kirkwood, £100 each; Major John Patten, £75; Captain James Moore, Captain John Learmouth, Captain John Wilson, Captain Daniel P. Cox, Captain George Parvis and Doctor Reuben Gilder, £60 each; Lieutenants Charles Kidd, James Campbell, Joseph Horsman, Elijah Skillington, Edward Roche, Henry Duff and Thomas Anderson, £40 each; to Ensign Stephen McWilliams, £30; and to Mrs. Joanna Holland, whose husband, Captain John Holland, had been killed at the battle of Germantown, £40. Appropriations of £475 for supplies, for the detachment under the command of Captain William McKennan, and £825 for supplies for the men who remained in Greene's army were ordered; and it was recommended to the President "to issue his orders to the officers of the Delaware regiment now in the state (Captain Moore excepted), and not prisoners of war," that as soon as they should receive the money appropriated to them "they do repair to their regiment, so that the officers thereof, now with General Greene may, if they think proper, apply for leave of absence for a time, and their places supplied by such as are within the intent of this resolution."

The vigilance that is the price of liberty had dictated these measures relative to the Delaware troops, and was characteristic of the attitude of the

Delaware patriots during the war. Like their associates of the other States, they were not prepared to accept the Yorktown surrender as the end of the war. They did not at first understand that King George III. and his ministry had been crushed by the tremendous power of the French alliance, and the defeat of the flower of the British army under Cornwallis. The recruits who had seen the Yorktown surrender were returned home, and disbanded in January of 1782. Seymour's diary, tells of the movements of Kirkwood's men after they had no more fighting to do in the South. He wrote:

"On November 16th, 1782, the Delaware Regiment had orders to hold themselves in readiness to march home from the southward. On the same day started from Head-quarters on the Ashley river for home, coming by way of Camden. Having arrived there November 22nd, were detained thirteen days by orders from General Greene; left on December 5th; coming by way of Salisbury, Petersburgh, Carter's Ferry, on James River, we arrived at Georgetown in Maryland, January 12th, 1783; left there the same day and arrived at Christiana Bridge on the 17th, after a march of seven hundred and twenty miles from Encampment on Ashley River, which was performed with very much difficulty, our men being so very weak after a tedious sickness which prevailed amongst them all last summer and fall."

The "Blue Hen's Chickens," a *sobriquet* which the Delawareans had been honored with since the beginning of the war, resumed their duties as citizens upon their return home. The appellation dates back to the days of 1776, when Captain Jonathan Caldwell's company, of Haslet's regiment, took with them game chickens, celebrated in Kent County for their fighting qualities, and said to be of the brood of a certain blue hen, renowned through the country-side. Mr. Whitely, in collecting this information, found the following names of the officers and members of the company:

Jonathan Caldwell, captain.	John Cree, 4th sergt.
John Patten, 1st lieut.	John McCannon, 1st corp.
George McCall, 2d lieut.	John Downes, 2d corp.
James Stevens, ensign.	Robert Oram, 3d corp.
John Depolster, 1st sergt.	Isaac Matthews, 4th corp.
Joseph Campbell, 2d sergt.	Robert Thompson, drummer.
John Rowe, 3d sergt.	Cornelius Comegys, fifer.

Privates.

John Shearn.	John Hart.
James Millington.	Francis Blair.
John Manning.	John Wilson.
John Kinnamon.	John May.
Michael McGinnis.	Thomas Flinn.
Robert Sidway.	George Riall.
William Plowman.	Peter Grewell.
John Allen.	William Perry.
John Butler.	Ephraim Townsend.
Jacob Wilson.	Isaac Cox.
Nathan Bowen.	John Matthews.
John Pegg.	William Hall.
George Bateman.	Mark Ivans.
Joseph Robinson.	Hosea Wilson.
James Carson.	John Edingfield.
John Nickerson.	Nathan Gaus.
John Spring.	Lewis Humphreys.
Zachariah Baily.	Kinder Haslet.
Peter Rice.	Garrett Fagan.
James Robinson.	Herman Clarke.
John Simmons.	John Tims.
Robert Graham.	Lambert Williams.
John Kelly.	William Mott.
Allen Reddell.	Alexander McDowell.
William Edingfield.	Daniel Lawley.
Robert Ferrell.	Peter Wilson.

In the intervals of duty Caldwell's men used to amuse themselves with pitting their game-cocks, and the fame of the matches spread throughout the army and into cotemporary history, so that the "Blue Hen's Chickens" became a synonym for the Delaware veterans. Their record may fittingly be concluded with Henry Lee's remark, in speaking of the Continental line, that "the State of Delaware furnished one regiment only, and certainly no regiment in the army surpassed it in soldiership."

Ramsey, in his "History of the United States," vol. i. p. 209, says:

"The Delaware Regiment was reckoned the most efficient in the Continental Army. It went into active service soon after the commencement of the contest with Great Britain, and served through the whole of it. Courting danger wherever it was to be encountered, frequently forming part of a victorious army, lost oftener the companions of their countrymen in the gloom of disaster, the Delawares fought at Brooklyn, at Trenton and at Princeton, at Brandywine and at Germantown, at Guilford and at Eutaw, until at length, reduced to a handful of brave men, they concluded their services with the war in the glorious termination of the Southern campaign."

Doctors Latimer and Tilton were the medical officers of distinction whom Delaware furnished. Whitely says of them:

"Dr. Henry Latimer was born in Newport in 1752. He commenced the study of medicine in Philadelphia, and completed it by graduating at the Medical College of Edinburgh. Upon his return home he commenced the practice of his profession in Wilmington, but in 1777 he, as well as Dr. Tilton, were appointed surgeons in the Continental Army, and were attached to what was called the Flying Hospital, and were with the army in all the battles in the Northern Department, from Brandywine to Yorktown. He acquired quite a distinction as a surgeon, and on peace he returned to the practice of his profession. He was elected a member of our Legislature after our State organization; also to Congress from 1781 to 1785, and was elected in 1794 by the Legislature one of the Senators from this State in Congress, and served out his constitutional term. He died in 1819.

"Dr. James Tilton's history is almost the same as Dr. Latimer's. He entered the army as surgeon of Colonel Haslet's Regiment. He was also skilled and honored as a surgeon. Upon the return of peace he settled on the property now owned by William Howland; was Surgeon-in-chief of the army in the War of 1812, and died in 1818."

The concluding incident of the war in or around Delaware, occurred April 8, 1782, when the American sloop-of-war "Hyder Alley," Captain Barney, defeated the British sloop "General Monk," at the entrance of the bay. At the session of the Legislature on January 25, 1782, President Dickinson sent in a long message, in which he congratulated his countrymen upon the successes of the American cause in the South, but reminded them of what appeared to be the decision of the British ministry to push the war to extremes, and to break the Franco-American alliance. The final paragraphs of his message are an exhibition of the spirit prevalent in Delaware, to continue the war unto the last stage of exhaustion, if necessary. He wrote:

"We, knowing that a vast majority of the inhabitants of these States will, at every hazard, maintain their independence, now indispensably necessary for supporting their honor and happiness, and desire no peace but upon this ground, and that not one in a hundred would risk life or property for reconciliation upon any other terms, have relied too much upon this mild mass of opposition. Relaxation ensued and has been followed by its natural consequences. Happily for us, indeed, virtue has frequently paid the arrears of pensioner. On the other hand, our enemies, viewing the same subject through the deceiving medium of passion and prejudice, believe that the thinness of our battalions and the distortions of our supplies are in a great degree occasioned by the disaffection of large numbers to our cause. This error produces another, and leads them to expect a dissolution of public credit from dissatisfaction at the burthens imposed, and a flattering comparison between their

funds, supposed by them to be almost inexhaustible, and the scantiness of our revenues."

President Dickinson went on to point out that the American patriots were willing to sacrifice everything for the preservation of their liberties; he also discussed the folly of the British supposition that a long-continued and cordial friendship between France and the United States was impossible, and in conclusion recommended to the Legislature early compliance with the acts of Congress for strengthening the confederation and improving the condition of the finances. By a supplementary message of the same date it appears that, in obedience to the request of General Washington, Mr. Dickinson had established at Wilmington a temporary hospital for sick soldiers returning from Virginia. The armed schooner which the State had equipped to cruise in the Delaware had been blockaded at New Castle by a stronger British vessel, and the President saw no hope of releasing her except by the co-operation of New Jersey and Pennsylvania.

During the January session of 1782 the Legislature passed the act for taking the first census of the State, and on February 2d it elected Philemon Dickinson, Thomas McKean,[1] Cæsar Rodney and Samuel Wharton delegates to Congress for the current year. In their instructions reference was made to the resolutions passed by the Legislature in January, 1779, protesting against those articles of the Act of Confederation which made possible the almost illimitable territorial extension of the then frontier States by western acquisitions. The delegates were required to endeavor to procure an amendment of the Confederation in those particulars, and to employ their "most industrious exertions for obtaining, without any delay whatever, a final settlement of the boundaries of these States whose claims are immoderate, and of the rights of the United States on the principles of the resolutions, an adherence to which is so plainly consistent with justice and so indispensably essential to the peace and welfare of the Union. It is probable that the property of the islands in the Delaware may be considered as connected with this subject. We desire that you will attend also to this point and that you will take care that due regard be had therein to the rights of this State."

An act of Congress passed on December 4, 1781, was the cause of trouble and loss to Delaware. In many instances the little vessels of her citizens trading upon the bay and river had been captured by the enemy, but unless they were immediately burned or taken out of the adjacent waters they were very likely to be recaptured by the bold residents of the neighboring shores. The act of Congress provided, however, that unless the recaptures were made within twenty-four hours of the capture there would be no restitution to the original owners. In adopting this regulation Congress had conformed to the practice of other nations; "but," said the Delaware instructions to her congressmen:

"we apprehend there ought to be a distinction made between captures in common cases and captures of vessels employed in the inland trade for the sole purpose of carrying the produce of the country to markets within the State and always navigating between and in sight of lands on each side without ever passing into the open sea. . . . If the present legislation continues in force, the damage to this State must be exceedingly great, if not irretrievable during the war. We have but very few shallops left, and the difficulty of procuring more is too well-known. If the property of those that remain is to be diverted in the manner before mentioned, it is highly probable that in a short time there will not be a vessel belonging to an inhabitant of this State."

To prevent this calamity the delegates were urged to press upon Congress such an amendment to the law as would permit the return of recaptured vessels to their owners, upon payment of salvage, not exceeding one-fourth the value of the property.

President Dickinson's message on the reassembling of the Legislature at Dover, June, 1782, embraced congratulations on the birth of a son and heir to King Louis XVI of France, and a warning not to repose confidence in any expectation that the recent changes in the British ministry meant an honorable treaty of peace. "I sincerely share with you," added the President, "in the high pleasure you must receive from the truly honorable testimony given by that distinguished commander, General Greene, to the uniform good conduct, singular merit and important services of the officers and soldiers of our line." On the 19th the two Houses adopted resolutions most emphatically condemning any attempt to conclude a treaty of peace with Great Britain except through Congress. The resolutions were brief, but pithy. They said:

"That the United States, in Congress assembled, have, by their Confederation, the sole and exclusive right and power of determining a peace and war, and of entering into treaties and alliances.

"That the honor and true interests of the United States require an inviolable adherence to the engagements of the treaty between his most Christian Majesty (the king of France) and the said states.

"That any man or body of men that shall presume, without the authority of the said States in Congress assembled first duly had, to enter into a negotiation concerning a peace or truce with the King of Great Britain or his agents, ought to be considered and treated as enemies of the said States.

"That the whole power of this State shall be exerted for enabling Congress to carry on the war until a peace consistent with our Federal Union and national faith can be obtained."

These resolutions were sent to the delegates in Congress as instructions. The next session of the Legislature continued from October 1st to November 1, 1782, but as the minutes were lost the only information of the proceedings is gained from the messages of President Dickinson and a few other scattering papers. The message of October 29th

[1] In 1782 a political attack was made in Philadelphia upon Chief Justice McKean, now of Pennsylvania, for holding, in addition to the office of judge, those of delegate to Congress from Delaware and President of Congress. It was shown that other members of Congress had done the same thing; and although the Constitution of Pennsylvania prohibited him from serving as chief justice and member of Congress at the same time, it was urged that the prohibition did not apply to him, from the fact that he held the offices from different States.

shows that in the preceding August Captain Moore's recruits for the Delaware regiment were marched to Philadelphia instead of being sent to the South, as originally purposed, and that there were eight regiments of militia in the State, seven of which the President had lately reviewed, finding occasion to speak favorably of all, but especially of those commanded by Colonels Duff, Hall, Jones and Polk. William Winder, Jr., was appointed commissioner to settle accounts with the United States. At the session of January 14, 1783, President Dickinson announced that he had been elected President of the Supreme Executive Council of Pennsylvania, and resigned his office as executive of Delaware. He had turned the administration of the State over to John Cook, Speaker of the Legislative Council, on November 4, 1782, who, on January 17, 1783, announced that Captain McKennan was marching northward with a detachment of the Delaware regulars that had been doing duty in the Southern army, the latest recruits being still quartered in Philadelphia.[1]

On February 1st Nicholas Van Dyke was elected President by eighteen votes out of thirty in the joint convention, and Cæsar Rodney, James Tilton, Eleazar McComb and Gunning Bedford, Jr., were chosen delegates to Congress.

On June 5, 1783, President Van Dyke officially communicated to the Legislature the conclusion of peace between the United States and France on one side and Great Britain on the other. In his message he said:

"I beg leave to congratulate you on the happy and important event of peace, liberty and independence secured to these States by the preliminary treaties between the belligerent powers. The accomplishment of these objects, under the smiles of Divine Providence and the aid of our illustrious ally, has placed America in an equal station among the nations of the earth. Her attention should now be undivided to support a character worthy of the virtuous struggles by which she has in her late ardent conflict acquired her elevation; and, I hope, a regular administration of justice and a due veneration of national faith, will render her as respectable in peace as she has been illustrious in war."

On June 21st the Legislature instructed the delegates in Congress to insist that Delaware was entitled to a right, in common with other members of the Union, to the land west of the national frontier. Much opposition was developed to accepting the Virginia act of January 2, 1781, respecting the partial cession to the United States of the lands northwest of the Ohio River. "We apprehend," resolved the Legislature, "the considering of these lands as the now indisputable right of the United States in common, and hereafter to be granted out on terms beneficial to the whole, is so plainly consistent with justice and so indispensably essential to the future peace and welfare of the Union, that we feel ourselves not a little alarmed at such a seeming disinclination, which too evidently appears in our sister State in giving up what justice so loudly demands of her." It is part of the history of the country that the northwestern lands question was eventually arranged to mutual satisfaction.

With the passage of acts raising twenty-two thousand five hundred pounds and to authorize Congress to levy duties on imports into the State for a limited time, and to establish a sinking fund for the payment of interest on the public debt, the Legislature adjourned to the following October. It had nothing important to do at the October session except settle some contested elections in Kent and Sussex counties, which had no connection with affairs of the Revolution, except that some of the lately disbanded soldiers were accused of intimidating voters. The war over, the State entered upon the work of repairing its ravages, and accommodating herself to the new conditions of peace under a republican form of government. By the services of her statesmen in council and her soldiers in the field she had borne a noble and illustrious share in the achievement of independence and the formation of the nation.[2]

[1] Delaware enlisted during the Revolutionary War—1775-83, including Continental soldiers and militia, in 1776, 754; 1777, 1,092; 1778, 349; 1779, 317; 1780, 550; 1781, 89; 1782, 104 and 1783, 215 men, making a total of 3763 men.

[2] The following is a list of the invalid pensioners of the Revolution, belonging to the State of Delaware, in 1791, with the monthly allowance to each:

Edward Armstrong, Lieutenant	$17 33⅓
John Blaney, Private	3 00
John Brown, "	3 00
Richard Cogan, "	2 00
John Conner, "	2 00
Isaac Cattel, "	3 00
John Clifton, "	3 00
Patrick Dunn, Sergeant	3 00
Charles Dowd, Corporal	3 00
Jenkin Evans Sergeant	3 00
Joseph Ferguson, Private	3 00
George Griffen, "	2 66⅔
Bailey Hartlett, "	3 00
Thomas Holliston, "	3 00
Dennis Leary, "	3 00
Timothy Layfield "	3 00
William McKennan, Captain	20 00
Thomas McGuire, Sergeant	3 00
James Murphy, Private	3 00
John McGill, "	2 50
John Pemberton, "	3 00
Andrew Pollard, "	3 00
John Peterson, "	3 00
Levi Pointer, "	3 00
William Robbins, Sergeant	3 00
Joseph Sapp, Private	3 00
John Shelton, "	3 00
George Stewart, "	2 00
Thomas Shriven, "	3 00
Rich. Trewitt, "	3 00
Thomas Wilson, Sergeant	4 00
Thomas Welch, Private	3 00
John Whittington, "	2 00
Joseph McGibbon, "	3 00

CHAPTER XV.

FROM THE REVOLUTION TO THE WAR OF 1812-15.

THE treaty of peace with Great Britain was signed at Paris on the 20th of January, 1783, but it was not until January 14, 1784, that the defi-

nitive treaty of peace was ratified by Congress. The event was proclaimed in Delaware with every demonstration of joy; cannons were fired, towns illuminated and patriotic toasts drunk.

Although the formal ratification of Congress had been necessary to give full effect to the treaty of peace, the war had ceased on sea and land as early as the 12th of April, 1783, and the country was at length able to settle down to the full enjoyment of the benefits which the long and painful struggle had secured. Throughout the contest Delaware had borne her portion of the burden and heat of the day. In the darkest hours of the Revolution, though harassed by the intrigues of the Tories and the bickerings of the Whigs, the patriotic men who controlled her affairs in that stormy period responded nobly to the demands that were made upon them in both men and supplies. She was the scene of some of the most important acts that involved the gravest consequences to the struggling colonies, and that she played her part worthily cannot be denied.

At the beginning of the war "the counties of New Castle, Kent and Sussex on Delaware" were prosperous in material wealth, but at its close they were left impoverished and deeply in debt. But the war also found them dependent counties, and left them an organized, independent and sovereign republic, mistress henceforth of her own destinies, in the nation of States. The future was still doubtful before her. She was entering upon a strange and untried career, with new principles, new institutions, new duties and new perils; but, as we shall ere long see, she addressed herself to the task before her as resolutely as to that of conquering her freedom, and with no less success.

Congress, solicitous for the honor and interests of the nation, agreed in 1783 upon a measure, the object of which was "to restore and support public credit," by obtaining from the States "substantive funds for funding the whole debt of the United States." These funds were to be raised in part by duties on goods imported, and in part by internal taxation. To the amount necessary for this purpose, each State was to contribute in proportion to its population.

This measure was recommended to the several States, and the recommendation was accompanied by an address prepared by a committee, consisting of Mr. Madison, Mr. Hamilton and Mr. Ellsworth, urging its adoption by considerations of justice, good faith and the national honor. General Washington also, in a letter addressed to the Governors of the several States on the condition of public affairs, took occasion to add the weight of his influence to that of Congress in favor of the plan.

The General Assembly of Delaware was the first to respond to the "importance of the present crisis," by passing an act on June 21, 1783, for raising £22,500 of gold and silver coin, as the quota called for by Congress, by resolution of October, 1782, of the $2,000,000 required for the public service. It was assessed and taxed in the several counties in the following proportions: New Castle County, £8541 8*s.* 8*d.*; Kent County, £7500 and Sussex County, £6428 11*s.* 4*d.*

To Washington, Nicholas Van Dyke, the Governor, on July 2, 1783, reported the following proof of the zeal of his State for establishing the credit of the Union:

"The General Assembly of this State, in their late sessions, have fully adopted the views of Congress for establishing the credit of the Union, and rendering justice to creditors, both in the civil and military line, and the State which declines a similar conduct, in my opinion, must be blind to the united interest, in which that of the individual States are inseparably connected.

"Nothing can be plainer than that by a proper union these States are strong and respectable; the contrary condition will render them worse, if possible, than weak and despicable."

Although Delaware and some of the other States complied with the recommendation of Congress, it did not receive the assent of all the States.

On the same day that Delaware complied with the Federal requisition she authorized her delegates in Congress to ratify the alteration of part of the eighth article of the "Confederation and Perpetual Union," which provided "that all charges of war and all other expenses that have been or shall be incurred for the common defense or general welfare" shall be defrayed by the United States "out of a common treasury." Another act was passed at this session "for the auditing and arranging the accounts of this State, and for the more effectual settlement of the same."

Before the dissolution of the army on the Hudson, General Knox suggested, as a mode of perpetuating the friendships which had been formed, the formation of a society composed of the army. The suggestion met with universal concurrence and the hearty approbation of Washington. In pursuance of the suggestion of General Knox, a branch of the Society of the Cincinnati was formed in Wilmington. In 1801 the members were Colonels Robert Kirkwood, Henry Duff, Allen McLane, Joseph Vaughan, Caleb Bennett, Doctors James Tilton, George Monro, J. Mayo, D. J. Adams, Thomas Kean, J. Moore, J. Hyatt, J. Hosman, C. Kidd, S. McWilliams, J. Driskell, John Jones, R. Gilder, Major Jaquett, and J. Platt. The society continued in Wilmington for over a half-century and then ceased to exist.[1]

On the 24th of April, 1783, Congress again called upon the States for sums of money sufficient to make up the deficiency of one-half of $8,000,000 called for under the acts of October 13, and November 4, 1781, for the purpose of paying the arrears

[1] The Patriotic Society was formed in Wilmington, in 1792, by officers and soldiers of the Revolution. In 1797 Dr. James Tilton was president, George Monro, secretary and Alexander Harvey, treasurer. The society had fifty members, and met in the old Academy.

of interest due on the debts of the United States to the end of 1783, and for the public service for 1784. The quota required of Delaware was $56,042. She had already made provision for $32,000, and on June 26, 1784, the General Assembly passed an act providing for the remaining $24,042 by taxation in the several counties. Under this act, James Delaplain of New Castle County, John Clayton of Kent, and Levin Derrickson of Sussex County were appointed collectors. The assessment for New Castle County was £9000; Kent County, £7875; and for Sussex County, £6750.

"To prevent vexatious prosecutions and suits against such as acted in this state for the defense of the liberties of America," the Legislature passed an act on the 26th of June.

On February 5, 1785, John Stockton of New Castle County, Simon Wilmer Wilson of Kent, and Joseph Hall of Sussex County were appointed trustees of the loan offices of their respective counties, under an act "for calling in and destroying such of the bills of credit emitted by virtue of any law of this State." Under this act the State called in all its outstanding bills of credit, whether emitted before or since the Declaration of Independence, with orders for redeeming them at the rate of one pound for seventy-five. After six months they would cease to be redeemable.

To fulfill the obligations of the State to its officers and soldiers for their services during the Revolution, the General Assembly, on February 3, 1787, passed "an act for the support of non-commissioned officers, private soldiers, warrant officers, marines and seamen, citizens of this State, who, in the course of the late war, had been maimed, or disabled from getting a livelihood."

On June 4, 1785, an act was passed for the "suppression of public marts or fairs." The preamble to this act recites that

"Whereas, there are divers fairs held at several places in the counties of New Castle and Kent, within this state, some of them by ancient charter or letters patent, granted by the then Proprietaries and Governors of this State and others under subsisting laws of this State. *And Whereas*, It appears to this General Assembly, that the Free-holders and inhabitants of the respective places in which such fairs have been held, by virtue of such charters, letters patent and subsisting laws as aforesaid, have, under colour and pretext of such charters, letters patent and subsisting laws, held fairs for very different purposes from those mentioned in such charters, letters patent and subsisting laws, and have misused the franchises and liberty thereby granted to them, by permitting strangers, as well as many of the inhabitants of this State, to set up and keep booths and stalls at the holding of the said fairs, for the sale of strong liquors and other superfluities; by reason whereof, many imprudent persons, more especially servants and young people, are tempted and induced to purchase those liquors, and to use them to excess, and to lay out large sums of money for many articles that are of no real use or benefit; quarrels are excited and almost every species of vice and immorality is practised, to the scandal of religion and the grief and annoyance of the virtuous part of the community. *And Whereas*, The original purpose and intention of holding fairs has long since been done away by the numerous stores that are kept in every part of the country, and the ready market there is for all the produce of the State, and a respectable number of the inhabitants of the said counties, and places where such fairs are held, having by their petitions to the General Assembly, humbly prayed that a law be passed for the repeal of such charters, letters patent or laws of the State, and for relief in the premises."[1]

The act repealed all charters for holding fairs and imposed a penalty of ten pounds for all persons holding fairs afterwards.

At the same session an act was passed appointing James Delaplain of New Castle County, Joseph Taylor of Kent and Nathaniel Mitchell, of Sussex County collectors in their respective counties to raise ten thousand five hundred pounds to pay the interest due to the officers and soldiers of the Delaware regiment, and for defraying other expenses of the State.

In 1786 acts were passed for the encouragement of commerce by establishing certain free ports within the State, and to vest in Congress for fifteen years powers to regulate commerce. About the same time the State incorporated "the president, directors and company of the Bank of North America," and provided for the appointment of "rangers and regulation of strays."

In September, 1777, the British army, in its march through New Castle County, carried off the seals of the county, and as all the seals in the counties contained arms or devices unsuitable "to our present government as an independent State," the General Assembly, on February 2, 1786, passed "an act for devising and establishing seals" for the officers in the respective counties.

At the same time the General Assembly passed "an act to prevent the exportation of slaves," under heavy penalties. A supplement to this act was passed February 3, 1789.

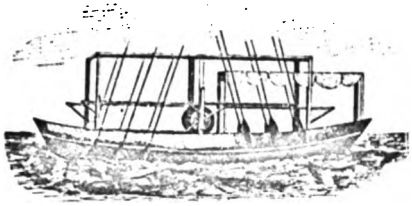
The matter of the improvement of the navigation of the Delaware was a matter of peculiar interest to the inhabitants of Delaware and Pennsylvania at this time, and a movement was set on foot to erect piers at Marcus Hook for the protection of vessels during storms. A lot was also purchased at Cape May "with the view of erecting a beacon thereon," but this site was

[1] Near the present Philadelphia, Wilmington and Baltimore Railroad depot in Wilmington, in the early days of the town, there was a beautiful square, a town common, sloping down to the river where the shipping was done and a row of noble walnut trees stood, with staples driven into their trunks to fasten boats to. It was covered with a carpet of rich grass, and shaded by weeping willows and Lombardy poplar trees. This was the prominent resort for old and young, and where the annual fairs, the event of the year, second in importance not even to the King's birthday, were held. They are thus described by Benjamin Ferris:

"At these fairs there was always a large assemblage, a joyous mingling of lookers-on and performers. The musical instruments were the violin, bugle, flute, fife, bagpipe and banjo. There was dancing, too, and many a sober one took a peep at the Swedish lads and lasses dancing hoppy-saw. Fair-days were merry days, and moonlight nights were chosen. About the year 1765 the country people were supplied with spring and fall goods at these fairs, held in the town, and attended by young and old. Some went to buy, others for fun and frolic. On a fine day young men came by hundreds, with a lass alongside. Their shirt sleeves were nicely plaited and crimped as high as the elbow, above which they were tied with a colored tape or ribbon, called sleeve-strings. Their coats were tied behind the saddle. They wore their coled shoes for dancing, and two pairs of stockings, the inside ones white, and the outer ones blue yarn, the top rolled neatly below the breeches' knee-band to show the white, and guard them from the dirt of the horses' feet. Breeches were not worn at the time; a man headed and covered with an umbrella would have been exposed to scoffs. At these fairs stalls were erected in the streets. From the upper market down, dry-goods of great variety were displayed, and there were plenty of customers who saved money to make purchases at the fairs."

afterwards declared unsuitable, and a beacon was placed on Crow's Shoal.

On February 3, 1787, the State granted to John Fitch "the sole and exclusive right and advantage of making, conducting and employing the steamboat, by him lately invented, for a



JOHN FITCH'S FIRST STEAMBOAT.

limited time." At the same time the Legislature incorporated all the religious denominations in the State.

In June, 1786, the State invested Congress with the power to levy duties upon all goods, wares and merchandise imported in the Delaware from Europe for a limited time, and to establish a fund for the payment of interest on the public debt.

Virginia, on the 21st of January, 1786, passed a resolution proposing a convention of commissioners from all the States, to take into consideration the state of trade, and the expediency of a uniform system of commercial regulations for their common interest and permanent harmony. The commissioners met at Annapolis, Maryland, on September 11, 1786, and continued in session three days. Delaware was represented by George Read, John Dickinson and Richard Bassett.

The convention was organized by the selection of John Dickinson as president. In consequence of only five States being represented, the convention framed a report, to be made to their respective States, and also to be laid before Congress, advising the calling of a general convention of deputies from all the States, to meet in Philadelphia, on the second Monday in May, 1787, for a more extensive revision of the Articles of Confederation.

Immediately upon receipt of the report of the Annapolis convention, the General Assembly of Delaware decided to join with the deputies of the other States "in devising and discussing all such alterations and further provisions as may be necessary to render the Federal Constitution adequate to the exigencies of the Union," and for this purpose, on February 3, 1787, passed the following:

"An act appointing Deputies from this State to a convention, proposed to be held in the city of Philadelphia, for the purpose of revising the Federal Constitution.

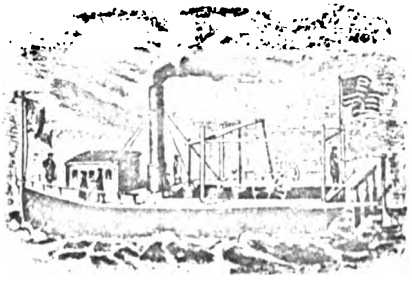
"*Whereas*, The general assembly of this State are fully convinced of the necessity of revising the Federal constitution, and adding thereto such further provisions as may render the same more adequate to the exigencies of the Union; *And*, whereas, The Legislature of Virginia have already passed an act of that commonwealth, appointing and authorising certain commissioners to meet at the city of Philadelphia, in May next, a Convention of Commissioners or Deputies from the different States; and this State being willing and desirous of co-operating with the commonwealth of Virginia, and the other States in the confederation, in so useful a design,

"SECTION 1. *Be it therefore enacted by the General Assembly of Delaware*, That George Read, Gunning Bedford, John Dickinson, Richard Bassett and Jacob Broom, Esquires, are hereby appointed Deputies from this State to meet in the Convention of Deputies of other States, to be held at the city of Philadelphia, on the second day of May next. And the said George Read, Gunning Bedford, John Dickinson, Richard Bassett and Jacob Broom, Esquires, or any three of them, are hereby constituted and appointed Deputies from this State, with Powers to meet such Deputies as may be appointed and authorized by the other States to assemble in the said convention at the city aforesaid, and to join with them in devising, deliberating on and discussing such alterations and further provisions as may be necessary to render the Federal Constitution adequate to the exigencies of the Union; and in reporting such act or acts for that purpose to the United States, in Congress assembled, as when agreed to by them, and duly confirmed by the several States, may effectually provide for the same; so always and provided that such alterations, or further provisions, or any of them, do not extend to that part of the fifth article of the confederation of the said States, finally ratified on the first day of March, in the year One Thousand Seven Hundred and Eighty-one, which declares that *in determining questions in the United States, in Congress assembled, each State shall have one vote.*

"SECTION 2. *And be it enacted*, That in case any of the said Deputies, hereby nominated, shall happen to die or to resign his or their appointment, the president or Commander-in-Chief, with the advice of the Privy Council, in the recess of the General Assembly, is hereby authorized to supply such vacancies."

The convention assembled in Philadelphia, at Independence Hall, on the 25th of May, 1787, and on motion of Robert Morris, of Pennsylvania, was organized by the selection of George Washington as president. It is foreign to the province of this work to relate circumstantially the proceedings of this convention. It is only necessary to say that its sessions were continued for four months, that its debates were spirited, and the opposition vehement, and that in more than one instance there was danger of a dissolution without the accomplishment of the business for which it had assembled.

The whole number of delegates who attended



JOHN FITCH'S SECOND STEAMBOAT.

the convention was fifty-five, of whom thirty-nine signed the Constitution. Of the remaining sixteen, some had left the convention before its close; others refused to give it their sanction. Several of the absentees were known to be in favor of the Constitution.

The convention dissolved on the 17th of September, and the draft of a Constitution was immo-

diately transmitted to Congress, with a recommendation to that body to submit it to State conventions for ratification, which was accordingly done. The Legislature of Delaware met on the 24th of October, and following "the sense and desires of great numbers of the people of the State, signified in petitions to their general assembly," "adopted speedy measures to call together a convention." It assembled at Dover, in the first week in December, and ratified the Constitution on the 7th, being the first State to give its approval. As will be seen, the constituent body encountered no difficulty in giving its assent to the Federal Constitution, but it was difficult to find language strong enough to express its joy in what had been done.

The official notification of the adoption of the Constitution by Delaware is as follows:[1]

"We, the deputation of the *people* of Delaware State, in convention met, having taken into our serious consideration the Federal Constitution, proposed and agreed upon by the Deputies of the United States, in a General Convention, held at the city of Philadelphia on the Seventeenth day of September, in the year of our Lord 1787, have approved, assented to, ratified and confirmed, and by these presents do, in virtue of the power and authority to us given for that purpose, for and in behalf of our constituents, fully, freely and entirely approve of, assent to, ratify and confirm the said convention.

"Done in convention at Dover, this seventh day of December, in the year aforesaid and in the year of the Independence of the United States of America, the Twelfth, in testimony whereof we have hereunto subscribed our names.

"I, Thomas Collins, President of the Delaware State, do hereby certify that the above instrument of writing is a true copy of the original ratification of the Federal constitution by the convention of the Delaware State, which original ratification is now in my possession. In testimony whereof I have caused the seal of the Delaware State to be hereunto affixed.

"THOMAS COLLINS."

The Constitution having been ratified by the requisite number of States, Congress, on the 13th of September, 1788, passed a resolution appointing the first Wednesday of January, 1789, as the time for choosing electors of President, and the first Wednesday of February for the electors to meet in their respective States to vote for President and Vice-President; and the first Wednesday, the 14th of March, as the time, and New York as the place, to commence proceedings under the new Constitution.

In compliance with this resolution, the General Assembly of Delaware, in June, 1788, passed "an act directing the time, places and manner of holding an election for a Representative of this State in the Congress of the United States; and for appointing electors, on the part of this State, for choosing a President and Vice-President of the United States."[2]

The first constitutional election for a Representative to Congress and electors for President and Vice-President took place in January, 1788, and resulted in the election of John Vining as the first Representative to Congress, and Gunning Bedford, George Mitchell and John Baning as Presidential electors. In the electoral college the three votes of Delaware were cast for George Washington for President, and John Jay for Vice-President. Washington took the oath of office and entered upon its duties April 30, 1789. John Adams, elected Vice-President, entered upon his duties in the Senate April 21, 1789, and took the oath of office on June 3d of the same year. Dr. Joshua Clayton, father of Chief Justice Thomas Clayton, was elected Governor of Delaware in 1789, and served until 1796. George Read and Richard Bassett were the first United States Senators from this State.

Washington left Mount Vernon on the 16th of April, 1789, and his progress to New York was a continued ovation. At Wilmington and every large town and village that he passed through he was saluted with the most joyous acclamations. Deputations met him all along the route and formed escorts and processions. At Wilmington, on his arrival and departure, his carriage was attended by a numerous cavalcade of citizens, and he was greeted by ringing of bells and salvos of artillery.[3]

[1] The first ten amendments were adopted by Delaware January 18, 1790.

[2] On October 28, 1788, the Legislature passed an act directing the election of a Representative in Congress and regulating the elections.

[3] The visit of General Washington on December 16, 1783, soon after the close of the Revolution, was an event of great historic importance. Peace had lately been declared, and the American cause had triumphed. All eyes turned to Washington as the liberator of his country, and his arrival in any town or city in the Union was the occasion of a public ovation. Wilmington was the home of a number of distinguished patriots who, on the field of battle or in the halls of legislation, had nobly defended their country's rights through seven long years of war, and by rendered this visit memorable by their enthusiasm towards their illustrious chief. An address supposed to have been written by Jacob Broom, afterwards one of the framers of the Constitution of the United States, was presented to the distinguished visitor, and he responded as follows:

"*To the Burgesses and Common Council of the Borough of Wilmington:*

"GENTLEMEN,—I earnestly wish to convince you of the pleasure I take in receiving your congratulations on our glorious success, and the attainment of an honorable peace. Although the prospect of our public affairs has been sometimes gloomy indeed, yet the well-known firmness of my countrymen and the expected aid of Heaven supported me in the trying hour, and have finally realized our most sanguine wishes. In the course of your address you have sufficiently convinced me of your ability to excite very pleasing emotions; and you must permit me to say that the genuine approbation of my fellow-citizens is far more satisfactory than the most lavish encomiums would be.

"Under a deep impression of your generous sentiments and wishes I return to a long desired retirement. And let me assure you, gentlemen though I shall no more appear on the great theatre of action, the welfare of our infant States can never be indifferent to me.

"GEORGE WASHINGTON.

"Wilmington, December 16, 1783."

General Washington also passed through Wilmington on his way from his home at Mount Vernon to New York, immediately before his first inauguration as President of the United States, in that city, on April 4, 1789. Referring to this visit, Miss Montgomery says:

"I well remember the crowd of people rushing on to the Baltimore Road to catch a glimpse of him as he passed with a company. I was at an elevated spot on Quaker Hill. It was a day of great rejoicing, all was in a tipter of expectation when Washington in his chariot appeared driving slowly through the crowd. With hat in hand, he bowed to the admiring people, who responded by waving handkerchiefs and enthusiastic cheers. Every eye flashed with delight, and joy was imprinted on every brow."

Joseph Tatnall was a devoted patriot, and before and after the battle of Brandywine at the risk of the destruction of his mill, was day and night grinding wheat and corn into flour for the American army. Gen. Washington and other officers stopped with him during the encampment of the army near Wilmington, and Friend Tatnall's patriotism was known far and near. While President of the United States, Philadelphia then being the capital, Washington frequently passed through Wilmington on his way to and from Mount Vernon. On his famous tour through the Southern States in 1791, he traveled in an elegant chaise, stopped in

Among the most important measures considered by the first Congress was the proposition of the government to assume the payment of the debts of the States. The question created some controversy, but a resolution to assume the State debts was finally carried by a vote of thirty-one to twenty-six. Of the debts of the States $21,500,000 were assumed, in specific sums from each State, regard being had to the amount of indebtedness of each. A board, consisting of three commissioners, was consistituted to settle the accounts between the States and the United States. The amount of the indebtedness of Delaware was $2,000,000, and when the United States assumed a portion of this it relieved the State of a very heavy burden.

In the mean time, in January, 1791, the State made provision for "fitting up and preparing chambers in the new court-house in the town of Dover, for the accommodation and reception of the General Assembly." The Legislature appointed Eleazer McComb, James McClement, John Clayton, James Sykes, Jr., and John Patten managers of a lottery to raise one thousand pounds to defray the expense. At this session Geo. Mitchell, Robert Houston, William Moore, John Collins, Nathaniel Young, William Peery, Rhoads Shankland, Woodman Stockley, Daniel Polk and Thomas Batson were appointed commissioners to purchase for the use of Sussex County one hundred acres of land at a place called James Pettijohn's Old Field, situated in Broadkill Hundred, for the purpose of building a court-house and prison for Sussex County. They were authorized to build the public buildings mentioned, and when approved by John Gordon, John Ralston, Andrew Barratt, Joseph Barker and Peter Lowber, they were authorized to remove the county-seat from Lewes, and sell the old court-house and prison. This act was complied with within the year.

In 1791 an expedition against certain tribes of Western Indians was decided upon under the command of General St. Clair. The troops assembled in the vicinity of Fort Washington (now Cincinnati) early in September, and on the 14th of November, after penetrating to a tributary of the Wabash, fifteen miles south of the Miami villages, and almost a hundred from Fort Washington, they were fiercely attacked by a large number of Indians. For two hours and a half the Indians, concealed in the woods, slaughtered the troops from every point, when they fled in disorder, leaving their artillery, baggage, etc., in the hands of the savages. The entire loss was estimated at six hundred and seventy-seven killed, including thirty women, and two hundred and seventy-one wounded. Captain Kirkwood, who commanded the Delaware line in the Southern Department during the Revolution, and several other Delawareans were killed.

On January 29, 1791, the State ceded to the United States the light-house in Sussex County, near the entrance to Delaware Bay, the public piers opposite to Reeden Island, near the town of Port Penn, in New Castle County, together with all the lands and appurtenances thereto belonging.

In February, 1792, an act was passed for the better relief of the poor in the various counties, and Samuel Hollingsworth, James Cooper and David Thomas were appointed additional trustees for New Castle County.

The State Constitution of 1776 contained a clause reciting that "no other part of this Constitution shall be altered, changed or diminished, without the consent of five parts in seven of the Assembly and seven members of the Legislative Council." On September 8, 1791, the General Assembly, by resolution, called a new constitutional convention and provided for the election of its members by the people. The election resulted in the selection of the following delegates to the convention:

Thomas Montgomery, John Dickinson, Robert Armstrong, Edward Roche, William Johnson, Robert Haughey, George Monro, Robert Curson, Kenny Johns, Nicholas Ridgely, John Clayton, Thomas White, Manlove Emerson, James Morris, Richard Bassett, Benjamin Dill, Henry Molleston, Andrew Barratt, Isaac Cooper, George Mitchell, John W. Batson, Rhoads Shankland, Isaac Beauchamp, Daniel Polk, James Booth.

The convention assembled at Dover, on Tuesday, November 29, 1791, and elected John Dickinson, president; James Booth, secretary; Charles Nixon, assistant secretary. The convention deliberated until December 31st, when the draft of a Constitution was submitted, and ordered printed. The convention then communicated the results of its labors to the General Assembly, and adjourned to Tuesday, May 29, 1792.[1]

On reassembling after recess, President Dickinson resigned, owing to ill health, and Thomas Montgomery was elected to succeed him. The convention adjourned finally on June 12, 1792.

The new Constitution was never put before the

front of Joseph Tatnall's house, entered the yard and knocked at the door. Mrs. Tatnall answered the call, and upon recognizing her distinguished guest asked him into the house. Mr. Tatnall being in the mill, the President preferred calling on him there. After a friendly greeting and a view of the large mill, the two gentlemen repaired to the house. By this time a large crowd of men and boys had been attracted by General Washington's presence, and they watched his movements with evident interest.

[1] On December 22, 1791, Warner Mifflin presented a paper asking the convention to abolish slavery, and to exempt persons from military duty who were opposed to war from religious principles.

During the recess of the convention James Sykes, of Kent County, died, and Andrew Barratt was elected to fill the vacancy.

On May 30th a delegation of Friends presented an address to the convention asking it to insert two provisions in the new constitution: giving the privilege of freedom from military duty where conscience interfered and that slavery be abolished. It was signed in behalf of the meeting of the representatives of Friends in New Jersey, Pennsylvania and Delaware, and eastern parts of Maryland and Virginia, held in Philadelphia, Fifth Month, 23d day, 1792, James Pemberton, clerk. The convention adopted a resolution that they would consider the address; but refused, on June 12th, to put in a provision respecting slavery.

people for ratification, but was adopted by the State. It vested the legislative power of the State in a Senate and House of Representatives, having the same number of members as provided by the Constitution of 1776.

The supreme executive powers of the State were vested in a Governor, who was to continue in office for three years. The Governor was to be commander-in-chief of the army and navy of the State, and of the militia, except when called into the service of the United States. He also held the appointing power for all offices established by the Constitution or by law, except those whose appointments were otherwise provided for.

In the case of the death of the Governor it was provided that the Speaker of the Senate should exercise the office of Governor, and upon the death or resignation of the Speaker of the Senate the Speaker of the House of Representatives should exercise the office until a Governor was elected.

The judicial powers of the State were vested in a Court of Chancery, a Supreme Court and Courts of Oyer and Terminer and General Gaol Delivery, in a Court of Common Pleas and in an Orphans' Court, Register's Court and Court of Quarter Sessions of the Peace for each county, and in justices of the peace.

Article VII. provided for "the High Court of Errors and Appeals" to consist of the chancellor and judges of the Supreme Court and Court of Common Pleas, over which court the chancellor should preside.

Article X. provided that the people may call a convention to make or amend the Constitution by a majority vote of the people, qualified to vote for representatives; the Legislature, at the next session thereafter, to call a convention. The Constitution of 1792 continued in force until 1831, when it was amended as it at present exists.

The Presidential election which occurred in 1792 resulted in the choice of James Sykes, Gunning Bedford and William H. Wells for Presidential electors. They cast their votes for George Washington for President, who was unanimously elected. John Adams also was re-elected Vice-President, having received the three votes of Delaware, and seventy-seven in all.

Hon. George Read, as has been stated, began his services in the United States Senate on March 4, 1789, and his term of service expired March 3, 1791. He was continued March 4, 1791, and resigned in September, 1793, to accept the office of the chief justice of Delaware, to which he was appointed by Governor Clayton. William Killen was appointed chancellor at the same time. Kensey Johns was appointed United States Senator on March 19, 1794, to succeed Mr. Read, resigned, and at the ensuing session of the Legislature, on February 7, 1795, Henry Latimer was elected to fill the vacancy. His term of service expired on March 3, 1797, when he was re-elected and continued to serve until he resigned, February 28, 1801, when Samuel White was appointed by the Governor to fill the vacancy. The Legislature elected John Vining to succeed Mr. Bassett, whose term of service in the United States Senate expired March 3, 1793. Mr. Vining's term of service began March 4, 1793. He resigned in 1798, and on January 19th, Joshua Clayton was appointed to succeed him. Mr. Clayton died in August, 1798, and on January 17, 1799, William Hill Wells was elected to fill the vacancy. He resigned in 1804, and on November 13th, James A. Bayard was elected by the Legislature to fill the vacancy. He served in the United States Senate until 1813, when he resigned, and on May 28th, William H. Wells was elected in Mr. Bayard's place.

In 1796 a change took place in the Federal administration. Thomas Robinson, Isaac Cooper and Richard Bassett were chosen electors, and in the electoral college cast their votes for John Adams for President, and Thomas Pinckney, of South Carolina, for Vice-President. Mr. Adams and Jefferson[1] were chosen President and Vice-President, and Gunning Bedford was elected Governor of the State. He died at New Castle, September 30, 1797, and was succeeded by Richard Bassett.

In February, 1795, John Wise Barton, Thomas Laws, Isaac Cooper, Nathaniel Mitchell and John Collins were appointed managers of a lottery to raise three thousand five hundred dollars for the purpose of reimbursing the subscribers for the erection of the court-house and jail in Sussex county. The State also paid Thomas McKean £173 6s 11d., being a balance due him for public services rendered to Delaware as a delegate in Congress.

The Legislature, on the 9th of February, 1796, incorporated the Bank of Delaware, with a capital stock of $500 000, being the first institution of the kind in the State. The bank was to be in Wilmington, and the charter limited its operations to fifteen years.

The first act for the establishment of public schools was also passed by the Legislature of 1796. By the provisions of the law, all money paid into the treasury for marriage and treasury licenses from 1796 to 1806, was to be appropriated as a fund under the direction of the Legislature for establishing schools in the State. The State treasurer for the time being was constituted trustee of the

[1] The *Delaware Watchman* announced the arrival in Wilmington, on Tuesday evening, May 12, 1797, of "Thomas Jefferson, Vice-President of the United States. He left the next morning for the seat of government." John Adams was then the national executive, and Philadelphia the capital. Mr. Jefferson was the guest of Patrick O'Hara, who kept a public inn southeast corner of Market and Third Streets.

fund, and was authorized to receive gifts, donations, bequests, etc., for the purpose of establishing schools, and the public faith was pledged for its application. When the money in the treasury arising from marriage or tavern licenses, gifts and bequests amounted to sufficient to enable the treasurer to purchase a share in either the Banks of Delaware, the United States, of Pennsylvania, or of North America, he should apply the money committed to his hands for this purpose. The school fund was to be applied to the establishment of schools in the several hundreds, or districts of the respective counties, "for the purpose of instructing the children of the inhabitants thereof in the English language, arithmetic and such other branches of knowledge as are most useful and necessary in completing a good English education." It was further directed that the fund should not be applied "to the erecting or supporting any academy, college or university in this State." By the act of January 24, 1797, the trustee was directed to sell the stock heretofore purchased, and to subscribe for bank shares reserved for the State. It was also enacted that the money arising from marriage and tavern licenses should first be applied to the payment of the salaries of the chancellor and judges, and the remainder of the fund was to be appropriated for the establishment of schools. The money applied to the payment of salaries was to be replaced by sales of vacant lands in the State and money arising from arrearage taxes. At the session of 1797, Jacob Broom was authorized to raise by way of lottery the sum of four thousand dollars, to enable him to erect and re-establish his cotton-factory near Wilmington, which was destroyed by fire. At the same session James Booth, George Read, Jr., Nicholas Van Dyke, Archibald Alexander and John Crow were appointed commissioners to establish the boundaries of the town of New Castle, and lay out, open, regulate and name the streets, lanes and alleys within the town.

The yellow fever broke out in Philadelphia in August, 1797, and soon ravaged the city. It caused a general exodus of its inhabitants, and many merchants transferred their business to Wilmington. In August sixteen Philadelphia firms who had opened their stores in Wilmington announced that they were prepared to sell their goods and merchandise. The epidemic continued until about the 1st of November, the number of deaths from the disease being 1292.

The "Alien and Sedition Laws" passed by Congress in 1798 created the greatest excitement throughout the United States, and contributed more, probably, than any other cause, to the overthrow of the Federal party in 1800. These laws gave birth to the celebrated Virginia and Kentucky resolutions of 1798 and 1799, and to the doctrine of nullification. Neither the Virginia resolutions, though accompanied by an address in support of them, written by Mr. Madison, nor those of Kentucky met with a favorable response in any other State. By the Legislatures of Delaware, New York and the New England States they were expressly disapproved. The official answer of Delaware to the Virginia resolutions was as follows:

"In the House of Representatives, Feb'y 1, 1799.

"*Resolved*, By the Senate and House of Representatives of the State of Delaware, in General Assembly met, that they consider the resolutions from the State of Virginia as a very unjustifiable interference with the General Government and constituted authorities of the United States, and of dangerous tendency, and therefore not fit subject for the further consideration of the General Assembly.

"ISAAC DAVIS, Speaker of the Senate.

"STEPHEN LEWIS, Speaker of the house of rep's.

"Test, JOHN FISHER, C. S. JOHN CALDWELL, C. H. R.",

As the Presidential election was to take place in the fall of 1800, the political writers of the day vented their spleen against the different candidates. The Federalists presented the names of President Adams and Charles Cotesworth Pinckney, and the Democrats (or Republicans, as they were then called) nominated Thomas Jefferson and Colonel Aaron Burr. The contest was carried on with a vigor and bitterness hardly surpassed, if equaled, in any political campaign since. Messrs. Kensey Johns, Nathaniel Mitchell and Samuel White, Federalists, were chosen electors for President and Vice-President and they cast their ballots for the Federalist nominees, Adams and Pinckney. In the electoral college, Thomas Jefferson and Aaron Burr, the Republican candidates, had each received 73 votes. The two Federal candidates had received, John Adams, 65, and Charles C. Pinckney, 64—one vote having been given to John Jay. The votes for Jefferson and Burr being equal, the House of Representatives, voting by States, had to determine the election, a crisis which produced unusual excitement. There being now sixteen States in the Union, the vote of nine States was necessary to a choice, which, after a tedious balloting, was at length obtained by Mr. Jefferson. The balloting began on the 11th of February, 1801, and continued about a week, Jefferson receiving the votes of eight States—New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Virginia, North Carolina, Georgia, Kentucky and Tennessee. Burr received the votes of six States—New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, Delaware and South Carolina. Vermont and Maryland were equally divided. Had all the Federal members voted for Burr,[1] he would have had a plurality of the States. The division of Maryland was caused by one of the Federal representatives voting for Jefferson in

[1] AARON BURR, when Vice-President of the United States, during the administration of Thomas Jefferson, was a sojourner at Captain Patrick O'Flynn's tavern, then called the Happy Retreat, the southeast corner of Third and Market Streets, Wilmington. He arrived January 14, 1804, and left three days later in his private chaise drawn by two black horses, en route to Washington, which had been made the capital of the United States three years prior to this time.

conformity with the wishes of his constituents; and the single member from Georgia, a Federalist (his colleague having died), did the same; as did also one of the North Carolina members; but for which this State would have been divided, which would have given Burr eight States, Jefferson six, and leaving Vermont and North Carolina without a vote. By the absence of Morris, of Vermont, a Federalist, and by Craik and Baer, of Maryland, also Federalists, casting blank ballots, the thirty-sixth ballot gave Jefferson ten States.

It was this election which led to the change in the mode of electing president and vice-president, by the adoption of the twelfth article of amendments.

Connected with the history of this election are certain statements which involve the honor and veracity of certain distinguished gentlemen. The design was charged upon the Federalists of standing out and preventing an election, and of passing an act to vest the executive authority in some high officer of the government. Mr. Jefferson, in a letter of the 15th of February, wrote to Mr. Monroe as follows:

"Four days of balloting have produced not a single change of a vote. Yet it is confidently believed that to-morrow there is to be a coalition. I know of no foundation for this belief. If they could have been permitted to pass a law for putting the government into the hands of an officer, they would certainly have prevented an election. But we thought it best to declare openly and firmly, one and all, that the day such an act passed, the middle states would arm, and that no such usurpation, even for a single day, should be submitted to. This first shook them; and they were completely alarmed at the resource for which we declared, to wit, a convention to reorganize the government and to amend it. The very word *convention* gives them the horrors, as, in the present democratical spirit of America, they fear they should lose some of the favorite morsels of the constitution. Many attempts have been made to obtain terms and promises from me. I have declared to them unequivocally that I would not receive the government on capitulation; that I would not go into it with my hands tied."

Among the persons implicated in this charge, was James A. Bayard, of Delaware, afterward senator in Congress, and one of the commissioners who negotiated the treaty of peace with Great Britain in 1814. Mr. Bayard, who is universally conceded to have maintained through life a character unblemished and above suspicion, in exculpation of himself, made a deposition, April 3, 1806, of which the following are extracts:

"Messrs. Baer and Craik, members of the house of representatives from Maryland, and General Morris, a member of the house from Vermont, and myself, having the power to determine the votes of the states, from similarity of views and opinions, during the pendency of the election, made an agreement to vote together. We foresaw that a crisis was approaching which might probably force us to separate in our votes from the party with whom we usually acted. We were determined to make a president, and the period of Mr. Adams' administration was rapidly approaching.

"In determining to recede from the opposition to Mr. Jefferson, it occurred to us, that, probably, instead of being obliged to surrender at discretion, we might obtain terms of capitulation. The gentlemen whose name I have mentioned authorized me to declare their concurrence with me upon the best terms that could be procured. The vote of either of us was sufficient to decide the choice. With a view to the end mentioned, I applied to Mr. John Nicholas, a member of the house from Virginia, who was a particular friend of Mr. Jefferson. I stated to Mr. Nicholas that if certain points of the future administration could be understood and arranged with Mr. Jefferson, I was authorized to say that three states would withdraw from an opposition to his election. He asked me what those points were: I answered, First, sir, the support of the public credit; secondly, the maintenance of the naval system; and lastly, that subordinate public offices employed only in the execution of details established by law, shall not be removed from office on the ground of their political character, nor without complaint against their conduct. I explained myself, that I considered it not only reasonable, but necessary, that the offices of high direction and confidence should be filled by men of Mr. Jefferson's choice. I exemplified, by mentioning, on the one hand, the offices of the secretary of the state, treasury, foreign ministers, &c.; and on the other, collectors of ports, &c. Mr. Nicholas answered me, that he considered the points very reasonable, that he was satisfied that they corresponded with the views and intentions of Mr. Jefferson, and he knew him well. That he was acquainted with most of the gentlemen who would probably be about him and enjoy his confidence, in case he became president, and that if I would be satisfied with his assurance, he could solemnly declare it as his opinion that Mr. Jefferson, in his administration, would not depart from the points I proposed. I replied to Mr. Nicholas, that I had not the least doubt of the sincerity of his declaration, and that his opinion was perfectly correct, but that I wanted an engagement, and that if the points could in any form be understood as conceded by Mr. Jefferson, the election should be ended; and proposed to him to consult Mr. Jefferson. This he declined and said he could do no more than give me the assurance of his own opinion as to the sentiments of and designs of Mr. Jefferson and his friends. I told him that was not enough, that we should not surrender without better terms. Upon this we separated; and I shortly after met with General Smith, to whom I unfolded myself in the same manner that I had done to Mr. Nicholas. In explaining myself to him in relation to the nature of the offices alluded to, I mentioned the offices of George Latimer, collector of the port of Philadelphia, and Allen McLane, collector of Wilmington. General Smith gave me the same assurance as to the observance by Mr. Jefferson of the points which I had stated, which Mr. Nicholas had done. I told him I should not be satisfied, nor agreed to yield till I had the assurance of Mr. Jefferson himself; but that if he would consult Mr. Jefferson, and bring the assurance from him, the election should be ended. The general made no difficulty in consulting Mr. Jefferson, and proposed giving me his answer the next morning. The next day, upon our meeting, General Smith informed me that he had seen Mr. Jefferson, and stated to him the points mentioned, and was authorized by him to say that they corresponed with his views and intentions, and that we might confide in him accordingly. The opposition of Vermont, Maryland and Delaware was immediately withdrawn, and Mr. Jefferson was made president by the votes of ten states."

In the "great debate" in the Senate, January, 1830, Mr. Hayne brought into the Senate the fourth volume of Jefferson's "Memoirs" for the purpose of reference. Certain other Senators called the attention of Mr. Clayton, of Delaware to the following passage which they had discovered in the volume:

"February the 12th, 1801.—Edward Livingston tells me that Bayard applied today, or last night, to Gen. Samuel Smith, and represented to him the expediency of coming over to the states who voted for Burr; that there was nothing in the way of appointment which he might ask command, and particularly mentioned the secretaryship of the navy. Smith asked him if he was authorized to make the offer. He said he was authorized. Smith told this to Livingston, and to W. C. Nicholas, who confirms it to me," &c.

Messrs. Livingston and Smith being at this time (1830) both members of the Senate, Mr. Clayton, in order to rescue the character of his deceased predecessor from unjust reproach, called upon the Senators from Louisiana and Maryland to disprove the above statement, both of whom declared that they had no recollection of such a transaction. In addition to this testimony, the sons of the late Mr. Bayard published a letter from George Baer, one of the Federal members from Maryland, in 1801, addressed to Richard H. Bayard, under date of April 19, 1830, in which Mr. Baer said:

"Previous to and pending the election, rumors were industriously circulated, and letters written to different parts of the country, charging the federalists with the design to prevent the election of a president, and to usurp the legislative power. I was privy to all the arrangements made, and attended all the meetings of the federal party when consulting on the course to be pursued in relation to the election, and I pledge my most solemn asseveration that no such measure was for a moment

contemplated by that party; that no such proposition was ever made; and that if it had ever been, it would not only have been discouraged, but instantly put down by those gentlemen who possessed the power, and were pledged to each other to elect a president before the close of the session.

"Although nearly thirty years have elapsed since that eventful period, my recollection is vivid as to the principal circumstances, which, from the part I was called upon to act, were deeply graven on my memory. It was soon ascertained that there were six individuals, the vote of any one of whom could at any moment decide the election. These were your father, the late James A. Bayard, who held the vote of the State of Delaware, General Morris, of Vermont, who held the divided vote of that State, and Mr. Craik, Mr. Dennis, Mr. Thomas and myself, who held the divided vote of Maryland. Your father, Mr. Craik and myself, having compared ideas upon the subject, and finding that we entertained the same views and opinions, resolved to act together, and accordingly entered into a solemn and mutual pledge that we would, in the first instance, yield to the wishes of the great majority of the party with whom we acted, and vote for Mr. Burr, but that no consideration should induce us to protract the contest beyond a reasonable period for the purpose of ascertaining whether he could be elected. We determined that a president should be chosen, but were willing thus far to defer to the opinions of our political friends, whose preference of Mr. Burr was founded upon a belief that he was less hostile to federal men and federal measures than Mr. Jefferson. General Morris and Mr. Dennis concurred in this arrangement."[1]

The inauguration of Mr. Jefferson took place on the 4th day of March, 1801, at Washington City, the new seat of government, where it had been removed. Richard Bassett, who was Governor of Delaware at this time, was the first man who cast his vote (while United States Senator) for locating the seat of government on the Potomac.

The Chesapeake and Ohio Canal Company was fully organized in May, 1803, with Joseph Tatnall, of Delaware, as president, and William Tilghman, James C. Fisher, George Fox, Joshua Gilpin and others directors, with Messrs. Latrobe and Howard as surveyors.

At the Presidential election in 1805, Maxwell Bines, Thomas Fisher and George Kinnard were chosen electors, and they cast their votes for Charles C. Pinckney for President and Rufus King, of New York, for Vice-President. Messrs. Jefferson and George Clinton were elected President and Vice-President, Nathaniel Mitchell succeeding David Hall as Governor of the State.

The greatest mechanical improvement of the year 1805, in this country, was made by Oliver Evans, who was born in Newport, Delaware, in 1755, and was a descendant of Rev. Dr. Evan Evans, the first Episcopal minister of Philadelphia. While apprenticed to a wheelwright, Oliver Evans, at the age of twenty-one years, invented a machine for making card-teeth which superseded the old system of hand manufacture. Two years later he joined his brothers in the milling business in Philadelphia, and in 1787 obtained the exclusive right to use his improvement in flour-mills in Delaware, Maryland and Pennsylvania, with the exception of three mills at Stanton, Del. In 1799 he began the construction of a steam-carriage, but finding that it differed materially from the steam engines then in use, he applied it successfully to mills. In 1804 he constructed the first steam dredging-machine made in America. Speaking of this invention, Evans said afterwards:

OLIVER EVANS.

"In the year 1804 I constructed at Philadelphia a machine, of my own invention, for cleaning docks—a heavy mud flat, with a steam-engine of the power of five horses in it to work the machinery. And, to show that both steam-carriages and steam-boats were practicable (with my steam-engines), I first put wheels to it and propelled it by the engine a mile and a half and then into the Schuylkill, although its weight was equal to that of two hundred barrels of flour. I then fixed a paddle-wheel at the stern, and propelled it by the engine down the Schuylkill and up the Delaware—sixteen miles—leaving all the vessels that were under sail full half-way behind me (the wind being ahead), although the application was so temporary as to produce great friction, and the flat was most ill formed for sailing; done in the presence of thousands."

Before the boat was taken to the water the inventor exhibited it upon the circular road at Centre Square and published the following advertisement in the *Philadelphia Gazette:*

"To the Public: In my first attempt to move the *Orukter Amphibolos*, or Amphibious Digger, to the water by the power of steam, the

[1] The following letter from James A. Bayard, the authenticity of which was not denied at the time of its publication, is taken from *Niles' Weekly Register* of November 16, 1822:

"Washington, 17th February, 1801.

"*Dear Sir:*—Mr. Jefferson is our president. Our opposition was continued till it was demonstrated that Burr could not be brought in, and even if he could, he must come in as a democrat.

"In such case, to evidence his sincerity, he must have swept every officer in the United States. I have direct information that Mr. Jefferson will not pursue that plan. *The New England gentlemen came out, and declared they meant to go without a constitution and take the risk of a civil war.* They agreed that those who would not agree to incur such an extremity ought to recede without loss of time. We pressed them to go with us and preserve unity in our measures.

"After great agitation and much heat, all agreed but one. But in consequence of his standing out, the others refused to abandon their old ground. Mr. Jefferson did not get a federal vote. Vermont gave a vote by means of Morris withdrawing. The same thing happened with Maryland. The votes of South Carolina and Delaware blank.

"Your obedient servant,

"J. A. B."

See also upon this same subject an article on the "Presidential Election of 1801," in *Niles' Weekly Register* of January 4, 1823.

wheels and axle-trees proved insufficient to bear so great a burden, and having previously obtained the permission of the Board of Health (for whom this machine is constructed), to gratify the citizens of Philadelphia by the sight of this mechanical curiosity, on the supposition that it may lead to useful improvements; the workmen who had constructed it voluntarily offered their labor to make, without wages, other wheels and axle-trees of sufficient strength, and to receive as their reward one-half of the sum that may be received from a generous public for the sight thereof—half to be at the disposal of the inventor, who pledges himself that it shall be applied to defray the expenses of other new and useful inventions which he has already conceived and arranged in his mind, and which he will put in operation only when the money arising from the inventions already made will defray the expenses. The above machine is now to be seen morning around Centre Square, at the expense of the workmen, who expect twenty-five cents from every generous person who may come to see its operation. But all are invited to come to view it, as well those who cannot, as well as those who can conveniently spare the money.

"OLIVER EVANS."

Even before this experiment was made Evans had proposed to construct a road-carriage for freight. He thought the engine would cost fifteen hundred dollars, the carriage five hundred dollars and allowed five hundred dollars for "unforeseen expenses." He thought this carriage, when built, could carry one hundred barrels of flour at an average speed of two miles per hour, thus doing in two days (on the trip from Philadelphia to Columbia) the work of twenty-five horses and five wagons for three days at a cost of three thousand three hundred and four dollars. The turnpike company refused to enter into a contract with him. Evans then wagered that he "could make a carriage go by steam faster than any horse," but found no takers He also announced that he could build carriages to "run on a railway" at the rate of fifteen miles an hour. The following letter of Evans some years later in the *New York Commercial Advertiser* shows how thoroughly he understood this subject:

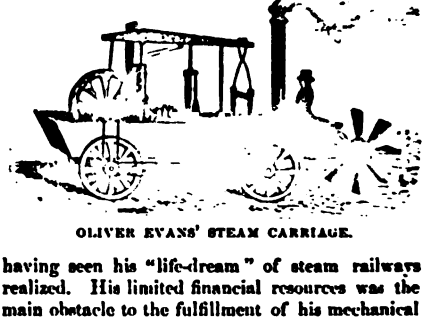
"The time will come when people will travel in stages moved by steam Engines at fifteen to twenty miles an hour. A carriage will leave Washington in the morning, breakfast at Baltimore, dine at Philadelphia and sup at New York on the same day. Railways will be laid of wood or iron, or on smooth paths of broken stone or gravel, to travel as well by night as by day. A steam-engine will drive a carriage one hundred and eighty miles in twelve hours, or engines will drive boats ten or twelve miles an hour, and hundreds of boats will so run on the Mississippi and other waters, as was prophesied thirty years ago (by Fitch), but the velocity of boats can never be made equal to that of carriages upon rails, because the resistance in water is eight hundred times more than that in the air. Posterity will not be able to discover why the Legislature or Congress did not grant the inventor such protection as might have enabled him to put in operation these great improvements sooner, he having neither asked money nor a monopoly of any existing thing."

Oliver Evans' successful experiment for the novel launching of his dredging-machine was the first instance in this country of the application of steam power to land carriages. He was enthusiastic in his scheme for a steam railway and endeavored to secure the construction of one between Philadelphia and New York, but without success. While firm in his faith in the principle of land transportation through the agency of steam, he does not appear to have any comprehensive conception of the possibilities attending its application in the operation of railways, and, in December, 1813, he published an address on the subject which demonstrated theories peculiarly primitive in view of his courage, industry and knowledge of a science at that time comparatively unknown and unattainable. In this document the ascent of an altitude of more than two or three degrees was not considered feasible. He suggested that the locomotive could be sent to the top of a hill and the cars drawn up by windlass and rope, and, "to obviate danger in making a descent," the engine could be sent ahead and the cars be let down by ropes. He said:

"Mr. John Elliott has suggested that paths be made for the wheels of carriages to run on, of hard substances, such as turnpike roads are made of, with a rail between them, set on posts, to guide the tongues of the carriage, and that they might travel by night as well as by day. Others have proposed lines of logs, flattened at the top, with a three-inch plank pinned on them, to bear the carriage and to guide the wheels; these strips of plank to be removed as often as necessary, and while the log may last and be still used to hold the pins. The expense of repairs would be trifling . . . Mr Samuel Morey, of New Hampshire, proposes that the two railways be laid as near each other as will permit, in order to let the carriages pass in opposite directions, and to cover the whole with a slight shed, to protect the passengers from the injury of the weather. . . . But railroads are best," he continues, "because, if they cannot be brought to a level, yet they may be brought to within two degrees and a half—the deviation allowed by law on turnpikes—and which would do very well. And in cases of great ascents the steam-carriage might be detached and moved by itself to take a stand and haul the others up by a rope and cylinder, or by a windlass. In other cases the loaded carriages might be let fall astern by veering the ropes to them to slack their motion, until the steam carriage has reached descending ground, and then the rope might be wound up again.

"As soon as any of these plans are adopted, after having made the necessary experiments to prove the principle, and having obtained necessary legislative protection and patronage, I am willing to take of the stock five hundred dollars per mile, of the distance of fifty or sixty miles, payable in steam-carriages or steam-engines, invented for the purpose fourteen years ago, and will warrant them to answer the purpose to the satisfaction of the stockholders, and even to make steam-stages to run twelve or fifteen miles an hour, or take back the engines if required."

Oliver Evans wrote the "Young Millwright's Guide" and the "Young Steam Engineer's Guide." He died in New York, April 21, 1819, without



OLIVER EVANS' STEAM CARRIAGE.

having seen his "life-dream" of steam railways realized. His limited financial resources was the main obstacle to the fulfillment of his mechanical experiments, and while he received large sums in royalties from his milling inventions, he was compelled also to expend a great deal of money to protect them, and was for several years almost constantly in the courts and before the legislative bodies, including Congress, as defender of his patents.

The subject of building a State Penitentiary was agitated on a number of occasions without success. The principal effort in this direction was in

1809, when the General Assembly declared that labor and solitary confinement should be substituted for corporal punishment, and resolved to establish "a penitentiary house." A committee, consisting of Jonathan Hunn, Abraham Ridgely and Isaac H. Starr, was appointed to report on the proper place of location and the probable cost and expenses of maintaining the proposed institution. The penitentiaries at New York, Philadelphia and Wilmington were inspected, and the committee reported in favor of Wilmington as the proper site, $20,000 as the estimated original cost, and that the institution might be made self-sustaining, if not a source of revenue. In January, 1810, in consequence of the report of the committee, it was declared inexpedient to take the cost of building the proposed penitentiary out of the public treasury, but in view of popular sentiment it was resolved to appoint "seven gentlemen" from each county as commissioners to procure subscriptions for the purpose of building a penitentiary. No further action was taken and the matter was abandoned.

The Presidential contest of 1809 was conducted with great bitterness. The Democratic candidates for President and Vice-President were James Madison and George Clinton. The Federalists placed in nomination Charles C. Pinckney and Rufus King. In Delaware the election was contested with great vehemence. The Presidential electors chosen were James Booth, Daniel Rodney and Nicholas Ridgely, who cast their ballots for Messrs. Pinckney and King. Messrs. Madison and Clinton were, however, elected. George Truitt was elected Governor in 1808. The term of Samuel White in the United States Senate expired March 3, 1809, and he was re-elected. He died at Wilmington, November 4, 1809, aged thirty-nine years, and on January 12, 1810, Outerbridge Horsey was appointed his successor. He was elected and began a new term of service March 4, 1815, and continued until March 3, 1821.

CHAPTER XVI.

THE WAR OF 1812–15.

DELAWARE Bay and River, forming as they do, a convenient arm of the Atlantic, and washing the coasts of Delaware, Pennsylvania and New Jersey, were the scenes of many conflicts and exciting encounters during the second war with Great Britain. The State was by no means derelict in furnishing its quota of men and resources, and has lent the names of Jones, Macdonough, Rodney, Haslet, Du Pont, Stockton, Warren, Van Dyke, Wilson, Davis, Leonard and others to add to the list of heroes who brought the War of 1812–15 to a successful issue. The war was in reality little more than a continuation of the Revolution of 1776. It was hardly to be expected that the British should lose one of their choicest possessions without seizing an opportunity to attempt to regain it. The Revolution had made us *free*, but as Franklin remarked, "the war of *independence* is yet to be fought." As it was expressed at the time, "we are free, but not independent." The reason is not difficult to find. The Articles of Confederation, which were accepted as the Constitution of the new-born States, were not capable of maintaining harmony at home and could not be expected to protect us from foes and enemies abroad. There was no central authority anywhere; there were thirteen sovereign States, retaining equal power and authority and each one jealous and watchful of any encroachments by the other.

Twelve years under the Articles of Confederation were sufficient to make their defects known, and in 1789 the present Constitution was adopted. At this time Great Britain enjoyed the reputation of being the greatest naval power in the world, and the subjects of that nation were apt to presume upon any prestige accruing to them through this branch of their government.

In 1793 Washington issued a proclamation of neutrality, definitely stating the neutral position of the United States in the troubles then brewing in Europe, and enjoining our citizens to refrain from any partisan participation. This course was the more necessary since the people of this country would perhaps have given vent to demonstrations of sympathy for France by way of gratitude, for services rendered to our people by the French in the Revolution. The British at once exhibited their independent and autocratic indifference to justice in international regulations on the high seas, and began to issue a series of Orders in Council. In June, 1793, they announced that all vessels laden with breadstuffs bound for French ports or places occupied by French armies should first put in to some English port and give assurance that the cargo would only be disposed of in some country friendly to England.[1] This was aimed directly at the United States, and was followed by others equally rigid. America resisted and asserted her right to trade with France in anything except contraband of war. These differences were for a time settled by Jay's treaty in 1794.

A more serious cause of trouble, and the one which eventually led to the War of 1812, followed immediately on the settlement of these disputes. The rapidly-growing commerce of the United States made service in our merchant marine particularly attractive. The great demand for seamen made wages high, and our position of neutrality offered additional

[1] Perkins' "Late War," p. 12.

inducement to enlist. Many British sailors entered our service, often deserting their own vessels to secure their freedom. To prevent this the government of Great Britain issued orders forbidding British seamen to enter foreign service, and masters of vessels were instructed to board all neutral vessels in search for deserters. American vessels, more than any others, suffered from these decrees. British and American seamen spoke the same language, and in many respects the identity of their habits made it an absolute impossibility to distinguish them. British officers would stop our vessels on mid-ocean and impress a number of sailors without further remark than that they were deserters. It has been estimated that thousands of native Americans were thus coerced into entering the British service. Matters gradually grew worse until 1806, when England declared the whole sea-coast bordering on the English Channel, about six hundred miles in all, to be in a state of blockade. But the blockade was a mere pretense for plundering our vessels.

Notwithstanding all these insults, the people hesitated long before they decided upon war. William Pinkney, of Maryland, was sent out to act with Monroe, the resident minister in London, to attempt to settle the dispute by arbitration. The only retaliation taken was a "non-importation" act, prohibiting the importation of certain English goods, but this was suspended in December.

Matters became more complicated by the retaliatory measures with which Napoleon now began to punish England. The first of these was the Berlin Decree, issued November 21, 1806, declaring Great Britain in a state of blockade, and prohibiting any commercial or other intercourse with the British Islands. The American ship "Horizon" was at once seized under this decree, and fresh orders were issued by the British Consul.

The affair of the "Chesapeake" at last made war the only alternative for settling the disputed issues between Great Britain and the United States, although five years elapsed before that culmination was reached. On the 22d of June, 1807, the "Chesapeake" was lying off Hampton Roads, under command of Commodore James Barron. Late in the afternoon the British frigate "Leopard" bore down on her and seized four seamen—William Ware, Daniel Martin, John Strachan and John Wilson. This outrage aroused the greatest resentment throughout the country. The President issued a proclamation warning all British armed vessels not to enter American ports and ordering any that were then anchored to leave at once. Meetings were held throughout the country to give expression to the indignation excited by the occurrence. The people of Wilmington assembled on July 4th, with the venerable John Dickinson in the chair, and adopted the following resolutions:

"*Resolved*, that we view with the strongest sentiments of indignation and abhorrence the late unprovoked, lawless and ferocious attack made by the British ship-of-war 'Leopard' upon the frigate 'Chesapeake,' and the daring insult offered thereby to the flag, the government and the people of the United States." [1]

The citizens of Lewistown and the vicinity also held a meeting and passed the following resolution on July 10th:

"*Resolved*, unanimously, that the repeated aggressions and violations committed by Great Britain against all neutral nations in general, and particularly against the persons and privileges of our citizens, as a free and independent people, have excited in us just abhorrence and indignation; that the late outrage by the 'Leopard,' ship-of-war, against the 'Chesapeake,' we consider, as a premeditated insult to our government and national character, and wearing so barbarous an aspect that longer patience would degrade the name of Americans.

"*Resolved*, unanimously, that if upon the meeting of Congress it shall be found necessary to resort to hostile measures against Great Britain for the attainment of justice, we will cheerfully submit to any deprivations or hardships attendant on a state of war, and we will make every exertion to perfect ourselves in the military art and equip ourselves to oppose the base and cowardly enemy of our country." [2]

These patriotic sentiments were followed by a message from Governor Nathaniel Mitchell to the Senate and House of Representatives, under date of August 4, 1807. Referring to the President's proclamation of July 2d, he said he had been called upon to organize and hold in readiness eight hundred and fourteen militia, this number being Delaware's quota. On December 17th, Napoleon issued the Milan Decree, which far exceeded that of Berlin in severity, and declared all vessels bound for, or coming from England, or which had submitted to English search, to be subject to capture.

The President convened Congress in extra session, and on the day following the issuing of the Milan Decree December 18th, the embargo act was passed by the Senate, and on the 21st by the House. By this unprecedented measure, American vessels were prohibited from leaving foreign ports and foreign vessels were not allowed to take cargoes from the United States, and all vessels plying along the coast were forced to give security that they would land their cargoes in the United States. American commerce received a terrible blow, but Jefferson defended the embargo, on the principle that the "end justifies the means." The President was empowered to enforce or suspend the act, as he might deem fit.

The opposition to the embargo was intense and bitter in the extreme, and it was frequently violated by coasters trading with the West Indies. William Cullen Bryant, then but thirteen years of age, wrote a poem on the embargo, one stanza of which ran as follows:

"Curse of our nation, source of countless woes,
From whose dark womb unreckoned misery flows,
Th' Embargo rages, like a sweeping wind—
Fear lowers before, and famine stalks behind."

John Quincy Adams, of Massachusetts, was forced to resign his seat in the United States Senate on account of his support of the bill, and when he ran for the Presidency, in 1824, this political sin was resurrected and urged by the Northern Federalists as a reason for defeating him. This is but one illustration of the hostility against the measure, which finally compelled Congress to repeal it early in 1809.

Already in 1808 preparations were made for the

[1] M. Carey, "Olive Branch," p. 113.
[2] "Olive Branch," p. 113.

war, which it was now seen was inevitable. An act passed Congress on April 23d providing for arming the whole body of militia of the United States, but the arms were not to be delivered until a later date. Governor George Truitt, of Delaware, in a message to the Legislature, on November 15, 1808, stated that the hope which they had long indulged of a happy conclusion of the differences with the belligerents of Europe was then almost extinguished, and he consequently recommended a revision of the State militia law. He said he had received a letter from the Secretary of War, calling upon him to organize thirteen hundred and thirty-two of the State militia. On January 11, 1809, a resolution was passed by the Lower House of the Legislature, instructing the Senators and Representatives in Congress from Delaware to prevail on the general government to erect certain fortifications for the protection of the State. They asked for four or more batteries, one to be placed near New Castle, one near Wilmington, one near Reedy Island and the fourth near Lewes. On January 19th, following, the Senate considered the resolution, and amended it slightly, adding Port Penn as a fit locality for placing an additional battery, and substituted the clause "one or more at each place" for "four or more." In this the House concurred, and copies were forthwith sent to Washington.

On January 23d, Mr. Fisher, clerk of the House of Representatives, presented for concurrence in the Senate, a bill authorizing the cession to the United States government, of all jurisdiction over such places in the State of Delaware as might be chosen for the erection of forts and batteries. A resolution also passed the State Senate February 11th, "that it will be dangerous to the freedom of these States to place at the disposal of the President of the United States a standing army of fifty thousand volunteers;" in this, however, the House refused to concur.

Many similar resolutions bearing upon the war were introduced in the Delaware Legislature, and in fact, in all the Assemblies of the various States at this time. A telegraph line by means of signals was built by Jonathan Grout for the Philadelphia Chamber of Commerce from Reedy Island to that city. The first communication sent by this line was on the 8th of November, announcing the arrival in the Delaware of the ship "Fanny," from Lisbon.

There was a brief lull late in 1809, owing to the prospect of peace, which followed the arrival of David M. Erskine, who had been sent out as minister plenipotentiary by England at the beginning of Mr. Madison's administration. Being anxious for peace, he had let his ardor carry him too far, and his recall was requested. He was followed by Francis J. Jackson, whose insolent bearing exercised little influence toward soothing the political pains of the nations. The non-intercourse act,—a mild form of the embargo,—which had been passed when the latter measure was repealed, was now enforced with great strictness against England, but was also repealed May 1, 1810.

In the divisions of party consequent upon the passage of the embargo act, the people of Delaware arranged themselves under the Federalist leadership of their United States Senator, Hon. James A. Bayard. Wm. Giles, of Virginia, offered an opportunity in Congress for a direct attack upon the embargo act, by introducing a resolution to repeal the obnoxious act, except as to Great Britain and France, and to make provision by law for prohibiting all commercial intercourse with those nations and their dependencies, and the importation of any article into the United States, the growth, produce or manufacture of either of these nations, or of the dominions of either of them. This opportunity to assail the embargo Mr. Bayard promptly seized by moving a resolution to amend, so as to render the repeal general, and to prevent the passage of those clauses which were intended to prohibit commercial intercourse with the belligerent nations.

It was the hope and expectation of the administration that the adoption of Mr. Giles' resolution suspending intercourse with Great Britain and France would be the immediate and necessary prelude to open war—that the exposure of vessels to capture and condemnation under the Orders in Council would place the nation in a predicament that would render hostilities inevitable. The Senator from Delaware, opposed to war, denied that England was an enemy, and that any cause existed to make her one. Admitting that there were many and heavy complaints to be made against her conduct, and not denying that cause existed which might justify that, he asserted that such a measure was forbidden by policy and not required by honor. He avowed that whatever were the aggressions of England, and however little he was disposed to defend or palliate any aggression, public or private, against the rights and honor of the country, he yet felt with equal sensibility all that the country had suffered from the aggressions of the French; he denied that what was right in one nation, could be wrong in another. The war upon neutral rights—that part of it, at least, which scorned even the pretext and mask of propriety, and openly and flagrantly violated established usage and principle—commenced with the Berlin Decree, which, finding its sanction neither in precedent nor principle, asking for no right and established only in presumed power, forbade to neutrals a trade with England or her colonies, or the transportation of her manufactures or produce; that what England had done, flagrant as it was, derived a feeble but indeed plausible apology from the equally novel pretext of retaliatory right. Unquestionably it was unsound doctrine that could assert the insufficient excuse; but in the scales of national injustice, the original introduction of illegitimate and noxious pretenses, at least counterbalanced, and perhaps far outweighed, the imitation that pursued with no tardy pace the original initiate wrong; that England could be reproached with merely a breach of international law, while France superadded to the same

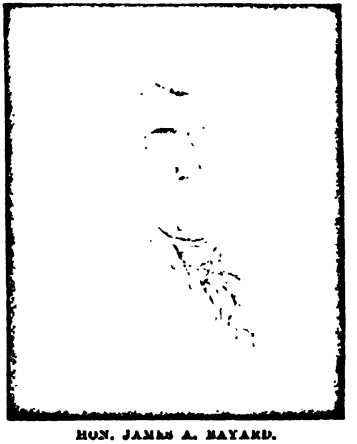
infraction a wanton breach of faith plighted by the most solemn instrument that can mature and make perfect that bond by which different communities are held together.

In his opposition to the measures of Mr. Madison's administration, the Senator from Delaware voiced the sentiments and opinions of the Federal party in the State he represented, and the open sincerity with which he traced the relative position of the United States with the belligerent powers echoed the feelings and sentiments of the Federal party of the country. The Legislature of the State, in 1811, stood six Federalists and three Republicans in the Senate and fourteen Federalists and seven Republicans in the House of Representatives. But notwithstanding this Federal predominance in the Legislature, the popular vote in the State evidenced an early change of political parties. The Federal popular majority at the fall election in 1811 in Kent, was one hundred and twenty-two, and Sussex six hundred and fifteen, while the Republican (Democratic) majority in New Castle was six hundred and ninety-seven, showing a Federal popular majority in the State of only forty. When the General Assembly convened on the 7th of December, James Sykes was chosen Speaker of the Senate, and Cornelius P. Comegys Speaker of the House of Representatives.

Public events had rapidly progressed towards open war with England. France had responded to the efforts of the administration in the non-importation law of May, 1810, and announced in the following November the repeal of the Berlin and Milan Decrees, but Great Britain adhered to her Orders in Council. After a year had elapsed since the repeal of the French decrees, Great Britain, instead of retracting *pari passu* her course of unjustifiable attack on neutral rights, in which she had professed to have been only a reluctant follower of France, advanced with bolder and continually increasing strides upon the rights of Americans on the high seas. To the categorical demand of the United States for the repeal of her Orders in Council, she affected to deny the practical extinction of the French decrees, and advancing a new and unexpected demand, she increased in hostility the orders themselves, by insisting that the repeal of the Orders in Council must be preceded not only by the practical abandonment of the decrees of Berlin and Milan, but by the renunciation on the part of France of her whole system of commercial warfare against Great Britain.

The instructions upon which Great Britain founded her action for violating the maritime rights of the United States were not merely theoretical, but had been followed by repeated acts of war. The American people not being of that sect which worships at the shrine of a calculating avarice, took cognizance, not only of plundering ships and cargoes, but listened with attentive ears to the groans of their sailors, victims of a barbarity unparalleled, and of their suffering wives and children deprived of protectors and parents; and while protecting fair and legitimate commerce, the administration deemed the lives and liberties of the sailors of more inestimable value than the ships and goods.

In the month of June, 1812, President Madison communicated to Congress a message in which a declaration of war was recommended; which promptly passed the House of Representatives, but encountered in the Senate serious difficulties. The Senator from Delaware, Mr. Bayard, while equally sensible of the injuries, and yielding nothing to the warmest advocates of hostilities in zeal for the honor and prosperity of the country, yet felt and insisted that honor was not to be vindicated nor prosperity promoted by angry and precipitate measures, that would plunge the country unprepared into war. Foreseeing the disgrace inevitably attendant on a hasty adoption of the resolution, he foretold, with a sagacity that was his distinguishing tribute, the evils that must certainly



HON. JAMES A. BAYARD.

ensue. Imbued with these apprehensions, Mr. Bayard, on June 16th, moved to postpone the further consideration of the measure until October 31st. While sacredly believing in the spirit of his countrymen, Mr. Bayard denied the necromancy of the administration; he knew that the days of Cadmus were gone, and that the dragon's teeth would remain unprolific in the ground; that troops must be levied, disciplined, trained and supplied before they could be relied on against the disciplined armies of the greatest military power on earth. Had Mr. Bayard's[1]

[1] James Ashton Bayard, the famous Delaware statesman, was born July 28, 1767, and died August 6, 1815. He was of old Huguenot stock. His father, Dr. J. A. Bayard, dying in 1770, young Bayard was adopted into the family of his uncle, by whom he was liberally educated and soon rose to a high position in the law and in public affairs. He was a member of Congress from 1797 to 1803, and United States Senator from 1804 to 1813. In Congress he was celebrated as a Federalist leader, and was largely influential in electing Jefferson president. In the impeachment of Senator Blount he was prominent as conducting the trial. He opposed the war with Great Britain in 1812, and was a member of the Peace Commission from the American government to secure Russian

resolution passed and the declaration of war been postponed for three months, the early efforts of the American army would not remain a cloud upon the splendor with which it closed the war. The short-sighted policy of the impatient administration expected to find in the arrangements of Gen. Hull a substitute for army preparations. The whole frontier from Michillimackinac to Plattsburg, the extensive sea-board, covered with the richest and most useful population of the country, the multitude of vessels on the ocean, the mass of property accumulated in England—all were placed in jeopardy for the sake of striking a blow, towards which the adequate force was supposed to be concentrated, without giving the enemy time for preparation. Mr. Bayard's object was to place the country on something like an equality with the contemplated foe. He said:

"He was greatly influenced in his motion for postponement from the combined considerations of the present defenseless condition of the country and the protection which Providence had given us against a maritime power in the winter season. During the winter months you will be protected by the elements. Postpone war until November and we shall not have to dread an enemy on our coasts till April. In the mean time go on with your recruiting; fill up, discipline and train your army. Take the stations, if you please, which will enable you to open an early campaign. Your trade will have time to return home before hostilities commence, and having all your ships and seamen at home, you may be prepared to put forth all your strength upon the ocean on the opening of the ensuing spring. Shall we, by an untimely precipitancy, yielding to a fretful impatience of delay, throw our wealth into the hands of the enemy, and feed that very rapacity which it is our object to subdue or to punish."

The declaration of war was passed, and the advice and opinion of Senator Bayard was demonstrated in their wisdom and application. The people of Delaware supplemented their patriotic purpose to defend the country with an earnest effort to advance and promote its material prosperity.[1] The Messrs. Du Pont & Company, near Wilmington, are reported in *Niles' Register* for July, 1812, as manufacturing "woolen goods of the value of $150,000 to $200,000 *per annum*. The adjacent country is filled with sheep, wool becoming one of the staples of the farmer. Ten years hence we may send *broad cloths* to England, if her government will permit us, or at least supply her manufacturers with the *merino* wool, having enough for ourselves and to spare; for it is ascertained that the sheep rather improve than depreciate with us. The stock is increasing with unheard of rapidity."

The peace party had gained a strong foothold in Delaware, and when the bill declaring war finally came up in the House of Representatives, on June 18, 1812, Delaware's representative, Henry M. Ridgely,[2] voted in the negative. But he was not alone, as a number of the representatives of twelve of the seventeen States voted in the same way. The bill was, nevertheless, carried by a vote of 79 to 49, and war was declared to be existing "between the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland and the dependencies thereof and the United States of America and their Territories."

Delaware had all the while been preparing for hostilities and was in readiness when the President issued his proclamation. When the Legislature had convened at Dover, on January 7, 1812, Governor Joseph Haslet forwarded a message through John Fisher, then Secretary of State, a part of which may well be quoted as a specimen of true American patriotism:

"*Fellow-Citizens of the Senate and of the House of Representatives:*

"Nothing could contribute more to my satisfaction at this time, and on this occasion, than to be justified, from the posture of our foreign relations, in offering to you my congratulations on the adjustment of all our differences with the belligerents of Europe. But unhappily for our beloved country, it would seem as if a participation in the devastations of war must be its portion, and however reluctant we may be to engage in hostility with any power, it will be a subject of consolation to the patriot and soldier amidst the din of arms, to reflect that such a state of things was avoided as long as it could be, consistently with the honor and the rights of the nation. Our rulers have left no honorable effort unemployed to arrive at a friendly and sincere adjustment of every existing difference with both Great Britain and France. But in proportion to the anxiety which our government has evinced to accomplish this desirable end, the former of these powers has receded from the ground of compromise and increased the difficulties which pre-existed; negotiation with her has become a formal nullity, and a magnanimous offer of amity the object of derision and contempt.

"France, indeed, has revoked her decrees which so injuriously affected our commerce, but their revocation is unaccompanied with an offer of retribution for the unexampled pillage of our property, committed under them. She also vexes our commerce by municipal restrictions, unfavorable to a fair and amicable intercourse.

"Under this aspect of our public affairs, it behooves us to be prepared for such a crisis as may ultimately occur. An union of sentiment among ourselves; a determined support of the constituted authorities of the general government in such measures as they may adopt for the general security; a patriotic resignation to the privations which a state of hostility may produce, and minds firmly and valorously bent on facing the conflict whenever it happens will be necessary for us all, if we mean to co-operate in the defense of our rights." In obtaining these rights the State of Delaware was a fearless and effectual coadjutor, and will undoubtedly be counted among the last in surrendering them.

"In proportion as she prizes the blessings of a virtuous and republican self-government, ought she to be firm and resolute in her endeavor to preserve it. Small and unimportant as she may be as a member of the Union, I trust that in the terrible awe of war, her citizens will be as effectual guardians of the public liberty as those of any part of our country. In conflicts more awful than may again occur, her blood received upon the 'embattled plain' the grateful plaudits of an aspiring

mediation. As one of the commission he negotiated the treaty of Ghent in 1814. On his return he was selected as a commissioner to effect a commercial treaty with Great Britain, but died while making preparations to go abroad. He declined the French and Russian missions during his public career. His son, James A. Bayard, Jr., was United States Senator from 1851 to 1861. Another son, Richard, was in the United States Senate from 1836 to 1839, and from 1841 to 1845. Mr. Bayard's wife was a daughter of Governor Richard Bassett, of Delaware. Hon. Thomas F. Bayard, Secretary of State under President Cleveland, is his grandson.

[1] Immediately after Colonel Allen McLane, the collector of the customs at Wilmington, received the Secretary of the Treasury's communication of the 18th June, announcing a declaration of war against Great Britain, &c. the surviving officers of the Continental Army, residing in Wilmington and its vicinity, associated, with a number of their fellow-citizens exempt from military service by law, and resolved as follows:

"We, whose names are hereunto subscribed, citizens of the borough of Wilmington, and its vicinity, above the age of forty-five years, and by law exempted from requisition to perform military duty, anxious for the welfare of our beloved country, and apprehensive that the crisis may arrive, when the young and active may be called into distant service, do hereby agree to form ourselves into a military corps, to be devoted solely to the defence of the Borough aforesaid, against invasion; and in obedience to the constituted authorities, to endeavor to preserve order, promote harmony, and maintain the authority and efficacy of the Laws.

"Of the old Continental Line,	Of the old Continental Staff,
Allen M'Lane,	Dr. James Tilton,
Peter Jaquett,	Dr. O. Monro,
Edw. Roche,	Dr. E. A. Smith,
David Kirkpatrick.	&c. &c. &c."

[2] Henry Moore Ridgely was born in Dover, August 6, 1778, and died August 7, 1847. His father, Dr. Charles Ridgely, was a distinguished physician and citizen of Kent County, Delaware. Henry M. Ridgely was celebrated for his legal knowledge and ability, and also for public services, having been a member of Congress from 1811 to 1815; Secretary of State of Delaware in 1817 for three terms, and United States Senator from 1826 to 1829.

In this message Governor Haslet urged upon the Legislature the importance of amending the militia laws to meet the emergency of the time. He says:

"We ought, as an efficient member of the Union, as a means of our own safety, and as a body politic, which is always resolved to defend its rights against every violation, to maintain a well-disciplined and a respectable militia. On this subject too much assiduity cannot be employed, as the hour is not known when we may be employed to furnish that quota for the common defense which, as a component part of the Union, we are bound to contribute."[1]

On April 10th, Congress passed an act authorizing a detachment from the militia of the United States. The Secretary of War issued circulars to the Governors of the various States, informing them of this requisition and of the quotas required of each. On receipt of this communication, the Governor of Delaware immediately forwarded a message to the Legislature, dated May 20th. The quota required of Delaware was ten thousand men, duly organized, armed and equipped for active service. The Governor urged the necessity of immediate action to comply with the request of the President. He also called the attention of the Legislature to the necessity of a revision of the militia laws, as he had been informed by the Adjutant-General that the inefficiency of the existing laws rendered a compliance with the Government orders an absolute impossibility. The Assembly had, on January 31, 1809, authorized the Governor to purchase arms and equipments when the troops were actually called into service. By the President's requisition, however, the militia were required to be ready to march at a moment's notice, and as the law did not authorize the purchase of arms before they were commanded to take the field, obedience to this was impossible, and amendments were accordingly necessary. In this both the Senate and House willingly complied, and the necessary Delaware troops were organized and placed at the disposal of the General Government.

The census of 1810 and other reports and statements, which were published about the time that war was declared, showed a marked increase in the population of Delaware as well as encouraging commercial progress. The following table will show the increase of population by counties:[2]

Counties.	1790.			1800.			1810.		
	Free Whites.	Slaves.	Total.	Free Whites.	Slaves.	Total.	Free Whites.	Slaves.	Total.
Kent	10[illegible]	2[illegible]	1[illegible]	13821	1[illegible]	1[illegible]	11151	728	19895
Sussex	15774	4025	19[illegible]	1[illegible]	5[illegible]	1[illegible]	21747	2402	27750
New Castle	16[illegible]	2[illegible]	19[illegible]	20[illegible]	1[illegible]	25[illegible]	19[illegible]	1047	21129
Total	9[illegible]	9967	59[illegible]	1[illegible]	6171	61[illegible]	55[illegible]	4177	72674

This total of 72,674 in 1810 was divided as follows: males under ten years of age, 9632; males between ten and sixteen, 4480; males between sixteen and twenty-six, including heads of families, 5150; males between twenty-six and forty-five, including heads of families, 5866; males of forty-five and upwards, 2878. Among females, those under ten numbered 9041; between ten and sixteen, 4370; between sixteen and twenty-six, including heads of families, 5541; between twenty-six and forty-five, including heads of families, 5527; and those above forty-five, including heads of families, 2876; all other free persons, except Indians not taxed, 13,136; slaves 4177.

The census in 1810 showed a sufficient population in Delaware to add another representative in Congress, the State being then represented in the House by Henry W. Ridgely, and in the Senate by Hons. James A. Bayard and Outerbridge Horsey.[3]

A report issued from the Treasury Department showing an abstract of the tonnage of the shipping of the several districts of the United States, on the last day of December, 1810, made the following showing for Wilmington: Registered, permanent tons, 95ths, 789.83, temporary, 553.05; enrolled and licensed, permanent tons 95ths, 6182.54, temporary 79.10; licensed under twenty tons, coast trade, tons 95ths, 687.45,—making an aggregate tonnage of 8192.17. Another report from the register of the treasurer's officers showed the exports from Delaware for the year ending October 1, 1811, to have aggregated $88,632.

From nearly every quarter of the country the response came that the country had borne with injury and insult until forbearance had ceased to be a virtue. Among the voices for war none were more clear and unmistakable than that of Governor Haslet's message. Reviewing the history of affairs between England and the United States from 1763 to 1812, and characterizing the various acts of wrong and outrage as they deserved, he added:

"War has been declared. In whatever light the measures which led to it may be viewed, the feelings of every American must require that it be prosecuted with vigor. Averse to war, we know that an efficient prosecution of that in which we are engaged will be the best security against war hereafter. The crisis has come when we must convince the world that we know how to value our rights, and have means to enforce them; that our long suffering of injuries has proceeded from our love of peace, not from any apprehensions of the event of war; that our friendship is to be desired and our enmity to be deprecated.

"We have been informed by the President of the United States, and have seen in the public documents, that immediately after the war was declared the President proposed to the British Government the terms on which its progress might be arrested. These terms required that the orders in council should be repealed, as they affected the United States, [illegible] horn. History has recorded these deeds on her fairest pages, and liberty has inscribed their names upon tablets as durable as time."

[1] "Journal of the Delaware House of Representatives." Niles, commenting on this address in his *Weekly Register* of January 18th, said: "Governor Haslet's message is worthy of the principles for which his father died at Princeton."

Governor Joseph Haslet was born in Kent County, Delaware. His father, a prominent Delaware officer in the Revolutionary War, was killed at the battle of Princeton in 1777, and his wife survived him but a few days. Young Haslet was taken under the guardianship of Chief Justice Kilten, and on reaching his majority removed to Sussex County and devoted himself to agricultural pursuits. He was elected Governor 1811 to 1814, and again in 1822, and died on January 23, 1823, during his incumbency.

[2] *Niles' Register*, vol. i., p. 299.

[3] Outerbridge Horsey, a distinguished member of the Delaware bar, was born in Somerset County, that State, in 1777, and having received a finished education, studied law under Hon. James A. Bayard. He became prominent in his profession and as a public man, representing his State in the United States Senate from 1816 to 1821, and was chosen attorney-general of Delaware, filling the office with honor for many years. He died at Seedwood, Maryland, June 9, 1842.

without a revival of blockade, violating acknowledged rules; and that there should be an immediate discharge of American seamen from British ships, and a stop to impressment from American ships, with an understanding that an exclusion of the seamen of each country from the ships of the other should be incorporated into a definitive and comprehensive adjustment of depending controversies.' From these terms the welfare of our country requires that our government should never recede. We can never consent to peace, leaving the commerce a prey to lawless violence, our country men in bondage and our enemy in possession of a claim to enslave them whenever she finds them on the ocean. The reasonableness of these terms, the conciliatory manner in which they were proposed and the manner in which they were received and rejected by the British Government, if there had not already existed abundant evidence on the subject before, are sufficient to convince us that we can hope and expect nothing from the justice or friendship of Great Britain. It only remains for us to compel her to grant to our power what we have so often solicited her to yield to our rights.

"A war thus waged for the protection of our property and countrymen, for redress of accumulated wrongs and for future security against such wrongs, must have the undivided support of this nation. England openly calculates upon our division. During the Revolutionary War her minister publicly professed the ungenerous maxim—'Divide and Govern.' She was mistaken then; she is mistaken now. The fundamental principle of our constitution is, the will of the majority shall rule. To suppose a case in which this will, constitutionally expressed, shall not carry the obligation to obey, is to suppose a case which cannot happen. If ever such supposition shall be seriously acted upon, the Union will be dissolved. Nor can I understand the reasoning, which admits to the general government and its several branches certain constitutional powers, but denies to them the right to determine the time and manner of exercising these powers. To deny them such right of determination is to divest them of their authority. It is the most effectual step towards a separation of the States.

"I regret by considerations which this subject presents to me, I must again and earnestly solicit your attention to our militia laws. The propriety of revising these laws and so framing them as to form an efficient militia, has been so often dwelt upon, that I can present it to you in no new light. I can only add, that our nation is now engaged in war; that our enemy abounds in wealth and is powerful in arms. War has long been her trade; from her we must expect no common struggle. Our situation is exposed to danger. Our safety requires that we should prepare to defend ourselves. Our militia must be our principal defence. If we will organize our militia it will be sufficient for us, and I deem it of the first importance that the militia shall be efficiently organized. To this purpose an energetic militia law is indispensably necessary; such a law as shall command the personal services of all liable to military duties. The militia law cannot be intended as a means of taxation. It must be so framed as to exclude the possibilities that the duties which it enjoins will be commuted by the fines that it imposes, or little good will result from it."

Though a difference of opinion existed as to the policy and necessity of the war against England, there was no uncertain sound in the call of the Governor of Delaware upon the Legislature and people of the State for its vigorous prosecution. Though the declaration of war was in strict accordance with the will of the people of the United States, there were some, undoubtedly men of elevated patriotism and great abilities, who, while freely admitting the justice of all the claims advanced by the United States, as founded on the immutable laws of reason and right, were yet desirous to waive their rigid exactions at that time, believing that at a general peace the *practice* of impressment, with the *principles* of the Orders in Council, would be abandoned. "I am among the last men in the Senate," said Mr. Bayard,[1]

"who would justify or defend the orders in Council. They violate the *planed* rights of the nation. The ground of retaliation was never more than a pretext, and their plain object is to deprive France of neutral trade. It never was contended, nor does Britain now contend, that she would be justified by the laws or usages of nations to interdict our commerce with her enemy. She covers her injustice with the cloak of retaliation, and insists that she has a right to retort upon her enemy the evils of his own policy. This is a doctrine to which I am not disposed to agree. It is destruction to neutrals. It makes them the prey of the belligerents."

As soon as war was declared privateers began to be fitted out with great speed, to prey upon British commerce. Soon the Delaware swarmed with these "skimmers of the sea," sent out by Philadelphia and Wilmington. On July 4th three privateers, lying in the Delaware, were fitted out and fired salutes; they were the "Atlas," Captain David Maffett; the "Spencer," Captain Morse; and the "Matilda," Captain Noah Allen. The "Matilda" sailed July 7, under Captain Taylor, but she had not proceeded far before a mutiny took place on board, and forty of her crew were lodged in New Castle jail. Captain Allen then assumed command of the "Matilda," and proceeded on his voyage, which proved highly successful, she having captured the British ship "Goellet," the "Ranger," a privateer brig, and the schooners "Jingle," "Margery" and "Woolburn."

The privateer fleet in the Delaware continually increased during 1812, and was of considerable size toward the close of the war. The "Rattlesnake," one of the later additions, a vessel of eighteen guns, was upset off Reedy Island in a sudden gale, and the pilot and twenty of her crew were drowned. The first to volunteer service in the State of Delaware was Captain Goodwin, of Sussex County. In July he and forty-five others organized a company of light infantry, uniformed themselves and unanimously offered their services to the Governor to help make up the State's quota of the ten thousand militia called for by acts of Congress. Other offers soon followed, and reference to the Governor's register shows a long list of commissions issued soon afterwards.

Though the town of Wilmington was not occupied by the enemy during the war, it was kept in a constant state of suspense, being endangered by an invasion from the west and bombardment from the river. The citizens at all times displayed the greatest patriotism, by tendering their services and treasure for the common defense. A fort was built at "the Rocks," near the original site of Fort Christina, and frequently the inhabitants of the town and surrounding country were in arms to meet threatened invasion. As early as May 2, 1812, before war was declared, such was the patriotic impulses of the town, Captain Grindage, of the United States army, opened a recruiting office in Wilmington, and many young men enlisted. As an inducement Captain Grindage offered eight dollars per month to those who would enlist for five years, with a bounty of sixteen dollars and one hundred and sixty acres of government land.[2]

[1] Speech October 31, 1812.

[2] On August 26th Governor Haslet issued commissions to officers of a company of light infantry attached to the First Battalion, Sixth Regiment; John Adams, captain; John Revil, lieutenant; Thomas Robbin, ensign. On the same day commissions were issued to a troop of cavalry attached to the Third Brigade; officers—Samuel Laws, captain; George Polk, first lieutenant; Clement White, second lieutenant; William Laws, cornet. Also to Nathan Pratt, ensign, and James White, captain Second Company, Sixth Regiment; to Joseph Roach, lieutenant Third Company, Third Regiment; to William Carrelson, lieutenant Third Company, First Regiment; to John Nolls, captain, ——— Armstrong, lieutenant; Joseph Springer, Jr., ensign Sixth Company, First Regiment, Nehemiah Lofland, of Sutter, ensign of a company of light infantry attached to the First Battalion of the Seventh Regiment. On September 9, 1812, on recommendation of John Stockton, brigadier-general of the First Brigade, and on information that there were not three full troops of cavalry, the Governor attached to the brigade and commis-

The chief seat of the military operations during the summer of 1812 was in the North and West. Along the region of the great lakes and through Northern New York and Southern Canada the most hotly contested struggles were being carried on. The Northwestern army, the fortress of Detroit and the Territory of Michigan had fallen into the hands of the enemy. General Hull, who had been in command of the American army in the North, was court-martialed on charges of treason, cowardice and neglect of duty, and sentenced to be shot, but was recommended to the mercy of the executive. The President granted a reprieve and ordered his name to be stricken from the roll of the army.[1]

Farther south, although no serious conflicts had occurred, the petty skirmishes and encounters had proved more successful to American valor. On August 14th the British ship "Mary Ann" was brought to Cape May, a prize of the American privateer "Paul Jones."

News of the capture of the British frigate "Guerriere," Captain James R. Dacres, by the United States frigate "Constitution," Captain Isaac Hull, was received September 3d, and created the greatest enthusiasm. In the desperate encounter Lieutenant Wm. S. Bush, first lieutenant of marines on board of the "Constitution," was killed while leading a boarding party. Lieutenant Bush was a native of Wilmington, a son of Captain John Bush, and a nephew of Major Lewis Bush, who fell at the battle of Brandywine in the Revolution. He entered the navy in 1809, and was promoted first lieutenant two years later. He was distinguished for bravery and his many private virtues.

In September, 1812, an incident occurred in the Delaware, which caused some comment at the time. Sir James Yeo, the commander of the British frigate "Southampton," having heard that Captain David Porter, of the United States sloop-of-war "Essex," had maltreated a British seaman on board of his ship, sent him the following challenge, which was published in the *Democratic Press* of Philadelphia:

"Sir James Yeo presents his compliments to Captain Porter, commander of the American frigate 'Essex,' and would be glad to have a meeting anywhere between the Capes of Delaware and the Havana, where he would have the pleasure to break his own sword over his damned head, and put him forward in irons."

To this Captain Porter replied the same day:

"Captain Porter, of the United States frigate 'Essex,' presents his compliments to Sir James Yeo, commanding H. B. M.'s frigate 'Southampton,' and accepts with pleasure his polite invitation. If agreeable to Sir James, Captain Porter would prefer a meeting near the Delaware, where Captain Porter pledges his honor to Sir James that no other American vessel shall intercept their tête-à-tête. The 'Essex' may be known by a flag bearing the motto 'Free trade and seamen's rights,' and when that is struck to the 'Southampton' Captain Porter will observe the treatment promised by Sir James."

Sir James, however, did not respond.[2]

On the 13th of October, 1812, the sloop-of-war "Wasp" left the Delaware on a cruise to the West Indies, with a full complement of men, about one hundred and thirty-five in number. The "Wasp" mounted sixteen thirty-two-pound carronades and two long twelves, and also carried, usually, two small brass cannon in her tops. Her commander was Captain Jacob Jones, a brave officer, and a native of Delaware.[1] His officers were: Lieutenants, George W. Rodgers, James Biddle, Benjamin Booth, Alexander Claxton and Henry B. Rapp; Sailing-master, Wm. Knight; Surgeon, Thomas Harris; Purser, George L. Price; Boatswain, John McCloud; Gunner, George Jackson; Midshipmen, George Van Cleve, A. S. Ten Eyck, Richard Bradear, John Holcomb, Wm. J. McChney, C. J. Baker and Charles Gaunt; Surgeon's Mate, Walter W. New. On October 18th the "Wasp," when off the West Indies, discovered a fleet of armed merchant vessels under the protection of the British sloop-of-war "Frolic," mounting sixteen thirty-two-pound carronades, two long six-pounders and two twelve-pound carronades on her forecastle. She was manned with a crew of one hundred and eight persons under Capt. Thomas Whingates.

The two vessels ranged up close and immediately began one of the fiercest naval engagements of the war. Within five minutes after the action began the main-topmast of the "Wasp" was shot away. It fell with the main-topsail yard, and lodged across the

closed John Warner, captain; Joseph Stillman, first lieutenant; William P. Brobson, second lieutenant; and Phillip R——, cornet. September 11th, commissions were issued to Robert Ogdeltree, lieutenant, Hanover Mutton, ensign Third Company, Second Regiment; Jacob Ash, captain, Joseph Ash, lieutenant, John Miller, ensign Sixth Company, Second Regiment; Richard Laurenson, captain, Richard Graves, lieutenant, and Jonathan Earle, ensign Eighth Company, Second Regiment. On September 17th, these commissioned were James Kerr, adjutant of a battalion of cavalry attached to the First Brigade in place of George Reed, Jr., resigned; William Whitaker, lieutenant, and Richard Mitchell, ensign Fifth Company, Sixth Regiment.

On June 20th General John Stockton called a meeting in Wilmington of the colonels and majors belonging to the First Brigade of Delaware militia, and erected New Castle County into regimental and battalion districts. About the same time Senator Bayard presented a memorial to Congress from the citizens of Wilmington and New Castle County, praying for measures of defense. On June 23d a vessel arrived at the mouth of the Christina and reported that three British armed vessels were off the Capes of the Delaware, which created considerable excitement in Wilmington, and measures were immediately put into effect to defend the place. On the 29th the young men of the town organized a rifle corps, with Cesar A. Rodney, captain; A. Hamilton, first lieutenant; and Edward S. Mendenhall, second lieutenant. The ladies of the town presented the company with a handsome silk flag.

On August 29th Colonel Allen McLane, collector of the port of Wilmington, instructed all officers on the Delaware River to carry arms for their defense. He said if they were "assailed by armed men you are to act on the defensive and appeal to the civil authority for protection. You are not at your peril to be the assailant. The collector of Delaware will not suffer the sovereignty and independence of Delaware to be violated with impunity."

Captain H. Grimshaw, of the Sixteenth Regiment of United States Infantry, left Wilmington on the 27th of October, 1812, for the Northwestern army, "with 110 as nicely equipped and as brave looking men as ever graced any army." Two heavy wagons followed them with provisions and baggage.

[1] Lossing's "Pictorial Field Book" of the War of 1812, pp. 100-11.

[2] Commodore Jacob Jones was born near Smyrna, in March, 1768. He graduated in medicine, but abandoned his profession to accept the office of clerk of the Supreme Court. On April 10, 1798, he entered the navy as midshipman, and was promoted to a lieutenancy February 22, 1801. He was an officer of the frigate "Philadelphia" when she was captured in the harbor of Tripoli, in 1803, and was for eighteen months a prisoner. He was made commodore April 20, 1816, and when the War of 1812 broke out was in command of the sloop "Wasp." He was made post captain March 3, 1813, and commanded the frigate "Macedonian," in Decatur's squadron. At the close of the war Commodore Jones commanded the Mediterranean and Pacific squadron, and was for some years a member of the Navy Board and Governor of the Naval Asylum at Philadelphia. He died at the latter city August 3, 1850.

larboard and fore-topsail braces, rendering the head-yards unmanageable during the remainder of the action. In a few minutes more her gaff and main-top-gallant-mast was shot away, and fell heavily to the deck; and at the end of twenty minutes from the opening of the engagement every brace and mast of the rigging of the "Wasp" was disabled. She was in a forlorn condition indeed, and had few promises of victory.

But while the "Wasp" was receiving these serious damages in her rigging and top, the "Frolic" was more seriously injured in her hull. The latter generally fired when on the crest of the waves, while the former fired from the trough of the sea, and sent her

COMMODORE JACOB JONES.

missiles through the hull of her antagonist with destructive force. The two vessels gradually approached each other until the bends of the "Wasp" rubbed against the "Frolic's" bows; and, in loading for the last broadside, the rammers of the "Wasp's" gunners were shoved against the sides of the "Frolic." Finally the combatants run foul of each other; the bow-sprit of the "Frolic" passed in over the quarter deck of the "Wasp," and forcing her bows up into the wind. This enabled the latter to throw in a close raking broadside that produced dreadful havoc.

The crew of the "Wasp" was now in a state of the highest excitement, and could no longer be restrained. With wild shouts they leaped into the tangled rigging before Captain Jones could throw in another broadside, as he intended before boarding his enemy, and made their way to the decks of the "Frolic," with Lieutenants James Biddle and Rodgers, who, with Lieutenants Booth, Claxton and Rapp, had exhibited the most undaunted courage throughout the action. But there was no one to oppose them. The last broadside had carried death and dismay into the "Frolic," and almost cleared her decks of active men. The wounded, dying and dead were strewn in every direction. Several surviving officers were standing aft the most of them bleeding, and not a common seaman or marine was at his station, except an old tar at the wheel, who had kept his post throughout the terrible encounter. All who were able had rushed below to escape the raking fire of the "Wasp."

The English officers cast down their swords in submission, and Lieutenant Biddle, who led the boarding-party, springing into the main rigging struck the colors of the "Frolic" with his own hand, not one of the enemy being able to do so. The prize passed into the possession of the Americans after a contest of three-quarters of an hour, when every one of her officers were wounded, and a greater part of her men were either killed or severely wounded. Not twenty persons on board of her remained unhurt. Her aggregate loss in killed and wounded was estimated at ninety. The "Wasp" had only five killed and five wounded.

The "Frolic" was so injured that when the two vessels separated both her masts fell and with tattered sails and broken rigging covered the dead on her deck. Captain Jones placed Lieutenant Biddle in command of the prize with orders to take her to Charleston, while he pursued his voyage. As they were about to part company the British ship-of-war "Poictiers," of seventy guns, commanded by Captain John Poo Beresford hove in sight and captured both vessels. The "Wasp" and her prize were taken to Bermuda, where the American prisoners were exchanged, and departed for home.

The victory of the "Wasp" over the "Frolic" occasioned much exultation in the United States. The press teemed with laudations of Captain Jones and his gallant companions, and a stirring song, commemorative of the event, was soon upon the lips of singers at public gatherings, in bar-rooms, workshops, and even by ragged urchins.

The lines ran thus:

"The foe bravely fought, but his arms were all broken,
And he fled from his death wound aghast and affrighted;
But the Wasp darted toward her death dealing stung,
And fell on his bosom, like lightning alighted.
She pierced through his entrails, she unsheltered his brain,
And he writhed and he groan'd as if torn with the cable,
And long shall John Bull rue the terrible day
He met the American Wasp on a Frolic."

A Philadelphia caricaturist materialized the idea and sent forth a colored picture called "A WASP ON A FROLIC, OR A STING FOR JOHN BULL," that sold by hundreds during the excitement of the public mind. Under the picture were the following lines:

"A Wasp took a Frolic, and met Johnny Bull,
Who always fights best when his belly is full.
The Wasp thought him hungry by his mouth open wide,
So, to fill to fill, put a sting in his side."

Captain Jones, upon his return to the United States, was received with demonstrations of gratitude and admiration. According to the usual custom, a court of inquiry was held on his conduct in giving up the "Wasp" and her prize, and the opinion of the court was, "That the conduct of the officers and crew of the 'Wasp' was eminently distinguished for firm-

ness and gallantry in making every preparation and exertion of which their situation would admit."

In the cities which Captain Jones had occasion to pass, brilliant entertainments were given in his honor. The Legislature of Delaware appointed a committee to wait on him with their thanks and to express "the pride and pleasure" they felt in recognizing him as a native of their State, and at the same time voted him thanks, an elegant sword and a piece of silver plate with appropriate engravings. The Common Council of New York voted him a sword, and also the "freedom of the city." On motion of Hon. James A. Bayard, the Congress of the United States appropriated twenty-five thousand dollars as a compensation to Captain Jones and his companions for their loss of prize-money occasioned by the recapture of the "Frolic." They also ordered a gold medal to be presented to the captain, and a silver one to each of his officers. On one side was a bust of Captain Jones. Legend: "JACOBUS JONES.—VIRTUS IN ARDUA TENDIT." On the reverse were two ships closely engaged, the bowsprit of the "Wasp" between the masts of the "Frolic." Men on the bow of the "Wasp" in the act of boarding the "Frolic."

"WASP" ON A "FROLIC."

The main-topmast of the "Wasp" shot away. Legend: "VICTORIAM HOSTI MAJORI CELERRIME RAPUIT. EXERCITUS—INTER WASP, NAV. AMERI. ET FROLIC, NAV. ANG. DIE XVIII OCT., MDCCCXII." Captain Jones also received a more substantial token of his country's approbation, by being promoted by Congress to the command of the frigate "Macedonian," which had lately been captured from the British and taken into the service. Lieutenant Biddle also shared in the honors—besides receiving thanks, was presented with a silver urn and medal.[1]

But though our naval victories were thus glorious, defeat and disgrace attended the American army. Hull's expedition and surrender, the Queenstown defeat,[2] Smythe's strange inaction, retreat and failure, Dearborn's mortifying disasters in the Lake Champlain region, all contributed to rouse the spirit of the people and teach them needed lessons. A disciplined navy never failed; an undisciplined army never triumphed. Canada, the key of the situation, lay open to assault, and good generalship would have captured both the Upper and Lower provinces in a single campaign—thus, perhaps, changing the entire political history of the northern half of this continent. Inefficient commanders prolonged the war far beyond its natural duration.

Active operations on the Delaware had not begun in 1812; but precautions were nevertheless taken to guard against any surprise from the enemy. The Delaware Legislature met in special session at Dover on the 9th of November. The Governor announced that six hundred muskets, with bayonets and all the equipments necessary, had been delivered to the militia, and the remaining three hundred contracted for were ready for delivery. The Assembly, at this session, passed laws for distributing and keeping these arms, and then adjourned. In addition to these, the State received five hundred stands of arms from the government and equipments for five hundred muskets, as its quota in the general distribution of 1812, pursuant to the Act of Congress of April 23, 1808, "for arming the whole body of the militia of the United States."

On the 26th of December, 1812, the British government, by an order in Council, declared the Chesapeake and Delaware Bays to be in a state of blockade, and it was evident that a determined effort was to be made to "chastise the Americans into submission." Before the close of the year the United States war-vessels and privateers had captured three hundred and nineteen British ships, aggregating a value of $12,680,000.[1] And a regular army of fifty-five thousand men was put in the field, to be reinforced by volunteers. The country was divided into nine military districts, each under a district commander. Of these, Delaware and Pennsylvania, from its eastern limits to the Alleghany Mountains, composed the Fourth. Delaware Bay, having been specially selected by the British for military and naval operations, caused great excitement and anxiety along the coast.

The first commissions issued in 1813 by Governor Haslet, of Delaware, were granted on January 7th to Panter Laws as lieutenant and Thomas Pepper as ensign of a company of light infantry attached to the First Battalion of the Eighth Regiment. Two hundred and fifty stands of arms received from the gov-

[1] Lossing's "Pictorial Field-Book of the War of 1812," pp. 449-53.

[2] Col. James Gibson, distinguished for his services in the War of 1812, was born in South Milford, Sussex County, and died September 18, 1814, from injuries received in Brown's sortie from Fort Erie the previous day. He was made a captain May 2, 1809, and was appointed assistant inspector-general April 2, 1813, being promoted July 13th the same year to the office of inspector-general, with the rank of colonel. On February 21, 1814, was attached to the Fourth Rifles as colonel. Col. Gibson participated particularly in the attack on Queenstown Heights, October 13, 1812, and in the campaign on the Niagara frontier in 1814.

[1] Perkins' "Late War," p. 132.

cramment were sent to Wilmington, the same quantity to New Castle, and one hundred and fifty to Lewistown; and equipments and ammunition for the use of the militia at those places were also forwarded. Colleader Irvine, the superintendent of military stores at Philadelphia, also held five hundred muskets subject to the orders of the Governor, of which one hundred were ordered to New Castle, to the care of Brigadier-General Stockton; one hundred and fifty to Smyrna, to the care of Brigadier-General Davis; one hundred and fifty to Milton, to the care of Brigadier-General Fisher; and the remaining hundred were sent to Milford under care of the Governor. In Governor Haslet's message of January 13th, he informed the Legislature that, in accordance with an act of the Legislature, he had purchased nine hundred stands of arms, and delivered three hundred and twelve to New Castle, two hundred and seventy-six to Smyrna, and the remaining three hun-

CAPTAIN JAMES BIDDLE.

dred and twelve to Milton, the aggregate cost being $14,025. As soon as this was known, applications for the use of arms for companies on training-days were at once received from Captain Kennedy, of Smyrna, Captain Wright, of Milton, Captain Adams, of Milford, and Captain Godwin, at the head of Cedar Creek.

In a report laid before Congress early in February, the entire force of Delaware was placed at seven thousand four hundred and fifty-one men, made up of six thousand four hundred and seventy-five infantry, and the remainder consisting of artillery, cavalry and riflemen. During the winter, however, this number was largely increased by commissions granted to volunteers. The British squadron which was to do service in America in 1813 proceeded first to Bermuda with a large land force, and a heavy supply of bombs and Congreve rockets. Their first appearance in the waters of the United States was on February 4th, when they were seen in the Chesapeake standing towards Hampton Roads. The fleet consisted of four seventy-four-gun vessels, besides frigates, brigs and schooners of less formidable size. The most important of these were the "Marlborough," 74, Admiral Cockburn; the "Dragon," 74, Captain Berry; the "Poictiers," 74, Commander Sir John P. Beresford; the "Victorious," 74, Captain Talbot; "Acasta," 44, Kerr; "Junon," 38, Kerr; "Statira," 38, Stackpole; "Maidstone," 36, Burdett; "Belvidera," 36, Byron; "Narcissus," 32, Aylmer; "Lauristinus," 21, Gordon; "Tartarus," 20, Pasco; and others. All Southern Virginia was thrown into a state of excitement and turmoil, fearing that an attack would be made on Norfolk and Hampton. The fleet had only been there a short time, however, when the "Poictiers," the "Belvidera" and several smaller vessels, including the schooners "La Pax" and "Ulysses," all under the command of Commodore Beresford were sent to blockade the Delaware. Their work was quick and effective, and early in March Delaware Bay and River were in a state of complete blockade. The enemy began by committing depredations along both sides of the bay, and capturing and destroying the small craft that plied on the river. One of the most notable of their captures was the "Snapper," of Philadelphia, which was said to have received three hundred bullets from the three British frigates before she surrendered. The anxiety was intense in the regions blockaded. The specie in the banks of Wilmington and the branch of the Farmers' Bank at New Castle were sent to Philadelphia for safe-keeping. The invasion was too sudden, however, for the people or State and national authorities to make ample preparation. The blockading fleet burned all the smaller vessels they encountered, plundered and ransacked the houses along the shore and subjected the inhabitants, especially the women, to the most revolting insults. When they had been in the bay but a few days, committing all sorts of outrages upon a defenseless people and fixing buoys at various places, Commodore Beresford forwarded the following letter to Lewistown:

"His Britannic Majesty's ship 'Poictiers,'
"In the mouth of the Delaware, March 16

"*Sir*:—As soon as you receive this, I must request you will send twenty five bullocks with a proportionate quantity of vegetables and hay to the 'Poictiers,' for the use of his Britannic Majesty's squadron, now at this anchorage, which shall be immediately paid for at the Philadelphia prices. If you refuse to comply with this request, I shall be under the necessity of destroying your town.

"I have the honor to be, Sir, your ob't servant,
"J. P. BERESFORD, Commodore,
"Commanding the British squadron in the mouth of the Delaware.
"The first Magistrate of Lewistown."

The receipt of this letter seemed to fire every heart in Delaware into a blaze of patriotism. Beresford's demand was defiantly refused and his letter was referred to Governor Haslet. He subscribed to the

patriotic position taken by the people of Lewistown and transmitted one of his characteristic letters to the commodore on March 23d, in which he said: "I have only to observe to you that a compliance would be an immediate violation of the laws of my country and an eternal stigma on the nation of which I am a citizen. A compliance, therefore, cannot be acceded to." The commodore was also informed that the people of Delaware could not hold any correspondence with the enemy without subjecting themselves to the penalties of treason. To this the commodore replied that his request was no more than "magnanimity" demanded should be observed by one nation at war with another, and added, "it is in my power to destroy your town, and the request I have made upon it as the price of its security is neither distressing nor unusual. I must, therefore, persist, and whatever sufferings may fall upon the inhabitants of Lewistown must be attributed to yourselves, by not complying with a request so easily acquiesced in." But the people of that heroic town silently prepared for the defense of their homes and laconically replied, "We solemnly refuse to commit legal or moral treason at your command. Do your worst." From Philadelphia to the ocean men and women worked with zeal and ardor to repel the attacks of the enemy.[1] Along the Jersey shore there was less activity than elsewhere, owing to the fact that thickly-settled towns were rare; but whenever an opportunity presented itself for defending their property, the citizens were eager to seize it.

At Philadelphia the necessary preparations for defense were enthusiastically made and volunteers gladly enlisted to man Fort Mifflin, the regular force having been taken to the West under Colonel Izard and Lieutenant-Colonel Winfield Scott, only fourteen invalids remaining behind.

Throughout the entire State the people rose in their might to protest against the insolence of the British and to give material form to their protests by shouldering arms in defense of their country. On the Sunday following the receipt of Commodore Beresford's letter, the citizens of Dover assembled in response to the drummer's call to arms. Every able-bodied man, of all ages and opinions, religious and political, responded, and nearly five hundred men mustered for service. Foremost among them was Jonathan McNat, who, with many others who had fought in the Revolution and now bent with age, came from the surrounding country to render whatever services were still in their power. McNat, whose years had told heavily on his strength, threw aside his cane, and, with a musket on his shoulder, went through the entire drill. Although the day was Sunday and the old man was "a worthy member and strict observer of the rules of the Methodist Church," he returned to his home and spent the afternoon making ball cartridges. His example served as an incentive to the younger members of the community, who enlisted with the greatest enthusiasm. At Smyrna similar demonstrations occurred and the people were soon busied in the preparations for defense and the manufacture of munitions of war. The veteran, Captain Bennet, of the famous "Delaware Blues," was placed in control of measures to be taken at New Castle and the battery that was erected close to the town. He was made colonel of the militia and soon had a well disciplined force of infantry and artillery. Wilmington placed Colonel Allen McLane in command of all defensive proceedings.[2] In the meantime the enemy continued their depredations. The sloop "Eliza and Mary," from Philadelphia, for Lewistown, was burnt near Cedar Creek, and a packet from Charleston was run ashore at the mouth of Town Creek and also burned. The militia of Lewistown and Milton managed to save a schooner belonging to Colonel Payner, which was attacked in the same vicinity. The brig "Concord," Captain Stellwaggon, was boarded by a midshipman and seven men from a tender of the blockading squadron, but he finally secured them and escaped up the bay under a heavy fog. Captain Burton, of the sloop "New Jersey," was captured by the tender of the "Ulysses," but afterwards managed to escape with his vessel.

Governor Haslet at once summoned the militia to defend Lewistown, and in a few hours a thousand men were stationed there under arms. A scarcity of ammunition was soon turned into an abundance by the industry of the citizens. Wilmington sent Captain Warner, of the Wilmington troop of horse, with his company, to assist in the defense of the town. Many volunteers joined them, among them being Cap-

[1] Fort "Union," for the defense of Wilmington, was erected in March, 1813, by the gratuitous labor of the citizens of the town and vicinity. James A. Bayard with his own hand assisted in its construction. The fort, says an old chronicler, commanded the Christina against any force that might come up the stream. An artillery company was formed at David Brinton's tavern, at Fourth and Market, on Wednesday evening, March 19, 1813, "for the defence of the borough." The arsenal of Wilmington, then situated out of the borough limits, in what is now Washington Street, above Eighth, was the place of rendezvous for the military companies. Thomas Robinson, major-general of the State militia, on March 27th, appointed Samuel H. Black and Isaac Gibbs aide-de-camp. April 7th, four American gun-boats arrived at New Castle for the "protection of the river craft." On April 13th, for the first time, the steamboat "Delaware" made a trip to Philadelphia, and returned the same day.

[2] The following communication appeared for the first time in public print March 12, 1813, in an answer to certain reports reflecting on the patriotism of Colonel McLane: "Allen M. Lane was appointed captain in one of the sixteen additional Continental Regiments of foot soldiers in the beginning of the War of 1777, and by his activity and industry soon joined the army with a full company. Upon the dissolution of the Sixteenth Regiment and the incorporation of the officers and men into other corps, Captain McLane was, in July, 1778, appointed to the command of the infantry of Major Lee's partisan legion. Major McLane was early active in the cause of his country, and from the time of joining the Continental army I can testify that he distinguished himself highly as a brave and enterprising officer. During the siege of Yorktown he was intrusted by the Board of War with the delivery of dispatches of importance to Hs Excellency, the Count De Grasse, which commission he executed with great celerity, and was afterwards very serviceable in reconnoitering and bringing intelligence of the strength and disposition of the British fleet off the Chesapeake. On the dissolution of the army, he was retired upon half pay for life.

"Given under my hand and seal at Philadelphia, December 13, 1781.

"GEORGE WASHINGTON."

On April 24th the Committee of Safety appointed Captains Thomas and Black, Caleb Green, Enoch Moore, Paul McLean and William Shipley to procure "men to man the gunboats in the harbor at Wilmington for its defense."

tain Hunter, of Philadelphia, and Major Robert Carr, of the United States army. The Veteran Corps, of Wilmington, under the command of Colonel McLane, were ordered to assemble at the corner of Second and French Streets at three o'clock P.M. on the 24th, to march to the ground where the battery was being erected, near the Christiana and Brandywine, to exercise with ball and cartridge at a floating target. In the same town, a "committee of safety" was organized, including among its members Messrs. James A. Bayard, George Monro, Outerbridge Horsey, Dr. James Tilton, Cæsar A. Rodney and William P. Bronson. During the existing emergency they fixed upon the arsenal as a place of general rendezvous, and established a signal in case of alarm, consisting of the ringing of the town bell, two discharges of cannon and the beating of drums at the same time. Another precaution was the extinction of the lights in the light-house on Cape Henlopen, which was ordered by the Secretary of the Treasury, through Colonel Allen McLane, collector of the district of Delaware. On April 24th the Philadelphia County Cavalry, Captain James Miles, marched from Philadelphia to Lewes, and the next day other companies and regiments were ordered to hold themselves in readiness to march under the command of General R. Wharton. The British still lay in the Delaware, continuing their petty destruction and going to greater extremities whenever an opportunity presented. About the last of March they captured the "Montesquieu" off the Capes, which paid them well for their trouble. The ship belonged to Stephen Girard, of Philadelphia, and had sailed for Canton in 1810. She was now returning laden with a cargo valued at one and a half millions of dollars. The captain was unaware that war had been declared, and when almost at home the vessel was captured. Girard afterwards ransomed it for one hundred and eighty thousand dollars in specie.

On April 6th, Governor Haslet convened the Legislature in extra session, and informed them of the particulars concerning Commodore Beresford's demands on Lewistown, and the measures taken by himself for its defense. He stated, however, that he had proceeded no farther than the emergency required, and asked the Assembly to take such action as might be deemed expedient. The matter was placed in the hands of a committee of five. On the same day the bombardment, which had threatened Lewistown for three weeks, was begun by the British.[1] Late in the afternoon the "Belvidera" and two small vessels bore down on the town and began the attack by firing a number of thirty-two-pound shot. These were followed by a flag of truce from Captain Byron, of the "Belvidera," renewing the demands made on March 16th, with the additional request of a supply of fresh water. Colonel Davis, who was in command of the troops of the town, immediately replied as follows:

"HEADQUARTERS, LEWISTOWN, April 6th.

"Sir: In reply to the renewal of your demand, with the addition for a 'supply of water,' I have to inform you that neither can be complied with. This, sir, you must be sensible of; therefore I must insist the attack on the inhabitants of this town is both wanton and cruel.

"I have the honor to be your most obedient servant,

"S. R. DAVIS, Col. Com."[2]

Captain Byron immediately replied to this in the following letter:

"'BALLOONS,' off the village of Lewistown, April 6th.

"Sir: No dishonor can be attached in complying with the demand of Sir John Beresford to Lewistown in consideration of his superior force. I must, therefore, consider your refusal to supply the squadron with water, and the cattle that the neighborhood affords, most cruel on your part to the inhabitants. I grieve for the distress the women and children are reduced to by your conduct, and earnestly desire they may be instantly removed.

"I have the honor to be, etc.,

"R. BYRON, Captain.

"N. B.—The cattle will be honorably paid for.

"S. R. DAVIS, Col. Com."

The only reply that Colonel Davis vouchsafed to this was this verbal message that "Colonel Davis is a gallant man, and has already taken care of the ladies." As soon as this reached Captain Byron he began the attack. The fleet consisted of four launches, with twenty-four and eighteen-pounders, two sloops with thirty-two-pounders, and a mortar, a pilot boat with six-pounders, the schooner "Paz" with twelve twelve-pounders and the frigate "Belvidera." On the night of the 6th the bombardment was continued until ten o'clock. Colonel Davis directed the operations with skill and energy from the position of vantage on which Lewistown was situated. One of the enemy's most dangerous gun-boats was soon disabled by the well-directed shot from a thirty-two-pounder. Being ignorant of how long the attack might continue, a dispatch was forwarded by Colonel Davis to the Governor requesting a supply of powder and shot. Governor Haslet at once left Dover for headquarters to command the militia. Powder was plentifully supplied from Du Pont's mills at Wilmington, while the balls from the enemy's guns were dug out of the sand by the boys and returned to the enemy from the shore batteries. The bombardment continued for twenty-two hours. The British fired nearly eight hundred thirty-two and eighteen-pound shot into the town, in addition to shells and Congreve rockets. The rockets passed high over the houses without effect, while the bombs fell short of their mark, and were equally harmless. A few houses were

[1] Rev. Dr. Thomas Read, the pastor of the First Presbyterian Church, was conducting the regular morning service when the messenger with great speed brought the news, in 1814, that the British were about to attack the town of Lewes. All Wilmington was thrown into commotion, and in response to the summons several military companies started that Sunday on the march to meet the enemy. In the afternoon the patriotic pastor consoled his congregation and preached an eloquent sermon from the following words: "And the messenger came to Saul, saying, haste ye and come, for the Philistines have invaded the land."

[2] Col. Samuel R. Davis was born in Lewes, March 23, 1776, and died September 6, 1854. He married abroad and served in the French navy with the rank of captain. He returned to this country late in the eighteenth century and settled in New Orleans, where he amassed considerable wealth, and became prominent in public affairs. In 1812 he offered his service to the government, and commanded the militia at Lewistown. He was commissioned lieutenant colonel of Thirty-second United States Infantry, March 17, 1813. He was subsequently transferred to the Forty-fourth Infantry and promoted to the colonelcy. He commanded at Sandy Hook, also at Fort Phillip in 1815, and resigned from the army in 1816, and settled in Wilmington. He removed to Philadelphia in 1830, was a member of the General Assembly of Pennsylvania in 1831, for two terms, and returned in 1841 to Delaware, where he died.

damaged, but no one was wounded. A few days after the engagement a list of "killed and wounded" was humorously prepared by a wag, and the enumeration consisted of "one chicken killed and one pig wounded, leg broken." The inhabitants of Lewistown conducted themselves coolly and bravely. The pilots who were stationed near by were deserving of the highest praise.

On the afternoon of the 7th the sailors from the British squadron attempted to land in a number of small boats. The militia on the beach gave them such a warm reception, however, that they gladly beat a hasty retreat. On the 8th the enemy withdrew to the Capes.

Defensive measures continued throughout the State. At Wilmington the citizens and those in the vicinity built Fort Union. It commanded the Christiana, and made any approach to the city extremely perilous. Several gun-boats left New Castle for Bombay Hook to patrol the surrounding waters. The Legislature had also been busily engaged in considering the means of defense. The committee, which had been appointed on April 6th to consider Governor Haslet's message, handed in an extensive report on the 9th. They had, during the interval, been informed of the attack on Lewistown, and were influenced by it in their deliberations. Mr. Clayton, who prepared the report, severely reprimanded the general government "for not having taken greater pains to protect the coast of Delaware, as the State was exposed for a distance of one hundred miles, and liable at any moment to an attack from the enemy." No aid had been furnished, with the exception of the loan of a few hundred muskets. The bombardment of Lewistown was announced to the President by a dispatch from the Governor of the State, and a request was forwarded for ordnance and ammunition, but, as yet, no response had been received. In view of these considerations, in addition to the probability that the enemy's attacks would be renewed on Lewistown and other exposed places, the committee submitted the following resolutions:

"Be it resolved unanimously by the Senate and the House of Representatives of the State of Delaware, in General Assembly met, that the President of the United States be requested, and he is hereby requested that immediate means be taken to aid and assist to defend the State against the common enemy of the United States, and that the militia of the State be supplied with common powder, ball, muskets, bayonets, flints, ballet-moulds, lead, camp-kettles and all other munitions of war and provisions necessary for men fighting against the enemy of the United States.

"*Resolved*, unanimously, that the President of the United States be requested to give to the Governor an order to call into service the detached militia of this State for the defense thereof, and that the pay and subsistence of the militia of this State in actual service be put on the establishment of the United States.

"*Resolved*, unanimously, that the President of the United States be requested to order to the Delaware a sufficient naval force for the defense thereof."

These resolutions produced the desired effect, for when the Assembly met on April 25th, the Governor was able to state that the United States had loaned the State four eighteen-pounders for the defense of Lewistown, and cannon and ammunition for New Castle and Wilmington. He had besides received a letter from General Bloomfield, in which he mentioned that three hundred and fifty men of the Pennsylvania militia had been ordered to Stanton, from which place they would send daily patrols to New Castle, Wilmington and the Maryland line. In consequence of this he discharged the militia employed up to that time in defending Lewistown, with the exception of a company of the inhabitants of that place, who manned the batteries, and a small detachment of cavalry. Arrangements were also made to have these placed in the pay of the United States. It was in this same message that the first suggestion was made to use the Pea Patch as the site for a fort. The Governor advised the appropriation of a sum of money for the erection of fortifications on the island, believing that Pennsylvania and New Jersey would follow. As the United States would not build a fort on any site not belonging to the general government, Delaware soon ceded the island to the United States.

On April 27th Assistant Adjutant-General C. K. Gardner announced the appointments for the various military districts. Those of the Fourth, consisting of Pennsylvania and Delaware, were Brigadier-General Joseph Bloomfield, commander; William Duane, adjutant-general; Lieutenant Robert Dunn, of the Twenty-second Infantry, assistant adjutant-general; William Linnard, deputy quartermaster-general; Captain Henry Philips, Sixth Infantry, district paymaster; Lieutenant Thomas Clark, Second Artillery, assistant topographical engineer; John B. Waldron, assistant deputy commissioner of ordnance; Cadwallader Irvine, commissary-general of purchases; and Richard Parker, military storekeeper at Carlisle, William C. Bennet at New Castle, and D. Kirkpatrick at Wilmington.[1]

[1] In the mean time, on February 14, 1813, the Governor commissioned the following officers: In the Fourth Troop of Cavalry, attached to the First Brigade—Lewis Jameson, captain; Thomas Ford, first lieutenant; Jesse Buchanan, second lieutenant; and John Ford, cornet. On March 10th he commissioned for the Eighth Company, Fifth Regiment—Thomas Condy, captain; Richard Corker, lieutenant; Markham Clark, Jr., ensign. On April 15, 1813, Charles Brinkley was commissioned ensign in the place of Clark, resigned. On April 7th the Governor commissioned Cesar A. Rodney captain of the Second Company of Artillery attached to the First Brigade, with Archibald Hamilton as first lieutenant and Allen Thompson as second lieutenant. On April 8th Hewson Webb was commissioned lieutenant of First Company, Third Regiment, with James Hanson as ensign. On April 13th John Killen was commissioned captain of the Fourth Company, Fifth Regiment, with Peter Meredith as lieutenant and George Cubbidge as ensign. On April 13th Moses Lipple was commissioned lieutenant of the Sixth Company, Fifth Regiment, and Jacob Bum ensign. On April 14th Mitchell Derrickson commissioned cornet of the troop of cavalry commanded by Captain William Blankland and attached to the Third Brigade; Luke Jacobs was commissioned lieutenant of the Sixth Company, Tenth Regiment; Gelley G. Short, ensign of Eighth Company, Eighth Regiment; Richard Corbly, captain Sixth Company, Third Regiment, and John Everet, ensign of the same company. On April 28th William Wilson was commissioned ensign of the Fifth Company, Sixth Regiment, and on April 27th Benjamin Jackson, lieutenant and Peter Adams, ensign of the Seventh Company, Fifth Regiment. On April 28th Arthur Milby was commissioned first lieutenant, Mitchell Derrickson, second lieutenant, and Benjamin Barton, cornet, of the troop of cavalry attached to the Third Brigade. On the same day Kleck Hazzard was commissioned lieutenant, and William Fitchett, ensign of Seventh Company, Eighth Regiment; James Cowell, lieutenant, and Thomas Gibbs, ensign of First Company, Ninth Regiment. On the 29th William Martin, Jr., was commissioned lieutenant and Benjamin Harrington ensign of the Seventh Company, Sixth Regiment. On May 3d Gressom was commissioned captain, John Orr, first lieutenant, and David McIlvaine, second lieutenant, of the artillery company attached to the Third Brigade. On May 5th William Hamilton was commissioned lieutenant and James

On April 12th, Governor Haslet, in consequence of the danger then threatening, organized the militia of the State, pursuant to the requisition of the President of the United States, into the following companies: Amwell Long, Tenth Regiment, colonel; John Moody, Third Regiment, and Cornelius P. Comegys, Fifth Regiment, majors. The officers of the First Company, First Regiment, were William Moore, captain; John Whiteman, lieutenant; and John Morgan, ensign, with thirty-six non-commissioned officers and privates. The Second Company, First Regiment, consisted of Jacob Sharply, captain; Amor Talley, lieutenant; and Davis C. Wilson, ensign, with sixty-one non-commissioned officers and privates. The Third Company, First Regiment, was officered by Joshua Holmes, captain; James Jordan, lieutenant; and James Armor, ensign, with sixty-four non-commissioned officers and privates. The Second Regiment consisted of George R. Massey, captain; John Graves, lieutenant; Sam'l Ferguson, ensign, and sixty-one non-commissioned officers and privates. The Third Regiment consisted of Isaac Gibbs, captain; William Bowman, lieutenant; John Taylor, ensign, and seventy-seven non-commissioned officers and privates. The Fourth Regiment was officered by James Chippen, captain; Joseph Parsons, lieutenant; James Hart, ensign, with eighty-one non-commissioned officers and privates. The officers of the First Company, Fifth Regiment, were Benjamin Wallace, captain; William Seney, lieutenant; Peter Meredith, ensign, with forty-eight non-commissioned officers and privates. The Second Company, Fifth Regiment, consisted of Philemon Green, captain; Thomas Candy, lieutenant; Draper Voshell, ensign, with forty-nine non-commissioned officers and privates. The Sixth Regiment was composed of John Booth, captain; Reuben Anderson, lieutenant; Archibald Caball, ensign, and eighty non-commissioned officers and privates. The Seventh Regiment was officered by Stephen Redden, captain; James Deputy, lieutenant; John Hayes, ensign, and sixty-five non-commissioned officers and privates. The First Company, Eighth Regiment, consisted of Peter F. Wright, captain; John Swain, lieutenant; Cornelius Coulter, ensign, and sixty-seven non-commissioned officers and privates. The Second Company, Eighth Regiment, was composed of John Kolloch, captain; Jehu Hill, lieutenant; Nottingham Wine, ensign, and sixty-five non-commissioned officers and privates. In the Ninth Regiment, Josiah Polk was captain; Henry Wallace, lieutenant; and James Conwell, ensign, with sixty-four non-commissioned officers and privates. The officers of the Tenth Regiment were Benjamin Burton, captain; Isaac Cannon, lieutenant; Joseph V. Crockett, ensign, and sixty-six non-commissioned officers and privates. Of the two companies of artillery, the First Company consisted of Caleb P. Bennet, captain; James R. Black, lieutenant, and twenty-eight non-commissioned officers and privates; and the Second Company, of James Stuart, captain; John Many, first lieutenant; Waitman Lipple, second lieutenant, and thirteen non-commissioned officers and privates. A company of cavalry was also organized under James Miles, captain; Henry Whitely, first lieutenant; John Herdman, second lieutenant, and twenty-three non-commissioned officers and privates.

On April 28th, the Secretary of War having made the following requisition on the detached militia of the State, the Governor gave the necessary orders: Infantry, one lieutenant-colonel, one major, three captains, three first lieutenants, three second lieutenants, three third lieutenants, three ensigns, three hundred rank and file, one surgeon's mate; artillery, two captains, two first lieutenants, two second lieutenants, two third lieutenants, two ensigns, two hundred rank and file and one surgeon's mate, all to rendezvous at New Castle as quickly as possible, and to report to General Bloomfield, commander of the district. Lieutenant-Colonel Armwell Long was placed in command of the detachment ordered out, and with him were sent Major John Moody, Captain Isaac Gibbs, Lieutenants James Jordan, William Bowman and John Grove, Ensign James Armor, and all the non-commissioned officers and privates detached from the Third Regiment and from the respective companies of Captains Beeson and Crips in the First Regiment; also Captain John Booth, Lieutenants Joseph Parsons, Reuben Anderson and William Seney, and Ensign Draper Voshell, and all the non-commissioned officers and privates detached from the Sixth Regiment and from the Second and Fourth Companies of the Fourth Regiment; Captain Josiah Polk, Lieutenants James Duputy, Isaac Cannon and Jehu Hill, and Ensign Joseph V. Crockett, and all the non-commissioned officers and privates detached from the Ninth Regiment; Captain Caleb P. Bennet, First Lieutenants James R. Black and John Many, Second Lieutenant Waitman Lipple, and all the non-commissioned officers and privates detached from the respective companies of artillery attached to the First and Second Brigades. The number of artillery, however, fell short of that required by the requisition, and on May 13th the Secretary of War ordered the Governor to make up the deficiency in infantry, and, in case of emergency, call forth another battalion of drafted militia composed of the same number of officers and privates as was demanded in the former requisition. Governor Haslet considering that such an emergency then existed, at once issued general orders ordering Captains Joshua Holmes and William Moore, Lieutenants Armor, Tally and John Whiteman, Ensigns Samuel Fer-

Hopkins, ensign of Sixth Company, Sixth Regiment. On May 5th William B. Spicer was commissioned lieutenant of Sixth Company, Eighth Regiment; May 7th Samuel Murphy, lieutenant, and John Griffin, ensign of First Company, Fourth Regiment; May 8th John Wright, captain; John Snow, lieutenant, and Bethel Watson, ensign of Eighth Company, Fourth Regiment; May 10th Stayton Morris, captain, John Watson, lieutenant, John Gordon, ensign, Eighth Company, Fourth Regiment; May 12th David C. Wilson, captain, Samuel Alrich, lieutenant, Evan Cox, ensign, Third Company, First Regiment, and Daniel Harrington, lieutenant, and William Cardera, ensign, First Company, Eighth Regiment.

gusen and John Taylor, and all the non-commissioned officers and privates of the First and Second Regiments; and Captain Philemon Green, Ensign James Hart, and all the non-commissioned officers and privates of the Fourth and Fifth Regiments to rendezvous immediately at New Castle. Major Cornelius P. Comegys, Captains Benjamin Burton and Stephen Redden, Lieutenants John Swain and Henry Wallace, and Ensigns John C. Hayes and James Conwell, and all the non-commissioned officers and privates of the Seventh, Eighth and Tenth Regiments were ordered to rendezvous at Lewistown. In addition to these, four lieutenants from the regiments composing the First Brigade and three from those composing the Second Brigade were ordered to New Castle, and four lieutenants from the regiments composing the Third Brigade were ordered to Lewistown.

April 29th and May 3d the British ships in the Chesapeake landed parties which burned and plundered Frenchtown and Havre de Grace, then depots of quite a lively trade between Wilmington and Baltimore. A little later they burned Georgetown and Fredericktown, on Sassafras River. Coasting and bay trade was stopped, and the name of Admiral Cockburn became a terror. Commodore Beresford, with his squadron, was in Delaware Bay, and alarms were frequent along the shores, caused by marauding parties of the enemy seeking provisions and fresh water. Col. Davis' force of militia was active and vigilant, but without gun-boats, unable to be everywhere present. The enemy, selecting the time and place for his raids, frequently succeeded in stealing sheep, poultry and some cattle; but to secure a supply of fresh water required so much time that, through the vigilance of the settlers, information was signaled, and a force despatched which always succeeded in driving the enemy from the fresh-water ponds. Gov. Haslet, recognizing the gallantry and skill of Col. Davis, complimented that officer and his command by letter of April 19, 1813, for the zeal, activity and patience with which he had defended the State. If the people of the State were kept in continual apprehension by the enemy, the situation of the British was not altogether satisfactory. The removal of buoys rendered the navigation of the crooked and tortuous channel difficult for all classes of vessels and impossible for the large ships of the fleet, which could only lay off and on at the capes, suffering for fresh provisions and water.

Commodore Beresford's squadron sailed for Bermuda late in April and left in their place the "Statira" and the "Spartan" frigates, and the "Martin" sloop-of-war, with some tenders and barges, commanded by Commodore Stackpoole. On Sunday, the 29th of May, these vessels stood up the Delaware with a fair wind. Expresses were immediately sent out to alarm the country. The Delaware volunteers assembled. The Philadelphia Independent Blues were ordered to march from Camp Staunton to New Castle. The other companies stood upon their arms, ready for service in whatever direction they should be needed. The British forces contented themselves with stretching up the bay as far as Reedy Island, where they captured and burnt some shallops and small craft, and then returned.

On the 13th of May the first detachment of volunteers had marched from Philadelphia to Delaware, under the command of Col. Lewis Rush. It consisted of the Philadelphia Blues, Capt. Henry Myers; the Independent Volunteers, Capt. Samuel Borden; and the Washington Guards, a crack company. Each of these companies consisted of one hundred privates, fifteen officers and two musicians. In four days they

WASHINGTON GUARDS.

reached Staunton, on the Baltimore road, six miles below Wilmington. Here a permanent encampment was formed under the command of Gen. Bloomfield, but the affair of May 29th showed the necessity of giving protection to those portions of Delaware higher up the river. It was rumored that the enemy intended to make an attempt to destroy Dupont's powder-mills on the Brandywine. Col. Rush was ordered to take up a new position on Shellpot Hill, three miles north of Wilmington and one mile from the Delaware River, covering the place of debarkation at Hamilton's Landing. On the 2d of June Camp Staunton was abandoned, and the troops marched to Camp Shellpot, where they continued until about the 12th of July, when they took up a new station at Oak Hill, near Stille's Run, four miles west of Wilmington and four miles south of Du Pont's powder-mills. After the British descended the Chesapeake Bay, Camp Oak Hill was broken up, and on the 28th of July the Philadelphia troops reached home.

While these movements of the militia were taking place, and other measures of defense promoted, the British squadron had by no means left Delaware Bay; in fact, it was their presence that inspired the people to energetic action. On one occasion the British forces ran a shallop into Cohansey Creek, and an officer proceeded to Bridgeton, New Jersey, representing that he had come as a flag of truce. The American officers stationed there were suspicious, however, and accompanied him to his boat, where they found about fifteen hogsheads filled with water from the creek. The officer and crew were taken into custody and the shallop condemned as a prize.[1]

On the night of April 21st considerable alarm was spread among the people living in the vicinity of Little Creek. The schooner "Pilgrim," a tender of the "Poictiers," sailed up the bay and anchored off the mouth of the creek, while a barge with twenty-two men was sent up as far as Taylor's Gut. Two men landed, one of whom proved to be a New England captain, who stated that he was a prisoner on the "Poictiers," and had been promised his freedom if he succeeded in procuring a supply of food. His story was not credited, however, and he and his companion were held as prisoners. On the morning of the 22d the "Pilgrim's" lieutenant came up with fourteen men and a flag of truce to Little Creek Landing and endeavored to secure the release of the two men. They were unsuccessful in this, and for the next thirty-six hours sought revenge by committing every possible depredation on the property of those residing along the creek. Although entirely cut off from assistance, and destitute of a supply of arms and ammunition, the people arose to a man and offered a resolute opposition to the incursion, and finally drove the marauders off. The American captain was lodged in jail at Philadelphia. On April 29th several hundred of the British landed at Fishing Creek, on the Jersey shore, and before a force could be gathered to oppose them, they had seized one hundred and twenty-nine sheep and forty-five cattle and departed. These robberies and attacks continued until about the middle of May, when, as has been stated, the "Poictiers" and "Belvidera" sailed for the Bermudas for a supply of fresh water, of which they had long been in need. Just before sailing from the Capes, however, they made one last attempt, and lowered their barges to go into Newbold's Point. Col. Davis anticipated their intention and sent a hundred and fifty men from Lewistown to the Point, and frustrated their plans. As soon as they had put out to sea, all the buoys which they had placed in the bay were immediately taken up by the Americans.

It was about this time that the government recognized the genius of one of Delaware's most famous statesmen and honored Senator, James A. Bayard, with an appointment as one of the commissioners to negotiate a treaty with Great Britain.[2] Napoleon's unsuccessful campaign of 1812, and his retreat from Moscow had greatly increased Russia's prestige. President Madison, who had always been anxious for peace, therefore eagerly seized the opportunity offered by M. Daschkoff in proffering the mediation of Russia as a means of settling the dispute about which war was then raging between Great Britain and the United States. In conjunction with Mr. Bayard, he appointed Albert Gallatin, then Secretary of the Treasury, as a second commissioner, both to confer with John Quincy Adams, then the American minister at St. Petersburg. As soon as these appointments were announced, the Russian secretary of legation at Washington left for the Delaware capes and arranged with the British squadron for the sailing of the commissioners, and in May, 1813, Messrs. Bayard and Gallatin left New Castle in the cartel ship "Neptune" for St. Petersburg.

Commodore Stackpoole, with his fleet, continued their predatory attacks on both sides of the bay, to the general annoyance and uneasiness of all the inhabitants. The universal complaint was, that the country was too sparsely settled to render any concerted action possible, and while a considerable force might be mustered at a particular spot, the enemy could sail up or down the bay and commit whatever devastation they desired before the land force could be moved. To prevent this, the Philadelphia Committee of Defense began to organize a fleet of gun-boats to cruise in the Delaware River and Bay.

A rumor that the British intended to make a bold attack on the numerous manufacturing establishments on the Brandywine induced Governer Haslet to form two emergency companies for their protection. On May 15th he issued a number of warrants to officers of these companies, of which the following is a copy:

"DOVER, May 15, 1813.

"*Joseph Haslet, Governor of the State of Delaware:*

"To ——— ———, greeting.

"Know you that in consequence of the imminent danger to which this State is now subject by reason of a threatened invasion thereof by the British squadron now lying in the Delaware, and of the great interest which the public has in the preservation of the manufactures on the Brandywine, I have thought proper during the exciting emergency by warrant to recommend you to be ——— of a company to be formed of the manufacturers employed at the factories on the Brandywine in ——— Hundred in New Castle County.

"This authority is not to interfere with any provision of the militia laws of the State, and is to continue only during the continuance of the present threatened invasion, and no person belonging to the company formed under the recommendation is in consequence to be exempted from any militia duties to which such person would otherwise be liable.

"JOSEPH HASLET."

Those to whom warrants were issued for offices in the Christiana Hundred, all being manufacturers employed on the Brandywine, were Eleuthen Irene Du Pont, captain; Raphael Duplanty, first lieutenant; James Phelp, second lieutenant; George Hodgson, third lieutenant; Charles Dalmar, ensign. The officers appointed in Brandywine Hundred were Victor Du Pont, captain; Vidal Garresche, first lieu-

[1] *Niles' Register*, vol. iv., p. 150.

[2] Captain John Warner, on May 18th, was elected a member of the committee of Safety of Wilmington to take the place of James A. Bayard. Victor Du Pont was chosen a member of the Committee of Safety May 29th.

tenant; Nathaniel H. Clifford Perkins, second lieutenant; Richard Hambly, third lieutenant; and Charles Du Pont, ensign.[1]

On May 4, 1813, Col. Allen McLane, commandant at Wilmington, addressed the veteran corps as follows:

"You shall be ready to march at a moment's notice, at the alarm post in Wilmington, fully equipped. The savage enemy are approaching with fire and sword. They have burned the storehouses and merchandise on the Elk River, wantonly distressed by fire the beautiful village of Havre-de-Grace, and threaten us here in our habitations with death and destruction of property; you require no other stimulus to duty. Your officers pledge themselves to do their duty, and rely on your individual and collective support."

The Committee of Safety, on May 5th, appointed Park Mason, John M. Smith, Thomas McConnell, Wm. French, Allen Thomson, Abraham Sharpe, George Taylor, G. James Wolf and Paul McGinn a committee to report the arrival of strangers in Wilmington.

On May 6th intelligence was received in Wilmington of the landing of the British near Georgetown in fifteen barges, and the burning of the residence of Joshua Ward. A general meeting of citizens was held at the Town Hall, and measures adopted for the defense of the place. An appropriation of five thousand dollars was made by the Legislature for the defense of New Castle, and Caleb P. Bennet was appointed commander of the town. On May 15th, Governor Haslet, by order of the War Department, directed the companies of Capt. Joshua Holmes and William Moore, of the First and Second Regiments, to march to New Castle.

Among those who participated in the hottest of the engagement at Fort George in Canada, in the early part of June, 1813, was Captain Thomas Stockton,[2] son of Gen. Stockton, of Wilmington. Six of his company were killed and seven wounded. Captain Stockton also distinguished himself in the battle of Lundy's Lane, where a brother of his was killed.

Lieutenant Samuel Angus, with nine gunboats and two armed sloops, fitted out by the Philadelphia Committee of Defense on June 16th made an attack on the British squadron, consisting of two frigates, lying off Fishing Creek, and made them change their position. About the same time (June, 1813) the sloop "Rebecca," of Milford, loaded with corn for Wilmington, was boarded near Milford by one hundred British soldiers in two launches. After her capture the corn was taken out and the vessel burnt. Captain Redden, who commanded a company of militia near the "Rebecca," fired on the British, which they returned, killing one man and wounding Captain Redden in the thigh. Captain Adams, of the Delaware militia, arrived at the scene of action as the enemy moved off.

An exciting chase occurred on Thursday, July 22d. An American sloop was about entering the Capes, when the "Martin," of the British squadron, gave chase. The sloop signaled for a pilot to Cape May, and seven pilots and a whale-boat immediately came to her assistance. The "Martin" continued her chase however, and the captain of the sloop saw no alternative but to run her ashore. The whale-boat was sent in advance to ask for assistance and this brought Lieutenant Townsend to the beach with a field-piece and about thirty men. The "Martin" sent her barges and tender to continue the chase, but the grape from the field-piece soon drove them off. The sloop-of-war in attempting to come to their assistance ran aground on Crow's Shoals, but the Americans had no gun-boat in the neighborhood to secure the prize.

The troops at Camp Shellpot remained there until July 12th, when they again changed position, this time taking up quarters at Oak Hill, near Stille's Run, four miles west of Wilmington. Here they remained until late in July, when the British squadron which had been blockading the Chesapeake left and the Philadelphia troops returned to their homes, arriving in that city on July 28th.

On the 29th the Delaware flotilla had an encounter with the "Martin" and "Junon," which resulted in the loss of gun-boat "121." Early in the morning Lieutenant Angus, while lying off Dennis' Creek, discovered that the "Martin" had chased a small vessel and captured her near the overfalls. In accomplishing this, however, she had gone ashore on Crow's Shoals, and Lieutenant Angus at once stood down the bay for the purpose of bringing about an engagement. When within three-quarters of a mile of the sloop he drew up the whole flotilla, consisting of eight gun-boats, each with twenty-five men, two block sloops and one long thirty-two. The "Junon," thirty-eight, a heavy frigate, Captain Sanders, came to the assistance of the "Martin," and anchored about half a mile away. The cannonading continued for an hour and three-quarters. The British did little harm, their balls flying over the flotilla, while their hulls began to feel the blows from the American guns. They then manned two launches and eight barges and cutters, with about thirty-five men in each, and attacked gun-boat, "No. 121," which by some mishap had floated away from the other boats and was then a mile and a half off. The gun-boat was commanded by sailing master Shead, who began a hot fire into the enemy's approaching line from his long gun. He was overpowered by numbers, however, and was forced to surrender before assistance could reach him, and the British got off with their prize. The enemy lost seven men killed and twelve wounded, while the gun-boat had none killed and seven wounded. The gun-boat afterwards drifted on shore near Great Egg Harbor

[1] The Legislature, on January 28, 1811, passed an act exempting manufacturers and their employees from military duty, "with a view to the encouragement and prosperity of industrial establishments." When war was declared the Messrs. Du Pont purchased at their own expense three hundred muskets and uniforms, and organized the two volunteer companies from among the workmen in their mills. They were called the North Brandywine and the South Brandywine Rangers.

[2] Thomas Stockton was born in New Castle, April 1, 1781. He was a son of General John Stockton, and was commissioned captain of artillery in the American army September 12, 1812, and major of Forty-second Infantry April 15, 1814. He resigned from the army July 6, 182 , and was elected Governor of Delaware in 1844 and served to 1846. He died suddenly at New Castle on March 2, 1846.

with no one on board, the crew having been taken prisoners.

On August 11th Dr. James Tilton, treasurer of the Wilmington Veteran Association, was appointed by President Madison physician general of the armies of the United States. At this time the depredations by the British, under Admiral Cockburn, in Chesapeake Bay, caused considerable alarm along the shores of the Delaware, where they were expected every day. In September James O'Boyle, in an advertisement in the *Delaware Watchman*, offered a reward of one thousand dollars for Admiral Cockburn's head and five hundred dollars for each of his ears, adding that "my house and many others have been burned by that inhuman wretch."

The news of Commodore Perry's victory on Lake Erie reached Wilmington on the 23d of September, and created the greatest enthusiasm. The military companies paraded and the artillery fired a national salute. In the evening the houses were illuminated and the streets were filled with happy people.[1] On the 25th the Grand Lodge of Delaware, with Commodore Angus, of the Delaware gunboat squadron, and his officers and seamen, honored the event with a grand Masonic procession. The exercises were closed by an eloquent oration from George Read, Jr., in the Presbyterian Church.

Wilmington was again brilliantly illuminated on October 15th, in honor of the "decisive victory of Gen. Harrison over the allied enemy." Upon this occasion the bridges in the borough were fancifully lighted, and the vessels in port were decorated.

In compliance with the act of Congress passed in December, no vessels were allowed to leave one port in this country for another until further instructions.

A meeting of the citizens of Wilmington was held on December 27, 1813, in the Town Hall. Carson Wilson presided and Joseph Downing was secretary. This meeting declared that the monopolizing speculations of a few individuals in the town was injurious to the public welfare, and that "we declare our determination after this day to abstain from the use of the following articles, unless they could be purchased at the prices named: coffee, 25 cents per pound; sugar, 20 cents; and tea, $1.50." The meeting also recommended their fellow-citizens generally to adopt similar measures.

The British squadron was kept cruising off the Capes during the remainder of the year 1813, and effectually cut off all intercourse between the ocean and Philadelphia, which naturally gave rise to much discontent. The only attempt made by the British to plunder was early in December, when a barge belonging to the sloop "Jason" entered Milford Creek with a lieutenant and seven men, and captured two shallops. They were cut off, however, and taken prisoners. The "Belvidera" returned toward the end of the year, and, with the "Neimen," "Jason," "Narcissus" and two tenders, kept up the blockade. The only action of interest that was taken in the State was the continual issuing of new commissions to volunteers. The following is a list of those issued by Governor Haslet during the year, with the exception of Lieutenant Panter Laws and Ensign Thomas Pepper, and those of April 12th, when the militia was organized, which have already been mentioned: May 17th, to Constantine Smith, lieutenant; Hezekiah Wingate, ensign; Seventh Company, Seventh Regiment. May 19th, to Henry Steel, captain, Second Company, Second Regiment. May 26th, to George Reid, Jr., lieutenant, Second Company, Second Regiment. May 27th, to George Hinsey, cornet, Second Troop, First Battalion; Isaac Walker, lieutenant; Henry Walker, ensign; Fifth Company, Third Regiment. William Mason, ensign, Eighth Company, Third Regiment. Thomas Herry, ensign, Seventh Company, Third Regiment. June 5th, to Walter Hutchison, ensign, Eighth Company, Third Regiment. June 8th, to Thomas Burton, lieutenant; John Field, ensign; Fourth Company, Eighth Regiment. Joseph V. Crocket, lieutenant; Dixon Harris, ensign; Second Company, Tenth Regiment. Benjamin Riggen, captain; Peter Carroll, lieutenant; John Sanders, ensign; Fourth Company, Ninth Regiment. June 10th, Jonathan Walton, ensign, First Corps, Seventh Regiment. Michael Wallaston, Fourth Corps, Second Regiment. William Rothwell, ensign, Second Company, Third Regiment. June 11th, to John Sergeant, ensign, Fifth Company, Second Regiment; John Clark, lieutenant; William Guthery, ensign; Seventh Company, Second Regiment. Nicholas Van Dyke, captain; Thomas Shoemaker, lieutenant; James Rogers, ensign; Light Infantry, First Battalion, Second Regiment. June 25th, to Caleb P. Bennet, major of battalion of artillery attached to the First Brigade. July 6th, to Edward Ross, captain; Philip D. Fiddemen, first-lieutenant; Reuben Turner, second lieutenant; John Fleming, cornet; Second Troop Cavalry attached to the Second Brigade. August 11th, to Thomas Primrose, Jr., lieutenant, Fourth Company, Sixth Regiment. September 27th, to Jacob Townsend, ensign, Third Company, Seventh Regiment. October 8th, to Philip Wingate, ensign, company of light infantry attached to the First Battalion, Eighth Regiment. John Hill, captain; Thomas Warrington, lieutenant; Daniel Burton, ensign; Third Company, Eighth Regiment. October 12th, Gilley G. Short, lieutenant; Brinkley Davis, ensign; Eighth Company, Eighth Regiment. October 27th, to Solomon Beckley, ensign, Fourth Company, First Regiment. November 1st, to Amos Talley, captain; Joseph Perkins, lieutenant; Second Company, First Regiment. Henry Rumer, captain; Samuel Marshall, lieutenant; John Stillwell, ensign; Seventh Company, First Regiment. James Gordon, captain, Eighth Company, First Regiment. November 10th, to James Robinson, lieuten-

[1] When Commodore Perry visited Wilmington, a few months later, he was received with every demonstration of joy and approbation.

ant; Robert Robinson, ensign; Eighth Company, First Regiment. November 26th, to David C. Wilson, captain; Benjamin H. Springer, first lieutenant; Jacob W. Robinson, second lieutenant; Third Company of Artillery, First Brigade. December 11th, to Joseph Hutchinson, ensign, Light Infantry, First Battalion, Fifth Regiment. December 18th, to David Helford, lieutenant, Fourth Company, Fourth Regiment. December 21st, to James Clarke, captain; Samuel Warren, Jr., first lieutenant; Charles Buckmaster, second lieutenant; Samuel Throuley, cornet; Third Troop, Second Brigade. December 21st, to Thomas Green, captain; John Jeffries, first lieutenant; Daniel Reynolds, Jr., second-lieutenant; Second Company of Artillery, Second Brigade.

At the election, October, 1813, Daniel Rodney was elected Governor, of whom *Niles' Register* says: "Mr. Rodney, is a 'Federalist.' As many do not know that there are two families of Rodneys in Delaware, who have never agreed on any political question since 1775, it may serve the public information to state that the Mr. Rodney elected is of the opposite line to the late Attorney-General of the United States"—Cæsar A. Rodney. In his message to the Legislature, Jan. 18, 1814, Gov. Rodney says: "In relation to the war in which we are engaged it may be observed, that whatever dangers or distresses may befal us, whatever embarrassments may ensue from the novel and critical situation of the country, it should be remembered that such dangers and embarrassments will not always be within the control of the administration, nor within the means of the State to prevent. Limited in our resources, we must look for protection, support and relief to the Government of the United States. On Congress is imposed the duty, and to them is given the authority, of providing for the common defense, and it is both hoped and expected that the United States will be prepared to meet any invasion or hostile attempts which may be made on our shores in the ensuing season. At the same time, my earnest exertions shall not be wanting to employ in the most effectual manner, according to the provisions of the laws, the power and energy of the State in repelling the enemy, and in the protection of our fellow-citizens."

After indulging in some general observations drawn from ancient history, against entangling alliances with foreign nations, Gov. Rodney continues:

"The expenses which are incurred in our military operations last spring, and all other similar expenses which may arise in the course of the war, ought to be sustained exclusively by the federal government. I, therefore, recommend to you, gentlemen, for the keeping of regular accounts of all future disbursements, and for the preservation of those already made or received by the commissioners heretofore appointed. I feel it incumbent on me to suggest to you, that application should be made to Congress, or the President, for the reimbursement of last summer's expenditures, and for such as may in future accrue. We have heretofore borne our full proportion of the charges of the general government, and no one who knows the disposition of the people of this State, their attachment to the Constitution, and their patriotic affection for their fellow-citizens of the United States, will hesitate in believing that they will acquiesce in contributing their share of all necessary taxes, imposts and excises imposed by Congress, both in war and in peace."

Outerbridge Horsey, who had been elected Senator in room of Samuel White, deceased, was again elected for the term beginning March 4, 1815. The House of Representatives of the State consisted of twenty-one members, seven from each county. The State tax amounted to fifteen thousand dollars, of which Kent and Sussex, combining and voting together, had levied $9036.47 on the county of New Castle—being nearly two-thirds of the whole tax. This was regarded as an extortion and made a great excitement among the people. At this time there were thirty establishments, great and small, for the manufacture of cotton and wool, within twenty miles of Wilmington. Some had just commenced operations and had but a few hands at work, while others were large and flourishing concerns. Those thirty cotton and woolen-mills were estimated by writers at that day[1] to have cost one hundred and fifty thousand dollars, independent of the value of the mill-houses and other houses for workmen, and to have employed from three hundred to five hundred hands; besides these, there were thought to be from one hundred to one hundred and fifty persons engaged in making cotton and woolen machinery around Wilmington. This the writer considered to be a "moderate computation," as the greater number of those workmen were enumerated from residents in and around that city.

On the 24th of January, 1814, the Pea Patch again occupied the attention of the Legislature. Although it had been ceded to the United States in the summer of 1813, in the expectation that a battery would be built thereon, no action had as yet been taken in that direction. Consequently, a resolution was passed by the Senate and House of Representatives requesting the President of the United States to take the matter under consideration. On the following day Gov. Rodney addressed a long letter to the Hon. John Armstrong, Secretary of War, from headquarters at Lewistown. He recounted the unprotected condition of the coast from New Castle to the ocean, and the consequent suffering to which the people of the State had been subjected by the enemy during the whole of the preceding year. The secretary was requested to lay the matter before the President and endeavor to secure for the following six months a battalion of infantry, with a small proportion of artillery and cavalry, to be stationed in the State. The advisability was suggested of employing a part of the flotilla then in the Delaware also in protecting the com-

[1] *Niles' Register.*

merce. Through these letters the actual condition of affairs in Delaware was brought before the United States officials, and on March 11th Governor Rodney received a communication from Adjutant-General Duane, of the Fourth Military District, requesting certain information for the use of Colonel Cromwell Pearse, who had succeeded General Bloomfield in command of the district. He desired to know the text of the militia laws then in force in the State, a return of the militia, ordnance and arms, and many other particulars, which were promptly furnished by Adjutant-General Jesse Green, of the State militia. A full statement of all expenditures for defense, for the year ending March 14, 1814, was transmitted to Secretary Armstrong, by order of the Assembly, with a request that the State be reimbursed. Governor Rodney had already issued a number of commissions since his inauguration as Governor, which were as follows: On January 7th, to William Colgan, ensign, Fourth Company, Fifth Regiment; January 7th, to James Gardiner, second lieutenant, and Nicholas A. Williamson, cornet, in Captain John Warren's troop, First Brigade; January 13th, to William Shankland, major of battalion of cavalry, and John McCoy, ensign, Fourth Company, Fourth Regiment; January 15th, to Peter Carrol, captain, John Saunders, lieutenant, Samuel Hitch, ensign, Fourth Company, Ninth Regiment; Levin Sherman, lieutenant, and John Smith, ensign, Fifth Company, Ninth Regiment; David Mustard, captain, Seventh Company, Eighth Regiment; January 17th, to John Campbell, captain, and George Shockley, lieutenant of a company of light infantry attached to the First Battalion, Seventh Regiment; Daniel Harrington, captain, Avery Needles, lieutenant, and William Rose, ensign, First Company, Sixth Regiment; January 16th, to William Kennedy, major, battalion of cavalry attached to Second Brigade; February 22d, to Francis A. Boyer, second lieutenant, troop of cavalry; Micajah Greenfield, cornet, attached to Second Brigade; Kendal Batson, commissary of military stores for Sussex County; John Many, for Kent County; and on March 3d, to James R. Black to the same office in New Castle County.[1]

Several attempts were made in Congress during the spring of 1814 to effect a repeal of the Embargo Act. In the Senate, on March 23d, Senator Outerbridge Horsey, of Delaware, presented a petition, signed by citizens of his own State, demanding the repeal of the obnoxious measure. Mr. Horsey secured the appointment of a select committee to consider the bill, but further efforts to repeal the embargo proved futile.

There was little activity in the State during the early part of the year, as the British confined their operations to the North. June 18th an order was issued by the Governor, at the request of Brigadier-General Stockton, for a general-court martial. It was to consist of thirteen members and to assemble at New Castle on July 13th, for the trial of Major Caleb P. Bonnet, of the artillery attached to the First Brigade, and any other persons who might be brought before it. Major Thomas Robinson was appointed president of the court-martial and the other members were: Judge Advocate, Lieutenant-Colonel John Caldwell, Lieutenant-Colonel Joshua Carter, Lieutenant-Colonel David Niven, Major Mordecai McKinney, Major John Moody, Major Joseph Grubb, Major Patrick McConaughy, Major Samuel Moore, Major Oliver R. Howell, Captain Christopher Vandegrift, Major John Crow and Captain James Miles. The charge for which Major Bennet was brought to trial was not proven and he was discharged.

On June 20th the British frigate "Nieman" anchored off the Capes and sent several barges with sixty men into Indian River, burning two or three coasters and shallops loaded with lumber, and securing a ransom for two others. Governor Rodney ordered a company of fifty men to proceed to Lewistown to assist Captain Holland in defending the surrounding country. Early in July the Secretary of War informed the Governor that the State would be required to furnish one thousand men as its quota of a requisition for ninety-three thousand then issued by the President. The troops were to consist of one hundred artillery and nine hundred infantry. Agreeable to this order, Governor Rodney issued instructions to Adjutant-General Robert Dill, on the 25th, ordering him to organize and hold in readiness for immediate service the whole of the second class and such portion of the third class of each company of the several militia regiments as had not performed a tour of duty. The receipt of this communication was duly advertised with a view to securing volunteers who were particularly desired and cheerfully accepted as a part of the requisition. The enemy had now no force whatever in the bay with the exception of a single frigate which cruised off the capes. The Secretary of War, in compliance with continued requests, authorized the Governor to station a company of detached militia at Lewistown under Major Charles Hunter.

The announcement of the capture of Washington, late in August, brought measures for defense once more to the attention of the authorities and people. It was feared that General Ross might march from Washington at the head of his victorious troops and spread destruction and misery through Maryland, Delaware and Pennsylvania. The people felt confident, however, that the land forces could be held in

[1] The following letter, written by a private, whose name is unknown, tells its own sad story:

"Oswego Falls, New York, March 8, 1814.

"*Dear Sir:* I am very sorry it is my melancholy duty to inform the citizens of Newcastle county of the death of our friend and comrade Lieutenant Daniel Maney, of the 2d Regiment of artillery. He was killed on the 6th inst., at the attack of the British on Oswego, by a shot through the heart. His death is very much lamented, as he was a brave and courageous officer. He fell on the field of glory, and died in defending the rights of his country, and he rests in the grave of honor. He was buried yesterday, with military honors, in the graveyard at the village of Oswego. His brother officers will place a tombstone over his grave."

check, providing they were able to prevent a fleet from entering the Delaware and joining the invading army.

The protection of the Delaware consequently became the all-absorbing topic which occupied the attention of the people. The resources of Delaware were not sufficient to erect the necessary fortifications without outside assistance. The State had ceded Pea Patch Island to the United States, hoping that suitable batteries would be erected thereon; but, in spite of many appeals to the government, nothing was done. The Philadelphians, however, took the matter resolutely in hand. The old "Commissioners of Defense" had been excused from duty in February, but, on August 26th, the citizens of that city and the vicinity met in the State-House yard and organized themselves into a new Committee of Defense, which was afterwards distinguished for the zeal with which they conducted their work. Thomas McKean, formerly Governor of Pennsylvania, was called to the chair. The committee appointed consisted of Charles Biddle, Thomas Leiper, Thomas Cadwalader, General John Steel, George Latimer, John Barker, Henry Hawkins, Liberty Browne, Charles Ross, Manuel Eyre, John Connelly, Condy Raguet, William McFadden, John Sergeant, John Geyer (mayor) and Joseph Reed, for the city of Philadelphia; Colonel Jonathan Williams, John Goodman, Daniel Graves, John Barclay, John Naglee, Thomas Snyder, J. W. Norris, Michael Leib, Jacob Huff, James Whitehead, for the Northern Liberties and Penn township; and James Josiah, R. McMullin, John Thompson, E. Ferguson, James Ronaldson, P. Miercken, R. Palmer and P. Peltz, for the district of Southwark and the townships of Moyamensing and Passyunk. The most important subcommittee was that for "Defense on the Delaware and to procure Seamen, etc." The members of this sub-committee were Henry Hawkins, James Josiah, William McFadden, John Naglee and Peter Miercken. The committee at once opened correspondence with the Governor of Delaware, citizens of Wilmington, the Governor of New Jersey and others, relative to the work they had in charge. Commodore Murray placed at their disposal three gun-boats, already armed and equipped, and the Marine Artillery volunteered seventy men, under Captain Ansley, to man the vessels. The committee made a thorough investigation of the measures most necessary for a complete defense of the river and bay. At their request, Gen. Bloomfield ordered thirty men of the First Troop of Cavalry, under Captain Ross, to form a chain of videttes from Philadelphia to Port Penn and the mouth of the Elk River, to convey intelligence of the movements of the enemy. They next communicated with the Secretaries of the War and Navy Departments, with a view to securing the co-operation of the general government. A request was made to allow the erection of a battery of thirty-two twenty-four-pounders on the Pea Patch, and suitable fortifications on Newbold's Point and Red Bank, which was granted by the Navy Department, and additional batteries were also erected at Fort Mifflin.

The expenses arising out of these measures were largely met by sums voted by the city and State, and general contributions. The Bank of Pennsylvania alone advanced three hundred thousand dollars.

In the mean time, on September 5th, United States Marshal James Brobson issued orders for all "aliens" residing in Wilmington to report at his office once a month. All deserters from the enemy, when they arrived in the borough, were also required to report to him. When intelligence was received at Wilmington that the British had landed at North Point, on the Patapsco River, to attack Baltimore, the volunteer corps and the militia of the Fourth Military District of Delaware were ordered by Gen. Bloomfield to proceed, with all possible despatch, under Col. John Thompson, to Kennett Square, Chester County, Pa. The militia of the adjoining counties of Bucks, Montgomery, Chester and Delaware were ordered to march, fully equipped, with all possible despatch, to Marcus Hook.

During the excitement caused by the threatened invasion by the British under Maj.-Gen. Ross, the citizens of Wilmington, on September 13th, called a town-meeting at the City Hall. Gen. John Stockton was made chairman and N. G. Williams secretary. Peter Caverly and John Gordon were added to the Committee of Safety. Wilmington was divided into four districts, and four persons were appointed in each to serve as a committee of vigilance. They were required to examine all suspicious persons and report them to the Committee of Safety. Ezekiel Massey, James Collins, John Elliot and John Simpson were appointed for the First District; John Hedges, Jared Chestnut, James Hogg and Isaac Bonsall for the Second; John Rumford, Thomas Richardson, George Whitelock and Esau Cox for the Third; and William Woodcock, William Collins, John Dixon and Capt. David Kirkpatrick for the Fourth District.

The news of the defeat of the British, in their attack upon Baltimore, and the death of Gen. Ross, was brought to Wilmington by the mail-stage from Havre-de-Grace, Md., and reached the town about 9 A.M. the following day. The stage stopped at the Indian King tavern, where a crowd gathered to hear the joyful intelligence. It created the greatest excitement, which was increased by the following publication in the *American Watchman* on September 15th:

"GOOD NEWS! GLORIOUS NEWS!!"

"It is with inexpressible joy that we present to our readers the following cheering intelligence. The hired, blood thirsty mercenaries, the off-scourings of the earth, and the refuse of creation, sent by Great Britain to burn, pillage, lay waste and destroy, by the favor of Heaven and the valor of American soldiers, have been defeated at Baltimore and have been forced to make a disgraceful retreat to their floating dungeons."

On September 16th, Dr. Arthur Johns and Samuel McDonnell began to recruit men for the flying artillery corps, commanded by George Read, of New

Castle. They offered to supply the recruits with saddles, bridles, holsters, pistols, sabres and every necessary equipment free of expense.[1]

Three vessels were purchased in September,—the sloop "Two Sisters," for $1400; the schooner "Ruby," for $1500; and the sloop "Three Sisters," for $1600; and about the same time, Secretary Jones of the Navy Department detailed Commodore John Rodgers for duty in Delaware Bay with his whole force.

Governor Rodney tendered the Committee of Defense of Philadelphia every assistance in his power, and forwarded them a letter explaining the war measures the State had put into force for the protection of the coast.

As soon as Commodore Rodgers had arrived in the river, he recommended the construction of batteries and bulwarks in the vicinity of the Pea Patch. Messrs. Williams, Steel, Leiper, Sergeant, Eyre, Connelly and Hawkins were appointed a committee to go to New Castle and accompany Commodore Rodgers to the Pea Patch, and ascertain what steps were necessary for the protection of the State. The committee reported on October 5th, "That, considering the Pea Patch as an island but recently formed by the alluvion of the river, and perceiving that the part now visible at high tide is only so by the reeds and other aquatic plants that grow upon it, the committee conceive that it would require much time and labor to procure a solid foundation of efficient work. It follows that a temporary fortification, hastily erected on the surface, can only be contemplated for any immediate effect. The Delaware side of the river is banked meadow, with various intersecting ditches and soft ground. It was found impossible to rear a base in a right line on the bank; the distance between the shore and the island could not, therefore, be ascertained, but it is evidently equal to that between the island and the Jersey shore, which, by running a line on its sandy beach, was found to be one mile and a quarter."

The report suggested to Commodore Rodgers the propriety of sinking fifty hulks near the island to prevent the enemy from sailing up the river. An interesting report was subjoined from James Ramage, sailing-master of the United States frigate "Guerrière," who, in obedience to instructions from Commodore Rodgers, had gone out from New Castle to the Pea Patch to measure the depth and width of the channels on both sides of the island. On the Delaware side he found the channel deepest near New Castle, and again at Reedy Island.

Another committee was appointed to confer with General Gaines,[2] commander of the military district, on the best and cheapest mode of defense of the forts and obstructions at the Pea Patch and Newbold's Point. The estimates submitted by them after the conference showed that one hundred thousand dollars would be required for the land fortifications, and the obstructions near the island, and a resolution was at once passed by the general Committee of Defense offering to advance this amount, if the government authorized the work, and appointed Messrs. Williams, Josiah, Eyre, McFaden and Leiper to cooperate with Commodore Rodgers in superintending it. The plans were immediately prepared by General Gaines.

At the same time an offer was made by the Secretary of the Navy to appropriate one hundred and fifty thousand dollars for a steam frigate for the defense of the Delaware, provided the money could be raised on the credit of the United States. The general committee, on the receipt of this, ordered the money to be placed to the account of the treasurer of the United States. The committee of correspondence and Mr. Leiper were then appointed to call upon the corporations of New Castle and Wilmington and the inhabitants of the adjacent country and ask them to contribute toward the funds necessary to defray the cost of the Pea Patch fortifications. On November 29th, they had a conference with the Council of Wilmington, and afterwards discussed the matter with private citizens, and received encouraging assurances that liberal sums would be raised and forwarded to Philadelphia. On the following day, the committee went to New Castle, and met Chief Justice Johns, George Reid, Esq., and Nicholas Van Dyke, a part of the delegation appointed to meet them, the others being detained by sickness. Here also the result of the consultation was most flattering. The placing of contracts was at once begun, and the construction of a frigate similar to the one known as "Fulton the First," built for the defense of New York, by Robert Fulton, the inventor, was also contemplated.

In addition to these measures for the protection of the water-ways, the committee had also sent a number of troops into Delaware to remain until there seemed no longer any prospect of an invasion. A brigade had been sent from Philadelphia and was stationed at Camp Du Pont, about three miles from Wilmington. They were constantly drilled throughout the summer. About the middle of November six companies under Lieutenant-Colonel Raguet were marched to Camp Gaines, situated two miles below New Castle. Colonel Irvine, who, previously occupied this post, now moved farther down the bay to prevent the enemy from landing. Colonel Raguet remained at Camp Gaines until a severe storm broke up the camp, and drove the troops into New Castle. There they were quartered in a church, the court-house and a private dwelling until late in November. On the 30th of that month the "Advance Light Brigade" broke up Camp Du Pont and after

[1] George Reed, who commanded the Flying Artillery, at New Castle, at the close of the war refused to accept pay for his services from the United States Government, but secured pay for his men to the amount of twenty-four hundred dollars. Captain Reed at one time paid thirty-seven dollars of his own funds for provisions, and eighty dollars for caps to supply his men.

[2] General Gaines was appointed to the command of the Fourth Military District, which included Wilmington and Philadelphia, on October 1st, to succeed General Bloomfield.

they were joined by the detachments at New Castle and Camp Gaines, about three thousand in all, they returned to Philadelphia.

The presence of British vessels in the Delaware made it necessary for the committee to continue their other labors. The result to the Wilmington conference was soon proved to be a material success by the receipt of the following letter by the first burgess of the borough:

"WILMINGTON, December 7, 1814.

"*Gentlemen:* Your letter of the 4th instant, covering one from the Secretary of War, is received, and on Monday was laid before the Council, and I am directed to inform you that the Council of the Borough of Wilmington have appropriated fifteen thousand dollars for the purpose mentioned in your letter, and as soon as the first five thousand dollars is placed in one of our banks, you shall be notified.

"I am, Gentlemen,
"With great respect,
Your obedient servant,
"JAS. BROOSON, *First Burgess.*

"*Committee of Correspondence.*"

An extensive correspondence also ensued between the Philadelphia committee and the government officials at Washington, relative to an arrangement for handling the money, and for some time there was much difficulty in getting warrants from the War Department. This occasioned much inconvenience, and although the work was progressing satisfactorily, much uneasiness was felt by Captain Thomas Clark, who had been stationed at the Pea Patch, as commanding engineer. January 5, 1815, he wrote to Captain Josiah, stating that the wharf had been sunk and was perfectly secure, and that they were proceeding smoothly and satisfactorily with the other work, but at the same time it was absolutely necessary to have some more money. The urgency of the situation may well be imagined from his own words, as in the letter he said, "For God's sake let me have some money by the ensuing week; if it be only a thousand dollars, it will keep the credit of the place good until better arrangements can be made." The committee avoided any trouble, however, by advancing the necessary amount until the government issued its warrants.[1]

On January 12th the first installment of five thousand dollars was deposited in Wilmington by the borough, payable to the order of George Latimer, and interest was made payable from the day of the cashier's receipt, and a certificate of stock was forwarded to Allen Thompson, treasurer of the town. The people of New Castle had more difficulty in raising a loan, and the committee becoming impatient, addressed a letter to three of the citizens, of which the following is a copy:

"PHILADELPHIA, January 25, 1815.

"*Gentlemen:* The committee of this city and its vicinities have instructed us to address you as a committee of the inhabitants of New Castle, on the subject of a loan to the United States for the special purpose of making defences on the Delaware at and near the Pea Patch.

"In confidence that money, competent to the object, would be provided, by loans, the Government have given directions to their officers to proceed with as much expedition as possible to erect the necessary defences at that important situation. General Gaines, while in command, zealously commenced the works, and Colonel Irvine, who succeeds him, is no less earnestly engaged to have them completed. Part of the works are going on here to begin the fortifications, contracts have been made in New Jersey for larger quantities of timber for chevaux-de-frise, &c., and you, no doubt, know that Captain Clark, an officer of the corps of engineers, has a considerable number of men employed under his immediate directions at the Pea Patch. Everything is in a state of forwardness, and arrangements are making to engage the necessary workmen that the chevaux-de-frise and wharves may be sunk. The General Government has no money at command, but have given assurance to apply solely to the purpose intended whatever sums may be loaned for these defences, and there can be no doubt but the same will be so applied.

"For the amount loaned, certificates of funded debt, on the terms of the loan of 1812, will be issued, bearing equal date with the deposit in bank.

"In this way we have already received certificates for $70,000, deposited in November, and will no doubt receive the same evidence of debt for our subsequent advances. The Borough of Wilmington have agreed to loan fifteen thousand dollars, of which $5,000 has been deposited in the Bank of Wilmington and Brandywine to the credit of our Treasurer. This sum will be expended by or under the direction of the engineer to whom the Government have intrusted the superintendence of the works, and expended as far as practicable in the vicinity of that place; in like manner, whatever sums you may lend will be deposited in your bank, drawn from thence and used in like manner. Our committee will charge itself with procuring for you the certificates of stock, you advising us in whose name or names you wish them to be issued.

"While the labors and expenditures of the committee were confined to our own immediate vicinity, it was not intended to call on you to aid us with money, but as the contemplated defences on the Delaware are as important and perhaps more so to the citizens of New Castle than to us, we now solicit your aid. As you will receive certificates of funded debt, with interest, payable quarterly, you only interpose your credit, even if you borrow of the bank, between the Government of the United States and bank.

"Whatever sum you may loan you will be pleased to deposit in your bank to the credit of George Latimer, Esquire, Treasurer of the Committee of Defence of this city, and send us the receipt of the cashier. For the sum so deposited we will procure you a certificate, or certificates of six per cent. stock in the names of such persons as you shall appoint.

"We are, gentlemen,
"Your obedient, humble servants,
"GEO. LATIMER,
"JNO. MONTGOMERY,
"JAS. REED,
"*Committee of Correspondence.*

"James Riddle, George Reid, Nicholas Van Dyke, Esquires, New Castle."

It appears, however, that the citizens of New Castle were unable to raise a loan before the work was completed, as no trace of a reply to this letter can be found in the proceedings of the committee. The sum raised for the steam frigate did not prove sufficient and early in 1815 the five thousand dollars subscribed, by Wilmington was refunded. The Secretary of the Navy had, however, authorized Navy Agent George Harrison, to have one built.

On the 11th of September, 1814, the British land and naval forces determined to make a combined attack on the Americans at Plattsburg Bay. The British squadron was under the command of Captain George Downie, of the royal navy, and Captain Thomas Macdonough,[2] a native of Delaware, commanded the

[1] In March, 1817, Captain Babcock, of the United States corps of engineers, advertised for twenty-four thousand perches of building stone and sixty thousand bushels of lime, to be delivered at the Pea Patch.

[2] Commodore Thomas Macdonough, United States Navy, was born in New Castle County, December 23, 1781. His father, Major Macdonough, was a physician and a distinguished officer of the Delaware line in the Revolutionary army. Commodore MacDonough was appointed a midshipman in 1798, and promoted to lieutenant February 6, 1807, and commodore July 21, 1813. In 1801 he was assigned to the frigate "Philadelphia," a vessel in the squadron against Tripoli, and rendered distinguished services. When the "Philadelphia" was captured Macdonough escaped the fate of the officers and crew by being left at Gibraltar, with the prize "Mechiboa." He afterwards served in the schooner "Enterprise," under Decatur, and was one of the party which recaptured and burned the "Philadelphia" on the night of February 16, 1804. He was made commander of the Lake Champlain squadron in 1814, and on September 11th of that year defeated the British squadron, under Commodore George Downie, who greatly outnumbered him in

American squadron. At eight o'clock in the morning of the 11th, Captain Macdonough calmly awaited the approach of the British fleet, which consisted of the frigate "Confiance," thirty-eight, Downie's flagship; the brig "Linnet," sixteen, Captain Pring; the sloops "Chub," Lieutenant McDhee, and "Finch," Lieutenant Hicks, carrying eleven guns each; and twelve gunboats, manned by about forty-five men each. Eight of them carried two guns, and four of them one gun each; carrying in all ninety-five guns, and manned by a little more than one thousand men. The American force consisted of Captain Macdonough's flagship the "Saratoga," of twenty-six guns; the brig "Eagle," twenty-six guns, Captain Henly; the schooner "Ticonderoga," seventeen guns, Lieutenant Cassin; sloop "Preble," seven guns, Lieutenant Charles Budd, and ten gunboats, carrying eighty-six guns in all, and manned by eight hundred and eighty-two men.

Lossing[1] says, the American line of battle had

COMMODORE THOMAS MACDONOUGH.

been formed with great skill by the young commander, reference being had to the conformation of the land. It extended completely across the entrance to Plattsburg Bay from Crab Island to Cumberland Head, and the British, rounding the latter, was compelled to approach the American squadron with his bows on, giving the latter a great advantage at the beginning. The British line was headed by a sloop followed by the "Finch," which led the van of the British squadron, and made for the right of the American line, in the direction of the "Preble," near Crab Island. At the same time the "Chub" moved toward the head or left of the Americans, near Cumberland Head, keeping well to the windward of the "Eagle," to support the "Linnet" in a direct attack on that vessel, while the gunboats coming up in order, their commanders received from Commodore Downie final instructions for action. He then attempted to lay the "Confiance" athwart the "Saratoga," while the "Finch" and the gun-boats should attack the "Ticonderoga" and "Preble." He was baffled by shifting winds, and was compelled to anchor his vessel within two cable-lengths of its antagonist. In the mean time Macdonough had thoroughly prepared to receive the enemy. When his vessel was cleared for action, springs placed on his cables, and all was in readiness, he knelt on the deck of the "Saratoga," near one of its heaviest guns, with his officers and men around him, and, in few words, asked Almighty God for aid, and committed the issue into His hands. He arose with assured courage, and as the enemy came down upon him, his vessels sprang their broadsides to bear, and the "Eagle" opened the action by hurling the first shot. It discharged in quick succession its four long eighteen-pounders in broadside. This was followed by the fire of a long twenty-four-pounder on the "Saratoga," which the young and gallant Commodore Macdonough had sighted himself. The ball entered the outer hawse-hole of the "Confiance," the enemy's flagship, and went crushing through every obstacle the entire length of her deck, killing several men on its way, and demolishing the wheel. The "Linnet," as she was passing to attack the "Eagle," gave the "Saratoga" a broadside, but without serious effect. One of her shots demolished a hen-coop on the "Saratoga," in which was a young game cock, and released the fowl. Startled by the noise of cannon, Mr. Lossing says, the cock flew upon a gun-slide, and, clapping its wings, crowed lustily and defiantly. The sailors cheered, and the incident, appearing to them as ominous of victory for the Americans, strengthened the courage of all.

The "Confiance" made no reply to the "Saratoga's" savage twenty-four-pounder until she had secured a desirable position, when she exhibited a sheet of flame. Her entire larboard broadside guns, consisting of sixteen twenty-four-pounders, double-shotted, leveled at point-blank range, coolly sighted, and favored by smooth water, were discharged at one time. The effect was terrible. The "Saratoga" shivered from round-top to hull as with an ague, and forty of her people, or almost one-fifth of her complement, were disabled. Almost immediately, however, Macdonough resumed the conflict, and the fire of the "Saratoga" was steady and gallantly conducted. Among her lost was her first lieutenant, Peter Gamble, but Commodore Downie, of the "Confiance," was also killed.

The contest had now become general, steady and active. The "Chub" struck her flag and was taken possession of by Midshipman Platt, of the "Saratoga," who had her towed to Plattsburg Bay, and anchored near the mouth of the Saranac. Almost half of her people were killed or wounded. An hour later the "Finch" drifted upon Crab Island shoal, where she struck, and surrendered to a little two-gun battery.

vessels and guns. From the close of the war his health gave way, yet he lived for more than ten years with consumption. He died at Middletown, Conn., in 1825, where he married his wife, Miss Shaler, who had died only a few months before.

[1] "Pictorial Field-Book of the War of 1812," p. 866.

The British gun-boats now entered vigorously into the action and soon compelled the "Preble" to cut her cables and flee to a safer place, near the shore, where she went out of action. The attack on the "Ticonderoga" was redoubled by the fourteen gun-boats, but the gallant "Ca-sin" walked the taffrail in a storm of grape and canister shot, watching the movements of the assailants, and directing effective discharges of musket-balls and other light missiles, which kept the enemy at bay. Several times the British were within a few feet of the sides of the "Ticonderoga" with the intention of boarding her, but they were repulsed.

In the mean time the "Eagle" lost the springs of her cable, and became exposed to the combined fire of the "Linnet" and "Confiance." Very soon the two flagships became disabled. The "Saratoga" had not a single serviceable starboard-gun left, and was silent. The "Confiance" was not much better off. Now was the moment for Macdonough to exhibit his splendid seamanship. He did so quickly and effectively. With the aid of Philip Brum, his skillful sailing-master, he wound the ship, by means of a stream-anchor and hawsers, so that he brought the guns of his larboard quarter to bear on the "Confiance," which had vainly endeavored to imitate the movement. Macdonough now poured such a destructive fire on the British flag-ship that she soon surrendered. The "Saratoga's" fire was then directed upon the "Linnet," and in the course of fifteen minutes she too struck her colors. The British galleys in the mean time had been driven by the "Ticonderoga" half a mile in the rear of the larger vessels, and they lay scattered, and giving feeble aid to them. Seeing the colors of the larger vessels go down, they too dropped their ensigns, and at a little past noon not one of the sixteen national flags, which were so proudly floating over the British squadron when it rounded Cumberland Head, could be seen.

Finding that they would not be pursued, the galleys escaped down the lake. The Americans were too crippled to follow. "I could only look at the enemy's galleys going off in a shattered condition," Macdonough wrote the Secretary of War, "for there was not a mast in either squadron that could stand to make sail on; the lower rigging, being nearly all shot away, hung down as if it had just been placed over the mast-heads." "Our masts, yards and sails were so shattered," wrote Midshipman Lee, of the "Confiance," who was wounded in the action, "that we looked like so many bunches of matches and the other like a bundle of rags."

For two hours and twenty minutes this severe naval battle raged, while the thunder of cannon, the hiss of rockets, the scream of bombs and the rattle of musketry were heard on the shore. It was a grand sight, and was witnessed by hundreds of spectators on the headlands of the Vermont shore, who greeted the victory with shouts. It was a battle characterized by a vigor and destructiveness not excelled by any during the war; indeed, seldom equaled anywhere or at any time. The victory for the Americans was complete and substantial; the "Saratoga" had fifty round-shot in her hull, and the "Confiance" one hundred and five. The "Saratoga" was twice set on fire by hot shot from the enemy's ship. Very few officers of either of the ships were uninjured. Macdonough sighted a favorite gun much of the time during the action. While doing so at one time, bending his body, a shot cut the spanker-boom in two, and it fell upon his back with such force as to prostrate him senseless on the deck. The cry went through the ship that the commodore was killed. He soon recovered and resumed his station. A few minutes afterwards a shot drove the head of the captain of his favorite gun in upon him, and knocked him senseless into the scuppers, when his death was again announced; but he speedily recovered. His venerable sailing master, Peter Brum, had his clothes nearly torn off by a splinter while winding the ship. Lieutenant Lovelace had a shot-box, on which he was standing driven, from under him by a ball, and was knocked down by the flying head of a seaman. Lieutenants Gamble and Stansbury were killed. The British officers suffered severely. Commander Downie, Capt. Anderson of the marines, Midshipman Gunn of the "Confiance," and Lieutenants Paul and Boatswain Jackson, of the "Linnet," were also killed and many others were wounded. The entire loss of the Americans was one hundred and ten, of whom fifty-two were killed. The total British loss was more than two hundred.

Sir George Prevost, who commanded the British land forces, was also defeated at the battle of Plattsburg by General Macomb. Spontaneous honors and praises were given by the people to him and Macdonough conjointly. Bonfires and illuminations blazed in almost every city and village in the land, and recent disaster at the national capital was almost unthought of for the moment. Legislative resolves, artillery,[1] oratory and song were pressed into the service of rendering homage to the two heroes and their men. The newspapers teemed with eulogies, and at all public gatherings and entertainments their names and deeds were mentioned with applause. Macdonough was nobly honored. The State of New York gave him two thousand acres of land. The State of Vermont purchased two hundred acres on Cum-

[1] On Sunday, September 10th, at the military camp near the arsenal in Wilmington, a *feu de joie* was fired by the troops under the command of Gen. Cadwallader, of Philadelphia, in honor of Commodore Macdonough's victory. On the following day a salute was fired at Camp Stockton, near Elkton, by the Wilmington Artillerists, under the command of Captain Rodney. On the 20th the third company of Wilmington Artillerists, under the command of Capt. D. C. Wilson, fired a *feu de joie* at Fort Hollingsworth, near Elkton, in honor of the same event. The Veteran Corps of Wilmington, commanded by Col. Allen McLane, assembled on the corner of French and Second Streets, on the 1st of October, and also fired a salute in honor of Macdonough's victory. John Washington, who died in Wilmington November 19, 1864, aged eighty-six years, was one of the last survivors of Cæsar A. Rodney's artillery company in the War of 1812. For a long time during the war this company was at "The Rocks," the end of Seventh Street, guarding the entrance to the Christiana. Afterwards this company was ordered to Elkton, and toward the close of the war to the Niagara frontier

berland Head and presented it to him. It was on the borders of Cumberland, or Plattsburg Bay, and the farm-house upon it overlooked the scene of his gallant exploits. The cities of New York and Albany each gave the hero a valuable lot of land. "Thus," said Macdonough to a friend, while tears stood in his eyes, "in one month, from a poor lieutenant I became a rich man." Congress gave him the thanks of the nation, and with his brave commanders, Henley and Cassin, voted him a gold medal with suitable devices and inscriptions. On one side of Macdonough's medal was a bust of the hero in

THE MACDONOUGH MEDAL.

profile, with the legend. "THO. MACDONOUGH, STAGNO CHAMPLAIN CLAS. REG. BRIT. SUPERAVIT." The reverse side bore a representation of a fleet engaged before a town (Plattsburg), enveloped in smoke. Several small boats on the lake; legend: "UNO LATERE PERCUSSO, ALTERUM, Superavit." Exergue, "Inter Class, Ameri. ET BRIT. DIE XI. SEPT., MDCCCXIIII."

One of the last acts of the Delaware Legislature in connection with the War of 1812 was to take appropriate steps in recognition of the bravery of her gallant sons. A resolution was passed in January, 1815, expressing the "pride and pleasure felt by the General Assembly in recognizing Commodore Macdonough as a citizen of Delaware." They appropriated a sum of money for a piece of plate, and also for a portrait of the commodore.

When Russia offered her mediation between England and the United States, in the interest of peace, Mr. Bayard and Albert Gallatin were commissioned to proceed directly to St. Petersburg, and charged with authority to conclude a peace upon the terms set forth in the declaration of war. The prodigious change in European politics, which afterwards astonished the world, was not anticipated when the American envoys were commissioned and dispatched. France and England, though at temporary peace, still threatened war, and the rights and interests of Americans were still menaced with violation. It was not for abstract principles, but for practical wrongs, that war had been declared; hence, it was against the *practice* of impressment rather than against the claim of right to impress, which England held, that the Secretary of State, in his letter of instructions of April 15, 1813, instructs the envoys—of "the right of the United States to be exempt from the degrading *practice* of impressment," and remarking that "the *practice* is utterly repugnant to the laws of nations; it is supported by no treaty with any nation; it was never acquiesced in by any, and a submission *to it* by the United States would be the abandonment in favor of Great Britain of all claim to neutral rights and all other rights on the ocean." The object of the mission of Mr. Bayard and Mr. Gallatin, so far as the subject of impressment was concerned, was to effect a discontinuance of the practice, and that accomplished by any means, though not within the strict terms of the letter of instruction, the end would have been satisfactorily attained. It is said an opposite position was afterwards taken, resulting from an obscurity in a subsequent part of the instructions, where it is said: "Upon the whole subject I have to observe that your first duty will be to conclude a peace with Great Britain, and that you are authorized to do it in case you obtain a satisfactory stipulation against impressment, one which will secure, under our flag, protection to the crew. The manner in which it may be done has been already stated, with the reciprocal stipulations which you may enter into to secure Great Britain against the injury of which she complains. If this encroachment of Great Britain is not provided against, the United States have appealed to arms in vain."

When these instructions were given, the conditions of the belligerents in Europe, as well as the state of the war in the United States, were very different from what they had become before Mr. Bayard and Mr. Gallatin arrived in St. Petersburg, on July 21, 1813. The absence of the Emperor Alexander, who was with the army, the retreat of the French and the refusal of England, communicated by Lord Cathcart, to accept the good offices of the Emperor, frustrated the St. Petersburg mission in its effort to conclude a peace.

Lord Cathcart having expressed the willingness of the Prince Regent to nominate plenipotentiaries to treat directly with the American envoys, the "Bramble" was dispatched to America to communicate the views of the British government. To meet this advance, Mr. Clay and Mr. Russell were dispatched to Gottenburg, the place first selected for the negotiations. While awaiting the arrival of his colleagues, Mr. Bayard visited England, from whence he wrote: "I arrived in London at a very inauspicious moment for an American. The Allies were at Paris, and news had just been received of the abdication of Bonaparte. The whole nation was delirious with joy, which was not indulged without bitter invectives against their remaining enemies, the Americans. The time of declaring war stung them more than the act itself. They considered it as an aid given to their great enemy at a moment when his power was most gigantic, and most seriously threatened the subjugation of the Continent, as well as of themselves. They thirst for a great revenge, and the nation will not be satisfied without it. They

know little of our parties. It was America that fell upon them at the crisis of their struggle, and it is America now that is to be made to feel the weight of their undivided power."

The negotiations being transferred from Gottenburg to Ghent, Mr. Bayard there proceeded, and arrived on the 27th of June. After the arrival of the other commissioners, a whole month passed in uncertainty, suspense and expectation. On the 6th of August, Mr. Bayard wrote from Ghent:

"Nothing favorable can be augured from the delay in sending their commissioners to the rendezvous agreed to at their instance as the seat of the negotiations. Our commissioners have all been here more than a month, and we have not yet heard that theirs are even preparing to quit London. We expect them daily; but so we have done for twenty days past, and so we shall till they arrive, or till we learn that they do not mean to come at all. I assure you, between ourselves, my hopes of peace are very slender. The Government of England affect to despise us; but they know we are a growing and dangerous rival. If they could crush us at the present moment, they would not fail to do it, and I am inclined to think that they will not make peace till they have tried the effect of all their force against us. An united, firm and courageous resistance on our part, alone, in my opinion, can furnish hopes of a safe and honorable peace to the United States. . . . What I doubt is, that if the olive branch be presented to us by one hand, a cup of humiliation and disgrace will be held out in the other; and although I should rejoice to carry the former to the United States, yet I never shall consent to be the bearer of the latter."

And, again, he writes: "No people are more easily elated or depressed by events than the English. We have nothing to hope but from vigorous and successful measures, so far as the war depends upon ourselves alone. The British force in America must be overcome or repelled, or the war must end in national disgrace."

At length, in August, the British commissioners arrived at Ghent, and the negotiations were concluded on December 24, 1814, by the treaty of peace. Mr. Bayard proceeded to Paris, where he received the appointment of envoy to St. Petersburg, which he declined, holding that he had no wish to serve the administration of his political opponents, except as his services were necessary for the good of his country. Nothing could induce him to accept an appointment that would identify him with the Republican administration. From Paris, Mr. Bayard had intended to proceed to England to co-operate in the formation of the commercial treaty, as he had been included in the commission for that purpose. But an alarming illness prevented, and he left Paris on May 18th for his home, where he arrived, but reposed but a brief period in the affections of his family and friends.

On the 13th of February, 1815, news of the signing of a treaty of peace with England was received in Wilmington, and there was a general illumination. On February 17th the treaty was ratified by the United States Senate. It in no wise secured immunity from the "search and impression claims" of England; but it settled disputed boundaries, and acknowledged our exclusive right to navigate the Mississippi.

The war, with its varied interests, reflected the highest honor upon the devotion of Delaware. She had contributed her full quota of men, her full proportion of money, and her sons had distinguished themselves on land and sea. After the war closed, the citizens of the State turned with renewed energies to the development of their commercial and industrial interests.

John G. Watmough, prominent in the War of 1812, was born on the banks of the Brandywine, December 6, 1793, and served in the War of 1812 as lieutenant of the Second Artillery. While on active duty on the frontier in 1813-14, he received three musket-balls in his body, the last of which was not extracted until 1835. He was aid-de-camp to General Gaines, at New Orleans, and in the Creek Nation in 1814-15. He resigned his commission in 1816, and was elected a member of Congress from Pennsylvania in 1831, serving for four years and being troubled constantly with his wounds. In 1835 he was high sheriff of Philadelphia, and surveyor of the port in 1841. In 1844 he published "Scribblings and Sketches," 8vo. The latter part of his life he spent in retirement and died in Philadelphia November 29, 1861.

Elijah B. Register, who died January 10th, 1888, in Philadelphia, was one of the very few survivors of the War of 1812 and '15 who lived so long. He was born in Camden, Delaware, September 17, 1798, and when a boy about fourteen or fifteen years old participated in the defense of Lewistown. At the bombardment of Lewistown, when the enemy sent a boat ashore further up the bay, one of the officers who ventured to one of the cross-road stores was taken prisoner by a party of which Mr. Register was one. The officer was held on his parole until exchanged for an American prisoner of equal rank. During those early days Camden, Delaware, was a town of greater importance than Dover. The people of the latter place had to go to Camden to get their drugs, as it had the only drug-store in the neighborhood.

Mr. Register subsequently removed to New Castle, Delaware, when that was a great centre for travel, as the New Castle & Frenchtown Railroad was the only way of communication between Philadelphia and Baltimore. Passengers had to take the stage from Philadelphia to New Castle, and thence by rail to Frenchtown, and from there by steamboat to Baltimore. The result was, the town of New Castle was the stopping-place for a great many people, and the hotel, then owned by Mr. Register's brother, was the most important place, not only in the State, but of

as much consequence as any hotel in Philadelphia at that time. Mr. Register retained his good health and memory up to the moment of his death, and died in the ninetieth year of his age. At the time of his death he lived with his nephew, I. Layton Register, of Philadelphia. Another nephew, Dr. Henry C. Register, also resides in Philadelphia, and a third, Dr. John E. Register, in Dover, Delaware.

Captain John Gallagher, a prominent American naval officer in the War of 1812, died in Wilmington, November 1, 1842, aged fifty-eight years. He was a native of Maryland. He was appointed lieutenant in July, 1812, and served in that capacity on the frigate "United States," in her engagement with the English frigate "Macedonian," on October 25th of that year. On March 2, 1825, he was promoted master and ten years later was made a captain.

CHAPTER XVII.

FROM THE TREATY OF GHENT TO 1860.

THE growth of manufactures on the Delaware had been very great during the War with Great Britain; and the protection and encouragement of the high duties, incident to the expenses of the war, had enabled them to grow and expand beyond all precedent up to that time. Isaac Briggs, writing to the Hon. William Lowndes, chairman of the Committee of Ways and Means of the House of Representatives, from "Rokeby Cotton Works, on Brandywine, near Wilmington, Delaware, 11 mo: 30, 1815," and again from "Washington, D. C., 3 mo: 12, 1816," explains how the comparison of American and British cotton goods

"as f unded on *equality of fabrics*, does not give the correct and practical view of the subject. It is rather what should be than what is. It is the practice of the British Manufacturer, from a dexterity and skill acquired by long experience and division of labor, to make a fabric very beautiful and imposing to the eye of yarn No. 24, every pound of which produces 4 yds. at least, which will cost him, clear of duty, but 17 cents per yard in Philadelphia, when the price of cotton is 20 cents per lb. in Savannah.

"It is the practice of the American Manufacturer to make a substantial and durable fabric of yarn No. 20, producing no more than 60 yards from 17 lbs., which cost him 25 cts. per yard in Philadelphia, when the price of cotton is 20 cents per lb. in Savannah."

"The cost to the American manufacturer of a substantial and useful cloth is per yard 25 cts.; the cost to the British manufacturer of a beautiful and highly-polished cloth is per yard 17 cents; the difference is per yard 8 cts. Unless there be imposed on their foreign fabric *as much duty* as will make it cost the importer 25 cents per yard, the American manufacturer will not be effectually protected."

In 1815 a State tax was levied which caused considerable bad feeling. It was found that New Castle County, which was only valued at about one-third of the other counties, was made to pay about three-fifths of all the taxes of the State. The valuation and tax was as follows:

	Valuation.	Tax Levies.
New Castle	$2,799,747	$9,771.11
Kent	3,240,667	3,564.73
Sussex	1,996,471	3,593.65
Total	$8,036,885	$16,929.29

The elections in October, 1815, for members of the General Assembly, resulted in the choice of fourteen Federalists and seven Republicans for the House and a gain of a Federalist Senator from the Republican county of New Castle, where there was a division in the party.

In the campaign of 1816 the Federalist convention ("caucus" it was called then) rejected their old members because they "voted in favor of the compensation law," and placed in nomination for Governor, John Clarke, and for Representatives in Congress, Louis McLane and Caleb Rodney. Messrs. Clayton and Cooper ran as independent Federalists for Congress. In his address to the Federal electors of the State, dated at Dover, on the 12th of July, 1816, Mr. Clayton appealed from the decision of the convention, and solicited the votes of his fellow-citizens. He said, at the earnest solicitation of his party, he was induced to abandon a lucrative profession to serve it, and that he had been "rudely rejected from the place he made so great sacrifices to himself and his family to accept."

The Republican or (Democratic) nominees were Mansen Bull for Governor, and C. A. Rodney and Willard Hall for Congress.

At the election in October Mr. Clarke[1] was elected Governor by a majority of 491. He received 4008 votes and Mr. Bull 3517. For Congress Mr. McLane, Federalist, and Mr. Hall, Republican, were elected. The former received 3580 votes and the latter 3531, being elected by a majority of one vote over C. A. Rodney. C. Rodney, the Federal candidate, received 3433 votes. At the previous election the Federal majority in the State for Congressmen was about 1000, but owing to the defection caused by the failure to renominate Messrs. Clayton and Cooper, C. Rodney, one of the Federal candidates for Congress, was defeated. Mr. Clayton received 486 votes and Mr. Cooper 391.

The Legislature in November appointed Nicholas Ridgely, Thomas Robinson, Andrew Barratt and Isaac Tunnel, all Federalists, as electors of President and Vice-President. Nicholas Van Dyke was elected at this session a United States Senator.

Governor Clarke, on January 21, 1817, addressed to the members of the General Assembly his inaugural message, in which he inculcated the highest reverence and affection for the Federal Constitution, as containing all the

"great essentials of a free government, and on it depends in a very particular manner the independence of this State, and the freedom and happiness of its citizens. . . . It is our duty, gentlemen, at the same time that we protect and guard with the greatest care and circumspection the sovereignty and rights of this State, to cultivate harmony and good understanding with the government of the United States. As a member of the Union it is incumbent on us faithfully to perform all our duties to the general government, and our sister States, and to contribute as far as lies in our power to the strength, prosperity and glory of the American empire. In the performance of these duties and the advancement of these objects, the people of Delaware will add to the respectability of their State and increase their own prosperity and happiness; for as we increase the strength, prosperity and glory of our own State, so do we contribute to the strength, prosperity and glory of the

[1] Governor John Clarke died in Smyrna in August, 1821.

United States. Let us all, both as public and private citizens then, be extremely cautious not to excite the spirit of party. It has been the destroying angel of republics."

That exceedingly intelligent and indefatigable man, Isaac Briggs, who understood perhaps better than any other man in the State the true operation of domestic manufactures on the welfare of the country, continued his efforts in that direction, and, as aids to his purpose, succeeded in establishing "Societies for Promoting American Manufactures." These societies were intended to awaken from that "drowsy indolence and stupid lethargy into which we are apt to fall after commencing an enterprise with some degree of spirit." At a regular meeting of "The Society of the State of Delaware for the Promotion of American Manufactures," E. I. Du Pont, vice-president, presiding, with Sellick Osborn, secretary, held in Wilmington on the 5th of April, 1817, Isaac Briggs offered the following resolutions, which, being considered, were unanimously adopted:

"*Resolved*, As the opinion of this society, that the surplus produce of the industry of any nation, beyond the necessary wants of its own population, is the only sure foundation of its independence and wealth; and the only means of supporting the expenses of its own government. That no nation can sell more of its surplus produce than other nations have an interest in buying,—this interest will always be the measure of value,—a greater or less quantity may be exported, but the *value* received in return will be regulated by the interest of the buying nation.

"*Resolved*, That, although the maxim be old and familiar, it is true, that a nation which imports a greater *value* than it can export must soon become poor, distressed, in debt and finally despoiled. The debtor is generally, in a certain measure, the slave of his creditor, and this is true of nations as well as of individuals. Labor is the foundation of wealth, and the nation which is wise enough to extend and multiply the objects of labor and to apply it properly, so that every condition in society may find the most suitable occupation, will have the smallest portion of idle population, and, of course, will, in its trade with other nations, insure a balance in its favor, and plenty of specie, which is the conventional measure of value between nations, the basis of confidence in every other circulating medium, and the oil which enables the grand political machine to perform its functions with an easy, regular and prosperous motion.

"*Resolved*, That, in our opinion, no maxim is more true than, 'Let Labor alone, and it will best regulate itself,' but it is true only when its application is complete and universal; when partially and imperfectly applied it is not true. If *all* nations would faithfully adhere to this maxim in their international concerns, each nation might not only safely do it, but would be unwise not to do it, internally. When the regulations of other nations affect partially and derange our industry, it is a duty we owe to ourselves, by counter-selling regulations, to restore harmony, health and vigor to our own system. Whenever our government protects us against foreign interference and foreign competition, we will petition them to 'let our labor alone.'

"*Resolved*, That as we believe the preceding propositions to be founded in truth, and that the United States of America is on the verge of a crisis, in which, if we do not avail ourselves of a prudent foresight, we shall be taught through extensive suffering that we must *go far* supply our own wants from our own internal labor, as to need no more from foreign nations than they need from us. If we need *less*, we shall have opened for ourselves a mine of wealth richer than those of Mexico and Peru.

"*Resolved*, That as the natural effect of free government, there is so much good sense in the people of the United States, that they will not long remain ignorant of their true interest; that the prejudices fabricated and circulated by self-interested men,—such as that we wish to tax the great mass of our citizens employed in agriculture, to place in a hotbed and make the fortunes of those engaged in manufactures,—will be dissipated like morning mists before the sun. Yet the noblest birth requires aid and infancy requires fostering care. Therefore,

"*Resolved*, That this society will unite its efforts with those of similar societies, who may concur in the measure to collect and embody a statistical account of our manufactures and our industry generally, with such remarks and observations in *political economy* as will bring the subject fully and effectually before Congress at their next session, accompanied by the emphatic voice *of the people*,—a voice which, in our country, never speaks in vain; and that this society will appoint one or more delegates to meet in convention at the city of Washington, during the next session of Congress, or at any other time or place, such delegates as may be appointed by other similar societies.

"*Resolved*, That the President sign these resolutions attested by the Secretaries; and that the corresponding committee be and they are hereby requested and enjoined to have printed five hundred copies, to communicate them to all similar societies, of which they may have knowledge, and otherwise disseminate or dispose of the same in such manner as they may deem most conducive to the objects of this society."

(Signed) "E. I. Du Pont, *Vice-President*,
"Sellick Osborn, *Secretary*."

In communicating these resolutions Mr. Briggs, as chairman of the corresponding committee, wrote that

"the subject of internal economy has become very interesting to the people of the United States. Our embarrassments already make us *feel*, and we shall feel more and more. This feeling, while it awakes attention, should excite inquiry into the cause of our distress until we are impelled to seek remedies for *past*, and taught by experience, to establish preventive guards against *future* errors. No class of people in our country is more deeply concerned in these inquiries than the cultivators of the soil; and though the evil may reach them later than less-favored brethren—the manufacturers—yet the calamity will finally be felt pressing on them with a certain and destructive weight, and crushing down their energies. There exists already in the United States a vast and increasing amount of fragments of opinion and correct knowledge. Light is widely spread, and still spreading, through every part of our land, and through every occupation. It appears to us very important that measures should be taken without delay, to concentrate this opinion and this knowledge into one clear, distinct, loud emphatic expression of the public will, addressed to Congress at their next session, accompanied with a body of *facts* and remarks, so complete and so lucidly arranged as to dissipate doubts and enforce conviction. We apprehend that, as the cause is common to every part of the nation, the measures proposed would receive their best form and direction in a convention of delegates from the several societies. Should you concur in the measure, and such a convention be formed, how soon would it be practicable for it to meet at New York or Philadelphia? If anything is to be done, in this way, that it ought to be commenced quickly we think very obvious."

The impetus thus given by Mr. Briggs to the encouragement of manufactures was felt in the Legislature of Pennsylvania, in which Mr. Laurie reported at length upon the condition of manufactures in that State; from the Pittsfield Committee on Agriculture and Domestic Manufactures; from the Pittsburg Memorialists to the Congress, accompanied by a report on the condition of the manufactures in that city; and from the Philadelphia Society; and from the Legislatures of New York and Connecticut.

At the election in October, 1819,[1] Mr. Molleston, Federalist, was elected Governor by a majority of about six hundred, but died before he entered upon the duties of his office. The Constitution of the State made no provision for the decease of a governor-*elect*; but Jacob Stout, Speaker of the Senate, assumed the duties of the office.

The Missouri question was at this time beginning to excite all quarters of the country, and to cast its lurid light over every State. In the Delaware Legislature the question of the power of Congress to prohibit slavery in the Territories was referred to a committee, which, in a very able report, recognized the power of Congress as complete over the Territories and extending to the total exclusion of slavery therefrom. Upon this report the Legislature transmitted to Congress the following resolution:

"*Resolved*, By the Senate and House of Representatives of the State of Delaware, in General Assembly met, that in the opinion of this General

[1] It was customary for the grand jury of New Castle County to fine new members a bottle of wine, but at the January term of 1812 it taxed them one dollar each, the money to be used for the education of a Cherokee Indian. The twelve dollars was sent to the Cherokee Indian School established at Brainerd.

al Assembly, the future introduction of slaves into the territories of the United States, and into such new States as may be hereafter admitted into the Union, ought to be prohibited by Congress."

At a large meeting in Wilmington on January 19, 1820, at which Judge Booth presided, Cæsar A. Rodney[1] addressed the people in favor of Congress prohibiting the further extension of slavery, and resolutions to that effect were unanimously adopted.[2]

Those emphatic manifestations of public opinion called forth from Senators Nicholas Van Dyke and Outerbridge Horsey and Louis McLane a letter to the following:

"That the opinion of the Legislature upon the important question now under discussion in Congress, connected with the proposed admission of Missouri as a New State into the Union, has been considered with all that deference and respectful attention to which it is justly entitled. The most deliberate examination of the subject connected with the Constitution of the United States and the treaty of cession by which the territory was acquired, has resulted in a sincere and firm conviction in our minds, that Congress does not possess the power to impose such a restriction upon the people of Missouri on the formation of that State's Constitution. It would certainly be more gratifying to us to vote on this or any question conformably to the opinion of the Legislature, if we could do so consistently with a conscientious discharge of our duties, but under our present convictions that is not in our power in this instance; we trust that the Legislature, in their candour, will duly appreciate our motives in the discharge of a painful duty, and that we shall stand excused for expressing an opinion upon the subject different from that stated in the resolution."

Among the sources of revenue for State purposes adopted by the Legislature in 1821 was that known as "transit duties," which was a law imposing a tax upon persons arriving in that State, in stage or steamboat, by land or water, of twenty-five cents each, to assist in erecting a college at the village of Newark, and for the treasury of the State. This law caused much excitement in the upper part of the State, where its operations were principally felt, and public meetings resolved "to unite in every legal mode of defeating the operation of the law." The population of the State at this time was seventy-two thousand seven hundred and forty-nine, an increase of only seventy-five persons in ten years, while New Castle County increased nearly three thousand five hundred. The other two counties decreased very nearly the same amount, yet representation remained equal between the three counties. Of the whole population, 12,958 were free blacks and 4509 slaves.

At the fall elections in October, 1820, John Collins,[3] Republican, was elected Governor, with C. A. Rodney, Republican, and Louis McLane, Federalist, to Congress. Willard Hall, the then member, was defeated, as was also Mr. Mitchell. The vote for Governor was as follows:

COUNTIES.	Collins.	Green.
New Castle	1634	966
Kent	992	940
Sussex	1344	1712
	3970	3620

The vote for Congressmen was as follows.

COUNTIES.	Rodney.	Hall.	McLane.	Mitchell.
New Castle	1682	1462	1022	924
Kent	996	1026	913	947
Sussex	1356	1061	2082	1730
	4036	3549	3917	3601

Cæsar A. Rodney was elected a United States Senator from the State from the 4th of March, 1822. There were three bills before the Legislature incorporating manufacturing companies,—two with capitals of two hundred and fifty thousand dollars each and the "Cotton Manufacturing Company" on the Brandywine, with one hundred and fifty thousand dollars capital.[4]

At this time Delaware was one of the few States in which the Republican and Federalist parties maintained their old-time activity and bitterness. The election for Governor and Representatives in Congress in the fall of 1822 was severely contested. Joseph Haslet, son of the patriot who fell at Princeton, was the Republican candidate for Governor, and Judge Booth headed the Federal ticket. After an active and bitter contest the former was elected by a majority of only twenty-two votes. The Federalists elected their Congressmen—C. A. Rodney, the Republican Representative in Congress being defeated by Daniel Rodney, and Louis McLane was re-elected by a majority of six hundred and thirty-nine.

The Legislature, for the first time, had a decided Republican majority.

Considerable excitement was created in Wilmington in November, 1822, by the arrest of a number of counterfeiters, who had taken up their residence in a retired house in that city. The six men and two women, when arrested, had in their possession fifty thousand dollars in counterfeit and spurious notes, and dies for the manufacture of counterfeit half-dollars. The notes were chiefly twenty-dollar bills of the Bank of Wilmington and Brandywine, tens of the Bank of New Brunswick, and fives of the Franklin Bank of Baltimore. The counterfeiters were tried and convicted in Wilmington, and fined and sentenced in January, 1823.

Cæsar A. Rodney, having been appointed minister to Buenos Ayres, resigned his seat in the United States Senate. The period of service of Nicholas Van Dyke, the other United States Senator, expired on the 4th of March, 1823. It was important that the Legislature should elect successors to both of these gentlemen at the session of 1823. The contest, however, between the rival candidates, defeated this scheme, as the two Houses got into a quarrel over the

[1] John Rodney, of the United States Navy, the oldest surviving son of Cæsar A. Rodney, died in New York in 1817. He was attached to the "Ontario."

[2] A very large meeting of the citizens of New Castle County was held in Wilmington on the 15th of January, 1820, Judge Booth in the chair. A number of resolutions were adopted declaring that it was constitutional and highly expedient to prohibit the further extension of slavery. C. A. Rodney spoke in favor of the resolutions.

[3] John Collins was Governor of Delaware from 1820 until his death, which occurred in Wilmington, April 15, 1822.

[4] John C. Brinckle in March, 1823, advertised in the Wilmington (Del.) *Watchman*, that he had on hand for sale nearly fifty thousand yards of different kinds of domestic goods. At that time it was stated that he received from the weavers employed by him an average of about nine hundred yards per day.

Senatorships, and no one was elected at this session. The House of Representatives wished to elect the two, while the Senate demanded one. Nine gentlemen were put in nomination and ten ballots were taken, without effecting a choice. The whole number of votes cast was thirty, of which S. H. Black received fourteen votes at every ballot excepting two. On one of the ballots, George Read had twelve votes. The Legislature, as we have stated, adjourned without making a choice.

Governor Joseph Haslet died in 1823, being the third successive Governor who died without completing his term of office. He was an excellent officer. An election was held in October of the same year to fill the vacancy, when Samuel Paynter, the Federalist candidate, was elected Governor by a majority of two hundred and ninety-nine, and both branches of the Legislature had a decided Federalist majority. At the session of January, 1824, Nicholas Van Dyke was re-elected United States Senator, to succeed himself, and Hon. John M. Clayton was elected to fill the vacancy caused by the resignation of Hon. C. A. Rodney.[1]

The annual election in Delaware was held on the first Tuesday of October. The following table, compiled from the *Delaware Watchman*, shows the number of votes given for the different candidates in Delaware for the office of Governor, from 1801 to 1823, inclusive. The Democratic candidates are in *italics*.

Year.	Names of Candidates.	N. Castle.		Kent.		Sussex.		Aggreg'e.	Maj'ty.	
		Dem.	Fed.	Dem.	Fed.	Dem.	Fed.		Dem.	Fed.
1801	*D. Hall* and N. Mitchell..	1465	682	1020	1080	980	1095	6322	18	
1804	*J. Haslet* and N. Mitchell.	1974	992	1055	1062	1081	2127	8141		341
1807	*J. Haslet* and Geo. Truitt.	1249	580	952	1 098	861	1611	6371		247
1810	*J. Haslet* and D. Rodney.	1516	727	1049	1221	1031	1645	7277	71	
1813	*J. Biddle* and D. Rodney.	2043	1128	742	1167	983	2104	8111		878
1816	*M. Bull* and J. Clark....	1766	1030	802	1210	1089	1639	7535		491
1819	*M. Bull* and H. Molleston[2]	1444	891	811	1199	930	1769	7046		638
1820	*J. Collins* and J. Green...	1634	898	987	940	1314	1712	7485	445	
1822	*J. Haslet* and J. Heath....	1498	925	1130	1013	1156	1821	7516	22	
1823	*D. Hazzard* and S. Paynter	1713	987	1135	1209	1263	2155	8462		399

The *Watchman* had the following note: "It appears from the following statement that the greatest vote given by New Castle County was in 1813, amounting to 3161 votes; by Kent, 1804, amounting to 2397 votes; by Sussex, in the present (1823) year, amounting to 3358 votes, nearly 200 more than was ever given in that county.

"By the census of 1820 the population of New Castle was 27,899, Kent 20,793, Sussex 24,057.

"At the late election the votes of New Castle were in the proportion of one to every ten persons; of Kent, one to every nine persons; and of Sussex, one to every seven persons. There is no district in the Union, I believe, that exhibits so large a vote in so small a population as Sussex. If New Castle County was to vote in the same proportion, the amount would be four thousand votes, deducting a small fraction."

Mr. Niles in his *Register* says, "This does not represent the facts of the case properly. The following shows the amount of the free whites in the several counties of the State (and no others vote) at the last census: New Castle, 22,360; Kent, 14,180; Sussex, 18,742. So that, at the late election, as New Castle gave only 2700 votes, there was one voter to *eight* of the white population; in Kent 2344 votes were given, or as one vote to *six* of the white population; and in Sussex one vote to about *five and an-half* parts of such population, 3358 having been given. As none, unless *tax-payers*, are qualified to vote in this State, except the sons of persons so qualified, who are between the ages of twenty-one and twenty-two, it is hard to believe that the two lower counties really contain so many voters.

"The amount of free white males in the State, above the age of twenty-one years, may be thus determined by the census of 1820,—

Half the amount of persons between the age of 16 and 26	2,770
Persons from 26 to 45 years of age	5,607
Persons above 45	3,363
	11,738

"So that, on an average for the whole State, more than two out of every three persons above the age of twenty-one years is a *voter*. But Sussex, at the same rate of calculation, contains only 3744 such persons; and, as 3358 votes were taken, nearly *nine* out of every *ten* of all above the age of twenty-one years in that County are not only VOTERS, but actually attended the polls! A most extraordinary turning-out, indeed."

The United States frigate "Congress" was fitted out for the conveyance of Mr. Rodney to Buenos Ayres, and Captain James Biddle assigned to her command. Personal differences arose between the minister and the captain, and increased to such an extent that Mr. Rodney left the "Congress" at Rio Janeiro and proceeded by private ship to Buenos Ayres, arriving there on the 14th of November, 1823. The unexpected return of the "Congress" to Norfolk was followed by a publication in the *National Gazette*, that the difference between the minister and the captain had grown out of the amount of baggage of the former. The *Gazette* represented that the trunks, bales and boxes of the minister gave the deck the appearance of an auction warehouse or pawnbrokers' depository. The *Gazette's* article excited the strongest indignation throughout the State, for Mr. Rodney was not only highly respected, but greatly beloved by all classes of citizens. It was suspected that Captain Biddle had inspired the *Gazette's* article and supplied the list of articles comprising the minister's baggage. The *Delaware Watchman* took up the subject most warmly, remarking that "in whatever light we view this affair, it appears to us to be one

[1] In January, 1824, the President appointed E. I. Du Pont, of Delaware, one of the directors of the Bank of the United States on the part of the government.

[2] The Governor was elected for three years, but the decease of Messrs. Molleston, Collins and Haslet caused elections to be held out of their regular course.

which imperiously requires a prompt and ample investigation. If Captain Biddle's conduct has been such as it is represented to us, it is due to the national honor and dignity that an example should be made. Let it be well understood, hereafter, that our public ships are the property of the nation and not of the commanders; and let these commanders know by an impressive example the immeasurable distance between a captain in the navy and an American ambassador, the representative of the nation." It had been said that Captain Biddle had "transshipped" the minister and his "effects" in so hurried a manner that the minister experienced much difficulty from the Brazilian officers from the want of the requisite permits, and that what remained of the furniture and effects after the damage to them from the stowage in the "Congress" was effectually destroyed in the transshipment. The matter was immediately taken up by the Legislature of Delaware, and resolutions unanimously passed by both Houses denouncing the conduct of Captain Biddle, expressing the affection and respect of the State for Mr. Rodney, and calling upon the Senators and Representatives in Congress to demand an inquiry into the matter.

That Mr. Rodney carried an unusual amount of baggage is very probable, and that Captain Biddle, accustomed to the whole cabin, felt inconvenienced with the wife and eleven children of the minister is equally probable, but these are not sufficient excuses for the conduct of Captain Biddle. Mr. Rodney arrived at Buenos Ayres on November 14th, and was taken dangerously ill on the 23d. On the 27th of May, 1824, Mr. Rodney was the recipient of the compliment of a public dinner, at which the last public speech of his life was made. His death took place on the 10th of June, 1824. Sprung from one of the most distinguished families in the State, Mr. Rodney derived his principles from a father remarkable for his firm attachment to truth, and from an uncle, Cæsar Rodney, who perilled life to attach his signature to the Declaration of Independence. The affection and respect with which Mr. Rodney was regarded in Delaware is attested by the honors and offices bestowed upon him by the people of his State.

General Lafayette, the French soldier and patriot, who shed his blood in the cause of American liberty at the battle of Brandywine, on the 11th of September, 1777, visited this country in 1824. He was then sixty-seven years of age, nearly a half century after the opening of the war for independence, in which he took so conspicuous and honorable a part. He landed in New York August 16th, where he was enthusiastically received as the "nation's guest," and from there began his triumphant tour through the twenty-four States which then formed the Union. In many places flowers were strewn along his pathway, his carriage detached from the horses and drawn by the enthusiastic people and the grateful words "Long live Lafayette!" were heard on every side.

The distinguished visitor arrived in Wilmington, from Philadelphia, on Wednesday, October 6, 1824. A committee of prominent citizens of New Castle County, appointed at a meeting held in the City Hall, proceeded to the Pennsylvania State line to meet him. The members of this committee were Louis McLane, William P. Brobson, Colonel Samuel B. Davis, Victor Du Pont, James R. Black, James Rogers, John Sellers, John Gordon, David C. Wilson, John Merritt, Henry Whitely, Dr. A. Naudain and Peter Caverly. They were accompanied by a newly-formed troop of horsemen the Lafayette Guards commanded by Captain Moore, and many citizens. The civic procession consisted of about two hundred fine-looking young men dressed in blue and black coats, black stocks and white pantaloons, handsomely mounted and exhibiting the Revolutionary cockade and Lafayette badge. A fine band of music followed in their train.

Lafayette remained one night in Chester, reaching the State line at ten A.M., accompanied by his son George Washington Lafayette, Auguste Le Vasseur, Governor Shulze of Pennsylvania and suite, General Cadwalader and suite, General Robert Patterson, the First City Troop of Philadelphia, and a committee from Chester. Upon meeting the Wilmington delegation he alighted from his barouche and was addressed by Hon. Louis McLane. General Lafayette replied to Mr. McLane in a speech replete with feeling allusions to the part taken by the State of Delaware in the Revolutionary War and to the heroism of the gallant regiment of Delaware, of whose soldierly conduct the general said he had often been an eye-witness. Peter Jacquett and Caleb P. Bennett, two Revolutionary officers, and many citizens were then introduced.

The procession was again formed and increased in size as it approached Wilmington. At Naaman's Creek it passed under a floral arch with an eagle suspended from the centre, a Revolutionary flag, a portrait of Washington underneath and the words "Delaware Welcomes Lafayette." On the brow of Shellpot Hill, then about two miles from Wilmington, the citizens were apprised of the approach of the procession by a salute of thirteen guns.

At Prospect Hill he was joined by the Grand Lodge of Delaware, mounted, and one hundred Free Masons attended by the officers of the different lodges preceded by J. G. Brinckle, Grand Master of the State. When the procession arrived in sight of Wilmington, the bells struck up a merry peal, and joy and exultation reigned supreme among the people. As he neared the Brandywine bridge, which was artistically decorated, the vast concourse crowded around the barouche and welcomed him with enthusiastic cheers. Here for the first time in America his feelings overcame him; he bowed to the multitude and in sympathetic tones said: "I thank you, I thank you, my friends," as the tears streamed down his cheeks. After composing himself he turned to Hon. Louis McLane, who was seated in the barouche with him,

and said: "Well, it is forty-two years since I was here and how pleased I am to visit your town and its people again!" A decorated arch was raised over Market Street and the multitude cheered as he passed under it in the lead of the procession, which passed down Market Street, down Fourth, up King, down French to Front, to Market, where there was an evergreen arch, pending from which were cornucopias, and from the centre a small ship "Brandywine," and the words "In honor of Lafayette, the Friend of Civil Liberty." There was another arch of evergreen in front of Lafayette Hotel, on Market Street corner of Third. At the city hall he alighted from the barouche, passed under small arches to the upper room of the hall, where an address of welcome was made by Chief Burgess James Brobson, and by Joshua G. Brinkle, Grand Master of the Grand Masonic Lodge of Delaware, to which Lafayette responded in a brief speech. Addresses were also made by Gov. Shulze of Pennsylvania and the Hon. Louis McLane. They all then partook of a banquet in the hall prepared by Gen. James Wolfe. On that day the ladies of Wilmington were dressed in white and their hair ornamented with flowers. The welcome they gave him was heartily appreciated. Immediately after dinner Lafayette paid a visit to Mrs. Connell, the wife of the gentleman who was noted for his generous attentions to the French soldiers after their defeat in Russia and while on their flight to France. He was then waited on by a committee of young men of the town, and Samuel Harker, editor of the *Delaware Gazette*, addressed him in their behalf. In his response Lafayette spoke of some of the scenes and incidents of the War of the Revolution in the vicinity of Wilmington.

In the afternoon of the same day General Lafayette and his suite, in company with his son and Louis McLane, proceeded to New Castle. There he attended the wedding of Charles I. Du Pont, son of Colonel Victor Du Pont, and Miss Dorcas Montgomery Van Dyke, daughter of Hon. Nicholas Van Dyke. At ten o'clock that night he started from New Castle for Frenchtown. At the Maryland line he left the barouche in which he rode from Philadelphia, took a seat in a carriage with General Freeman, and attended by the Governor of Maryland and his aids, bade Delaware an affectionate adieu and proceeded to Frenchtown, where he took a boat for Baltimore.

After visiting many cities and everywhere received with demonstrations of gratitude, he turned his steps toward Mount Vernon to visit the tomb of Washington. Wishing no one to witness his emotions, he descended alone into the vault. The secret of that meeting of the living with the dead no one ever knew. He then took his son and secretary by the hand and led them in, and all knelt reverently beside the remains of the distinguished dead.

One of the last acts of Lafayette in this country was to lay the corner-stone of Bunker Hill monument in the presence of fifty thousand spectators. He was then the last survivor of major-generals of the Revolution. Early in 1825 General Lafayette, after completing his tour of the States, spent a few days as the guest of the Du Ponts, with whom he viewed the battle-ground of Chadd's Ford. A public dinner was given in his honor on the site of the battle. After returning to the city he wrote the following in the album of Miss E. Du Pont:

"After having seen, nearly half a century ago, the banks of the Brandywine a scene of bloody fighting, I am happy now to find upon them the seat of industry, beauty and mutual friendship."

He remained in this country until September 8, 1825, when he received from President John Quincy Adams[1] a national farewell, and on board the frigate "Brandywine" sailed down the Potomac River for his native land.

General Lafayette died in France, May 20, 1834, at the age of seventy-seven years. On July 29th following, the citizens of Wilmington determined to "honor and reverence the memory of the distinguished patriot." A solemn funeral was formed and passed through the principal streets of the city in the following order: The Governor of the State, the Mayor, Clergymen, Members of the Bar, large white horse dressed in deep mourning, led by a groom, Masons, Odd Fellows, a white charger led by a groom with chapeau, Cordwainers' Society, Benevolent Society, Brandywine Coopers' Association, young men between sixteen and twenty-one years, one hundred little boys dressed in white "pantaloons," headed by a white banner with "We mourn our loss," military companies, and citizens, one thousand persons in all. All the bells in the city were tolled as the procession passed through the streets and minute-guns were fired from the revenue cutter in the Christiana. After the procession the Rev. Isaac Pardee delivered an impressive discourse in Hanover Presbyterian Church.

The appointment of electors to elect the President and Vice-President had been, by law of 1800, committed to the Legislature of the State. In 1824 an effort was made to change the mode to that of election by the people. With this view, when the Legislature convened in November of that year for the purpose of appointing electors, Mr. Black, of New Castle, introduced a resolution assailing the prevailing mode, and declaring it to be *inexpedient* and improper for the Legislature to appoint the electors, and providing for a joint committee of the two Houses to prepare and report as soon as practicable a bill providing for the repeal of the law of 1800, and directing the time

[1] John Quincy Adams visited John Connell at "Tusculum," the property now owned by Dr. McKay. Connell was interested in the French Spoliation Claims, had spent considerable time in France, and while there urged upon Lafayette that he should visit this country. John Connell frequently visited Washington, and there formed the acquaintance of many of the leading statesmen of his day. Among them was the "old man eloquent," President John Quincy Adams, whom he invited to visit him in Wilmington. While the President was in Wilmington enjoying a drive he asked the name of the country-seat now owned by Henry G. Banning, and then by Mr. Connell. He was told it had no name, whereupon the distinguished guest advised him to call it "Quincy," a name by which it was afterwards known for a time. It was purchased by James T. Bird, who resided there for many years.

and manner of holding elections in the several counties for the appointment of the electors of the State. The time was not ripe for the change, and the resolution of Mr. Black having been laid on the table, the two Houses proceeded to appoint electors. The ballots upon being counted, showed that J. G. Rowland had received twenty-one votes, John Caldwell fifteen votes, and Isaac Tunnell fifteen votes. The two Houses having separated and returned to their respective chambers, Mr. Clement offered in the House of Representatives a resolution "solemnly protesting against commissions being issued to J. G. Rowland, John Caldwell and Isaac Tunnell, because, although Joseph G. Rowland had twenty-one votes, being a majority of all members of the two Houses present, yet as no other candidate voted for had such majority, and it is deemed contrary to the Constitution of the United States and the law of the State that one elector only should be appointed when the State is entitled to three: that John Caldwell and Isaac Tunnell cannot be considered as entitled to certification, as neither of them had a majority of all the votes given, there having been thirty votes taken and neither of them having more than fifteen out of such votes." The protest was signed by John Crow, C. Vandegrift, Jos. England, John Exton, S. H. Black, David Penny and Josiah Clement. Notwithstanding the protest, the certificate of appointment of electors was signed by the Speaker and attested by the clerk.

Up to 1825 Delaware was the only State in the Union in which the old Federalist and Democratic parties were strictly kept up. In that year the Democrats carried the Legislature, having carried New Castle and Kent Counties, while Sussex remained Federal. Charles Polk was elected Speaker of the Senate, and Arnold Naudain, Speaker of the House of Representatives. The contest for the State in the next year was rendered of more than ordinary interest, not only by the fact that the Presidential contest might be thrown into the House of Representatives and the State hold one-twenty-fourth part of the elective power, but Senator Van Dyke having died, and the term of Senator Clayton expiring, the Legislature to be elected would have two Senators to elect. In addition, Mr. Naudain, the Democratic Speaker of the House, proposed to contest with the Federalist, Mr. McLane, for Representative in Congress. At the election, Charles Polk, Federalist, was elected Governor and Mr. McLane, also Federalist, to Congress, —the vote standing, for Polk, 4334; for Hazard, 4238, —majority ninety-six; for McLane, 4261; for Naudain, 3931,—majority, six hundred and ninety. Both Houses of the Legislature were Federal,—there being seventeen Federalists and thirteen Republicans. During the recess Daniel Rodney was appointed Senator by the Governor, but upon the assembling of the Legislature, Henry M. Ridgely was elected to the unexpired term of Mr. Van Dyke, and Louis McLane to succeed Mr. Clayton. The election was said by the *Watchman* to have been decided "on the old contest between the Democrats and the Federalists," and that it "was entirely owing to the latter that Messrs. Ridgely and McLane were elected." These old parties were at that late day very nearly as closely drawn as they were in 1798. The promotion of Mr. McLane to the Senate necessitated an election for member of Congress, which took place in September, 1827. Kensey Johns, the candidate supported by the friends of the administration, was opposed by Mr. Bayard. The vote was, for Bayard a majority of three hundred and sixty-nine in New Castle County; and in Kent a majority of four hundred and nine, and in Sussex a majority of three hundred and fifty-five for Johns; making seven hundred and sixty-four for Johns and three hundred and sixty-nine for Bayard.

In 1828 the House of Representatives in the Legislature of Delaware was equally divided on the Presidential question, and could not elect a Speaker,—having balloted from Tuesday to Saturday, and standing ten to ten; it broke up informally, *sine die*. Having in a manner dispersed, the House could meet again only on the call of the Governor. These unusual proceedings created a very great excitement throughout the State, and accusations of "intrigue, bargain and corruption" were rife and freely used against some of the members, who, it was alleged, had been offered office if they would vote as desired.

At the election in October, 1828, Mr. Johns was re-elected to Congress by a majority of four hundred and nineteen over Mr. Bayard. The political designations are those of *Adams* and *Jackson*. The Legislature elected stood: Senate, five Adams and four Jackson; and House of Representatives, fourteen Adams and seven Jackson; thus securing the appointment of Adams electors. The Legislature, upon assembling, elected John M. Clayton, Senator for six years from the 4th of March, 1829, in place of Mr. Ridgely. The mode of choosing electors was altered by the Legislature, and the general ticket system adopted.

In the testimony respecting manufactures taken before a committee of Congress in 1828, W. W. Young, of Brandywine, Delaware, testified that the capital of his manufacture of woolen goods was upwards of one hundred thousand dollars, of which twenty thousand dollars was then in raw material and manufactured articles. Upwards of twenty-one thousand dollars was in machinery, residue in real estate, mill-gear and buildings, twenty-five thousand dollars in dwellings for workmen, had been in operation since 1813, and made principally blue cassimeres, and work up coarse wool into satinets. For the last three years had been curtailing business in consequence of low prices. On the close of the partnership of W. W. Young & Son, in 1825, the partners did not receive two per cent. on capital. Since 1825 the business had been a losing one. Employed fifty hands, and paid superintendent eight hundred dollars, clerk one dollar per day; twelve men at five to seven dollars per week; males under twenty years

sixty-two and a half cents to three dollars per week; three women at seven dollars per week, one man at thirty dollars and three at eighteen, board included.

The manufactory of E. I. Du Pont, at Wilmington, had capital of upwards of seventy thousand dollars, with buildings valued at forty to fifty thousand dollars, made coarse cloths, and kerseys for the army from common country wool, satinets from Smyrna and South American wool, and from the coarsest kind of country wool made cloths and a cloth called linsey for negro clothing. From twenty to twenty-five thousand yards of all these kinds annually. The coarse cloths and kerseys were about six-fourths yards wide when finished, the satinets and negro clothing were generally about three-fourths wide, but the linsey was much wider. The business had always been a losing one.

The prices returned by Mr. Young were blue cassimeres, average price in 1825, $1.40; in 1826, $1.30; in 1827, $1.25; sales more brisk in the fall of 1826, in spring of 1827, but prices no better; coarse cloths, called satinets, sold in fall of 1827 at a fair price compared with 1825 and 1826, owing to the market not being crowded with them, by reason of the depression in these years.

The prices returned by Du Pont were indigo blue army clothing, in 1825, $2.30; in 1826, $2.24; in 1827, $2.12½; gray kerseys in 1825, $1.35; 1826, $1.25; in 1827, $1.10; satinets, in 1825, .75½; in 1827, .40 to .50; negro clothing in 1825, .35 to .40; in 1827, .25 to .30 cents per yard.

The stock in the Bank of the United States held by citizens of the State in 1828 was twelve hundred and sixty-four shares under thirty-eight names.

Colonel Allen McLane, the venerable and distinguished soldier of the Revolution and collector of the port, died at the age of eighty-three, at Wilmington May 22, 1829.

At an early period of the session of 1826–27 a bill was introduced in Congress to increase the duty on wool and woolen manufactures. Immediately after the passage of the tariff act of 1824 the English prosecuted their business with unusual activity and flooded this country with their fabrics, which were sold at great profits. Anticipating sufficient protection from the Tariff Act of 1824, and encouraged by the success which attended the British manufacturers, the people of this country made large investments in manufactures. The tariff of 1824 raised the duty on imported woolen goods eight per cent. and on wool fifteen per cent.; more than one-third of the quantity of wool used in American manufactures was imported from European countries, at a duty of thirty per cent. while the protection to American woolen manufactures was only thirty-three and one-third per cent. *ad valorem*. The evasion of the law was the subject of complaint, more than the inadequacy of the duty. To prevent this evasion was only practicable by changing the mode of determining the *ad valorem* duty, or by adopting a *minimum* duty, which it would be impossible to evade. On the 27th January, 1827, Mr. Mallory, of Vermont, from the Committee on Manufactures, reported a bill "for the alteration of the acts imposing duties on imports," commonly called the "woolen bill." This bill proposed no change in the nominal duty on woolen manufactures, but it provided for estimating the duties on what was called the *minimum* principle. The division of the House on this measure was more on geographical than party lines; a large portion of the friends of General Jackson in the Northern States were decided protectionists, among whom was Mr. McLane, of Delaware, who united with other friends of General Jackson in opposing the bill. Mr. McLane admitted that the woolen manufactures were suffering a severe depression; that the act of 1824 had induced large investments of capital in this branch of manufactures and double the usual quantity of domestic woolens had been thrown into the American market. At the same time the opening of the trade of the South American States had led the British manufacturers largely to increase their capital to supply that market. Having over-estimated the demand, and having been met there by a successful competition on the part of our manufacturers, they soon found themselves in possession of a large surplus, which they sent to this country to be sold at almost any price it would bring. The flourishing state of the woolen manufactures, soon after the passage of the act of 1824, proved the sufficiency of that act as a measure of protection, if its intentions had been fulfilled. And he was willing to go the full extent of it by substituting a specific for an *ad valorem* duty.

The influence of manufactures on property was shown in 1828, in the assessed value of lands in New Castle County. The highest rate was $44.04 per acre in Christiana Hundred, where there was the largest manufacturing, and $7.04 in Appoquinimink, where there was the least manufacturing. All other hundreds approached or retired from the highest value in proportion to their manufacturing interest. Brandywine was $31.47½ per acre, while the generally more fertile lands of New Castle rated at only $21.92. The total value of lands and lots in the whole county was $8,086,932; and of this sum $2,710,000 was in Christiana Hundred. The *Delaware Journal* adds that "the wealthy company which has purchased the extensive establishments that lately belonged to the Messrs. Gilpin on the Brandywine, are prepared to expend half a million of dollars in additional works, *provided the 'American System' shall not be abandoned.*"

President Jackson[1] appointed Hon. Louis McLane minister to England in 1829, and gave him special instructions in relation to the negotiations in the

[1] Andrew Jackson was announced to pay a visit to Wilmington in 1833, soon after his second inauguration as President of the United States. He, however, came no nearer than New Castle, on the Union Transportation Line, and after spending a short time there, left on a steamboat for Philadelphia. A great many of his personal friends in Wilmington went to New Castle to see him.

vexed question of British colonial trade. He was directed to represent that the American people, in effecting a change of administration, had testified their disapproval of the acts of the late administration, and that the claims set up by them, which had caused the interruption of the trade in question, would not be urged. In 1831 Mr. McLane was recalled from London to become Secretary of the Treasury, from which he was transferred in 1833 to be Secretary of State, which office he resigned in June, 1834. In June, 1845, Mr. McLane was appointed by President Polk minister to England.

On the eve of Mr. McLane's departure for England, in 1829, his fellow-citizens of Wilmington extended to him the compliment of a public dinner, at which Gen. John Caldwell presided, and Richard H. Bayard was vice-president. In response to the toast: "Our Guest, the Hon. Louis McLane, whose talents and moral force have sustained him amidst collisions of party, and secured him ultimately the confidence of his government and country," Mr. McLane felicitously replied. The sentiments of the toasts all gave expression to the political and domestic questions of the times. "Domestic Industry and Internal Improvements;" "The memories of Jay and Hamilton, the able coadjutors of the venerable Madison;" "The Commercial Treaty with Great Britain;" all indicated the drift of the political sentiment of the State. In October, 1829, David Hazzard, "American Republican," was elected Governor by 167 majority, and the Legislature stood more than two-thirds "American Republican." The Legislature elected Dr. Arnold Naudain, "Anti-Administration," to the Senate of the United States, to fill the vacancy caused by the appointment of Mr. McLane to be minister to England. Dr. Naudain was a very decided supporter of the "American System." John J. Milligan was appointed chancellor of the State in place of Nicholas Ridgely, deceased. Mr. Milligan declined the office, and Kensey Johns, chief justice and father of the then member of Congress, was appointed in his stead. Mr. Johns having declined the election as Representative in Congress in 1830, Mr. Milligan, "Anti-Jackson," was elected over Henry M. Ridgely, recently a United States Senator, by 434 majority. The convention which nominated Mr. Milligan unanimously adopted resolutions favoring the nomination of Henry Clay for President, because of "his devotion to, and uniform support of, the cardinal interests of our country —of civil, political and religious liberty, and of the Union." Benjamin Potter was president; Isaac Gibbs and Robert Burton, vice-presidents; and S. H. Hodgson, James Siddal and Derrick Burnard were secretaries of this convention.

The Legislature of Alabama having forwarded resolutions to the Legislature of Delaware, approving the course of General Jackson and nominating him again for President, the subject came up in the Legislature on the report of a committee composed of Messrs. Huffington, Rodney and Kennedy, denouncing "the conduct of Andrew Jackson, as President of the United States, in refusing his signature to the Maysville road bill and other bills for the promotion of internal improvements, in some of which the State was greatly interested, meet with the unqualified disapprobation of this Legislature, and that we can but view the same as a wanton exercise of power, regardless of the interests of the people;" and this was followed by another resolution emphatically declaring that the election of Henry Clay would meet the desires and wishes of the people of the State.

Martin Van Buren was nominated as minister to England in 1831, and the debate in the Senate on his confirmation ran through several days. Mr. Clayton was among the opponents of confirmation, declaring that the minister had been sent with instructions to fawn and beg as a boon, at the foot-stool of a foreign power, what we were entitled to as a right; to abandon as untenable "pretensions" what had always been insisted on as a matter of justice, and to consider our government in error for having "too long resisted the rights of Great Britain." He (Mr. C.) would this day, by his vote, say to England, we would never crouch for favors; and to all our ministers, now and forever, that we would condemn every attempt to carry our family divisions beyond our own household.

Soon after the Southampton tragedy, in which several families in Virginia were massacred by a body of runaway slaves, many of the citizens of Delaware became suspicious of the blacks. Rumor made himself exceedingly busy in spreading false alarms, throughout the State, of plots and conspiracies, forming and in progress, and soon to break out against the white population. Some appeared in constant fear of danger, while most others viewed all such accounts as fabrications of the wicked and designing, or mere chimeras of the brain and wholly without foundation. While the public mind was in the feverish state of excitement, some mischievous persons, in cruel sport, laid a plan to bring it to its utmost height. On the day of the general election in October, 1831, the day on which it had been previously reported the blacks were to rise, a number of men assembled together on the banks of the Nanticoke River, just in sight of the town of Seaford. They divided into two parties, and one portion of them appeared to be firing on the others, some of whom fell, pretending to be shot; and some ran into the town and reported that the negroes had landed just below, had killed several white men, and were preparing to march through the country for purposes of destruction. Consternation for the moment seized upon all. The fearful ran and hid themselves in the woods, while the stout-hearted flew to arms. A messenger was immediately sent to Bridgeville (where most of the male population had assembled for the purpose of voting) to give the alarm and call home the citizens to the protection of their families. When they received the news, which cost nothing by carrying, party strife, which was raging at the time,

settled into a calm at once, and there was no more voting or disputing of votes there that day. An express was instantly started for Kent County, who arrived at the nearest election ground just as they had begun to tally out the votes. He informed the people there assembled that fifteen hundred negroes had landed on the Nanticoke from Maryland, and were in full march up the country. Here confusion and dismay took possession of every mind. The business of the election stood still, and one of the clerks in his fright ran off with the ballot-box, and could not be found until the alarm had partially subsided the next day. It was soon, however, discovered that all the reports were wholly without foundation, and yet the people throughout the two lower counties acted exactly as if they had been strictly true.

Meetings were suddenly called and held in every town and village. Law was disregarded, and resolutions passed and carried into immediate effect to disarm the free negroes, and prevent their assembling together. All the males capable of carrying arms were classed and numbered, and divided into squads of six or seven, with orders to patrol the streets every night by turns, which was done for several weeks. Without order or authority they rushed into the arsenal, and each man took out a musket and bayonet. Preparations for war were made on a more extensive scale than would have been done had it been reduced to a certainty that a foreign enemy had landed an army at Lewes. During the whole of these proceedings the poor negroes looked on with wonder and amazement. This state of affairs continued for a month, when all were satisfied that their alarm had been without cause. However, at the next session of the Legislature a law was passed to disarm the free negroes and mulattoes; to prevent their holding religious or other meetings unless under the direction of respectable white persons; and forbidding non-resident free negroes to preach or attempt to preach, or hold meetings for such purpose; with several penalties annexed to the breach of the several provisions of the law, part of which were, that the offenders should be sold as slaves if unable to pay the fines and costs imposed. The law was never carried strictly into effect, although constantly broken by the blacks.[1]

In 1831 a bill to abolish imprisonment for debt containing, as it was believed, ample provisions for securing the rights of all parties, was introduced into the House of Representatives of Delaware. It passed that body, but was lost in the Senate by a close vote. At the next annual session the same bill was again passed through the House, and would have passed the Senate, had it not been for the interference of some gentlemen who were not members.

The snow-storm of 1831 is well remembered by some of the oldest citizens. It occurred on a market day, and hundreds of country people were obliged to remain in town for a considerable time. The turnpikes and public roads were filled with deep piles of snow formed by a heavy gale of wind which accompanied the snow fall. The Kennett Road (now Delaware Avenue), Wilmington, was filled with these drifts to the depths of five or six feet, and the snow-shovel brigade was busy for two days removing them. Several farmers, early in the morning, endeavored to go home on horse-back, and while passing up Pasture Street (now Washington), above Eighth, the horse of one of them fell into a well, and lodged part way down it. The animal was miraculously saved from death by being drawn up with ropes by a number of men and boys, of whom Caleb Miller, now residing on Tatnall Street, Wilmington, was one.

On February 8, 1831, all of the buildings and woodwork in Fort Delaware, excepting the quarters of Major Pierce, were totally destroyed by fire, entailing a loss of one hundred thousand dollars. There were several explosions of gunpowder, but no casualties, notwithstanding one hundred and fifty persons were in the fort. The river was full of floating ice, and communication was effectually cut off from the shore at the time. The officers and soldiers lost nearly all their clothing and effects. The people of Wilmington thought New Castle was again in flames, and sent their fire apparatus to that town before the mistake was discovered. The ladies were taken from the fort the following day to Delaware City in a sloop.

As early as 1820 the subject of changing the judiciary system of the State led to an agitation of the question of a new Constitutional convention. Article X. of the then-existing Constitution (1792) gave authority to the Legislature to propose, by a two-thirds vote of each House, and with the approbation of the Governor, amendments to the Constitution, which should be ratified by the succeeding General Assembly before they became laws. It also provided that "no convention shall be called but by the authority of the people; and an unexceptionable mode of making their sense known will be for them, at a general election of Representatives, to vote also by ballot for or against a convention, as they shall severally choose to do; and if thereupon it shall appear that a majority of all the citizens in the State having right to vote for Representatives have voted for a convention, the General Assembly shall, accordingly, at their next session, call a convention, to consist of at least as many members as there are in both houses of the Legislature, to be chosen in the same manner, at the same places and at the same time that Representatives are, by the citizens entitled to vote for Representatives, on due notice given for one month, and to meet within three months after they shall be elected."

In pursuance of this, the General Assembly, on January 16, 1830, passed an act making it the duty of inspectors at the next general election to count the vote "for" and "against" the convention. This was done at the election held on the first Tuesday in October, 1830, and a majority of the votes were found

[1] William Huffington's *Delaware Reporter*, pp. 318, 320.

to be for the proposed convention. The General Assembly, thereupon, passed an act providing for the convention to be held at the State-House in Dover, November 8, 1831, and to be composed of ten delegates from each county. The delegates were chosen at the general election in October, 1831, as follows:

New Castle County.—John Elliot, James Rogers, Charles H. Haughey, Willard Hall, John Harlan, Thomas Deakyne, William Seal, Thomas W. Handy, George Read, Jr., John Caulk.

Kent County.—Charles Polk, Andrew Green, Hughett Layton, Benajah Thorp, John M. Clayton, Elias Naudain, Peter L. Cooper, James B. Macomb, Presley Spruance, Jr., John Raymond.

Sussex County.—Samuel Ratcliffe, Thomas Adams, William Dunning, James Fisher, James C. Linch, Edward Dingle, William Nicholls, Joseph Maull, William D. Waples, Henry F. Rodney.

The convention assembled in the hall of the House of Representatives on Tuesday, November 8, 1831, with Judge Willard Hall as temporary chairman, Charles Polk was elected president, and William Brobson secretary. The legislative chamber being found too small to accommodate the convention, the Presbyterian Church was secured, and the subsequent sessions were held in it. The following committees were appointed:

On the Judiciary Department.—Messrs. Read, Rogers, Harlan, Handy, Spruance, Cooper, Waples.

On the Executive Department.—Messrs. Hall, Haughey, Naudain, Macomb, Adams.

On the Legislative Department.—Messrs. Clayton, Green, Seal, Elliot, Hall, Dunning, Nicholls.

On Proper Qualification for Office.—Messrs. Deakyne, Caulk, Raymond, Fisher and Linch.

Other committees were appointed on Suffrage, Electors, County Rates and Levies, and the reports of the different committees made from day to day were considered and acted upon. A number of amendments were made; but the most important change was embodied in Article IX., which has been the principal subject of agitation ever since, and which developed such importance as to have been made, from time to time, the principal issue in political campaigns. It related to the mode of changing or amending the Constitution. Hon. John M. Clayton was the author of it, and following is the text:

"The General Assembly, whenever two-thirds of each House shall deem it necessary, may, with the approbation of the governor, propose amendments to this constitution, and at least three, and not more than six, months before the next general election of representatives, duly publish them in print for the consideration of the people; and, if three-fourths of each branch of the Legislature shall, after such an election and before another, ratify the said amendments, they shall be valid to all intents and purposes as parts of this constitution. No convention shall be called but by the authority of the people; and an unexceptionable mode of making their sense known, will be for them at a special election on the third Tuesday in May in any year to vote by ballot for or against a convention as they shall severally choose to do; and if thereupon it shall appear that a majority of all the citizens in the State, having the right to vote for representatives, have voted for a convention, the General Assembly shall accordingly, at their next session, call a convention, to consist of at least as many members as there are in both houses of the Legislature, to be chosen in the same manner, at the same places, and at the same time that representatives are, by the citizens entitled to vote for representatives, on due notice given for one month, and to meet within three months after they shall be elected. The majority of all the citizens in the State, having the right to vote for representatives, shall be ascertained by reference to the highest number of votes cast in the State at any one of the three general elections next preceding the day of voting for a convention, except when they may be less than the whole number of votes voted both for and against a convention, in which case the said majority shall be ascertained by reference to the number of votes given on the day of voting for or against a convention; and whenever the General Assembly shall deem a convention necessary they shall provide by law for the holding of a special election for the purpose of ascertaining the sense of the majority of the citizens of the State entitled to vote for representatives."

George H. Bates, in a speech before the Young Men's Democratic Club of Wilmington, recently (1887) referred to this subject in the following terms:

"In the convention of 1831 the manner of calling future conventions was introduced by Mr. Clayton as a subject of great importance to the people. He considered that there was a vagueness in the old constitution in the article on the subject of the manner in which the sentiments of the people should be ascertained. Hence, he proposed an article, subsequently adopted, and now a part of the present constitution.

"The point of Mr. Clayton's remark at this time was that a special, rather than a general, election was the better opportunity for obtaining the sense of the people. When the subject came up for discussion Mr Read opposed the provision for a special election, but the requirement of a majority of persons entitled to vote was ascertained by an restrictive a plan. He said very truly 'If you wish to devise a plan by which no other convention should be held, it would be in this way.' 'Throw it off to a bye-election, and will it not be the same as to say there never shall be a convention at all? I do not believe we shall ever see another convention. I wish, not for my own part, ever to sit in another. But shall we deprive our posterity of this privilege? Are we willing to have our children less free than ourselves?'

"Mr. Bingle agreed that the proposed arrangement would be practically prohibitory. Judge Hall considered that special elections were not favorable for expressing the sense of the people. He also objected that the provision was intended to prevent the calling of a convention without an act of Assembly. 'In this manner the wishes of the people might be evaded. The people would not have this important measure, the calling of a State convention, within their own control.' It was in reply to all these objections that in closing the debate Mr. Clayton, the author of the proposed article, and its chief spokesman, used the language:

"'This amendment does not prevent the people from expressing their opinion in any other way, it only declares that we think they are unexceptionable modes.'

". . . The inherent right of the people to express their opinion was emphatically declared by John M. Clayton, the author of the ninth article of the constitution, in a famous address of which he was also the author; and Mr. Clayton, prior to this time, had given the best evidence of his opinion on this subject by going to the polls, November 4, 1831, and voting 'for a convention.'"

The final session of the convention was held on the evening of Friday, December 2, 1831, at which a copy of the Constitution as revised, and a schedule containing provisions of a temporary nature, but necessary for carrying the Constitution into effect, were read by Hon. John M. Clayton, and passed by the convention unanimously, after which an address was delivered by the president, a prayer was offered by Rev. Mr. Adams, one of the members, and the convention adjourned. Thus the Constitution of 1831 became the organic law of the State without being submitted to the people for ratification or rejection, and has continued as such ever since.[1]

[1] Subsequent to the adoption of this constitution efforts have been made to amend it by the General Assembly as follows:

To change the time of elections proposed, February 8, 1843, Delaware laws, vol. 2., p. 82. Failed in next session by a vote in the House of 14 to 6, having passed the Senate February 6, 1843, Delaware laws, vol 2., p. 197.

Same proposed again January 12 1848, Delaware laws, vol. 2., p. 250.

Same proposed again January 24, 1853, Delaware laws, vol. 21., p. 8. Ratified January 30, 1855, Delaware laws, vol. 21., p. 165.

For two or three years immediately preceding 1851 the necessity of a new Constitution was advocated, particularly in view of proposed reforms, which was briefly summarized as follows: Abolition of slavery, free suffrage without prepayment of tax, district representation according to population, non-property qualification for office, reform in judiciary, popular election of public officers, executive veto, annual elections and tax reforms, and at the general election of 1850 a number of tickets were voted bearing the inscription, "for a convention." The General Assembly accordingly passed an act, February 26, 1851, providing for the taking of the sense of the people at a special election to be held on October 25, 1851. A majority of votes were cast for a convention, but not a majority of all the legal votes, as provided by Article IX. of the Constitution. It was decided, however, that a "majority" had been cast, and the General Assembly, on February 4, 1852, passed an act providing for the election of delegates, to the proposed Convention, by hundreds, at the general election held on the first Tuesday in November. Delegates were chosen as follows:

New Castle County.—James A. Bayard, Benjamin T. Biggs, Daniel Corbit, Benjamin Gibbs, John R. Latimer, William C. Ledge, George Maxwell, Rothwell Wilson, James Springer, Andrew C. Gray.

Kent County.—Martin W. Bates, John S. Bell, William Collins, Charles H. Heverin, Henry Whitaker, James R. Lofland, Richard H. Merriken, James H. Smith, Caleb Smithers, William Wilson-son, Charles Marim.

Sussex County.—John H. Burton, John W. Calloway, William S. Hall, David Hazzard, Tyras S. Phillips, Nathaniel W. Hickman, Robert B. Houston, Thomas A. Jones, Truston P. McColley, Jesse Long.

The convention assembled at the State-House in Dover on the first Tuesday in December, 1852. After consultation it was decided that the labors of the convention could not be completed before the meeting of the Legislature in January, and an adjournment was made until March 10, 1853. On this date the delegates reconvened and organized with Truston P. McColley, president; Charles Marim, secretary. There were twenty members present. Hon. Andrew C. Gray, Hon. James R. Lofland and the Hon. David Hazzard were named as a committee to draft rules for the government of the convention, when Mr. Gray announced that he could not act on the committee, and he did not expect to be governed by any rules it might adopt. The president thereupon announced that he had a communication from Judge Hazzard tendering his resignation. Mr. Gray presented resolutions attacking the constitutionality of the convention. The convention adjourned to take up the resolutions as a committee of the whole on the following morning.

The convention re-assembled at ten A.M., March 11th, and took up the resolutions which, were for several days under discussion, and in the debates which ensued, Mr. Gray, James A. Bayard, Benjamin T. Biggs, John R. Latimer, Martin W. Bates and others participated. The resolutions were defeated, and Messrs. Gray, Latimer, Rothwell and Wilson presented a remonstrance and withdrew from the convention. The remonstrance was as follows:

"The undersigned having, after serious and anxious reflection, arrived at the conclusion that they cannot consistently with their obligations to support and maintain the Constitution, proceed to alter and amend the same, and that in consequence of the determination of the majority of this body to act in this matter, it is their duty not to participate in such action, and to withdraw from any further attendance on its sittings, beg leave briefly and respectfully to state their reasons for the course they have adopted, and to ask that the same may be placed on the record of its proceedings.

"The undersigned believe that the Constitution is the written will of Sovereign Power; and that the legislative power acts under and in subordination thereto. The Constitution of Delaware provides the mode and manner of altering its will.

"The acts of the General Assembly passed at Dover, at the sittings of 1851 and 1852 as the undersigned fully believe, are clearly unauthorized; contrary to the positive requirements made in the Constitution for the purpose of altering and amending the same. The said acts are consequently null and void and the Delegates elected under their provisions have, therefore, no power to act.

"They further believe that no convention can be legally and constitutionally called, for the purpose of amending the Constitution of the State, without the authority of the people; and that this authority must and can only be exercised when a majority of the citizens entitled to vote for Representatives shall vote for a Convention under the rule prescribed by the Constitution itself.

"The Legislature, in direct and palpable violation of the rule thus prescribed, has undertaken to substitute a rule giving to a minority of the citizens of the State the power and authority which a majority only can and only ought to exercise.

"The undersigned, therefore, feel constrained to pursue the course which now to them appears right, which is to return to their homes and account to their constituents for their conduct."

An unsuccessful effort was made to have the convention adjourned until December. The sessions were continued, however, until April 30th, when, having adopted amendments to the Constitution, the convention adjourned finally. In the campaign the following fall the new Constitution, which was to be passed on by the people, was the leading issue. One of the principal grounds for a new Constitution having been the inequality of representation from New Castle County, and the revision not having afforded the relief claimed by the people of that section, Hon. James A. Bayard and other leading Democrats worked against the revision and secured its rejection at the polls. As he left the convention Mr. Bayard voiced the sentiments of his party in these terms:

"I view the question of representation as a question of personal right, affecting myself and my constituents—a right founded on the plainest and clearest principles of justice in a Republican country. As the Constitution now stands, I am aware that I am deprived of it, but I have the consolation of knowing that I am deprived of it under a pre-existing Constitution, not made with that intent, and therefore I may bear with the evil until I can, in some way, get it redressed.

Forbidding lotteries proposed March 2, 1855, Delaware laws, vol. xi., p. 310.

Abolishing life tenures and twelve years' term for judiciary February 24, 1857, Delaware laws, vol. xi., p. 434.

Precisely the same February 6, 1859, Delaware laws, vol. xi., p. 665.

Prohibiting lotteries, February 7, Delaware laws, vol. xii., p. 251.

Limited general incorporation, April 3, 1873, Delaware laws, vol. xiv., p. 319. Ratified January 28, 1875, vol. xv., p. 3.

General incorporation, March 28, 1883, Delaware laws, vol. xvii., p. 3.

Representation in General Assembly, March 30, 1883, Delaware laws, vol. xvii., p. 4.

Judiciary, April 19, 1883, Delaware laws, vol. xvii., p. 7.

Of the above, only two succeeded—changing the general election day to conform to Presidential elections and providing for general incorporation acts.

But, were I to vote for the ratification of the Constitution, which stamps me and my constituents as political slaves—for that is what you make us when you refuse our request—I should consider myself degraded by the act. I will appeal your Constitution because you deny that equal justice to the people of New Castle County, which is all they ask; and if we are not your equals, we shall endeavor to see what our rights are in some other mode."

The new Constitution was voted on at the October election in 1853 and the result was:

Counties.	For.	Against.	Total.	Maj. Ag'st.
New Castle	1245	1503	2748	258
Kent	786	1254	2042	468
Sussex	713	1930	2643	1217
	2744	4777	7433	2041

From this time, at irregular intervals, the subject of changing the Constitution has been agitated; but not until 1882 was there any extended or organized effort made to secure the framing of a new instrument. In the campaign of 1882 the Republican party made it a direct campaign issue. A vessel, about the size of a surf-boat, was built at Wilmington, christened "New Constitution," mounted on wheels and hauled about through the State; meetings were advertised, and along the route speakers addressed the voters from the deck of the vessel. The Democratic party, to meet this question, promised, if successful, through the next Legislature, to amend the Constitution, reform the judiciary and give increased representation to New Castle County. The election was carried by the Democratic party, and the Hon. Charles C. Stockley was elected Governor. At Lewes a surf-boat named "Old Constitution" was fitted with masts and sails, a blue hen was put in the rigging and numerous mottoes were painted upon sails and streamers. This was mounted on wheels and drawn to Georgetown, where it created much enthusiasm.

Three bills were introduced at the succeeding session of the General Assembly, providing for a reorganization of the judiciary, giving four Representatives to Wilmington and four Senators to each county in the General Assembly, and one act relating to incorporations. The two former were passed April 19th and March 30th and approved by the Governor, who also recommended their adoption by the next General Assembly, the law requiring a subsequent legislative ratification by a two-thirds vote. However, a canvass of the new General Assembly demonstrating that the necessary votes could not be obtained, the measures were permitted to lapse. This occasioned renewed agitation and the subject was again made a political issue, but was fought altogether as a reform movement. All the papers in the State, with two exceptions, declared in favor of a new convention; and among those most prominent on the same side were Alfred P. Robinson, of Georgetown, and Hon. George H. Bates, of Wilmington. Out of several bills considered by the General Assembly of 1886 and 1887, a measure providing for taking the sense of the people at a special election to be held on the first Tuesday in November, 1887, passed both Houses, and was approved by Governor Biggs April 6, 1887. A very active campaign ensued, in which party lines were ignored and political opponents united in securing the convention. As a result, the votes cast were not sufficient to carry the measure and it failed, the vote in detail being as follows:

NEW CASTLE COUNTY.

Wilmington.	For.	Against
1st Ward—1st District	83	4
2d District	74	6
2d Ward—3d District	60	1
4th District	160	2
3d Ward—5th District	77	3
6th District	80	2
7th District	112	5
4th Ward—8th District	97	3
9th District	127	5
5th Ward—10th District	165	2
11th District	206	6
12th District	114	3
6th Ward—13th District	185	1
14th District	150	3
15th District	181	5
7th Ward—16th District	300	8
17th District	305	6
18th District	357	1
8th Ward—19th District	124	4
20th District	109	1
21st District	68	3
9th Ward—22d District	140	...
23d District	122	6
10th Ward—24th District	242	8
25th District	238	3
11th Ward—26th District	64	70
12th Ward—27th District	116	2
Total city	4376	163
Majority	4213	
Hundreds:		
Brandywine, East	75	...
Brandywine, West	216	1
Christiana, North	351	...
Christiana, West	120	...
Christiana, South	176	1
Mill Creek	461	...
White Clay Creek, East	114	...
White Clay Creek, West	215	...
Pencader	256	2
New Castle	745	5
Red Lion, East	148	6
Red Lion, West	68	2
St. George's, East	147	12
St. George's, West	257	15
Appoquinimink	226	16
Blackbird	130	...
Total, county	3665	63
For whole county	8041	226
Majority	7815	

KENT COUNTY.

Hundreds:	For	Against.
Duck Creek	317	3
Kenton	271	3
Little Creek	80	20
East Dover, 1st District	90	4
East Dover, 2d District	371	3
West Dover	85	...
North Murderkill	209	3
South Murderkill	291	2
Mispillion	313	21
Milford	311	...
Total	2439	59
Majority	2380	

SUSSEX COUNTY.

Hundreds:	For.	Against.
Cedar Creek	421	4
Broadkiln	222	55
Broad Creek	208	...
Little Creek	346	6
Northwest Fork	311	12
Seaford	334	22
Nanticoke	230	4
Dagsboro'	209	4
Gumboro'	220	1
Baltimore	317	...

	For.	Against.
Georgetown	329	—
Lewes and Rehoboth	256	—
Indian River	269	41
Total	4156	140
Majority	4016	

REPAPPORTIONMENT.

New Castle County	2041	283
Kent County	2438	50
Sussex County	4166	140
Total State	10,645	431
Majority	10,214	

Among the changes introduced by the new State Constitution of 1831 was one providing for biennial sessions of the Legislature to be held in November instead of October, and the appointment of Presidential electors by the people instead of by the Legislature. The National Republican State Convention was the first called to place a ticket in the field for the first election under the new Constitution. It assembled at Dover in August, and the following nominations were made: For Governor, Dr. A. Naudain; for Congress, J. J. Milligan; for electors, George Truitt and Dr. Henry F. Hall, of Sussex, and C. P. Comegys, of Kent. At the election in November, 1832, Major Bennett, the Jackson or administration candidate for Governor, was elected by a majority of fifty-seven votes, but Mr. Milligan, the Clay candidate for Congress and the Clay electors, were elected, the former by a majority of one hundred and twenty-one and the latter by one hundred and seventy-one. The State Senate was composed of seven "National Republicans" and two Jackson members, and the House of Representatives of fourteen National Republicans and seven Jackson men. The vote by counties was as follows:

COUNTIES.	GOVERNOR.		ELECTORS.		CONGRESSMEN.	
	Bennett.	*Naudain.*	*Cmp. Jackson.*		*Milligan.*	*Patter-*
New Castle	1751	1297	1335	1715	1344	1712
Kent	1013	1134	1167	1012	1118	1027
Sussex	1436	1735	1774	1378	1771	1403
	4220	4166	4276	4105	4233	4142

The attitude of South Carolina towards the Federal Government in consequence of the tariff legislation was communicated to Governor Hazzard, who laid the resolution before the Legislature accompanied by a message, which controverted the position of South Carolina as destructive "of every general law" which would be "henceforth subject to the whim, caprice or local interest of every State in the Union." He expressed "great satisfaction" at the proclamation of President Jackson, and assured the President "that inflexible integrity and undaunted firmness will always meet the support of a free and enlightened people." The Governor also expressed his satisfaction "that the manufactures of the United States are rapidly increasing and adapting themselves to the wants, habits and circumstances of society, and becoming indispensable to the support and maintenance of the people." The Legislature re-elected Arnold Naudain to the United States Senate, and responded to South Carolina by a series of resolutions,—denying that a "Convention of *States*" to amend the Constitution, which South Carolina had requested, was the constitutional mode of amending the Constitution, but that Congress only could call a convention to amend the Constitution, and that "it was not expedient for Congress to call a convention for proposing amendments to the Constitution."

Henry Clay, who, with James A. Bayard, the elder, signed the treaty of peace at Ghent, which closed the War of 1812, visited Wilmington on several occasions. The first visit of which there is any record was in 1813, during Mr. Clay's Eastern journey. A meeting of his friends of Wilmington was held on the 11th of October, at which Hon. Arnold Naudain presided, and of which Alexander Macbeth was secretary, adopted most complimentary resolutions, expressing the gratitude which the country owed to him, and testifying their sentiments of respect and admiration, appointed a committee to tender him the respectful and heartfelt salutations and to invite the distinguished Whig leader to partake of a dinner at his convenience. The committee was composed of Arnold Naudain, W. Milligan, Dr. James W. Thomson, Thomas M. P. Robson, James Canby, John Wales, John J. Rodney, Jabez M. Fisher, E. I. Du Pont, Edward W. Gilpin, Alexander Macbeth, Alexander S. Read, Thomas M. Larkin and Lea Pusey. Mr. Clay replied, returning his acknowledgments of the compliment and expressing his sense of gratitude to the people who thus honored him, and promising that on his return from the Eastern excursion he would have the pleasure of presenting his respects in person to his fellow-citizens of Wilmington, but declining a public dinner as "inconsistent with the rule which I have marked out for myself." Accordingly on the 27th of November Mr. Clay, on his return, arrived at Wilmington, and was received by a large concourse of citizens. He spent the evening and night at the residence of Mr. Milligan, the Representative in Congress, and after refreshments proceeded to the residence of Mr. Du Pont, and then to an elegant supper at Smith's Hotel, and the next morning proceeded on to Baltimore. Again in 1836 Mr. Clay visited Wilmington and made a brilliant speech in front of the old Indian Queen Hotel. He was the guest of Richard H. Bayard, who, the same year, had been elected to the United States Senate as a Whig, and then lived in the John Dickinson mansion, on the site of the Wilmington Institute.

Mr. Clay visited John M. Clayton August 12, 1847. He went to Philadelphia and from there to Cape May, and on August 24th again visited Mr. Clayton at his "Buena Vista" home, where an enthusiastic multitude from Wilmington and the surrounding country and from Dover and Smyrna waited upon him. He had just entered upon his seventieth year. In a brief speech he said, "If I live to be as old as Methuselah, I could not pay the debt of gratitude I owe to the people of Delaware." After the speech the people moved toward him to shake hands and he was soon surrounded by an immense throng. He then

stepped up to a fence, and standing against it said, "You can not come further than this; now come one, come all." A line was formed and, in order, thousands eagerly grasped his hand. After this reception he was the guest of Chancellor Johns. He passed through Wilmington, February 15, 1848, and was met at the railroad depot by thousands of friends and admirers, to whom he made a brief address.

The people of Delaware expressed their opposition to the removal of the public deposits from the United States Bank by a memorial to Congress signed by one thousand six hundred and fifty citizens of New Castle County, which Mr. Clayton presented on March 3, 1834, praying the restoration of the public deposit to the Bank of the United States, and the permanent establishment of a sound and uniform currency. This memorial called forth a counterblast from the "Jackson" party of New Castle, which was also laid before the Senate reciting the "views and opinions of the Democracy of New Castle County," and approving all the acts of the executive. This last memorial Mr. Naudain assailed in the Senate and denounced it as coming from men who but recently had avowed that "if they thought they had one drop of Democratic blood in their veins, they would have it out at the risk of their lives," and he added that "if this meeting had professed merely to represent the views and opinions of the *Jackson party of New Castle*, I should not have trespassed upon the time of the Senate. But when *such men* have professed to represent the views and opinions of the good old Democracy of New Castle, I feel that the duty I owe to that party with whom it was always my pride and pleasure to act, compelled me to break that silence I have hitherto imposed upon myself since I have had the honor to be a member of this body."

The Jackson party of the State nominated for Congress James A. Bayard in September, 1834. The election took place in November, and Mr. Milligan, Whig, was elected by 155 majority; and the Legislature stood, Senate, 6 Whigs and 3 Jackson; the House, 14 Whigs and 7 Jackson. Hon. John M. Clayton, by letter dated November 24, 1834, announced his purpose of not being again a candidate for the United States Senate, claiming that his opposition to the measures of the administration had been sustained by the people of his State.[1] The Legislature, remonstrating against the intimated purpose of Mr. Clayton to resign from the Senate, emphasized the respect and confidence of the State by re-electing him to the Senate for six years after March 3, 1835. Notwithstanding the compliment, Mr. Clayton resigned in January, 1836, and Thomas Clayton, chief justice of the Superior Court of Delaware, was appointed to fill the vacancy.[2]

Judge Thomas Clayton at first declined the appointment of United States Senator, but he was induced to withdraw his letter and accept the position. John M. Clayton was appointed and accepted the position of chief justice of Delaware in January, 1837.

Richard H. Bayard was elected, 17th June, 1836, to the United States Senate, in place of Arnold Naudain, resigned. The majority for the Harrison electors, at the election in the fall of 1836, was five hundred and eighty-three; and the Legislature then elected passed and forwarded to Mr. Bayard a preamble and resolutions, requesting the United States Senate to rescind the expunging resolutions of Mr. Benton. Mr. Bayard, in presenting the resolutions, said it would be impracticable, or at least improper, to obey these resolutions, and announced his purpose to persevere in the effort to restore the journal of the Senate to what he believes to be the expression of the public will all over the country.

The political opinions of the people of the State had been gradually undergoing change, and at the election in November, 1838, the Van Buren[3] candidate for Congress, Mr. Robinson, was elected over Mr. Milligan, Whig, by a majority of twenty-three, and the Legislature was Democratic also, and upon assembling elected Thomas Jacobs (Adm.) Speaker of the Senate, and also John P. Brinckle (Adm.) Speaker of the House. Changes were also made in the judiciary of the State, Richard H. Bayard being appointed, by the Governor, chief justice of the State, to supply the vacancy caused by the resignation of Hon. John John M. Clayton; and the Hon. J. J. Milligan was appointed associate judge, to fill the office vacated by the death of the Hon. John R. Black. The Legislature adjourned without electing a successor to Richard H. Bayard in the United States Senate.

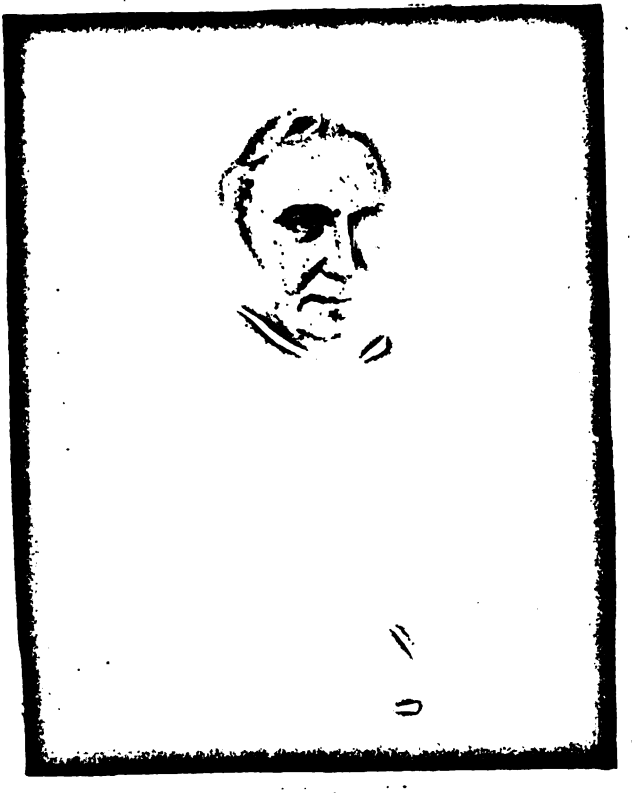
In 1840 the State was entirely free from debt and had $19,222.34 in the treasury and the population was 78,167. The political canvass of that year opened as early as June 20th, when the Administration or Democratic party held its convention and nominated Warren Jefferson for Governor; Thomas Robinson, Jr., Representative to Congress; Thomas Jacobs, Nehemiah Clark and Christopher Vandegrift, Presidential electors. The Whig convention nominated for Governor, W. B. Cooper, of Sussex; for Congress, George B. Rodney and Benjamin Caulk; Peter F. Causey and Dr. H. F. Hall, Presidential electors. A very active canvass began and was continued throughout the State;[4] the Legislature to be elected

[1] Richard A. Bayard, who had been elected to the State Senate in the fall of 1832 for four years, resigned on June 2, 1834, because he could not support General Jackson's administration.

[2] In November, 1836, James A. Bayard was appointed United States attorney for the district of Delaware, in the place of George Read, deceased.

[3] Martin Van Buren spent two days in Wilmington in 1829 as the guest of Louis McLane. He was then Secretary of State in Andrew Jackson's Cabinet. Louis McLane, August 8, 1831, was appointed Secretary of the Treasury, and May 29, 1833, Secretary of State in the same Cabinet. Van Buren was present at a banquet given to McLane immediately before his departure for Europe as minister to England.

[4] Daniel Webster addressed a Whig meeting in Wilmington on October 28, 1840, during this campaign. The meeting was held in a hollow, at what is now the northeast corner of Twelfth and Tatnall Streets. The stand from which he spoke was at the point of the lowest depression and was surrounded by benches in the form of an amphitheatre. It was decorated with wreaths, vases, festoons and pendant strings of flowers. On an arch above him in evergreen were his memorable words, "Liberty and Union now and forever, one and inseparable." Six thousand persons



having a Governor and two United States Senators to elect. The result of the election was 5963 votes for Harrison, and 4872 for Van Buren, a majority of 1091 for Harrison. The Legislature elected Thomas Clayton and Richard H. Bayard, both Whigs, to represent the state in the United States Senate.

Cornelius P. Comegys (Governor of Delaware 1837 to 1841) was born in Kent County, Maryland, January 15, 1789. He was the son of Cornelius Comegys, who was a soldier of the Revolutionary War, and a lineal descendant of the first of the name who came to America, settling on the Chester River, within twenty years of the time (1632) of the grant of the province of Maryland made by James I. to George Calvert, Lord Baltimore.

Early in life, while employed in the counting-house of a Baltimore merchant, Mr. Comegys made a trip to the island of St. Bartholomew, W. I., as supercargo. After he became of age he removed to Delaware and married Ann, daughter of Benjamin Wakiston, of Duck Creek Hundred, Kent County. His wife died in about a year, leaving him a daughter, who survived the mother but a few days. He was next joined in wedlock to Priscilla, the eldest daughter of John and Hannah Marim, near Dover, Kent County, Delaware. At the close of 1804 he went to Cherbourg, which is a few miles from Dover, and the family-seat of the Marims. Here for thirteen years he profitably farmed an estate of which himself and wife had become owners.

In the war with Great Britain he served in the state troops, becoming, eventually, a lieutenant-colonel. When peace was proclaimed, in 1815, he became an agent for the millers on the Brandywine to purchase grain, and while so employed he risked his means in a personal venture of wheat and suffered an unfortunate loss, from which he never pecuniarily entirely recovered. He now became engaged in mercantile business, and had an interest in vessels trading to Philadelphia. At this time he was also carrying on farming, working the land with some [illegible] he owned, together with hired labor. At [illegible] he was elected a director of the Farmers' Bank of Delaware, whose principal business was at Smyrna. In 1811 he was chosen a member of the House of Representatives of the State. Subsequently he was elected Speaker of that body. For four successive years he served as Speaker at every session. He was one of the committee to carry into effect the resolution of the Legislature presenting Captain Jacob Jones with a piece of silver plate. He was also chosen the committee to carry out the resolutions of the Legislature in the case of Commodore McDonough, after the victory over the British on Lake Champlain. In January, 1818, he was elected cashier of the Farmers' Bank at Dover. This position he retained until 1829.

Mr. Comegys was an ardent politician, and when his party met a defeat by the election of General Jackson over John Quincy Adams, he returned to his farm at Cherbourg. He was at this time chosen one of the State directors of the Farmers' Bank, and at the next legislative session he was a member of the House. He held the office of State treasurer from 1820 to 1826. In 1832 his name was used in the convention for the nomination for Governor, but Dr. Arnold Naudain received the nomination, who, however, was defeated by Major Bennett, a Democrat.

Four years later Mr. Comegys was elected Governor of Delaware on the Whig ticket.

After his official life he carried on the business of farming. At length financial embarrassments closed around him, and he was compelled to surrender all his property to his creditors. He died at Dover, January 27, 1854, at seventy-one years of age.

Governor Comegys was a man of profound hospitality and of social disposition. Generous to a fault, he and [illegible] who made demands on his charity. A family of eight children survived him, six of whom are still living, viz.:

Hon. Joseph P. Comegys, LL.D., chief justice of Delaware; Cornelius G. Comegys, M.D., Cincinnati, Ohio; Benjamin B. Comegys, president of the Philadelphia National Bank; John M. Comegys, M.D., St. Albans, Vt.; and two daughters,—Mary Elizabeth, widow of Dr. Benjamin F. Chatham, and Maria Comegys.

The message of Governor Comegys referred chiefly to local affairs, and particularly to the defective condition of the school-houses throughout the State, recommending the appointment of a general superintendent, and the modification of the law imposing the school tax; the penal code was defective, as many evil-doers escaped severer punishment through the mere technical flaws of the law, and that the excessive vigor [illegible] own ends, through the necessary compromises of the pardoning power or the unwillingness of juries to convict. The Governor also called the attention of the Legislature to the French spoliation cases, saying that "this claim is preferred against the United States on the well-known Constitutional principle that private property should not be taken for public uses without just compensation," and urging that the favorable consideration of the claim be brought by the Legislature before Congress. The Legislature elected at its session in 1851, W. B. Cooper, Governor, who in his inaugural message called attention to the fact that the State had never known a [illegible] from any experience of its own; that she had collected but one small tax since the adoption of the Constitution and had a surplus of [illegible] million dollars in her treasury.

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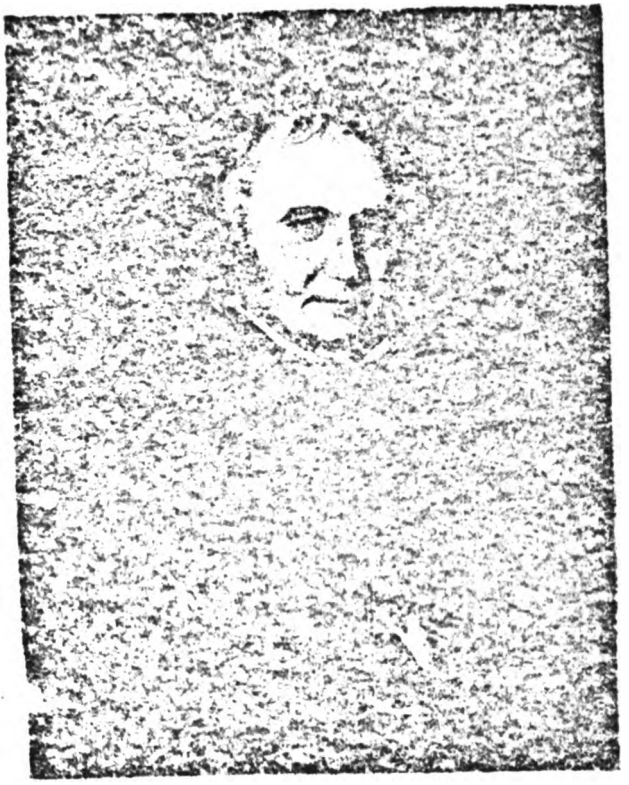

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Columbia, called forth from the Legislature of the State resolutions which, on March 6, 1841, were presented to the United States Senate by Mr. Clayton, to the following effect: That the refusal of Congress to re-charter the banks of the District of Columbia was unwise and oppressive; that they are unwilling to believe, with the citizens of Washington and Georgetown, that their only chance for good government and prosperity rests in a retrocession of the territory to Maryland, and confidently hope that the next, if not the present, Congress will grant a redress of their grievances; that the people of the District of Columbia ought to be represented in Congress.

The State was this year placed in the Fourth Judicial District of the United States Courts.

The Legislature, in order to relieve the banks of the State, voluntarily suspended the provisions of the bank charters of the State requiring them to pay twelve per cent. interest for refusing to pay their notes in specie.

The surplus of the State this year was one million and a half of dollars.

The Governor appointed James Booth, Esq., of New Castle County, chief justice of the State, in lieu of the Hon. Richard H. Bayard, resigned; and in compliance with the requisitions of a law passed at the late session of the Legislature, the Governor appointed L. L. Lyons commissioner of wrecks, or wreck-master, for Sussex County.[1]

In 1842 the demand for real estate continued very good throughout the State. "Ellcslie," the estate of the late Archibald Hamilton, was sold to a gentleman from Philadelphia for $10,500. That property is on the Delaware River, two and a half miles above Wilmington, and contained less than two hundred acres.

The auditor's account presented to the Legislature showed the amount in the State Treasury to be $518,633.92, and the estimate for expenses for the next year was $16,414, and the State revenue for the same time $23,810.

The banks of the State resumed the payment of specie without any difficulty, and their ability and credit was found not to have been impaired by the legislative action. The Wilmington *Gazette*, remarking on this subject, said: "Without making pretensions to vast abilities and profound sagacity, the men who make our laws and protect the interests of the State have proved themselves gifted with a wisdom that has led them forth in a path of safety, economy and prosperity. For a State, in these times of depression and embarrassment, to be not only out of debt, but to have half a million dollars surplus, is something to boast of; and we do feel a pride when we consider the safe and unburdened condition of Delaware."

The political campaign of 1842 opened on July 5th, with the Whig Convention of the State at Dover, Dr. William Burton, of Kent County, presiding. George B. Rodney, then Representative in Congress, was renominated for Congress, and a series of resolutions condemning the course of President Tyler, nominating Henry Clay for President, recommending Middleton Clayton, of Delaware, for Vice-President, and approving the distribution of the proceeds of the public lands, and other Whig measures. The Democrats nominated W. H. Jones for Congress. The contest was so well conducted that the result was only ascertained by the official count—Mr. Rodney receiving 5467 votes and Mr. Jones 5458—a majority of only 9.

The Legislature assembled on the 3d of January, 1843, and organized by the choice of Presley Spruance, President of the Senate, and William O. Redden, Speaker of the House. Governor William B. Cooper, in his message, congratulates the State that her finances are free from embarrassment, and the surplus remained undiminished, while every demand which had been made on the Treasury had been promptly discharged. The currency, though reduced, was perfectly sound; the credit remained unimpaired, and no imputation or suspicion of fraud or public dishonor rested on the fair fame of the Commonwealth; while every consideration conspired to prove that the people of the State, as far as their condition was affected by the action of the State Government, were still preeminently prosperous and happy.

During the year a memorial to Congress from the people of the State was prepared in favor of an issue of $200,000,000 of government stock, which Mr. Bayard presented to the Senate on February 17th.

The Democratic party in the State, in 1844, declined sending delegates to the National Convention of the party in Baltimore, but William Thorp of Kent was nominated for Governor, and Edward Wootten of Sussex for Congress, who afterwards declined; and an electoral ticket was nominated, and the national administration of Mr. Van Buren indorsed.

The total valuation of property on the tax-list was $25,324,718; the annual tax, $70,092; scholars in public schools, 11,376; balance in treasury, $516,132. The State was free of debt, and the population numbered 78,107. The election in the fall for President gave the Whig electoral ticket 287 majority and Stockton, Whig, was elected Governor over Thorp, Democrat, by 46. The Legislature was also carried by the Whigs, securing the election of a Whig to the United States Senate. There were at this time less than three thousand slaves in the State, and it was stated at an anti-slavery meeting in Wilmington that three-fourths of the people were ready to sign petitions for immediate emancipation, without compensation.

The Hon. John M. Clayton was re-elected to the United States Senate, in place of Richard H. Bayard, by a vote of nineteen to ten for Martin W. Bates. Joint resolutions were passed by the Legislature of 1845 against the annexation of Texas, and presented to the Senate by Mr. Clayton at the second session of the Twenty-eighth Congress.

[1] Charles Dickens, the distinguished novelist, when on his visit to America, stopped for a few hours in Wilmington on March 11, 1842.

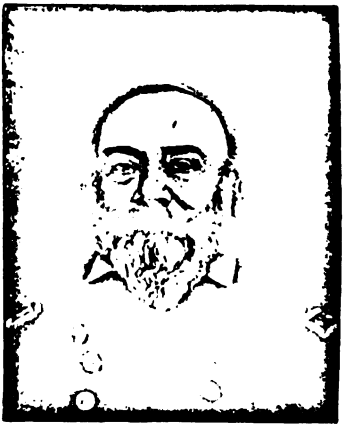
The *Pennsylvania* newspaper describes the condition of the State in 1845 as most excellent in every respect, that rapid and very great improvement had taken place in every section, and that "the use of lime and manure is what has mostly effected the beneficial change in the agricultural appearance of those counties. Immense quantities of this fertilizer are imported from New York and Pennsylvania as well as burnt in the State. From Delaware City to Cantwell's Bridge, and South through the whole country is in a state of high cultivation. In the vicinity of Smyrna, and back of it for many miles, reaching into the forests along the roads towards Dover and Leipsic, fine fields of clover and heavy corn have taken the place of stunted wild grass and corn producing little else than nubbins. Around Leipsic, on Raymond's and Little Creeks, the same change has been effected, as well as around Dover and Camden. Occasionally is seen a green spot rising toward Milford, Milton or Lewistown. But as yet the spirit of improvement has not extended into Sussex. But in Kent it is everywhere manifested. The crop of wheat at the late harvest throughout the State was large and of good quality, and perhaps it never yielded so abundant a crop of corn as the present. The value of land has risen in Kent and New Castle very considerably, and we are rather surprised to hear farmers selling tracts at fifty dollars an acre and upwards, that could have been bought some years ago for ten. We missed from many places forests of oak and hickory and found corn in their place. We incline to think such changes will not only be productive in a pecuniary point of view, but add to its salubrity. There is not much difference in the appearance of the villages compared with the period of which we speak. Smyrna has improved; Dover has grown; Milford, Milton, Lewistown, little or none; Cantwell's Bridge and Leipsic, however, have grown materially in population and activity. On the whole, the ardent spirit of agricultural improvement was pleasing to us, and the good work has already strengthened the hand of our gallant little neighbor. Long may she prosper and be proud of her agricultural, mechanical and commercial prosperity."

The present greatest production of the State—the peach crop—was, in 1845, just beginning to develop the capacity of the State in that direction. Major Reybold sent in that year, in one day, 5420 baskets of peaches, and up to September 1st had sent off 16,000 baskets, while the family had to that date shipped over 50,000 baskets.

In 1846 the "Loco" or Democratic party nominated for Governor, William Thorp of Kent, and John I. Dilworth of New Castle, for Congress.

The Whigs nominated Peter F. Causey of Kent, for Governor. Mr. Thorp was elected Governor, and Mr. Houston to Congress, the former by one hundred and seventy-five majority and the latter by ninety-eight. Thus each party was triumphant in a State election, but in the Legislature the Whigs had a majority, and secured the election of a United States Senator in the place of Thomas Clayton, whose term expired March 3, 1847.

The Secretary of War, on May 10, 1846, by direction of the President, called for volunteers to prosecute the war against Mexico, of which three hundred and ninety was the number required from Delaware. At that date the revenue cutter "Forward," Captain Henry B. Nones, commander, with Lieutenant John McGowan, Charles W. Bennett, Richard S. Jones, Pilot Joseph Davis and forty-five seamen, shipped principally in the State, lay in the harbor of Wilmington. On May 21st sealed orders were received to proceed at once to the Gulf of Mexico, which were promptly complied with, and the "Forward" arrived at the seat of war in time to participate in the attack on Alvarado, and in the capture of Tobasco. Captain Nones' gallantry and seamanship received the commendation of Commodore Perry, who wrote: "I am gratified in bearing witness to the valuable services of the Revenue Schooner 'Forward' in command of Captain Nones, and the skill and gallantry of his officers and men." Remaining on duty in the Gulf during the year, Captain Nones returned in the "Forward" to Wilmington, arriving on May 22, 1847, after the absence of exactly one year. The vessel showed many marks and hard knocks received in the engagements in which she had participated. Her commander was welcomed home by many friends. The "Forward" was dismantled and repaired at the old wharf, and completed August 3d of the same year. John Lund, Samuel Wade and Andrew Fulmede, now (1887) residing in Wilmington, were with Captain Nones on the "Forward."[1]



CAPTAIN HENRY B. NONES.

[1] Henry B. Nones, captain United States Revenue Marine, the son of a soldier of the American Revolution, was born in Philadelphia, Pa., in 1804. He served in the Florida War, 1835, and commanded the cutter

A recruiting office for the regular army was opened at the Swan Hotel, now the Gibson House, on Fourth Street, January 26, 1847. Captain Chaytor the same day began to raise a military company in Wilmington. After having recruited fifteen men in the city, of whom Joseph S. Wheeler, now (1887) a merchant tailor in the city, was one, they were transferred to Company E, of the Eleventh Regiment of United States Infantry, then in Philadelphia. This company was commanded by Captain Pemberton Wardell.

The company, being now full, on the 8th of April started for Mexico. They went by cars to Johnstown, Pennsylvania (then the limit of the railroad line), by canal to Pittsburgh, by steamboat down the Ohio and Mississippi Rivers, and on a sailing vessel to the Island of Brazos. From thence they proceeded to Point Isabel and to the mouth of the Rio Grande, and there took a steamer for Camp Palo Alto, where they joined the Eleventh Regiment, under command of Colonel Ramsay.

In the mean time Captain Chaytor, who was a physician by profession, continued recruiting men for the service, and on May 13, 1847, had a company of eighty officers and men. They received orders to at once proceed to Vera Cruz. George W. Chaytor was captain; Joseph S. Hedges, first lieutenant; Columbus P. Evans, second lieutenant. They marched from Wilmington to New Castle, and from there were transported by the Union Steamboat Line to Fort McHenry, at Baltimore, and from thence conveyed to Vera Cruz by a steamship in waiting for them. One month later they landed in Mexico. Captain Chaytor immediately returned on a "sick leave," and never went back to his company. Though he did not resign, the command of the company devolved upon Lieutenant Hedges first, and afterward upon Lieut. Evans. This company was also assigned to the Eleventh Regiment of United States Infantry, and with that command participated in the numerous engagements and triumphant march of Gen. Scott's army from Vera Cruz to the City of Mexico. This was the only complete company from the State of Delaware that went to the Mexican War. The bravery of its men, in common with the entire Eleventh Regiment, was never questioned. Col. Graham, their heroic and much-loved commander, fell dead, pierced by twelve balls in the battle of Molino del Rey, in 1847. Many of the Wilmington boys became sick soon after their arrival in Mexico; some of them died in the service, while numbers of them were killed or wounded in battle. Lieutenant Joseph S. Hedges, after leading his company in the battles of Contreras, Molino del Rey and Cherubusco, fell sick of a fever, and returned home December 19, 1847. There were then thirty-five men in his company.

After the treaty of peace was signed the Eleventh Regiment was sent to Fort Hamilton, New York, where the officers and men were mustered out of service.

"A spontaneous meeting of citizens" was held at De Haven's Indian King Hotel, between Front and Second Streets, on Market, July 29, 1848, when it was decided to give the returning soldiers from the city an enthusiastic welcome. The reception committee was composed of twenty-eight citizens, with Mayor Alexander Porter chairman and William R. Sellars secretary. "The gallant men returned crowned with laurels from the field of glory" August 22, 1848, and they were tendered a banquet in the City Hall, and were received in a speech on behalf of citizens by Hon. John Wales. They were, Lieutenant Columbus P. Evans, Sergeants Benjamin F. Handy and Abijah Jackson and J. L. Patterson; Privates, Joseph S. Wheeler, Samuel Paul, John Bailey, William Hassam, Levin Stevens, Matthew Gosling, Paul H. Carter, Isaac Hill, Samuel Taylor, Alexander Henderson, George McMullen and John Crew of Chaytor's Company F, Eleventh Regiment. A few others returned a day or two later, but the entire number that came back was but a handful of those who went sixteen months before. Of those named two survive—Joseph S. Wheeler, of Wilmington, who did valiant service as an officer in the Civil War, and Benjamin F. Handy, now (1887) keeper of the lighthouse at Fort Mifflin. Samuel Jacobs, a member of the company from Sussex County, died at Lerma, Mexico, just as his comrades were leaving for home. Lieutenant Evans afterward became mayor of Wilmington.

Henry Rumor, of Brandywine, who enlisted at Wilmington in the regular army, was mortally wounded in the battle of Molino del Rey. Corporal John McMahon, an employee at Gareshe's powder-mills, William Russell, Foster Carson, James Dilke and John Schmidt were wounded in the engagement before the city of Mexico. Lieutenant James Tilton, formerly of Wilmington, but who enlisted in an Indiana regiment, was wounded at the storming of Chapultepec.

"Forward," as we have stated, in the Mexican War, being attached to Commodore Conner's squadron. He participated in the operations of the navy and gained particular distinction in the action at Tobasco. He was also actively engaged in the Civil War. He died at Wilmington, August 25, 1868.

Jefferson Henri Nones, son of Captain Nones, was born in Philadelphia; served in the Mexican War; was wounded at Puebla, Mexico; appointed a second lieutenant in the Second Regiment of United States Artillery in 1847; resigned his commission in 1856. Has since been engaged in journalism.

Washington H. Nones, son of Captain Nones, was born in Philadelphia; entered the United States Navy as third assistant engineer; died at Pensacola, Florida, September 9, 1853, of yellow fever.

John M. Nones, son of Captain Nones, made a voyage to China, and on his return was appointed a third lieutenant in the United States Revenue Marine; died, suddenly, on the 1st of September, 1850, in the twenty-fourth year of his age, on board the cutter "Forward," lying off Wilmington.

Albert Smith Nones, son of Captain Nones, was born in Eastport, Maine, while his father was commander on that station. When two years old his father was ordered to Wilmington, where the family have since resided. He was educated at St. Mary's College, and when the war broke out he enlisted in the First Delaware Cavalry. In January, 1863, he was commissioned first lieutenant in the First Regiment, Delaware Infantry, and assigned as an aide-de-camp on the staff of General Thomas Smyth, and was beside that officer when he was killed at Farmville, Va. Having served till the close of the war in 1865, he was commissioned a second lieutenant in the Eighth Regiment, United States Infantry. In 1867 he resigned from the army and entered into civil pursuits. He was an ardent and active member of the Grand Army of the Republic, and an aide on the commander-in-chief's staff at the time of his decease. He died at Wilmington April 24, 1887, after a brief illness, and was buried with military honors.

John Koontz was killed while standing between Lieutenant Evans and Sergeant Jackson, at Churubusco; Samuel S. Thompson was wounded by the same ball.

George Windle, Thomas Hughes and John File, natives of Wilmington, served under General Taylor in a regiment of "Louisiana Tigers," whose motto was: "Do or die."

Sergeant Benjamin S. Hagany, a brave young Wilmingtonian, was killed in the battle of Buena Vista. He had left his native place some years before the Mexican War opened and enlisted in a Mississippi regiment under the command of Jefferson Davis. He was a son of John Hagany, a prominent local minister in Asbury Church. Two days before the battle he wrote to his brother in Wilmington, predicting that a battle would soon take place and that he would probably be among the slain. He bequeathed to his relatives his effects before entering battle.

John L. Donaldson, a native of Wilmington, enlisted in Louisiana and served under General Taylor in all the battles of his memorable campaign. He returned to his home July 9, 1847, and was welcomed by his former associates.

At a public meeting held in the City Hall, at Wilmington, April 12, 1847, Dr. James W. Thomson was president and J. W. Duncan, secretary. Congratulatory resolutions were adopted in recognition of the brilliant victories of General Taylor at Buena Vista and General Scott at Vera Cruz. On April 15th there was a grand demonstration in the city in honor of those victories. One hundred guns were fired at corner of Fourth and Washington Streets by Artillery Company A. There was a parade of local military organizations in the afternoon. In the evening the words "Honor" and "Fame" were reflected upon canvas in front of the City Hall and there was a fine display of fireworks. The streets were brilliantly illuminated.

Midshipman Thomas S. Shubrick was killed at the siege of Vera Cruz by a ball from the enemy while poising one of the guns of a battery to fire. He was about twenty-two years old. Six weeks before his death he was in Wilmington. His remains were brought home May 12, 1847, and received by the mayor, president of City Council and a committee of citizens, and by them attended to St. Peter's Catholic Church. The funeral ceremonies took place the next day, and thousands of citizens formed the procession, which moved to the family graveyard of the Du Ponts, on the Brandywine, where the remains were interred.

In the siege of Vera Cruz Midshipman Allen McLane, a descendant of his namesake of Revolutionary fame, performed many chivalrous deeds.

Lieutenant Robert C. Rogers was taken prisoner in the same engagement. Lieutenant George McLane was wounded at Cerro Gordo, and afterwards showed great bravery in the engagement before the city of Mexico.

Samuel E. Chambers, known in Taylor's army as the "Delaware hero," showed undaunted bravery at Monterey. He first mounted the enemy's breastworks, obtained a foot-hold on the top of an eighteen-pounder and deliberately fired with great effect until the piece was captured by General Worth. Later he was wounded at the battle of Saltillo, and more seriously wounded at Resaca de la Palma. He stood by Henry Clay's son when he was killed in battle. He brought home to Wilmington, as a trophy, a lance which he captured from Don Mantero, an officer of the Mexican lancers, who was soon afterward killed. The Philadelphia *Ledger's* New Orleans correspondent gives further details of the gallantry and dash of Samuel E. Chambers. He joined the army at Corpus Christi and went with Captain Walker's Texas Rangers to the Rio Grande. On the 1st of May, when Walker made the desperate attempt to cut his way through to Taylor's camp for the purpose of opening communication, Chambers was one of the few men who went with him. In the encounter with the Mexicans they lost all but fifty men; Chambers had a horse shot under him. He captured another from a Mexican, which shared the same fate as the first, and was the last man to return to camp. Chambers did not admire the discretion of Captain Walker as much as he did his courage, and applied to Captain May for a place in his company in the expected battles of the 8th and 9th. The application was granted, and Chambers was the second man that crossed the Mexican battery in May's charge. He was found, after the battle, lying under his horse, by the side of one of the Mexican pieces, with his shoulder dislocated and much bruised, and entirely insensible. He was removed from the field, and has since recovered from his injuries. The correspondent adds that his comrades gave him the name of the "Hero of Delaware." Some of those who observed his conduct during the battle say he fought as if he intended to put to flight the whole Mexican army. With his sabre in one hand, he assaulted the men in charge of the battery, and with the other he discharged his pistols in their faces. Three bayonet wounds through the body which he received showed how desperate the contest was and how gallantly he stood his ground.

The father of the "Hero of Delaware" was Isaac Chambers, who resided in the State, though sometimes living in Philadelphia.

Lieutenant Robert C. Rogers, "whose career in the Mexican War teemed with adventures equaled only in the pages of romance," arrived in Wilmington Christmas day, 1847, from the "seat of war." He was most enthusiastically received by his friends in Wilmington and New Castle.

In November, 1846, while on board the "Somers," he assisted in destroying the Mexican barque "Creole," near the harbor of Vera Cruz. In the mean time his own vessel was wrecked, and he lost all his effects. Soon afterward he was captured while trying to save a brother officer. He was taken to Vera Cruz and condemned to death as a spy by a civil tribunal,

with no evidence to prove it. He was first imprisoned in Vera Cruz for three months, expecting that every day might be his last. When General Scott invested Vera Cruz he was marched on foot fifty miles inland and placed in a gloomy cell in the fortress at Perote. When General Scott began his march to the city of Mexico, he was moved to Puebla, where on one occasion he was taken out and stoned by a rabble of the enemy.

The foreign residents of the city then obtained an order to have him sent to the city of Mexico, where he was kept several weeks in rags and wretchedness. Three times he was taken from prison to be shot, once in front of General Santa Anna, whom he told that a thousand Mexican prisoners would be killed if they sacrificed his life so unjustly. By this means he was spared. Finally, during the excitement occasioned by the approach of the American army to the city, he escaped from prison disguised as a Mexican soldier, and joined the American army. At the storming of Chapultepec he was one of the seven men who first mounted the walls of the fortress. He was of great service to General Scott in the engagement before the city of Mexico by informing him of the position of the enemy and of the environments of the city.

He was appointed a first lieutenant for his bravery. The State Legislature of Delaware voted him a hundred-dollar sword "for service to the commanding general at the storming of Chapultepec and at the capitulation of Mexico." Soon after the close of the war, as one of the "forty-niners," he went to California and became there a prominent citizen. He is now (1887) in England.

Captain David H. Porter was born in New Castle County, February 19, 1805, and was killed in action February 10, 1848. He was lieutenant in the American navy and afterwards a captain in the Mexican navy. On the day of his death he was commanding a Mexican vessel, and after defeating two Spanish ships of the same class, was engaged by a third enemy of a superior character and surrendered for want of ammunition. He was killed while replacing his colors, which had been carried away by the enemy's guns.

General John Lane, U. S. A., a distinguished army officer, died in Wilmington, February 19, 1869. He was the son of Col. Robert Lane, and began his military career as lieutenant of infantry, May 25, 1813. On March 30, 1814, he was wounded in the attack on La Cole Mill, and the same year served as aid-de-camp to General Smith. November 1, 1823, he was made a captain, and November 21, 1836, rendered distinguished service at the battle of Wahoo Swamp. On October 13, 1845, he was promoted major of the Fourth Artillery, and commanded his regiment in Mexico two years later, where, on April 18, 1847, he was breveted lieutenant-colonel for bravery at the battle of Cerro Gordo, and, August 20, 1847, was breveted colonel for his services at the battle of Contreras. On Aug. 3, 1852, he was promoted lieutenant-colonel First Artillery, and colonel Second Artillery July 23, 1851. General Lane was retired November 1, 1861, and was breveted brigadier-general March 13, 1865, for long and faithful services in the army.

Lieutenant James Tilton, of the Baltimore Voltigeurs, wounded in the storming of Chapultepec, was a native of Wilmington, but resided for several years before the war in Indiana. He visited Wilmington in May, 1847, six months before, and took away several recruits. The Voltigeur Regiment was in Pillow's division.

Lieut. Jefferson H. Nones, son of Capt. Henry B. Nones, on September 8, 1847, was detailed near Puebla, to the command of twenty-nine men, to effect a recovery of mules stolen by Mexican guerrilleros. He and his squad were surrounded by Mexican lancers, who killed ten of the Americans and took four prisoners. The rest, under the command of Lieutenant Nones, bravely defended themselves. He was severely wounded by a lance, but recovered at Jalapa. He was second-lieutenant in the Second United States Artillery, and for bravery at the siege of Puebla, on January 8, 1848, he was promoted to first lieutenant. After the war he was sent to Governor's Island, N. Y.

On February 20, 1849, the General Assembly appropriated one hundred dollars for a sword with suitable inscription for Brevet-Captain C. P. Evans, for service in Mexico.

The gallantry displayed on the field of battle in Mexico by the soldiers of the State did not reconcile the people to the justness of the war. Mr. Clayton presenting a memorial from citizens praying the Congress to terminate the war, explained the opposition to the war, and voiced the sentiment of the people against its prosecution. He said:

"During the debate on the Oregon question, as it is commonly called, in 1846, and some time, as I think, in the month of February of that year, I learned from sources to which it is not necessary now to advert, but on which I felt that I could rely, *that our government had given orders to Gen. Taylor to break up encampment at Corpus Christi, and march on to the Rio Grande. The instant I heard that, and was satisfied of its truth—the public at the time having no means of knowing the fact—I was alarmed at the apprehension of a war with Mexico:* and it is true as the honorable Senator from South Carolina has said, that I did meet him here in the Senate Chamber, and, in the course of a confidential private conversation, I did give him the information I then possessed. I told him, Sir, that I believed, unless some speedy action was taken either by himself or some other distinguished gentleman who could arrest the downward tendency of things arising from that order, we should be plunged into a war before we could possibly save ourselves. At that time, all men who were acquainted with passing events and the position of our affairs, were alike anxious to avoid a war with England, if it could be avoided consistently with the honor and interest of our country. All our efforts were devoted to the consideration of the best means by which we could, in the exercise of all prudence and judgment, which God has given us, avert from our country so great a calamity as a war with England upon the question of boundary. It was under those circumstances that I received the information and communicated it to the honorable Senator from South Carolina. His first exclamation was, 'It cannot be so! It is impossible!' precisely as he has related it in the course of this debate. I assured him it was beyond all doubt. 'Then,' said he, when I urged that some measure be taken, 'what can be done?' I, as a Whig, could not move in the matter; and I urged that unless the honorable Senator from South Carolina and his friends, or some other strong division of the gentlemen on the other side, would move in the matter, we on the Whig side would be utterly powerless. The honorable gentleman was, at that time, as he has very properly stated, devoted to the same great object which I confess absorbed my own mind and the minds of those around me—the prevention of a war with England; and he declined to

more, but his usefulness in that great question should be in any degree contracted. In the course of a short time—

"Mr. Calhoun.—'The first conversation was in January, when you announced the fact; and the second conversation was in February.'

"Mr. Clayton.—'Yes, the Senator is right. Thus, Mr. President, I felt exonerated from all responsibility in the matter.' . . . On the 24th of April, and between the hours of 12 and 1 o'clock that day, I was talking with my friend from Kentucky (Mr. Morehead) and I said I had no doubt that we were then at war with Mexico, and I added, 'I believe we have had a fight.' Sportively we laid a small wager on the matter, and it turned out afterwards, for I made a minute of it, that I won the bet by about four hours, for Thompson's dragoons were cut up about four o'clock on the morning of the same day. Well, these events recalled and impressed upon my mind this great fact: that, while the houses of Congress remained in ignorance, and those who knew could not move, the President of the United States was ordering the army of the United States upon the Rio Grande, and taking a step of which the inevitable consequences proved to be war. . . . At the time war was declared, I denounced it as the act of the President of the United States, but I avowed myself, then, and I have ever since avowed myself ready to vote supplies for the war. I believe that the war was brought on by this thing of marching the army, without any necessity, from Corpus Christi to the Rio Grande; done, too, while Congress was in session, without one word having been communicated as to the intention of the President of the United States, either to the Senate or the House, or to any committee of either House of Congress, or, as far as I have been able to judge, to any member of either House of Congress. Under these circumstances, Mr. President, the responsibility of the war will probably rest on him who ought to bear it."

It was in February, 1846, that John B. Gough lectured for the first time on temperance in the Hanover Street Church, Wilmington; he returned in December of the same year and lectured again.

The Legislature assembled on the 5th of January and elected Dr. William W. Morris Speaker of the Senate; John M. Patterson, clerk; John Ellegood, sergeant-at-arms; and Lewis Thompson, Speaker of the House; N. B. Smithers, clerk; and Captain S. Murphy, sergeant-at-arms. All the officers were Whigs. The election of Senator resulted in the election of Presley Spruance by sixteen votes over Martin W. Bates, who received fourteen votes. Thomas Clayton declined re-election. On the 19th of February the House of Representatives of the State passed a bill for the gradual emancipation of slaves.[1]

A tornado passed over Wilmington on Friday afternoon, June 5, 1846. The day was warm and beautiful, but towards evening clouds appeared in the west and within half an hour a violent storm burst upon the city with terrific fury. Trees in large numbers were blown down, awnings were torn from houses, many roofs removed and a number of houses blown down. It was the universal opinion of all the oldest inhabitants that the city was never before visited by such a storm. The range of it was two miles in width and that part of the city below Seventh Street suffered the greatest injury. The large new covered shed of Betts, Harlan & Hollingsworth's shipyards was reduced to a perfect wreck. Twenty men were at work on a new iron steamer in the building; in attempting to escape, two of them were crushed to death by the falling building. The ship-house of Messrs. Thatcher was also entirely destroyed. The workmen all escaped unhurt except two who were wounded. Asbury Church, the building of the Colored Odd Fellows on Fifth Street, between Orange and Shipley Streets, and many dwellings were unroofed. The brig "John M. Clayton," the schooner "Gen. Jackson," the steamboat "W. Whilldin" and other smaller vessels were capsized. During the same month violent storms visited other places.[2]

On June 23, 1847, James K. Polk, President of the United States, arrived in Wilmington on a special train on a trip northward. He was met at the railway station by a reception committee of citizens, the City Council, composed of Dr. Henry F. Askew, Spencer D. Eves, John Rice, James Hanly and William F. O'Daniel.

The President, his Attorney-General, Nathan Clifford, of Maine, mayor of Wilmington, and the president of the City Council rode in an open barouche up French Street to the Brandywine and returned down Market Street to the City Hall, followed by a number of carriages containing citizens. The President entered City Hall and was greeted by an address from Colonel S. B. Davis, to which he responded briefly. After dinner he left in the steamer "Washington" for Philadelphia, accompanied by the following gentlemen of Wilmington: Alexander Porter, Henry Hicks (collector of the port), William R. Sellers, Edward G. Bradford, William P. Chandler, Charles Gordon, John Wales, John Connell, William Campbell, William G. Whitely, Jeremiah W. Duncan and James A. Bayard.

The President rode from Baltimore to Wilmington in an elegant car which was made by Bush & Lobdell, and this was its first trip. It was forty-eight feet long, eight and a half feet wide, with seating capacity of forty-six persons.

Lewis Cass, in 1848, as the Democratic candidate for President of the United States against Zachary Taylor, visited Wilmington. He was accompanied by United States Senators Benton, Allen, Houston, Hannegan and Foote. They arrived from Washington at 1.30 P. M., were escorted to City Hall, where James A. Bayard received them with an eloquent speech. Fifteen hundred people crowded into the hall. General Cass responded to the address of welcome. He mentioned in his speech that just fifty years before he had been a teacher of a school in Wilmington. A few of his pupils were in the audience. He was then sixty-eight years old. Short speeches were made by all the distinguished men who accompanied him. In the evening the party, escorted by a delegation under the lead of Vice-President George M. Dallas, proceeded to Philadelphia.

[1] Henry Swayne, of Centreville, New Castle County, introduced a bill in the General Assembly February 19, 1847, for the abolition of slavery, but it failed in the Senate by the vote of Speaker Morris. Mr. Swayne was also author of the resolution adopted by the Assembly the same month, committing the State against the introduction of slavery into the Territories.

[2] The Philadelphia *Keystone*, June 12, 1846, ignorantly says: "It is now ascertained beyond a doubt that the telegraphic wire now in operation between Philadelphia, New York, Wilmington and Baltimore is the cause of the heavy and repeated rains we have had ever since they were erected. The electric fluid is attracted by their galvanic power and that sympathy which exists between gases, added to the wonderful and mysterious operation of nature, produces this wonderful phenomenon, which we leave for the philosopher to explain more fully and scientifically."

Abraham Lincoln, while a member of Congress from Illinois, in 1848 during the political campaign which resulted in the election of President Taylor, made a speech from the balcony of the Athenæum, which stood at the east end of Fourth Street Market-House, Wilmington. Very little is recorded or remembered of what he said, except that it was one of his characteristic speeches which made him famous as a campaign orator.

His remains were conveyed through the city in a special train from Washington to Philadelphia, Saturday evening, April 22, 1865. Hundreds of persons from Wilmington went to Philadelphia the next day to view the remains as they lay in State at Independence Hall.

The long-standing controversy between the United States and the States of Delaware and New Jersey, for the ownership of the Pea Patch Island, in the Delaware River, was submitted to the sole arbitration of the Hon. John Sergeant, a distinguished lawyer of the Philadelphia bar, before whom the merits and law of the case were argued at great length by James A. Bayard and John M. Clayton, on the part of the United States, Messrs. George M. Bibb and John H. Eaton on the part of New Jersey. Mr. Sergeant delivered his award on the 15th of January, 1848, in favor of the United States. The boundary line between New Jersey and Delaware, as determined in this award, starts from the highest part of the Delaware where it touches New Jersey, down to within twelve miles of New Castle, the middle of the river being the west boundary of New Jersey. From that point, south for the next twenty-four miles, the State of Delaware runs entirely across the river to low-water marsh on the Jersey shore. After that, the middle line of the river (or bay, as it soon becomes) is again the boundary and so continues till its termination in the Atlantic Ocean.

The largest public meeting that, perhaps, was ever held in the State, assembled in Wilmington on January 21, 1848, of the friends and supporters of General Taylor. General N. Young presided, and resolutions were adopted recommending General Taylor for the President of the United States as the people's candidate. Meetings throughout the State were advised to be called. The meeting was addressed by J. Wales of Wilmington and P. K. Smith of Philadelphia.

Soon after the early and successful battles in the Mexican War and before the Presidential question had been much agitated, the name of General Taylor began to be mentioned in connection with the Presidency of 1848. The Whig National Convention met in Philadelphia on June 7th, and he was nominated on the 9th, John M. Clayton of Delaware receiving one vote. Messrs. Cass and Butler were the Democratic nominees. At the fall election P. Reybold, Samuel Cotts and G. H. Wright, the Whig electors, carried the State, also the Whig Representative in Congress, and elected a majority of that party in the Legislature. In 1850 a Temperance party was organized in the State, which nominated Thomas Lockwood of Frederica, Kent County, for Governor, and Dr. Waite of New Castle for Congress. A number of the Whigs supported this ticket, which resulted in the election of Williams H. Ross, the Democratic nominee for Governor, by a small majority; Mr. Riddle for Congress and the rest of the Democratic ticket. The Democrats had now for the first time in many years entire control of the State Government. Hon. John M. Clayton entered President Taylor's Cabinet March 7, 1849, but upon the death of the President, July 9, 1850, and the accession of Millard Fillmore,[1] he was succeeded on July 20, 1850, by Daniel Webster. As soon as Mr. Clayton retired from President Taylor's Cabinet he returned to Delaware and immediately assumed the leadership of his party, which was now on the wane. The Legislature had passed a law for the convening of a convention to amend the Constitution of the State. This was not as was alleged in accordance with the provision contained in the Constitution of 1851, and as Mr. Clayton was bitterly opposed to the calling of a convention, he fought the campaign of 1852 on that issue. The Whigs carried the House of Representatives by a majority of three, but as the Democrats had six members of the Senate who held over, they still had a majority of one on joint ballot.

The Whigs nominated Mr. Clayton for United States Senator, but the Democrats refused for several weeks to go into joint ballot. In the mean time a violent attack was made upon the honor of Mr. Clayton in the United States Senate by Messrs. Stephen A. Douglas, Lewis Cass and Mason, of Virginia, charging him with duplicity in the Clayton-Bulwer treaty negotiations. As soon as John Sorden, a

[1] Millard Fillmore, the thirteenth President of the United States, and his entire Cabinet, on their way to New York, stopped at Wilmington for one hour on Monday, May 12, 1851. Mayor Columbus P. Evans, the City Council and a committee of citizens went to Elkton in a special car to meet the distinguished party. At Elkton they were received in a brief speech by Hon. John Wales, president of the citizens' committee, and at one o'clock the train arrived in Wilmington. A procession was formed which moved to City Hall, where the mayor delivered an address of welcome and the President responded as follows:

"Mr. Mayor,—Permit me, sir, to return you my most cordial and heartfelt thanks for this generous reception, and could I for a moment suppose that it was to me personally I should be overwhelmed. It is but a tribute from the authorities and citizens of Delaware to the government under which we live, and an evidence of her devotion to the glorious Union under which we have so long prospered. You say truly that Delaware set her first seal to the national constitution, and when I look around me and see the intelligence of this noble State here assembled I can well believe that she will be the last to disgrace it. Other States may excel in population, but none can surpass you in patriotism. I must again reiterate my warmest thanks for this generous reception, more on behalf of my associates than myself."

Hon. John F. Crittenden also made a speech. A delegation from Philadelphia, headed by Mayor Gilpin of that city, a native of Wilmington, arrived to meet the President in the morning boat, and were entertained at Foster's Indian Queen Hotel. At two o'clock the President and the entire party left on the steamboat "Roger Williams" for Philadelphia. As they passed to the boat the revenue cutter "Forward" fired a national salute. A rich banquet, prepared for the occasion, was partaken of on the way up the Delaware. The members of President Fillmore's Cabinet who accompanied him were Daniel Webster, Secretary of State; Thomas Corwin, Secretary of the Treasury; John P. Kennedy, Secretary of the Navy; Thomas Ewing, Secretary of the Interior; John J. Crittenden, Attorney-General. Daniel Webster in the evening made a great speech in front of the United States Hotel in Philadelphia.

Peter F. Conney

Democratic member of the State Senate and a personal friend of Mr. Clayton, heard of the charges made against Mr. Clayton, he announced his determination to vote to go into joint ballot so as to enable him to vote for his friend that he may go back to the Senate and defend himself. The dead-lock was thus broken and Mr. Clayton was elected United States Senator. Franklin Pierce[1] was elected President in 1853, having received the electoral vote of Delaware. The campaign was the last fought by the Whigs, as the majority of that party drifted into the "American" party. This party was very successful in the campaign of 1854, electing P. F. Causey Governor and the entire "American" ticket, by an aggregate majority of about one thousand votes. Peter Foster Causey, who was elected Governor of the State from 1854 to 1858, was in many respects a very remarkable man. He was born near Bridgeville, in Sussex County, January 11, 1801. He was the son of Peter F. and Tamzey Causey. His father early in life was an intelligent and progressive farmer and a man of fine capabilities. When the son was four years old his parents moved to Caroline County, Maryland, and his father there engaged in agricultural pursuits until 1815, when they moved to Milford. The bent of mind of both father and son was to engage in a business, giving an opportunity for the development of their native energy and capacity more than farming afforded in that early day. The education of the son was completed by the time he was sixteen years old, and he then began a brilliant and prosperous career in the mercantile business at the present site of the First National Bank of Milford, the firm from 1817 to the time of his father's death being Peter F. Causey & Son. The merchandise sold in their store was purchased in Philadelphia and New York, and the son, when in his seventeenth year, regularly thereafter went to those cities to make the purchases. His knowledge of business seems to have come to him by intuition, as his transactions at so early an age were marked by that quickness of perception, extraordinary judgment and keen foresight, which were his distinguishing traits through life. The trip to New York was then made by stage, taking nearly a week from Milford. The goods were sent here in vessels. It was in 1825 that Peter F. Causey, the future Governor, embarked alone in business, which included a large general store, and the purchase and sale of grain, wood and lime. As time progressed his trade increased, and his establishment became a centre of interest to the town of Milford, a large section of the adjoining counties of Kent and Sussex and portions of Maryland. Mr. Causey, when yet young, was universally recognized as the foremost man in the community in which he lived. About 1820 and for several years afterwards he was engaged in mining iron ore, which he obtained in large quantities on his own land in Nanticoke Hundred. He shipped it on his own vessels to Philadelphia. Whatever he attempted to do he made a success and he soon accumulated large means. He made his permanent investments in real estate near his home, never operating in stocks. He purchased two saw-mills, a tannery, the Haven Flouring Mills, the Milford Mills and what is now known as the Marshall Mills, and operated all of them in connection with his other business. He used his own vessels for the shipment to New York and Philadelphia of the grain he purchased and the flour he ground in his mill.

In 1840 he went out of the general mercantile business and devoted his time to his large land interest, aggregating fifteen hundred or more acres, divided it into farms, and to the management of his flour-mills, sawing-mills and tannery, nearly all of which property is now owned by his children.

As a public-spirited citizen he favored every enterprise or movement that benefited the town and community, trained many young men in correct business habits in his store and took the greatest care to aid and encourage them when they entered business for themselves. He favored and supported the public school system, and was instrumental in securing well-educated and practical teachers from the North to teach the town academy; advocated the cause of temperance and morality in all its phases; was kind and generous to the poor, and a liberal supporter of the Methodist Church, of which he was a member.

He was noted for his highly commendable life and character, was upright in all his dealings and just and true to his fellow-men, and enjoyed the fullest confidence of all with whom he associated.

He was of large stature, being six feet tall, and weighed two hundred pounds, had a striking presence, commanding personal appearance and dignified bearing.

Governor Causey was elected by the Whig party to represent his county in both branches of the State Legislature, was a delegate to the National Whig Convention which nominated General Harrison for the Presidency, who was elected in 1840, and was a delegate to the convention at Baltimore in 1844 which nominated Henry Clay for the same office. In the fall of 1854 he was chosen Governor of Dela-

[1] Franklin Pierce, during the last year of his Presidential term, was enthusiastically received by the people of Wilmington, on September 30, 1856. He passed through the city on his way to his home. A delegation of the Jefferson Association, of this city, went to Elkton to meet him. Dr. Henry F. Askew, in behalf of the association and of this city, received him in an impromptu speech, touching upon the patriotism of Delaware in the Revolution, and of her devotion to the Union.

The President responded as follows: "I thank you, my fellow-countrymen, for your generous courtesy. The noble and patriotic sentiment that has just been uttered in alluding to the blood of the heroes of the Delaware Line in the Revolution fills me with the deepest emotion. Such sentiments should bind the States together as with bands of steel. The blood of your fathers, which honored the State of Delaware, and of mine, which stained the hills of my native State, New Hampshire, will, I trust, arouse so many strong arms and stout hearts that the sentiment of disunion will not dare to exhibit itself except in words. With these few remarks, I again thank you for the attention you have accorded me."

The train, which arrived in Wilmington at 3 P.M., in less than half an hour left for Philadelphia. Mayor Vaux, of that city, headed a delegation which came to Wilmington to meet the President and escort him there.

ware. He took his seat in January, 1855, and served the Constitutional term of four years. During this time he showed that rare executive and administrative ability that characterized his successful business career. His course in the gubernatorial chair was that of a man thoroughly devoted to the interests of his native State, and when he retired from the office he received the highest praise from his constituents.

A pleasant and gratifying coincidence was that while Mr. Causey was Governor of Delaware, his nephew and intimate friend, Trusten Polk, also born near Bridgeville, Sussex county, Delaware, was elected Governor of the State of Missouri, and subsequently became a Senator in Congress from the same State.

When Mr. Causey was Governor he made a number of important appointments, among which were that of Hon. Samuel M. Harrington, chief justice, and afterwards chancellor of Delaware; Hon. Edward W. Gilpin, chief justice, to fill the vacancy caused by the promotion of Justice Harrington, the now distinguished chief justice; Hon. Joseph P. Comegys, United States Senator during the interim of the Legislature in 1856, to fill the vacancy caused by the death of Hon. John M. Clayton; and Hon. John W. Houston, associate judge of the Superior Court, resident in Kent County. One very commendable feature of his appointments was that of Judge Gilpin, who differed from the Governor in politics, to the position of chief justice of the State, which was one of the best-received appointments ever made in Delaware. It was done on account of Judge Gilpin's eminent fitness for the position.

During Governor Causey's administration an act proposing an amendment to the State Constitution for the purpose of abolishing life tenures in office was passed February 4, 1857, which, under the Constitution of the State, had to be approved by the Governor before it was considered by the people. In his next annual message he set forth valid and satisfactory reasons why he did not approve of the proposed amendment.

His action on this matter was sanctioned by all parties then, and virtually settled the question.

A few years after his retirement to private life Governor Causey's health failed him, and during the remainder of his years until his death, February 15, 1871, he was an invalid.

He was married, in 1825, to Maria Williams, daughter of John Williams, Esq., of Kent County, a descendant of one of the earliest settlers of Delaware. Her brothers were representive business men of Milford, and her ancestors were influential in the affairs of Kent County. She is now living, in her eighty-fifth year, at the Causey mansion in South Milford, surrounded by her children.

This historic house, the oldest in the town of Milford, was built in 1750 by an Englishman named Levin Crapper. It was the residence for many years of Governor Rogers of Delaware, whose remains lie on the grounds. It was remodeled in 1850 by Governor Causey when he first occupied it. The surviving children of Governor Causey are William F. Causey, Peter F. Causey, John W. Causey and Maria E., wife of Robert H. Williams.

The defeat of the Know-Nothing party in the campaign of 1856 was due to the passage of a prohibitory liquor law. The Democrats carried the State for Buchanan for President, and their State ticket by a majority of about two thousand, out of about fourteen thousand votes cast. The Republican ticket, headed by John C. Fremont in 1856, only received three hundred and five votes in the entire State.

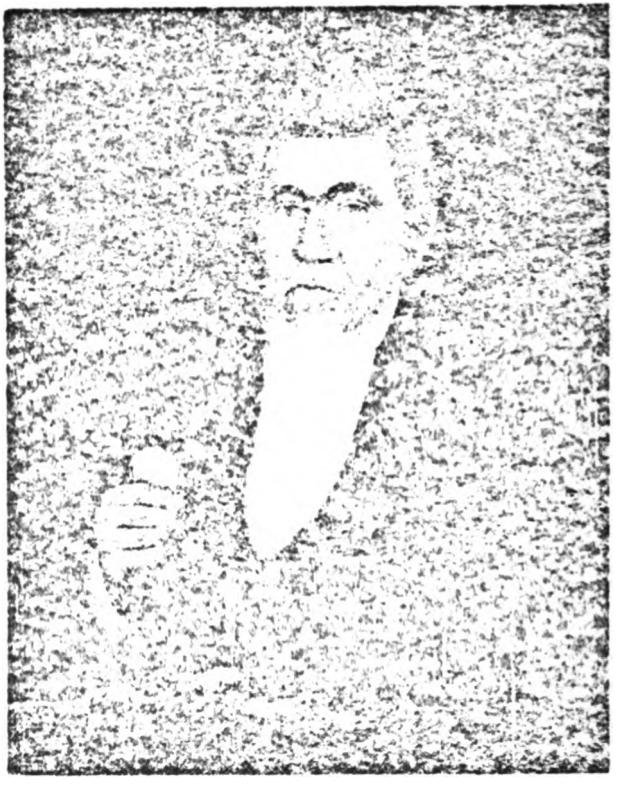
Those who opposed the Democrats in 1858 organized the "People's Party," but in the fall campaign were defeated by two hundred and three votes, the Democrats electing William Burton for Governor and a majority of the Legislature.

Governor Burton was born October 16, 1789, and died August 5, 1866.

His father, John Burton, an enterprising farmer of Sussex County, married Mary Vaughan, who, after the death of her first husband, became the wife of Robert Frame; and their son Robert Frame, the half-brother of Governor Burton, was one of the ablest lawyers of his day.

The boyhood of Governor Burton was spent on his father's farm, and he acquired his preparatory education in the local academies, where he was a faithful and diligent student. He studied medicine in the office of Dr. Sudler, of Milford, and was graduated from the Medical Department of the University of Pennsylvania. He began the practice of his profession in the town of Lewes, but soon removed to Milford, where he lived during the remainder of his successful career. He had many of the endowments and requirements of the ideal physician—being not only well-versed in the science of medicine, but eminently sympathetic in his nature and diligent in his efforts to alleviate suffering—he secured a large practice and enjoyed universal popularity in the town and surrounding country. He was proud of his success as a farmer, and dispensed a free and large-hearted hospitality at his comfortable home on a farm in the suburbs of Milford. He was charitable to the poor, companionable to the young and the idol of little children.

In 1827 he was commissioned a brigadier-general of the militia of Kent County, and filled that position for two years. Dr. Burton had always taken an active interest in State politics, and in the days of the ascendency of the Whig party was one of its acknowledged leaders. He studied the issues of the day and delighted to engage in the intelligent discussion of them. In 1830 he was elected sheriff of Kent County. In 1848 he joined the Democratic party, and in 1854 he was nominated for the office of Governor, but was defeated by the *Know-Nothing party*. In 1858 he was again the standard-bearer of his party for Governor, and as has been stated, was elected, and



William Buston

ware. He took his seat in January, 1855, and served the Constitutional term of four years. During this time he showed that rare executive and administrative ability that characterized his successful business career. His course in the gubernatorial chair was that of a man thoroughly devoted to the interests of his native State, and when he retired from the office he received the highest praise from his constituents.

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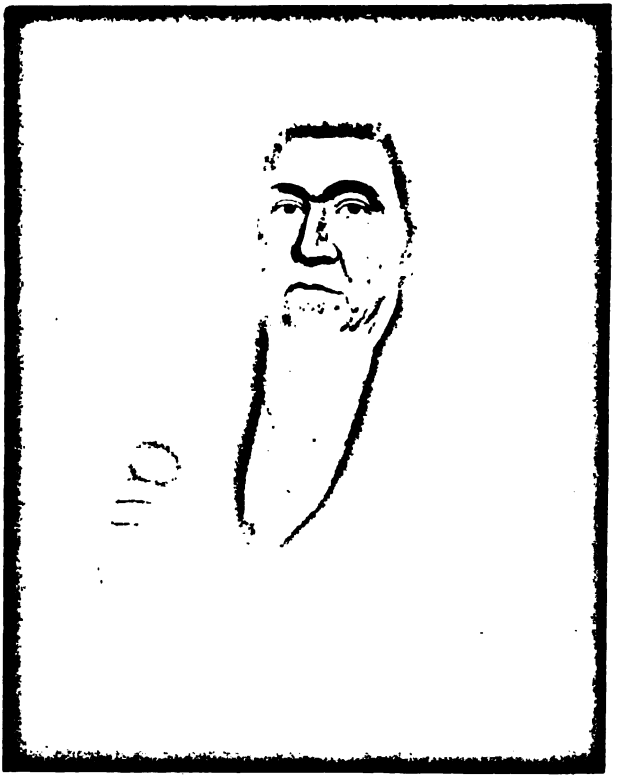

William Burton

assumed the duties of his office in January, 1859. Early in his term the Governor's position became one of great perplexity and weighty responsibility, owing to the breaking out of the Civil War. His efforts, officially and individually, were directed at first towards effecting a peaceful solution of the difficulties between the contending sections, and, to further this end, which accorded with the prevailing sentiment of the people of his State at that time. After all efforts toward peace had failed, however, he gave his official support to the policy of the National Government to maintain the Union by the force of arms. Of the first call for troops made by President Lincoln, Delaware was expected to furnish one regiment of seven hundred and eighty men. There being no militia law then in force, the State had no troops to call out. In compliance with the request of the Secretary of War, Governor Burton, April 23, 1861, issued a proclamation calling for the enlistment of volunteers, which was the utmost extent of his power as the State's executive. By the 1st of May the Governor announced that the full quota of the State had been furnished; and, afterward, three regiments of one thousand men each were raised and equipped and sent into the field. During these troublous years of his term, the chief executive maintained a wise, equable and efficient zeal in the discharge of his executive functions, and retired from office January 1, 1863, with the general approval of not only his party, but of the whole people of Delaware—for while steadfastly supporting the integrity of the Union, he was vigilant in maintaining the rights and dignity of the State. He died three years later, at the age of seventy-seven.

Governor Burton was a warm supporter of the creed and claims of the Protestant Episcopal Church, and was for many years senior warden of Christ Church, Milford.

He was twice married—first to Mrs. Eliza Walcott, daughter of William Sorden, of Kent County, who died early. In 1830 he was married to Ann C. Hill, daughter of Robert and Rhoda (Davis) Hill, who lived, after her widowhood, until October 14, 1885. They had one child, Rhoda, who married Alfred R. Wootten, Esq., who was attorney-general of Delaware at the time of his death, in 1864, also leaving but one child, Mary Robinson Wootten, now the wife of David T. Marvel, Esq., of Georgetown.

In the campaign of 1860 the Breckinridge Democrats nominated Benjamin T. Biggs, of New Castle County, for Congress; the Douglas men, Elias Reed, of Kent; and the People's party nominated George P. Fisher, of Kent. The latter was elected by a plurality of some two hundred and fifty votes. The result of the Presidential election of 1860 is given in the next chapter.

CHAPTER XVIII.

THE CIVIL WAR.

On the 6th of November, 1860, the election for a President of the United States took place. The candidate of the Republicans was Abraham Lincoln, of Illinois. The distinctive principle he represented was the non-extension of slavery to the Territories of the United States, and its speedy removal from all places belonging to or under the exclusive control of the Federal government. Stephen A. Douglas was the candidate representing the principle of non-intervention, which was understood to mean that Congress should not interfere with the question of slavery or no slavery in a Territory, but that it should be left to the inhabitants to determine when they assembled in convention to form a State Constitution. The friends of Mr. Douglas consisted of a portion of the Democratic party. John C. Breckinridge was the candidate representing the principle of protection to slavery in the Territories, regarding slaves as a species of property recognized in the Constitution of the United States. After the Territories became States the whole question was to be under their control. The friends of Mr. Breckinridge constituted that portion of the Democratic party which did not support Mr. Douglas John Bell was the candidate of a party whose platform was "the Constitution, the Union and the enforcement of the laws."

The vote of the people at the election was as follows: Lincoln, 1,866,452; Douglas, 1,375,157; Breckenridge, 847,953; Bell, 590,631. Mr. Lincoln received the vote of California, Connecticut, Illinois, Iowa, Maine, Massachusetts, Michigan, Minnesota, New Hampshire, New Jersey (four), New York, Ohio, Oregon, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, Vermont and Wisconsin—or one hundred and eighty electoral votes, from seventeen States. John C. Breckinridge received the vote of Alabama, Arkansas, Delaware, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Maryland, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina and Texas—or seventy-two electoral votes from nine States. John Bell received the vote of Kentucky, Tennessee and Virginia—or thirty-nine electoral votes from three States. Stephen A. Douglas received the vote of Missouri and three electoral votes from New Jersey, —or twelve electoral votes from one State and a portion of another. Lincoln's majority over Douglas was 491,295, over Breckinridge, 1,018,499; over Bell, 1,275,821, and the aggregate majority of these candidates over Lincoln was 947,289, out of a suffrage of 4,680,193.

In Delaware, Samuel Jefferson, John Mustard and Robert B. Houston, the Breckinridge electors, carried the State by a plurality of 3483 votes. Mr. Breckinridge received 7347 votes, Bell 3864, Lincoln 3815 and Douglas 1023, out of a total of 16,049 votes cast.

The measures and disputes which resulted in the War of 1861-65 all had reference to the existence of

slavery in the Southern States. Delaware was classed with the Southern or slave-holding States, in distinction from the Northern and free-labor States. According to the census report of 1860, there were in the State 90,589 white inhabitants, 19,827 free colored and 1798 slaves. Of the slaves, 1341 (three-fourths) were in Sussex County, 254 in New Castle, and 203 in Kent; of the free colored, 8188 were in New Castle, 7271 in Kent, and 4370 in Sussex; of the whites, New Castle had 46,355, Sussex 23,904, and Kent 20,330.

In 1860–61 the Federal government was conducted by those who were mixed up in the slavery measures and disputes on the one side, and the Confederate government by those involved in them on the other. The opinion entertained by Southern statesmen previous to the difficulties was that the Constitution of the United States protected the institution of slavery in the States, in so far as it withheld from the government all power to interfere with the institutions of the States, as it required the government to restore fugitives, as it gave a representation in Congress based upon their numbers, and as all direct taxes were to be estimated on a basis including this population.

Those known as radical abolitionists in the Northern States held the same opinions relative to the Constitution of the United States, and for this reason they denounced it as a "a covenant with death and a league with hell." In their view disunion, immediate and complete, was the only feasible means by which to be released from its obligations. Those known as anti-slavery men had a distinct political organization, and took a position in the rear of the former. They held a similar opinion relative to the powers of the Federal government over the institutions of the States, but devoted their efforts to defeat the operations of the law for the recovery of fugitives, and to aid the slave in escaping from his servitude; to thwart on every occasion, if possible, all measures tending to promote the interests of slaveholders, and to persuade persons tenderly conscientious that slavery was a sin which it was their duty to exterminate, and that the black man was the equal of the white man. The remainder of the people held the same opinion on the powers of the Federal government over the institutions of the States. Indeed, it may be said there was not a dissentient opinion on that subject. But while the great mass of the people in the Northern States held these views, they also considered that slavery was an institution abolished as profitless at the North, and, therefore, one in which they had no concern.

The thoughtful reader will see that here were the seeds of an attempted dissolution of the Union of the States. So long as the persons of anti-slavery or abolition views were few and insignificant they remained in obscurity; but if the hour should ever come in which they should hold the control of the Federal government, it would involve a concession on their part or on that of the slaveholders, or a rupture. There was nothing to encourage the patriotic citizen to hope that concessions would be made if this hour of fate should ever come. The anti-slavery men of the Northern States and the slaveholding citizens of the Southern States quickly grew to be antagonists, and their differences and disputes were conducted with the most bitter and vindictive denunciations to be found in human language. On the floor of Congress members from the Northern States, holding high positions for intelligence and piety, denounced the slaveholding citizens of the Southern States as "bartering their own children," as "dealing in the image of God," as "buying and selling the souls of men," as "making merchandise of the Holy Ghost."[1] The reply to such expressions was "contemptible fanatic," etc., etc.

Meanwhile the anti-slavery sentiment grew apace, and there became enough who held those views to control State elections, by acting as a third party, and thus in one instance to control the vote of a great State at a Presidential election, which was thereby decided. The progress of these views now was more rapid; slavery was attacked in both Senate and House of Congress at every assailable point. To satisfy the scruples of the citizen who knew his duty of non-interference under the Constitution, and the stings of a conscience called to act under a belief that citizenship with a slaveholder was sin, the principle of a higher law was proclaimed, which relieved the conscience from the obligations of the Federal Constitution. The progress of anti-slavery views now was rapid. One of the great political parties of the country was demoralized and broken up, and an anti-slavery candidate for the Presidency brought forward, who carried every free State but four, and thus was almost successful. Four years of bitter anti-slavery contests ensued in which the object was to defeat the extension of slavery to any Territory by preventing the creation of any authority for its existence there. This was to be done by a direct prohibition by Congress, as some urged, or by absolute non-interference by Congress, but by the decision of the settlers. Meantime the slave-holders were told that the contest was "irrepressible," that it would go on, from the very nature of the question, until all the States became free, or all became slaveholding. At length by the Presidential election of 1860, the administration of the Federal government was put into the hands of the anti-slavery party. Such had been the bitterness of the contest that seven of the extreme Southern States took steps immediately to withdraw from the Union. The reason on which they attempted to justify their acts was that, in their opinion, it was the determined purpose of the Republican or anti-slavery party to so interfere with their domestic institutions as to render it unsafe for them longer to continue in the Union. On the other hand, this great party

[1] See speeches of Horace Mann, successor to ex-President John Quincy Adams, and others.

after a struggle of years, had won the rightful possession to the sceptre of the nation, and were indignant at these proceedings. They preserved a moody silence, and defied the consequences.

The Congress of the United States assembled on the 3d of December, 1860, and on the 20th the State Convention of South Carolina, after a brief debate, passed the ordinance of secession, by a unanimous vote. Mississippi followed the example of South Carolina on the 9th of January, 1861; Alabama and Florida, January 11th; Georgia, January 20th; Louisiana, January 26th; Texas, February 1st; Virginia, April 17th; Tennessee, May 6th; Arkansas, May 18th; North Carolina, May 21st; and Kentucky, November 20th.

Delaware, as an exposed and frontier slaveholding State, had a larger practical interest in the maintenance of the guarantees of the Constitution in regard to slavery than many of the inflammable seceded States. From her geographical position, she had a heavier stake, proportionately, in the preservation of the Union, so far as her material prosperity was concerned, than many of her sister Commonwealths. This was clearly demonstrated by a consideration of the sources of her wealth, the nature and direction of her industry and of her commerce, external and internal. Bound to the Constitution and the United States by every tie that interest could weave or strengthen, she had been uniformly faithful to the performance of every obligation imposed by the one or suggested by her devotion to the other.[1]

Not only this, but in all the dissensions which sectional feeling and fanatical agitation had promoted, her support had always been given to moderate doctrines and conciliatory counsels. Sympathizing with the South in its wrongs and just resentments, and ready at all times to make common cause with it in the Constitutional maintenance of its rights, Delaware had always kept aloof from its mad heresies and passionate bitterness. Outraged more than any of the cotton States by the aggressions of the North, and prompt to repel them, within the limits of her Constitutional resources and Federal allegiance, she did nothing whatever to widen the breach between the antagonistic sections of the republic, or to weaken the hands of those conservative Northern citizens who were at this time nobly struggling to maintain the good faith and integrity of the national compact. In the position which Delaware had thus historically assumed the election of the 6th of November had rooted her still more firmly. She had given her electoral vote to the candidates by whom the Constitutional rights of the South were most emphatically and exclusively represented, and at the same time, through her whole press, and with the united voice of all the political parties within her borders, she proclaimed at this period her fixed determination to take her stand within the circle of the Union and protect herself by the Constitution only.

On the 2d of January, 1861, the Legislature assembled at Dover, and on the next day the commissioner from Mississippi, Henry Dickinson, appeared before the House, and made an address. In the name of the State of Mississippi, he invited Delaware to join the Southern Confederacy, which was about to be formed. He claimed the right of the State to secede from the Federal Union, and said, if it was not admitted, war would be inevitable. After his speech, the House resolved unanimously, and the Senate concurred by a majority, that, "having extended to the Hon. H. Dickinson, the commissioner of Mississippi, the courtesy due him, as the representative of a sovereign State of the Confederacy, as well as to the State he represents, we deem it proper and due to ourselves and the people of Delaware to express our unqualified disapproval of the remedy for existing difficulties suggested by the resolutions of the Legislature of Mississippi."

On the 19th of January the Legislature of Virginia passed a series of resolutions which led to the Peace Conference at Washington on February 4th, in which twenty States were represented. The delegates appointed from Delaware were George B. Rodney, Daniel M. Bates, Henry Ridgely, John W. Houston and William Cannon. In the instructions to her delegates, Delaware declared that, in the opinion of "this General Assembly, the people of Delaware are thoroughly devoted to the perpetuity of the Union, and that the commissioners appointed are expected to emulate the example set by the immortal patriots who formed the Federal Constitution, by sacrificing all minor considerations upon the altar of the Union."

The Peace Convention continued in session until the 27th of February, when the result of its labors was laid before Congress. Delaware was represented in Congress at this time by James A. Bayard and Willard Saulsbury in the Senate, and William G. Whitely in the House. At the extra session of Congress held on July 4, 1861, William G. Whitely was succeeded by Hon. George P. Fisher.

On the 26th of December, 1860, Major Anderson transferred his garrison from Fort Moultrie to Fort Sumter, in Charleston harbor. The movement excited intense indignation among the active secessionists in that city. It was the first flash across their minds of the idea that the United States might fight before the difficulty was ended. Affairs now continued to grow worse. The hope of an amicable adjustment was diminished by every hour's delay, and as the prospect of a bloodless settlement passed away, the

[1] At the second session of the Thirty-sixth Congress, which began at Washington on Monday, December 3, 1860, Senator Willard Saulsbury, of Delaware, in the debate on printing the President's message, said: "My State having been the first to adopt the Constitution, will be the last to do any act or countenance any act calculated to lead to the separation of the States of this glorious Union. She has shared too much of its blessings; her people performed too much service in achieving the glorious liberties which we now enjoy, and in establishing the Constitution under which we live, to cause any son of hers to raise his hand against those institutions or against that Union. Sir, when that Union shall be destroyed by the madness and folly of others (if, unfortunately, it shall be so destroyed), it will be time enough then for Delaware and her Representatives to say what will be her course."

public distress became more and more aggravated.[1] On the 4th of March, 1861, President Lincoln delivered his inaugural address, took the oath of office and began the discharge of his duties. At this time seven Southern States had retired from the Union, the officers of the Federal government had resigned, and there were no persons to represent its powers or execute its duties within their limits, excepting in the Post-Office Department. In those States all the government property had been seized, and only Forts Pickens, Taylor and Jefferson, near the Florida coast, and Sumter, in Charleston harbor, continued under the flag of the Union.

On April 1st measures were taken at Governor's Island, Fort Hamilton, Bellue's Island and the Brooklyn navy-yard, New York, to relieve these fortifications. All eyes were now turned towards Fort Sumter with intense interest. It was well known that the unseen future was wrapped up in her fate. If she was peacably supplied with stores for the starving garrison, or if peaceably evacuated, then the prospects for peace would become hopeful; if on the other hand, an assault should be made, war, with all its horrors, fraternal war, was upon the country. The country did not have long to wait in suspense, for on Friday morning, April 12th, about four o'clock, fire was opened from all points upon Fort Sumter, and continued for thirty-three hours, when her commander, on the afternoon of the 13th, surrendered. The fort was evacuated on Sunday, the 14th, and as the news flashed over the country by telegraph, it was instantly followed by the summons of the President, "To arms! to arms!" His proclamation, ordering seventy-five thousand men into the field, was issued on the night of the 14th. A call for the troops was issued by the Secretary of War, Simon Cameron, in accordance with the President's proclamation, and sent to the Governors of the respective States. The quota allotted to Delaware under this call was one regiment of seven hundred and eighty men. These documents were spread through the country on Monday, the 15th, and on the 19th the Sixth Regiment of Massachusetts Volunteers,[2] completely equipped, passed through Wilmington for Washington, so eager was that State to be the first in the field.

The most uncontrollable excitement now burst over the country. Both North and South rushed to arms—the former to maintain the government and to preserve the Union, the latter to secure the independence of the Confederate States and the dissolution of the Union.

In Wilmington, Delaware, the news of the firing on Fort Sumter created the most intense excitement. The streets soon became thronged with people, and groups were gathered around the newspaper and telegraph offices, excitedly discussing the situation. As soon as intelligence was received of the surrender of the fort, the opposition to secession became very strong. In the evening a body of workingmen, headed by a drum and fife, paraded the streets, cheering loudly for the Union. On April 16th one of the largest and most enthusiastic Union demonstrations was held in the City Hall. Mayor V. C. Gilpin presided, with George Nebecker, J. S. Valentine, George S. Hagany, Joseph R. Bringhurst, Joel Frist, James H. Rice, William A. Wisdom, L. H. Coxe, Henry Bartram, S. S. Southard, Daniel Farrar, William H. Pierce, Joseph C. Spear, Henry McLear, John F. Miller, Joseph Heston, R. S. La Motte, J. M. Barr, J. A. Hunter, Joseph Richardson, William S. Hayes, J. W. Sullivan, H. N. Wickersham, J. Scott, J. Pyle, A. Boys, J. D. Gregg, C. F. Rudolph, J. L. Thompson, John J. Toner, J. M. Turner, Geo. Stearns, J. Maris and John Flinn, vice-presidents; and Wm. H. Gallagher, Charles O'Donnel, S. Postles, H. Finnegan, M. H. Foster and Hanson Harmon, secretaries. Eloquent and patriotic speeches were delivered by W. H. White, J. S. Valentine and John Sebo in support of the government.

The following resolutions reported by Joseph Pyle, W. H. England, J. Montgomery, A. H. Grimshaw and J. M. Pusey were unanimously adopted:

"*Whereas*, the treason in the South has assumed a form that requires the earliest action of the government, and

"*Whereas*, the President has called upon the States for seventy-five thousand men to suppress the rebellion that is now waging war against the government, placing our liberties and Union in danger, therefore be it

"*Resolved*, That we fully concur in the views of the President and that we respond to the call in a substantial manner by promising him such aid as may be requisite to enforce the laws and repel invasion.

"*Resolved*, That Delaware is, as she has always been, loyal to the Union, that treason has always been a stranger to this State, and that we condemn the efforts that have been made to induce the Legislature to take measures to place Delaware among the seceding States.

"*Resolved*, That a high and exalted patriotism will govern the people of Delaware in the present crisis, and that they will be as they ever have been, the first to uphold and the last to desert the Union.

"*Resolved*, That the present crisis demands that all party ties should be obliterated; that the Union men of all creeds should band together with no other object in view than the perpetuity of the Union and a vindication of the rights of man; proving to the world that the people are competent to govern themselves

"*Resolved*, That we recommend the people of the different Hundreds, irrespective of party, to meet and express their views on the state of the Union.

"*Resolved*, That we condemn all Senators and Representatives in Congress who have prevented by their votes or speeches the settlement of the present difficulties between the North and South.

"*Resolved*, that the people of Delaware will sustain the government and support the Union and are always in favor of the Constitution and the enforcement of the laws.

"*Resolved*, That a committee of five be appointed to request the government officers to place the national flag upon the the Custom-House and Post-Office of this city."

After appointing William H. England, W. H. Bellamy, H. Finnegan, G. S. Hagany and J. Maris a committee to request the Union flag to be raised over the Custom-House and Post-Office, the meeting adjourned with cheers for the star spangled banner, the Union, and Major Anderson, the hero of Fort Sumter.

Following this great meeting, on the 19th of April, the Sixth Massachusetts Regiment, while passing through Baltimore, on its way to defend the capital,

[1] On the 22d of September, 1860, the banks throughout the country suspended specie payments, which produced widespread monetary embarrassments.

[2] This regiment was attacked in the streets of Baltimore by the populace, and many were killed on both sides.

was attacked by a mob. This act created the most intense excitement in Wilmington, and intensified the Union sentiment. The city feared an attack by way of Baltimore, and to allay public excitement the Mayor on April 22d issued the following proclamation:

"In times of public calamity the minds of men are naturally filled with excitement and alarm. Violent emotions are apt to find vent in demonstrations seriously affecting the public peace.

"Tranquillity and order will be in constant hazard unless the bounds of moderation are strictly observed, both in speech and action.

"Now, therefore, I, Vincent C. Gilpin, Mayor of the city of Wilmington, do hereby enjoin upon all persons the duty of abstaining from intemperate controversies and violent public harangues and all other practices leading to infractions of law; and at the same time I hereby give the assurance that, with the aid of the military arm, I am prepared, to the fullest extent, to exercise my authority as Chief Magistrate, in maintaining order and protecting the rights of persons and property."

In the mean time, on the 19th of April, the City Council made an appropriation of eight thousand dollars for the defense of the city. In pursuance of this act the city purchased four hundred stand of arms in Philadelphia, which arrived on the 22d. The following, from the Wilmington *Morning News* of the 23d, gives a fair idea of the excitement which then prevailed in the city:

"The excitement in our city in relation to the civil war which is now raging in our country is unprecedented in our annals. All day and all night long our streets are filled with crowds of persons, anxiously inquiring for intelligence from the seat of war. Nearly every house in the city has the stars and stripes floating either from the windows or on the roof. At the City Hall, Central Hall, and various other places throughout the city, you see in staring capitals the words, 'Volunteers Wanted.' Not a train of cars arrives but eager crowds throng the depot, and men, women and children run to see them. A number of young men, impatient to enlist in their country's service, left the city for Philadelphia during the week. On Saturday calls were issued for meetings to form 'Home Guards,' 'City Guards' and a company of dragoons. When the train arrived containing the Pennsylvania volunteers who had been driven back by an armed mob in Baltimore on Friday, several of our citizens supplied them with food. Our patriotic ladies put on their kettles and made coffee for them, and conveyed it, with baskets of provisions, to satisfy the hunger of the brave defenders of our free Constitution. On Saturday afternoon Companies B and C, of the Delaware Guards, assembled at their armory in the Friendship Engine House, and were mustered into the service of the city. On Saturday and Sunday nights guards were stationed on all the bridges leading to our city. The young men have displayed their Union badges, some wearing a tastefully-executed rosette, others ribbons, red, white and blue, through the button-hole of the lapel of the coat, and quite a number bear the stars and stripes fastened on their breasts. There appears to be but one sentiment in this community now, whatever may have been the differences of opinion heretofore, and that is that the government must be sustained, and rebellion must be put down at all hazards."

About the same time the railroad bridges on the Philadelphia, Wilmington and Baltimore Railroad west of Havre de Grace, and on the Northern Central Railroad south of Cockeysville, Md., were burned by the authorities of Baltimore, to prevent the passage of Northern troops through that city to the South, thus necessitating their transportation from Havre de Grace to Annapolis and Washington by water. Apprehensive for the safety of Wilmington, measures were taken for its defense. The United States revenue cutter "Dobbin" was sent from Hampton Roads to guard the city and the Delaware Bay. On the night of the 19th of April Fort Delaware was garrisoned with one hundred and seventy-five men from Philadelphia. About the same time Fort Mifflin, on the Delaware shore above Chester, was reinforced by a body of troops from Philadelphia.

The idea of safety animated all classes of people, and for the time being all differences of opinion were subverted to the one purpose of protecting the State through the maintenance of the Union. In order to better allay the fears of the people, Companies B and C, of the Delaware Guards, were assembled at their armory, in the Friendship Engine-house, and were mustered into the service of the city, and at night sentinels were stationed on all the bridges leading to Wilmington. Four hundred stands of arms were procured from Philadelphia and other measures were taken to protect the city from attack.

On April 20th the physicians also tendered their services in case there should be an attack on Wilmington, or on the property and bridges of the Philadelphia, Wilmington and Baltimore Railroad Company. Drs. Porter, White, Bush, George W. Chaytor and G. P. Morris, a committee appointed at a meeting of physicians, secured the City Hall for hospital purposes, and the Odd Fellows' Hall Company tendered their settees for the use of the wounded. The physicians also held themselves ready as a body to give their services if there should be any conflict of arms. The druggists offered to supply lint, medicines, etc., free of charge, and to attend at their several places of business at any hour of the day or night, if necessary, to meet the demands that might be made upon them.

On the afternoon of April 22d another immense meeting was held in front of the City Hall, Wilmington, "to consider the national troubles and adopt measures to secure and strengthen the government." Hon. Willard Hall was made president, with the following vice-presidents: Brandywine Hundred, Jos. Shipley; Wilmington, David C. Wilson; Christiana, James Delaplain; Mill Creek, Lewis Thompson; White Clay Creek, John U. Evans; Pencader, Robert M. Black; St. George's, John P. Cochrane; Red Lion, Capt. George Maxwell; Appoquinimink, James V. Moore; New Castle, George Z. Tybout; Secretaries, Daniel Farrand John B. Porter.

The following persons were appointed to prepare resolutions expressing the sense of the meeting:

Daniel M. Bates, Dr. R. R. Porter, Chas. I. Du Pont, Henry Latimer, Dr. H. F. Asken, Dr. Wm. Couper, Hanson Robinson, S. McDaniel, Dr. L. P. Bush, Jesse Sharpe, E. C. Stotsenburg, A. P. Shannon and Benjamin Gibbs.

Alfred R. Wooten, attorney-general of Delaware, Dr. L. P. Bush, Samuel Townsend, George Read Riddle, Daniel M. Bates, John R. Latimer, Rev. Messrs. Wiswell, Aikman and Condron, Dr. Harlan, George W. Vernon and Washington Curry addressed the meeting in favor of the Union and the duty of sustaining the general government at all hazards, those assembled warmly applauding their sentiments.

The following resolutions were adopted without a dissenting voice:

"The citizens of New Castle County, assembled in county meeting to confer together upon the alarming situation of our national affairs, involved in civil war, deem it our duty to declare that in this emergency we discard all party preferences and bind ourselves firmly to support the constitutional government of the country. We can see no cause for subverting the government, while in its overthrow we discern deplorable consequences. In these consequences the power, honor and prosperity of this nation are imperiled, and the safety, property and comfort of its citizens wantonly and ruinously impaired and wasted. Our country is eminent among the nations; the oppressed from all lands flee to it a happy home, civil and religious liberty, such as never has been known before in the history of man, manifests its benign effects in all its governmental bearings, and it secures to every individual the undisturbed enjoyment of the fruits of his industry, talent and enterprise. Revolution puts all this to hazard, and that through the blood and horror of civil war.

"*Resolved*, That we hold the union of the States dear, because an inheritance from our fathers, whose patriotism and wisdom we revere, whose memories we cherish, having our confidence, because formed by men of unselfish devotedness to the public good and of practical wisdom and statesmanship distinguishing the age in which they lived, and adorning the annals of man; invaluable to us because insuring to us personal security under the guardianship of laws made by ourselves. The fruits of industry, and the undisturbed enjoyment of all our rights, protecting by the peaceful administration of justice the several States from the aggressions of each other, and investing the nation with character and power commanding the respect of all people, while presenting before them a practical exhibition of the operation of self-government with its inseparable attendant civil and religious liberty, a moral exemplar which has elevated, and unless perversely marred, must continue to elevate the human race. Our own is the only power on earth that can prevent or obstruct this consummation.

"*Resolved*, That we deem it our highest privilege to live under a government of laws, and for the administration of the Federal Government and the enjoyment of its benefits. Those constitutionally invested with its functions must be unhesitatingly acknowledged and their authority firmly upheld by all good citizens, especially in times of revolution; and we pledge ourselves to support the government in all constitutional measures.

"*Resolved*, That the government of the country, by whatsoever hands it may be temporarily administered, is the common property. To maintain its constitutional authority is the interest and duty of all alike. By the support we now give to it no man surrenders any opinions he may have heretofore entertained respecting the causes of the present crisis or the policy of the administration now in power.

"*Resolved*, That, while we have no legally organized militia enabling the Governor to comply with the requisitions of the President of the United States, we trust that the patriotism of our citizens will supply the defect by inducing voluntary offers, and that the spirit of our people will manifest to this generation, for maintaining the liberties we enjoy, as did our fathers to that in which these liberties were asserted and won, the reliance that can be placed on freemen for vindicating their rights.

"*Resolved*, That we stand ready, faithfully to abide the sacrifices which the carrying out of these resolutions may involve.

"*Resolved, further*, That while we have full confidence in the law-abiding character of the people of this State, scenes in other places admonish us to inculcate watchful caution against violent or irregular steps; war is exciting and incident to it, especially to civil war, is a popular sensitiveness under which the minds of men become suspicious and inflammable; groundless reports and imaginary inventions are inconsiderately received and acted upon, betraying into rashness and producing, where the presence of war is never felt, aggravated disorder, frequent acts of injustice, a general sense of insecurity. Every one should feel that his own safety depends upon the protection of law, that the magistracy and its process are sufficient for the common welfare, and should be our firm reliance. A brave, firm man is self-possessed; he never will countenance public disturbance or aggression upon the quiet and peace of individuals. We unqualifiedly condemn all tendency to such disturbance and aggression.

"*Resolved*, That a committee of fourteen be appointed by the chair to confer and act with the City Council upon measures necessary for the public safety."

The following gentlemen were appointed, under the resolutions, a committee of safety: John Wales, Joseph Shipley, Thomas F. Bayard, Jesse Sharpe, John B. Latimer, Dr. H. F. Askew, Henry Du Pont, David C. Wilson, Theodore Rogers, J. Morton Poole, E. G. Bradford, Elijah Hollingsworth and Victor Du Pont.

The "Minute Men," numbering about four hundred of the enthusiastic supporters of the Union in Wilmington, were also very active in the emergency, under the command of Robert S. and Charles E. La Motte.

They held meetings every night, and encouraged the Union cause by their patriotic measures.

To provide for the prompt suppression, by force, if necessary, of any rebellious movement in the State, the Messrs. La Motte drew up a roll for signers among the "Minute Men" in the following words:

"We, the undersigned, agree to form ourselves into a volunteer militia company, the object of which shall be the preservation of the Constitution, the Union and the enforcement of the laws. And we hereby pledge ourselves, should our services be required by the constitutional authorities of the United States, to support the General Government and the flag of our common country."

At a special meeting held in the latter part of April, the "Minute Men" adopted the following strong resolutions:

"Whereas, Treason has lifted its hydra head in our once happy Union and traitors, emboldened by success, have threatened the existence of our glorious 'stars and stripes'—a flag that is honored by every civilized nation of the earth; and

"Whereas, duty as patriots, as citizens should in this, the hour of our country's peril, stand up for the perpetuation of those principles of Civil and Religious Liberty bequeathed to us by our fathers, and transmit those happy and blessed privileges to our posterity, and

"Whereas the Minute Men of '60, ever loyal to the Union, the Constitution and the laws, are willing, and do hereby agree, to lay aside for the present all party ties, and cordially unite with our fellow-citizens in the protection of our lives, of our homes and our country, and bury all political animosities of the past, unite as a band of brothers for the present emergency and leave the future as political parties to be governed by circumstances; therefore

"*Resolved*, That we cordially and earnestly invite our fellow-citizens of all political creeds to meet at the Odd Fellows' Hall on Friday evening, to organize for the defence of our City, State and Country in such manner as they may determine upon.

"*Resolved*, That a committee of five be appointed to carry this resolution into effect."

To carry the resolutions into effect, the president appointed the following committee: Charles Bird, J. Blankin, H. Biddle, G. W. Griffin and Edgar Pierce.

On motion, the president was added to the committee. Samuel Biddle then offered the following expression of the sentiments of the "Minute Men," which was adopted, and a copy was ordered to be sent to President Lincoln:

"The minute-men of '60 of the city of Wilmington, in the State of Delaware, deeply deplore the distracted condition of our beloved country, and especially the inauguration of civil war, with all its attendant horrors; regret that the causes which have brought about this unnatural state of affairs was not referred by the last Congress of the United States directly to the arbitrament of the people of the several States, the true sovereigns of the nation, feeling assured they would have rendered a report that would have given peace and stability to the government, and happiness and prosperity to all our people; but this boon was denied to us, consequently several of the Southern States whom we heretofore so proudly claimed as our sisters, have repudiated and assailed our Government, insulted our National Flag and have hastily brought upon us civil war and carnage, as disgraceful to them as it is mortifying to us.

"Holding as we do, superior allegiance to the General Government, and discarding at this juncture all party predilections and prejudices, desire to assure the President of the United States that we will stand by, support and defend every patriotic effort of the Government to maintain the Constitution, the Union, the enforcement of the laws and the flag of our country forever, against any and all enemies or assailants, at home or abroad."

In accordance with the resolutions of the Minute-Men, another large meeting was held in the Odd-Fellows' Hall, to take measures to sustain the government. Speeches were made by John C. Patterson, L. E. Wales, E. G. Bradford, C. B. Love and Dr. Wm. H. White, and the following resolutions were adopted:

"Whereas, The Constitution of the United States has hitherto secured to the citizens of Delaware, all the manifold objects for which it was ordained and established by the people, namely: justice, domestic tranquillity, the common defense, the general welfare and the blessings of liberty, by which we have grown and prospered for more than three-quarters of a century, protected at home and abroad by the aegis of a National Government, cherishing pound recollections of the past and indulging in lofty hopes of the future of the country, Therefore,

"*Resolved*: That we will redeem the glorious pledges made by our fathers—'Delaware was the first to adopt the Constitution and she will be the last to abandon it.'

"*Resolved*: That it is the duty of every loyal citizen to uphold the Constitution and laws, and to give cheerful obedience to the regularly appointed officers of the Federal and State Governments until the same shall be legally altered or changed.

"*Resolved*: That in the present exigency of the country, when the citizens of different States are arrayed in hostile attitude against each other and the Federal authorities, we should be prepared to defend the National Government, and to protect our lives and property; and for this purpose we recommend all Constitutional and law loving citizens to at once enrol themselves into military companies to aid by arms, if all other means fail, in restoring peace to our distracted country.

"*Resolved*: That the City Council of Wilmington be requested to appropriate funds towards defraying the expense of arming and equipping such volunteer companies as may be raised in this city, and to assist the families of those who may leave the State on military duty, and that our citizens generally be recommended to contribute means and money for the same object.

"*Resolved*: That while we deeply deplore the sad condition of our country, we fervently hope that the terrible results of civil war may yet be averted, and that we will calmly and harmoniously unite in every effort to preserve the Union. And we therefore deprecate all violence of language, denunciations and threats against persons, as unwise and unbecoming, calculated to embitter neighbor against neighbor, to create acrimony of feeling and personal hostility, when we should present a solid and unbroken front."

The influence of these meetings and the resolutions which they adopted were soon extended to other parts of the State, and numerous war meetings were held, at many of which the Union flag was raised upon poles erected for that purpose. In Sussex County, where were owned three-fourths of the slaves of the State, greater sympathy was expressed for the South, and the growth of the Union sentiment was less general and slower than in the other counties; but even there the Union men succeeded in arousing the people to respond to the call for men to support the government. A large Union meeting was held at Georgetown May 7, 1861, which adopted resolutions expressive of the sense of the people of that section, and, while patriotic, there was a reservation about them which plainly indicated the controlling sentiment:

"Whereas, we are in the midst of revolution and civil war, occasioned by folly and prosecuted in madness, and which threatens a permanent disruption of our Federal Union, and the destruction of our constitutional liberties as a free people; and *whereas*, under such circumstances it is proper that the people everywhere should consult together for their common good, and give expression to their opinions in reference thereto; therefore

"*Resolved*, That the people of Sussex County, without distinction of party, in public meeting assembled, hereby declare,

"*First*, Their immovable attachment to the Federal Union.

"*Second*, The constitutional equality of all the States and of the people of all the States wherever the Federal authority extends, as the same has been expounded by the Supreme Court of the United States.

"*Third*, That our national difficulties ought to have been peacefully adjusted by the last Congress, and ought to be so adjusted as soon as possible by the adoption of the positions commonly called the Crittenden Resolutions, by way of amendments to the Constitution, they being in the judgment of this meeting a proper basis for a compromise, in reference to the constitutional rights of the people of the several States, as the same were meant to be secured by the framers of the Constitution.

"*Fourth*, That we are opposed to the spirit and acts of abolitionism in whatever form and whatever name presented or assumed, hereby declaring obstructions to the due execution of the fugitive slave law, the passage of the personal liberty bill, and the denial of the equality of the States and of the people of the several States wherever the federal authority extends, and the attempt to interfere by those not interested therein, in any manner, with the institution of domestic slavery, to be unjust, aggressive, unconstitutional, and unbecoming a law-abiding people.

"*Fifth*, That in our opinion secession is revolution, and that the grievances and wrongs suffered by any portion of the American people have not been sufficient to justify this the last resort of a free people for the vindication of their rights, but that the redress for those grievances and those wrongs should have been sought in an appeal by constitutional means to the sober second thought of the people.

"*Sixth*, That Delaware is a member of the Federal Union, and ought to remain; that she has an interest, in common with other States, that the Federal capital should be preserved, and we hereby declare that it should be preserved and defended at all hazards and to the last extremity.

"*Seventh*, That we deeply deplore our national calamities and the existence of civil war; that the fanatics of the North and the extremists of the South alone are responsible for our troubles, and whilst we condemn the excesses of both, it should be our earnest hope and prayer that an Almighty Providence will interpose to save our country from its impending dissolution.

"*Eighth*, That we acknowledge fealty and allegiance both to the State of Delaware and to the United States of America. To the State within the sphere of its reserved rights, and the United States within the sphere of its delegated authority; that these obligations are not inconsistent but harmonious and that as law-abiding citizens we will faithfully fulfill them.

"*Ninth*, That the government of the country, while administered within the restraints of the Constitution, is entitled to and should receive the support of all law-abiding citizens and that while we accord this obedience to the Federal Government, we expressly reserve our right to differ with the present Administration in its measures and policy, when it may assume a party character.

"*Tenth*, That the promptings of patriotism inspire the citizens of Sussex with cordial attachment to the Union and the constitution, and that in this county assemblage we disavow any partisan motive and acknowledge no standard but the flag of our country."

The citizens of Fulton held a large meeting on the 18th of April, and erected a large pole upon which they perched the American eagle and hoisted the national flag amid a salute of thirty-four guns. On the 20th they assembled to form a Union Guard. The meeting was organized by Dr. N. B. Lynch as chairman and G. Anderson secretary. Resolutions in favor of supporting the government were unanimously adopted.

A meeting of the citizens of Seaford was held on the 20th of April, and resolutions adopted "declaring strongly for the Union, and offering to devote their time, money and lives in the cause of their country." A company of "Home Guards" was also organized and thirty names enrolled.

On the 22d of April a spirited Union meeting was held at New Castle, which was addressed by some of the best men of the town. After the meeting a military company was formed, with eighty-eight persons on the roll.

The friends of the Union of the hundreds of Red Lion and St. George's held a large meeting in the village of St. George's on the 23d of April. Captain George Maxwell was chairman, with the following vice-presidents: John C. Clark, Thomas Jamison, Merritt Paxson, William Love, Alfred Lofland and Jacob Allison. William E. Janvier and L. S. Aspril were secretaries. After prayer by Rev. Joseph Dare, of the Methodist Church, the chairman appointed Anthony M. Higgins, Jefferson Henry, Theodore F. Clark and J. A. Benson to prepare resolutions for the consideration of the meeting. While the committee were at work the meeting was addressed by Dr. W. H. White. The following resolutions, as reported by Mr. Higgins, were unanimously adopted:

"Whereas, In a portion of the States of our Union the authority of

the National Government has been overthrown, its laws disregarded, its property seized or destroyed, and its flag fired upon and insulted, and

"WHEREAS, It has been boldly asserted that the remaining slave States will assist the former in their attempt to destroy the Federal Union, and

"WHEREAS, The President of the United States has called upon all loyal citizens to support him in defending the capital of the nation from threatened treasonable assault and in maintaining the authority of the Government;

"*Resolved*, That we the people of St. George's and Red Lion Hundreds, assembled without distinction of party in the village of St. George's, on the 23d day of April, 1861, are unanimously of the opinion that henceforth every constitutional right of the United States ought to be asserted and maintained, and whatever means may be necessary to accomplish that object the patriotic people of the loyal States will promptly and cheerfully provide.

"*Resolved*, That we, the citizens of St. George's and Red Lion Hundreds, will, to the utmost of our ability, aid the General Government in maintaining its authority, in enforcing the laws, and in upholding the Flag of our glorious Union.

"*Resolved*, That Delaware, the first to adopt the Federal Constitution, will prove to be the last State to give it up, and that she may ever seek protection under that *star-spangled Banner* which has been respected by all nations upon this earth."

On the 24th of April it was announced that the Philadelphia, Wilmington and Baltimore Railroad Company having been taken in charge by the Federal Government through an agent in Philadelphia, all its equipments were under the control of the government, and trains with troops were being sent from Philadelphia as fast as possible, an uninterrupted route to Washington having been completed. The Chesapeake and Delaware Canal, used for conveying troops and supplies from Philadelphia to the Chesapeake, was guarded by a force of one thousand men from General Cadwalader's division. Armed men were also placed along the whole route of the Philadelphia, Wilmington and Baltimore Railroad from Elkton, Md., to Baltimore. The arrival and departure of troops in Wilmington was now a matter of daily occurrence.

In compliance with the requisition of the Secretary of War, Governor William Burton issued a proclamation on the 25th of April, calling for the enlistment of volunteers. It was as follows:

"PROCLAMATION.

"*To the citizens of the State of Delaware:*

"WHEREAS, a requisition has been made upon the undersigned as the Executive of the said State of Delaware, by the Secretary of War for one regiment consisting of seven hundred and eighty men, to be immediately detached from the militia of this State, to serve as 'infantry or riflemen for the period of three months, unless sooner discharged.'

"AND WHEREAS, the laws of this State do not confer upon the Executive any authority, enabling him to comply with such requisition, there being no organized militia, nor any law requiring such organization.

"AND WHEREAS, it is the duty of all good and law-abiding citizens to preserve the peace and sustain the laws and government under which we live, and by which our citizens are protected;

"Therefore, I, William Burton, Governor of the said State of Delaware, recommend the formation of volunteer companies for the protection of the lives and property of the people of this State against violence of any sort to which they may be exposed. For these purposes such companies, when formed, will be under the control of the State authorities, though not subject to be ordered by the Executive into the United States' service; the law not vesting in him such authority. They will, however, have the option of offering their services to the General Government for the defence of its capital and the support of the Constitution and Laws of the country.

L.S. "IN witness whereof, I have caused the Great Seal of the State of Delaware to be hereunto affixed. Done at Dover this twenty-fifth day of April in the year of our Lord, one thousand eight hundred and sixty-one, and of the Independence of said State the eighty-fifth.

"By the Governor,

"WILLIAM BURTON.

"EDWARD RIDDLY, Secretary of State."

The State had no militia for the Governor to call out; therefore his object was to encourage the formation of volunteer companies. This was the utmost extent to which he could officially act, and it was in compliance with the wishes of a large majority of the people of the State, who were resolved to sustain the government and defend the Union, without regard to the person who might be the President of the United States. On the 1st of May the Governor, finding that volunteers were freely offered, issued the following orders:

"DOVER, Delaware, May 1, 1861.

"The undersigned, the constitutional commander of the forces of the State of Delaware, directs that those volunteer companies of the State that desire to be mustered into the service of the United States, under the call of the President, will rendezvous to the city of Washington, with the least possible delay, where they will be mustered into the service of the United States by Major Ruff, who has been detailed by the War Department for that purpose, and who has reported himself to me and received my instructions. The regiment will consist of ten companies, to serve for the period of three months.

"WILLIAM BURTON,

"Governor and Commander-in-Chief."

To encourage enlistments, a number of the citizens of Wilmington contributed to a fund for the support of the families of such volunteers as required assistance during their absence in the field, and in compliance with a resolution of the City Council, a meeting was held on the 25th of April to form an organization for this purpose. John M. Turner presided, with Dr. Wilson as secretary. The following committee was appointed to open an office and receive subscriptions for the support of the families of absent volunteers: John Rice, Joseph A. Hunter, J. Morton Poole, Joseph Pyle, J. F. Wilson, Thomas Titus and Edward Moore. Samuel M. Felton, president of the Philadelphia, Wilmington and Baltimore Railroad Company, also generously agreed that the salaries of the employees on the road who desired to enlist should be paid during their absence, and their situations would be open for them upon their return from military service. The physicians of the city, with few exceptions, offered to supply medical services to the families of soldiers free of charge.[1]

On the 9th of May, 1861, the relief committee of the city appointed ward committees to facilitate the collection of the fund, which had been subscribed, as follows:

First Ward, J. Morton Poole, J. Bringhurst; Second Ward, Edward Moore, Thomas Titus; Third Ward, J. A. Hunter, Edward Bringhurst; Fourth Ward, John Rice, L. H. Coxe, Dr. J. F. Wilson; Fifth Ward, Joseph Pyle, J. N. Robinson. Some of the subscriptions to this fund were very liberal, and aided very materially to encourage enlistments.

In June, 1861, two hundred families derived benefits from the "Relief Fund," the amount paid out per week being about four hundred and fifty dollars.

Encouragement to enter the service was also given by most of the lodges of secret orders and beneficiary

[1] On April 26th Dr. Craig gave notice that he would attend the families of any of the men who had enlisted without charge. On the 30th Dr. J. F. Wilson, treasurer of the committee to obtain funds to provide for the families of volunteers, requested the newspapers to say that "no one need hesitate to enlist for fear that his family would not be provided for, as our citizens have responded to the call nobly, and abundance of funds for the purpose have been subscribed."

societies, which pledged full benefits and all privileges of a member in good standing to such as would volunteer. Most of the lodges in the State, outside of Wilmington, took similar action in this matter.[1]

The ladies of Wilmington and other sections of Delaware also manifested their enthusiasm in their good work for the soldiers of the Union. As early as April 23d the wives, mothers and daughters of Wilmington took measures to provide clothing and other necessaries for the troops about to be raised. On April 26th a sewing circle for the manufacture of clothing and bandages was organized in the lecture-room of the Central Presbyterian Church. The rooms were open daily, where the ladies carried their sewing-machines. On May 1st the ladies of St. Paul's Church offered their services and tendered the use of their sewing-machines for the manufacture of soldiers' clothing. On April 29th Col. Charles P. Dare, stationed at Perryville, conveyed the thanks of himself and command to the ladies of Wilmington, for "the provisions and luxuries with which they were so liberally supplied." Mrs. Jones, who purchased the mansion formerly occupied by Dr. J. W. Thomson, at the corner of Eleventh and Market streets, tendered it to the city for a soldiers' hospital or rendezvous. On May 18th, Company "D," First Regiment Delaware Volunteers, James Green, captain, passed resolutions thanking the patriotic ladies of St. Paul's M. E. Church, "for their invaluable services in making up the uniforms and clothing of said company." About the same time the ladies of Wilmington presented to the members of Institute Hall a beautiful flag. The presentation speech was made, on behalf of the ladies, by Hon. Judge Houston. The response was by Charles B. Lore. The musical exercises were under the direction of Mr. Triggs. A large amount of soldiers' underclothing, besides flannel bands and haversacks, were made and turned over to the five Delaware companies encamped near Wilmington by the "Volunteer Sewing Society." The ladies of Georgetown, Milton and Lewes, also made up quite a lot of useful articles for Company "G" in May, which were sent to their encampment near Wilmington. The "Union Home Guards," at Seaford, were presented with a silk flag, on May 28th, by the ladies of that town. Dr. Fisher made the presentation speech, and L. J. Cannon received it on behalf of Captain Hopkins. On July 13th the "Red Lion Mounted Guards" returned their thanks to the ladies of St George's and vicinity "for their liberality in furnishing refreshments, on the occasion of the Fourth of July celebration and flag presentation; also to Mr. and Mrs. John P. Belville and the committee of arrangements for their untiring exertions in getting up said celebration."

The charitable work done by the ladies' aid societies churches, sewing circles and individuals whose interest in the performance of the work allotted to their spheres was fully as great in Delaware, at this period of the war, as in some of the Northern States. In every section means were raised, food and clothing provided, and especially was this actively done at Wilmington. Before the close of the year sewing circles were formed in the several churches for the purpose of co-operating with the National Sanitary Committee at Washington for the relief of sick and wounded soldiers.

While the organization and equipment of military companies was going on, the spirit of patriotism was earnestly cultivated by the people. The national ensign floated from every public building and many of the private residences were adorned with flags.[2] Patriotic sermons were preached from pulpits draped with the Star Spangled Banner,[3] and nearly every religious service contained allusion to the duty of the citizens towards the maintenance of the Union.[4]

[1] Fairfax Lodge, No. 8, I. O. O. F., on May 8th, resolved to remit the dues of every member who enlisted, and agreed to pay to the wives of those who were married $1.50 per week while they were in the service of the government.

Good Intent Division, No. 3, Sons of Temperance, on May 7th,

"*Resolved*, That any member in good standing in this Division, who volunteers in the active service of our country, shall be kept in good standing by the F. S. until the Brother returns, and shall be entitled to benefits the same as though he remained in the city."

St. Peter's Beneficial Society, George O'Neal, president and James Monaghan, secretary, on May 6th,

"*Resolved*, That this society tender to its members who may volunteer their services in defence of their country, all the rights which each beneficial member would otherwise be entitled to."

The Wilmington and Brandywine Council, No. 3, O. U. A. M., J. M. Scott, recording secretary, on April 29th,

"*Resolved*, That every member of Wilmington and Brandywine Council who may enlist in defence of his country and flag, and who, at the time of said enlistment is in good standing in the council, shall be provided with a gutta percha blanket and be exempt from the payment of his dues, and shall, in case of sickness or death, be entitled to the regular benefits of the Council."

St. Mary's Beneficial Society, in May, adopted a resolution tendering to its members who volunteered "all the rights which each member could otherwise be entitled to."

Jefferson Lodge, No. 2, I. O. O. F., on May 16th,

"*Resolved*, That in case any members of this Lodge leave in response to their country's call, this Lodge pledges to keep said members in good standing and to protect their families from suffering and want during their absence, provided said members are not in arrears to this Lodge at the time of their enlistment."

Wilmington Division, No. 1, Sons of Temperance, on May 16th,

"*Resolved*, That any member of this Division who has or may volunteer his services to the General Government during the present crisis shall be exonerated from his dues during said term of service, provided he retain his pledge inviolate, and shall, in case of sickness or death, be entitled to the regular benefits of the Division."

[2] In May, Companies "A" and "B," Delaware Blues, Captains La Motte, and the Columbian Rifle Company, Captain McKaig, marched to New Castle to participate in the ceremonies attending the raising of a flag over the quarters of the New Castle Union Guards, in the old foundry building. William B. Reed presided, and George Janvier, L. K. Wales, Samuel Guthrie, Elihu Jefferson, Edward Williams, William Cooper, Nathaniel Wolff, Abraham Cannon, George W. Turner and John A. Alderdice were appointed vice-presidents. After prayer by Rev. J. W. Spotswood, Mr. Tasker presented the flag. It was received by Hon. G. B. Rodney, and W. C. Spruance delivered an address. The Union citizens of Newport raised a liberty-pole in that town on the 11th of May. A flag pole was also erected in Dover about the same time.

[3] The pulpit of the Second Baptist Church of Wilmington was festooned with the American flag at the Sunday services in April, 1861.

[4] On April 21st, Rev. J. S. Dickerson preached a patriotic Union sermon in the Second Baptist Church. On the same day Right Rev. Bishop Lee preached a patriotic and touching sermon in St. Andrew's P. E. Church, on "the Christian citizen's duty in the present crisis." At the close of the services in the Central Presbyterian Church, Mr. Fullmer, the organist, played the "Star Spangled Banner." Messrs. John Lomkins, Charles Campbell, Samuel Hart, William Lewis and James Yearsly, on Sunday, April 21st, in a most feeling manner took leave of their friends at Scott M. E. Church, in Seventh Street, before leaving Wilmington for Philadelphia, to enlist in the army. They asked for the prayers of the congregation in their behalf. In the Hanover Church, at the Sunday services, the choir sang "My country 'tis of thee, Sweet Land of Liberty," with great effect. On Sunday, April 28th, Rev. Mr. Wiswell preached at

For the defense of the city of Wilmington the "Wilmington Home Guard" was immediately organized, with the following officers: Captain, F. B. Sturgis; First Lieutenant, Richard B. Duncan; Second Lieutenant, Daniel La Motte, Jr; Third Lieutenant, John J. Toner; Fourth Lieutenant, J. E. Bailey. In a few hours the company numbered one hundred men, and was fully armed and equipped ready for service.[1] From this time forward volunteering progressed rapidly. On April 25th a company of German Turners, numbering eighty men left Wilmington for Philadelphia, to unite with the Turner regiment then in process of formation in that city.

In April the "City Guard" was formed under the provisions of an ordinance of the Wilmington City Council. It was composed of the best men in the city, and had its armory at the corner of Front and Tatnall Streets. It was subject to the orders of the mayor, and was at all times prepared to give immediate response when its aid was required. About the latter part of April the ladies of the First Ward presented the "City Guard" with a handsome flag. The Guards were drilled every night by Instructor George Read Riddle. William T. Porter was chosen as the quartermaster. Ex-Mayor Wilson, Abraham Boys, Joshua and Bauduy Simmons, John H. Price and many old and worthy citizens were honorary members. The Guards completed their organization on the 7th of May, by electing the following officers: Captain, George Read Riddle; First Lieutenant, William E. Highfield; Second Lieutenant, Henry Bleyer; Third Lieutenant, Samuel D. Newlin; Fourth Lieutenant, John Divine; Quartermaster, William T. Porter; Ensign, George O'Neill.

Before May 1, 1861, military companies had been formed as follows:

Company A, Delaware Blues, Capt. R. S. La Motte, 100 men; Company B, Delaware Blues, Capt. C. E. La Motte, 100 men; Company C, Delaware Blues, Capt. Thomas A. Smith, 100 men; Columbia Rifles, Capt. Joseph M. Barr, 100 men; Wilmington Rifles, Capt. R. Milligan, 30 men; Middletown Company, Capt. Frank Barr, 60 men; Brandywine Company, Capt. C. Feliger, 50 men; New Castle Company, Capt. Tybout, 60 men; Mill Creek Hundred Company, Capt. P. Wilson, 65 men; Christiana Hundred Company, 80 men.

Becoming impatient to enter the service, Captain Thomas A. Smith's company left Wilmington on the 30th of April for Philadelphia, where it was mustered into service on the 7th of May, in the Twenty-fourth Regiment Pennsylvania Volunteers, commanded by Colonel Owens, with the following officers: Captain, Thos. A. Smith; First Lieutenant, Francis McCloskey; Second Lieutenant, Neal Ward; First Sergeant, Michael Kirwin; Second Sergeant, Daniel O'Neal; Third Sergeant, Daniel Meaney; Fourth Sergeant, Wm. Murphey; First Corporal, Christopher Bechtle; Second Corporal, David Smith; Third Corporal, John Cumming; Fourth Corporal, James Rickards.

This company was the first to leave the State for the front and the first to return. After serving out the three months' term of enlistment, it returned to Wilmington on July 30th, and received a hearty welcome. The command to which it had belonged was attached to General Patterson's division on the Upper Potomac River.

In the latter part of April the McLane Rifles were organized in Wilmington, with the following officers: Captain, R. Milligan; First Lieutenant, Benjamin Nields; Second Lieutenant, L. E. Wales; First Sergeant, J. Crozier; Second Sergeant, J. B. Tanner; Third Sergeant, W. W. Simmons; Fourth Sergeant, A. Gawthrop; First Corporal, C. B. Tanner, Second Corporal, R. Wisdom; Third Corporal, G. B. Roberts; Fourth Corporal, Fred. Sturges. This company was sworn into service on May 6, 1861.

Outside of Wilmington the excitement continued unabated, and at the various recruiting stations volunteers flocked to be enrolled in the various companies which were being organized. To stimulate the enlistments Hon. S. M. Harrington and Hume Jenkins each contributed $1000 towards purchasing the uniforms of Captain Green's company that was organizing in Camden and others pledged themselves to support the families of the soldiers during their absence from home. The Red Lion Mounted Guards was formed in Red Lion Hundred on the 27th of April, for home protection, with the following officers: Captain, John Jefferson Henry; First Lieutenant, Wm. M. Stuckert; Second Lieutenant, Charles Corbit; First Sergeant, Robert White; First Corporal, Wm. Beck. The field of operations of this company embraced New Castle County.

Early in May the "Union Home Guard" was formed at Newport, the citizens of that town aiding in equipping it. A company from Georgetown, Sussex County, arrived in Wilmington on the 9th of May. It was commanded by Captain C. Rodney Layton; First Lieutenant, David W. Maull; Second Lieutenant, Wm. Y. Swiggett. The "Dover Home Guards" were organized on the 9th of May, by the election of the following officers: Captain, Dr. Isaac Jump; First Lieutenant, Wm. Walker; Second Lieutenant, Dr. C. A. Cowgill; First Sergeant, J. R. Sweeney; Second Sergeant, Charles M. Justice; Third Sergeant, A. B. Richardson; Fourth Sergeant, Draper

the Central Church, on the "Trial of our Country." At the Second Baptist Church, Rev. James S. Dickerson, preached a sermon on "God's dealings with Nations." In the Hanover Church, Rev. Mr. Aikman preached a discourse on "Reverence for Law the only hope of a State." In St. Peter's R. C. Church, Rev. Mr. O'Brien in his discourse urged his congregation to sustain the government and uphold its free institutions in the present crisis of the country's history. At the conclusion of the services John F. Miller played on the organ the "Star Spangled Banner." Rev. Mr. Condron delivered a sermon in the Wilmington Institute to a large number of the Delaware regiment. On the 18th of May a beautiful flag was raised on St. Mary's College. On Sunday, the 19th, Asbury M. E. Church contributed thirty-four dollars to purchase blankets for the soldiers. At the same time St. Paul's M. E. Church, Rev. Mr. Murphy pastor, contributed sixty dollars for the same purpose. St. Mary's R. C. Church, Rev. Mr. Reilley pastor, also contributed forty-four dollars, which was handed to Mrs. Lee, Mrs. Canby and Mrs. La Motte. The ceremonies at the Central Presbyterian Church, on the morning of the 4th, of July, were attended by Company A, Captain Sturgis, fifty-two men; City Guards, Captain Andrews, sixty-five men; Company B, Captain Wisdom, fifty-two men; Brandywine Guards, Captain Feliger, fifty two men. The whole, under command of Captain Feliger, arrived in front of the church at 10.30, and having stacked their arms in the street, entered the church and filled the middle block of pews.

[1] About the same time A. Steele called for volunteers to form a company, to be known as the "Old Delaware Guard."

A. Dowes; First Corporal, John Coston; Second Corporal, Samuel McGonigal; Third Corporal, Luff Lewis; Fourth Corporal, Wm. Smallwood; Ensign, John W. Smith. The company had an enrollment of one hundred and ten men. It was mustered into service as Company "G," on May 16, 1861. About the same time the "Felton Home Guards" were organized with the following officers: Captain, Thomas Draper; First Lieutenant, Richard B. Duncan; Second Lieutenant, Daniel La Motte, Jr.; Third Lieutenant, John J. Toner; Fourth Lieutenant, J. E. Bailey; Surgeon, Joseph Simpson.

The "Governor's Guard," at Bridgeville and Greenwood, numbering one hundred men, organized in May by the election of the following officers: Captain, W. O. Redden; First Lieutenant, Dr. Lawrence M. Cahill; Second Lieutenant, Simeon Penewell; First Sergeant, Wm. S. Cannon; Second Sergeant, James P. Carpenter; Third Sergeant, George Perkinpine; Fourth Sergeant, Dr. H. Clay Johnson; Fifth Sergeant, John M. Manlove; First Corporal, John E. Sudler; Second Corporal, John Heryes; Third Corporal, John Satterfield; Fourth Corporal, Wm. E. Carpenter.

Company H, the second company from Dover, Captain S. H. Jenkins, was mustered into service on May 16, 1861. The Smyrna Home Guards, with sixty-four muskets, were mustered in about the same time as were the Magnolia Home Guards with the following officers: Captain, Edward Stout; First Lieutenant, Mordecai Rickey, Jr.; Second Lieutenant, Wm. McGonigal.

The work of swearing troops into the United States service was commenced at Wilmington, May 2, 1861, the oath being administered by Major Ruff, of the regular army. Dr. R. P. Johnson acted as medical examiner. The aggregate number of men thus sworn that day was three hundred and thirty-eight, all of whom were mustered into the service of the Union. These companies were raised at and near Wilmington and became Companies A, B, and C, of the First Regiment Delaware Volunteer Infantry.

On the 4th of May Capt. James Green's company, consisting of seventy-eight men, from the lower part of Kent County, was mustered into the service as Company D of the same regiment.

The Sussex County volunteers, Capt. C. Rodney Layton, were mustered into the same regiment on the 16th of May, as Company G. Capt. J. H. Jenkins' company from Dover, Kent County, was mustered in on the same day as Company H. On the 20th Company I, commanded by Captain Leonard, and Company K, under the command of Captain George F. Smith, were mustered into service, thus completing the organization of the regiment.

The regiment was encamped at Camp Brandywine, on the grounds of the Agricultural Society, about one mile and a half from the city, where the members were constantly exercised in company and regimental drill. On the 22d of May the commissioned officers assembled and elected the following regimental officers: Colonel Henry H. Lockwood, Lieutenant-Colonel John W. Andrews, Major Henry A. Dupont. The Governor appointed Dr. Robert P. Johnson surgeon of the regiment, and James M. Knight assistant surgeon. Wm. P. Seville was adjutant, W. Hill Alderdice quartermaster, Chaplain Rev. George M. Condron, Sergeant-Major John G. Saville.

On the 11th of May, 1861, the Governor appointed and commissioned Henry Du Pont, of New Castle County, "Major-General of the forces raised and to be raised in the State of Delaware," vesting him with the full power of that office. Col. Jesse Sharpe was appointed brigadier-general.

On the same date Governor Burton, yielding to the entreaties of Union men, who feared that some of the Home Guards might not prove loyal, issued General Order No. 2, which was intended to prevent a possible misuse of the arms of the State. This order, however, met with so much opposition and was regarded by many as such a direct subversion of the rights of the State, that the Governor was prevailed on to rescind the first order. This he did by issuing General Order No. 3, from his office, at Dover, May 14, 1861, as follows:

"Whereas I, William Burton, commander-in-chief of the Army and Militia of this State, on the 11th day of May, inst., did issue my order, being No. 2, in the words following, to wit:—The arms and accoutrements belonging to the State, and now in possession of any military organization or company in this State, other than those companies mustered into the service of the United States, will, under the direction of Major-General Du Pont, be immediately delivered to such persons and at such points as the Major-General may conformably to law direct, to this end an accurate inventory will be immediately made out and transmitted to the Major-General by the commanders of all and every volunteer organization now existing in the State who may have such arms and accoutrements in possession. Major-General Du Pont is charged with the execution of this order, and a strict compliance with it is earnestly enjoined and confidently expected; and whereas as it seems meet and right so to do, now therefore, I, William Burton, Governor of the State of Delaware, and as commander-in-chief of the army of this State, do hereby countermand, revoke and declare null and void said orders issued by me as aforesaid.

"And I do hereby order and direct that the arms and accoutrements delivered to the different volunteer companies by my order, and not by me recalled, be and remain in the possession of and for the use of said companies until further orders from me.

"WILLIAM BURTON,
"Governor and Commander-in-chief."

Realizing the fact that the State was liable to incursions from the enemy, the organization of the Home Guards was actively prosecuted until most of the hundreds had men in military training. Of these Major-General Du Pont took command, and issued the following orders pertaining to them:

"HEADQUARTERS DELAWARE VOLUNTEER MILITIA,
WILMINGTON, July 12, 1861.

"*General Order No. 1.*

"The commanders of all companies organized under the Volunteer Law, and all other persons having in their possession arms and accoutrements belonging to the State of Delaware, are hereby required to report by letter to the Major-General without delay, the number and description of said arms and accoutrements, the title of the Company holding the same, the Hundred and County in which it is organized and the number of men it musters for regular drill.

"By order of
"MAJOR-GENERAL DU PONT.

"ALF. R. WOOTTEN, *Aid-de-Camp.*"

"HEADQUARTERS DELAWARE VOLUNTEER MILITIA,
WILMINGTON, July 12, 1861.

"*General Order No. 2.*

"The following Companies formed under the Volunteer Law will

constitute the First Regiment of Delaware Volunteer Militia, viz.: Delaware Guards, Capt. McMatrick; Wilmington Home Guards, Capt. Burgin; City Guards, Capt. Andrews; Union Guards, Capt. Wisham; Brandywine Village Guards, Capt. Fabiger; Wilmington City Guards, Capt. Riddle; Brandywine Home Guards, Co. A, Capt. L. Du Pont; Brandywine Home Guards, Co. B, Capt. C. I. Du Pont, Jr.; First Troop Delaware Light Dragoons, Lieut. Gemmill."

The arms for this regiment were furnished by the City Council of Wilmington, Mayor Gilpin reporting to that body, August 6, 1861, that he had supplied six hundred and thirty-six muskets, which had been purchased out of the eight thousand dollars appropriated for the defense of the city.

On the 23d of May, 1861, Governor Burton issued a second proclamation reciting that the requisition of the President for a regiment of three months' men had been met, but as the State was now called on to furnish another regiment for a period of three years, unless sooner discharged, he recommended that the work of organization be continued and advised that the army of the United States be sustained by volunteers from Delaware, who should report themselves to Captain H. W. Wharton, of the United States army, at Wilmington, who was fully empowered to muster them into the service of the United States for the period required. This led to the organization of the Second and other Delaware regiments, whose history is given in the following pages. The Delaware troops now became an inseparable part of the Federal forces.

Late in April Lieutenant-General Winfield Scott appointed Major-General Robert Patterson to the command of the Military Department of Washington, which included the District of Columbia, Maryland, Delaware and Pennsylvania. General Patterson was instructed to post the Pennsylvania and Delaware volunteers, as fast as they were mustered into service, all along the railroad from Wilmington to Washington, in sufficient numbers and in such proximity as would give reasonable protection to the lines of parallel wires to the road, its rails, bridges, cars and stations. On the 13th of May the repairs to the bridges on the road were completed, and two passenger trains passed through from Philadelphia to Baltimore without delay.

On the 28th of May, Companies A, B, D and E, Captains Robert S. La Motte, Charles E. La Motte, James Green and R. B. Milligan, of the Delaware Regiment, stationed at Camp Brandywine,[1] near Wilmington, received orders to march A and B to Aberdeen, near Baltimore, and D and E to Bush River, to be stationed along the line for the protection of the railroad. Instantly the camp assumed a busy aspect. Knapsacks were packed, tents struck and prepared for transportation.

All along the route of march to the depot the roads and streets were thronged with enthusiastic people of both sexes, anxious to bid them good-by and cheer them on their mission. At the depot every avenue was densely crowded with a mass of human beings, and, as the train moved off, the soldiers were greeted with cheer after cheer.

On the 9th of June the remaining companies comprising the First Delaware Regiment of Volunteers, stationed at Camp Brandywine, received orders to relieve the Eleventh Pennsylvania Regiment, stationed along the line of the Philadelphia, Wilmington and Baltimore Railroad, between Wilmington and Baltimore, the Pennsylvania Regiment having been ordered to Washington. Under the command of Colonel Lockwood and Lieutenant-Colonel Andrews, the regiment proceeded by cars to its new field of duty. Before it left the city Captain R. S. La Motte was elected major of the regiment to fill the vacancy occasioned by the resignation of Major Henry Du Pont, Jr., who had entered the United States service.[2]

Evan S. Watson was chosen captain of Company A to fill the vacancy occasioned by the election of Captain La Motte as major, and Sergeant Ezekiel C. Alexander was elected first lieutenant in place of Watson, promoted to captain.

The companies were stationed along the railroad as follows: Company G at Elkton, Md., Company C at North East; Companies C and H at Perryville; Companies F and I at Havre de Grace. Regimental headquarters were established at Havre de Grace, whither Companies A and B were ordered after a short stay at Aberdeen.

Companies A, B, C, D and E, of the regiment, returned to Wilmington on August 3d, their term of service having expired, and were paid off and mustered out. They were commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Andrews.

Companies G, H, I and K returned home on the 14th, and on the following day were also mustered out of service.

Three years' regiments were now organized in the State, and most of the officers and men of old First Delaware Volunteers re-enlisted in the new regi-

[1] The following was the routine of duty at the soldiers' camp near Wilmington:

"Headquarters 1st Regiment, Del. Vols.,
"Camp Brandywine, June 2, 1861.
"*General Order No. 1.*

"The following detail of duties will govern the camp from this date:

"1st. Reveille at 5 A.M., when the companies will be assembled on the Company's parade by 1st Sergeants under the Company Officers.

"2d. Police call at 6 A.M., when the camp will be carefully policed.

"3d. Breakfast roll-call at 7 A.M., when the Companies will be formed by 1st sergeants, and rolls called—afterwards the companies marched in order to their messes.

"4th. Surgeon's call at 7.30 A.M., when the sick will be marched to the Hospital tent by a corporal Guard.

"5th. 1st Sergeants' call at 7.45 A.M.

"6th. Company assembly of Guard detail at 8.10 A.M.

"7th. Adjutant's call at 8.30 A.M.

"8th. Squad drill from 9 to 10.30 A.M.

"9th. Dinner roll-call at 12 M.

"10th. Officers' drill from 1 to 2 P.M.

"11th. Company drill from 3.30 to 5 P.M.

"12th. First dress parade call at 5.50 P.M.

"13th. Adjutant's call at 6 P.M.

"14th. Supper immediately after parade.

"15th. First tattoo call at 9.10 P.M.

"16th. Beat off at 9.30 P.M.

"17th. Taps at 10 P.M.

"18th. Field music will assemble for practice from 9 to 10.30 A.M., and at such other hours as the Adjutant may direct."

[2] James Montgomery, private, was the first man killed belonging to the regiment, being struck by a locomotive at Elkton, Md.

ments for "three years or the war." Col. Lockwood was promoted to brigadier general of volunteers.[1]

The Second Delaware (three years') Regiment was encamped at Camp Brandywine, near Wilmington. The field officers of this regiment on August 16, 1861, were: Colonel, H. H. Wharton, late captain Sixth Infantry, United States Army; Lieutenant-Colonel, W. P. Bailey; Major, R. Andrews. Staff officers—Adjutant, Samuel Canby, Jr.; Quartermaster, George Plunkett. Company officers,—Company A: Captain, D. L. Stricker; First Lieutenant, Thomas M. Wenie; Second Lieutenant, John Evans. Company B: Captain, Charles H. Christman; First Lieutenant, Theo. Geyer; Second Lieutenant, W. F. Fennimore. Company C: Captain, Benjamin Ricketts; First Lieutenant, W. A. Torbert; Second Lieutenant, John Simpers. Company D: Captain, John M. Perry; First Lieutenant, William Hembold; Second Lieutenant, A. J. Krause.

About the middle of September, 1861, the regiment was sent to Cambridge, Dorchester County, Md. In February, 1862, the First Delaware Regiment was stationed at Camp Hamilton, Fortress Monroe. On the 8th of July in the same year the citizens of Wilmington presented to the First, Second and Third Delaware Regiments beautiful flags in Institute Hall. Mayor Gilpin presided and Leonard E. Wales presented the flags in an eloquent speech. Hon. George P. Fisher received the colors in the name of the respective regiments then in the field.

The Second Regiment of Volunteer Home Guards was organized in Sussex County, and elected its field officers, in the fall of 1861, at a meeting held at Georgetown in pursuance of Order No. 4, by Major-General Du Pont. Six companies were represented, and the officers chosen were: Colonel, William O. Redden; Lieutenant-Colonel, John M. Phillips; Major, Wm. H. Stayton; Adjutant, Dr. William Marshall; Quartermaster, Elisha Holland; Surgeon, Dr. H. F. Hall; Sergeant-Major, John Hickman.

[1] His officers presented him a sword on Sept. 9, 1861, in the Institute Hall, Wilmington. General Henry Hall Lockwood was born in Kent County, Aug. 17, 1814. He entered West Point Academy in 1832, and graduating in 1836, was attached to the Second Artillery as second lieutenant. He served in the Seminole Indian War, and resigned his commission in 1837. In 1841 he was appointed Professor of Mathematics in the United States navy, and served until 1861 in this capacity. During this period, while attached to the frigate "United States," he was engaged at the capture of Monterey in 1847, serving as adjutant of a land detachment from his vessel. At the breaking out of the late Civil War he left his instructor's chair and attached himself to the First Delaware Volunteers as colonel May 25, 1861. On August 8th of the same year he was commissioned brigadier-general of volunteers, and in November commanded the expedition to the Eastern Shore of Virginia, and in January to June, 1863, was appointed to command the defenses of the Lower Potomac. General Lockwood participated in the battle of Gettysburg July 1-3, 1863, and subsequently was placed in command of Harper's Ferry, afterward succeeding General Schenck, at Baltimore, as commander of the Middle Department. In 1864 he participated in the campaign before Richmond, and was also in the engagement near Hanover Court-House. He commanded the provisional troops at Baltimore in 1864, when that city was threatened with a raid by General Early. On being mustered out of the volunteer service in August, 1865, General Lockwood returned to the Naval Academy, and continued there until 1871 as Professor of Natural and Experimental Philosophy. In 1871 he was transferred to the Naval Observatory at Washington, and remained until August 14, 1876, when he was placed on the retired list. After his retirement, General Lockwood lived in Georgetown. His wife was a daughter of Chief Justice Booth, of Delaware.

The following companies in Kent County, formed under the Volunteer Militia Law, constituted the Third Regiment of Delaware Volunteer Militia in November, 1861: Dover Union Home Guards; Felton Blues; McClellan Home Guards, Smyrna; Frederica Grays; Magnolia Home Guards; Leipsic Home Guards; Continental Rifle Guards, Camden; Diamond State Guard, Milford; Delaware Home Guard, Hasletville; Mordington Mills Guard, Milford; Delaware Union Home Guard, Whitelysburg; Little Creek Home Guard, Little Creek Landing.

Notwithstanding the measures adopted to support the Union, a portion of the people of the State were not disposed to sustain, by active efforts, the hostilities in which the Federal government had now become involved. They thought that the power of the North would be insufficient to bring the Southern States back into the Union; and if they ever again became a part of it, they must come back voluntarily. Assuming this position, the views entertained under it were exceedingly various, and some possessed so great latitude as to embrace those who favored the cause of the Confederate States. To those even who honestly entertained these views, war held out no prospect but that of mutual destruction. A separation and acknowledgment of the Confederacy were regarded as the course of wisdom. Some believed that by peace and conciliation, the seceding States might finally be induced to return. The peace men in Delaware, Connecticut and all the Northern States were thus actuated, although some carried their views to an extreme. As a general fact, they were men who loved the Union, and earnestly desired its restoration. They had no antipathy to the institutions of the Southern States, and were, in a manner, devoid of every feeling of interest or anxiety on the point concerning which those who elected the Federal administration and those who organized the Confederate States had for years been at issue. War with them, as with Senator Douglas, of Illinois, "was final, inevitable dissolution."

In Delaware there were not only many citizens opposed to the war, but there were a few who heartily desired the success of the Confederate States. The Secretary of War, in his report at the session of Congress which commenced in December, 1861, says: "At the date of my last report in July, the States of Delaware, Maryland, Kentucky and Missouri were threatened with rebellion. In Delaware, the good sense and patriotism of the people have triumphed over the unholy schemes of traitors."

On the 27th of June a meeting was called at Dover of "all the citizens of the State, without regard to former party relations, opposed to civil war, and in favor of a peaceful adjustment of all questions which have distracted the country and produced its present lamentable condition." About 1500 or 1600 persons assembled on Dover Green, twelve car-loads of people coming from above Dover, and seven from below. On motion of Col. Wm. G. Whitely, the meeting was

temporarily organized by calling upon Robert W. Reynolds, of Kent County, to preside, and selecting N. W. Hickman, of Sussex, as secretary. The following committee was then appointed to recommend permanent officers: From Kent County, Dr. Henry Ridgely, William Collins, James Williams, Ambrose Broadaway, Alexander Johnson; New Castle, Gassaway Watkins, James R. Booth, John T. Enos, N. T. Boulden and William R. Lyman; Sussex County, C. F. Rust, Ed. L. Martin, S. B. Hitch, Josiah Marvel. On motion, the meeting then adjourned till one o'clock. At that hour the meeting was convened on the Green, where a stand had been erected.

Dr. H. Ridgely, the chairman of the committee, reported the names of the following gentlemen as officers, whereupon, on motion, the report was unanimously adopted, viz., President, ex-Gov. William Temple; Vice-Presidents, from New Castle County, Rothwell Wilson, Andrew C. Gray, James Matthews, John Farson, Wm. C. Lodge, Samuel G. Chandler, Aquilla Derrickson, Thos. Jamison, Sewell C. Biggs, Benjamin Gibbs. From Kent County, John Mustard, Robert B. Jump, Manlove Hayes, Rev. Thomas B. Bradford, Henry Pratt, Dr. T. C. Rogers, Andrew J. Wright, Moses Harrington, H. B. Fiddeman, Charles Williamson. From Sussex County, Capt. Hugh Martin, Nathaniel Horsey, James Anderson, Harbeson Hickman, John W. Short, Thomas Jacobs, Doughty Collins, Stephen Green, M.D., Shephard P. Houston, William F. Jones. Secretaries: Adam E. King, New Castle County; R. M. Merriken, Kent County; Charles H. Richards, M.D., Sussex County. On motion of Mr. Whitely, the following committee of ten from each county was appointed to prepare business for the meeting: New Castle County, Dr. John Merritt, James M. Watson, Dr. N. H. Clark, Adam V. Cullin, John P. Cochran, James Delaplaine, Nathan T. Boulden, James Springer, William C. Lodge, Joseph Roberts. Kent County, John M. Vashell, Wilson T. Cannon, Dr. Gove Saulsbury, R. W. Reynolds, Alex. Johnson, William N. W. Dorsey, Edward Ridgely, George W. Anderson, Thomas Davis, William D. Fowler. Sussex County, C. R. Paynter, W. Wheatley, Noble Conaway, Isaac Giles, Nathaniel Horsey, A. J. Horsey, Dr. Joseph A. McFerran, Joseph Ellis, J. S. Bacon, N. W. Hickman.

After the committee retired, Mr. Whitely was loudly called for and made a speech in opposition to the war and in favor of a peaceful adjustment of our national difficulties. He began by observing that eleven States had gone out of the Union, which he deplored, but they were determined to go out, and had gone, acting upon the glorious principle that all government derived its power from the consent of the governed.

"They, eight millions of freemen, had resented continued aggression and intermeddling, until the election of a Republican placed the last feather upon the back of the people, and they had calmly, quietly, determinedly retired. In God's name let them go unmolested! Would Delaware give money or men to hold States as conquered provinces? or allow the seceded States to be governed by free people, in whatever manner they chose to be governed? Could the South be subjugated? Never! All the wealth of mines and kingdoms would not restore the country to its unembarrassed condition. All expenditures were needless, as there were not men enough in the North to conquer a free people fighting for their rights, even against any odds. Who would not, therefore, favor peace now, if ages would still produce the same results? Let the tax-payers of Delaware come forth for peace, which would accomplish all that war could do."

Mr. Whitely was followed by Hon. Thomas F. Bayard in a lengthy, calm and temperate speech. He reminded his hearers that "with this secession, or revolution, or rebellion or by whatever name it may be called, the State of Delaware has naught to do. To our constitutional duties toward each and every member of this Union we have been faithful in all times. Never has a word, a thought, an act of ours been unfaithful to the union of our fathers; in letter and in spirit it has been faithfully kept by us." But he adverted to the horrors of a fratricidal war on so gigantic a scale, the ruin that would be wrought, and the danger that, whatever might be the issue, which no man then could foresee, constitutional liberty might perish in the struggle. Better, he thought, "while deeply deploring the revolution which has severed eleven States from the Union," if a peaceful accommodation was impossible, that the discontented States should be allowed to withdraw than run the awful risk of such a war. His calm and earnest eloquence had great weight, and, as will be seen, the meeting resolved "that there was no necessity for convening the Legislature."

Mr. Bayard's speech calmed down the state of excitement which prevailed at the meeting. "It brought to men's minds," as a leading Delawarean said, "the fact that they were in the Union—had no part in the rebellion, and that it was their duty to remain as they were, and to keep Delaware as one of the United States." In this, as ever, Mr. Bayard approved himself faithful to the Constitution and the Union under it, his devotion to which has never wavered, as witness his public record, from first to last.

At the conclusion of Mr. Bayard's speech, Dr. John Merritt reported the following resolutions, which were unanimously adopted:

"*Resolved*: 1. That whilst we deeply deplore the revolution which has severed eleven States from the Union, we prefer peace to civil war, and believe that if a reconciliation by peaceful means shall become impossible, the acknowledgment of the independence of the Confederate States is preferable to an attempt to conquer and hold them as subjugated provinces.

"2. That the reign of terror attempted to be inaugurated by the War Party, by denouncing all men as disunionists, secessionists and traitors, who are opposed to civil war, and to the palpable and gross violation of the Constitution, committed by the present administration, will not deter us from the expression of our opinion, both privately and publicly.

"3. That we believe the effect of the doctrines and measures of the War Party, if not their object and intent, under the name of preserving the Union, will be to the subversion of the State governments, and the erection of a consolidated government on the ruins of the Federal Constitution.

"*Resolved*: That we tender our grateful thanks to Senators Bayard and Saulsbury for the bold and patriotic stand they assumed, in the second session of the Thirty-sixth Congress, for the maintenance of the peace and prosperity of our now distracted country, and we sincerely request them to use all honorable means to bring the 'Civil War' which now hangs over us like an incubus, to a speedy close, and that if in their judgment no other mode presents itself whereby this end can be attained, to advocate the acknowledgment by the United States Government of the Independence of the Confederate States, so that peace and prosperity may be restored among us.

Jno. P. Gillis USN

"*Resolved*: That the memorial demanding the resignation of the Hon. James A. Bayard, one of your Senators in the Senate of the United States, originated in mob spirit, and should receive from him the scorn and contempt which it merits from every honorable man.

"*Resolved*: That in the opinion of this meeting, there is no necessity for convening the Legislature of this State."

The meeting was then further addressed by A. E. King, Edward Ridgeley, Messrs. Henderson and Paynter and Dr. Edward Worrell.

In August, Dr. Jonas, Inspector of Customs at Seaford, seized several hundred rubber overcoats and twenty companies, which had been sent from Baltimore to be shipped South by way of Salisbury, Md. They were confiscated and sold in Wilmington in November, 1861.

The brilliant victory of the land and naval forces under General Sherman and Commodore Du Pont at Port Royal, South Carolina, on November 7th, created the greatest enthusiasm in Wilmington, where Commodore Du Pont was well known. In honor of the event, the citizens fired a national salute of twenty-one guns on the 13th of November. This was followed by a salute of one hundred guns, fired by order of the City Council. In March, 1862, the captured flags sent from the South by Commodore Du Pont for the city of Wilmington, were presented with appropriate ceremonies in the Institute Hall. Speeches were made by Messrs. Harrington and Biddle.

The intrepidity displayed by Commodore John Pritchett Gillis, of Delaware, at the bombardment of Port Royal, under the terrible fire of Fort Walker while in command of the "Seminole," was the subject of mention in General Dayton's official report.

Commodore Gillis was born in Wilmington; but while young removed temporarily with his father to the State of Illinois. His temperament was marked by an ardor united with so untiring a perseverance, that he would never permit himself to admit a defeat in his endeavors. This boyish trait was the earnest of the man, whose heart later burned with patriotic zeal at the "drum-beat of the nation."

His yearning to enter the service of his country was gratified by his receiving an appointment of midshipman in the year 1825. From the date of his youthful honors to the day his heart was stilled in death, his life was one of usefulness to his country and honor to the State which claimed him as her son.

His first cruise was in the frigate "Brandywine" to the Pacific, during the years 1826–29. In 1831 he was a passed midshipman in command of the schooner "Albion." In 1833 he was again at sea, as acting master of the frigate "Constellation," in the Mediterranean, and in 1835–36 he was executive officer of the receiving-ship "Sea Gull," at Philadelphia. On the 9th of February, 1837, he was commissioned a lieutenant, and being ordered to the sloop-of-war "Falmouth," sailed for a second cruise in the Pacific. During this cruise he was transferred to the "Delaware," ship-of-the-line, arriving home in 1840. Two years later we find him again at sea, on board the frigate "Congress," in the Mediterranean Squadron. He was transferred to the sloop-of-war "Preble," as executive officer, and returned to the United States in 1843. The same year he was attached to the frigate "Raritan," and in 1844 he joined the frigate "Congress" on the Brazil station. In 1845 he was intrusted with the important duty of bearing despatches to the commander-in-chief of the Pacific Squadron; and in 1846 he returned home, bearing despatches from our minister in Brazil.

When war was declared with Mexico, he sailed in the sloop-of-war "Decatur," to join Commodore Perry in the Gulf Squadron. He distinguished himself in the action which resulted in the capture of the forts and town of Tuspan. Later he commanded the flotilla on the Alvarado River and became the governor of the towns of Alvarado and Tlacotalpan. During this period he fell ill of yellow fever, and was compelled to return to the United States. His regret at being forced to relinquish his command was, perhaps, softened by the handsome letters sent him by Commodore Perry and the Secretary of the Navy. From 1851 to 1854 he was again at sea, in the Japan Expedition. In 1855 he was promoted to a commander, and was ordered to the steamer "Powhatan."

In 1861, when the nation was startled by the great Rebellion, and the guns of Fort Moultrie opened on the heroic Major Anderson in Fort Sumter, Commander Gillis sailed in command of the steamer "Pocahontas" for Charleston, arriving only to find that Major Anderson had been compelled to surrender. From this hour the activity of Commander Gillis was unabated. His acts of heroism on the Potomac and James Rivers, and the energy with which he sprang to the succor of his country, brought him prominently into notice. Surely the day-dreams of the boy were being fully realized! Under the most galling fire of the enemy he was ever cool and self-possessed. While commanding the "Seminole" at Port Royal, under the terrible fire of Fort Walker, Commander Gillis was the subject of mention in General Drayton's report. His well-earned promotion to post-captain occurred in 1862, and he took command of the steam sloop "Ossipee," with the view of going in search of the rebel cruiser "Alabama." Unfortunately, the engines of his ship were found to be defective, and the enterprise was abandoned.

Captain Gillis then proceeded to join Admiral Farragut, in the West Gulf Squadron. During this service, duty carried him to Mobile, as well as to the coast of Texas, and in consequence of the exposure he had borne he became ill, and a medical board of survey condemned him, and he was sent home and placed on the retired list. In 1866 he was promoted to a commodore. In 1873 he was on duty at the Naval Asylum, Philadelphia, and apparently in his usual state of health; but, on visiting his home in Wilmington, intending to return the following morning, he was suddenly taken ill, and on the 25th day of February, 1873, he departed from the scene of a well-spent life. He left a widow (who was Miss Elizabeth Tatnall), and two sons.

In October, 1861, the Presbytery of Wilmington, in Middletown, adopted a series of patriotic resolutions in favor of the government and the prosecution of the war. About the same time, at the request of Hon. Montgomery Blair, Postmaster-General, A. H. Grimshaw, postmaster at Wilmington, recommended the ladies of that city and vicinity to form societies for the purpose of co-operating with the members of the Sanitary Commission, at Washington, in their efforts to alleviate the sufferings of the sick and wounded soldiers. In accordance with this request, sewing circles were formed in each church, and an immense number of articles of clothing, blankets and food supplies, necessary for the sick, were forwarded to the armies.

In April the friends of Commodore Du Pont on the Brandywine presented him with a beautiful sword.

Another son of Delaware, who performed gallant and meritorious service in the United States Navy, during the great Civil War, was Dr. Robert Hill Clark, Paymaster of the United States Navy. He was the son of Thomas Clark and Eliza Hill, daughter of the late Colonel Robert Hill, and was born at Frederica, Del., December 5, 1818. At the age of fourteen he was sent to Milford to attend the academy, where he acquired his preparatory education. From 1836 to 1840 he was a clerk in a hardware store in Philadelphia. He then returned to Delaware and during the three succeeding years was a merchant at Vernon, Kent County. In 1844 he began the study of medicine, entered the Medical Department of the University of the City of New York, and was graduated in 1846. Returning to Milford, he commenced the practice of medicine in partnership with his uncle, Dr. William Burton, where he remained, engaged in the duties of his profession until July 18, 1857, when he obtained a commission as Purser in the United States Navy. He was made Paymaster June 22, 1860; promoted to Pay Inspector March 3, 1871; promoted to Pay Director January 23, 1873, and was retired December 5, 1880, with the rank of Commodore.

His first duty was on the steamship "Fulton," in the Paraguay expedition, and he was next transferred to the steamship "Iroquois," on the Mediterranean station. While there the Rebellion began; his vessel was ordered to New York and sent on blockade duty off Savannah, Georgia, and from thence was directed to cruise through the West Indies in search of the Confederate steamship "Sumter." This war-vessel was found by the "Iroquois" at the port of St. Pierre, on the Island of Martinique. The rules of international law would not allow her to be captured within the port, and the French government, owner of the island, ordered the "Iroquois" either to come to an anchor or go out one marine league from shore. She chose the latter, but despite a careful watch of several days the "Sumter," through the darkness of a foggy night, escaped.

The "Iroquois," on which Paymaster Clark was still stationed, was now ordered to join the squadron of Admiral Farragut, to prepare for the attack on New Orleans; was present at the capture of Forts Jackson and St. Philip, and at the battle of Fort Chalmette, immediately below New Orleans. During these severe engagements Paymaster Clark did praiseworthy service as physician and surgeon in relieving the sufferings of the wounded and dying.

After the evacuation of New Orleans the "Iroquois" and the steamer "Mississippi" were sent down the river to assist and protect the smaller Union vessels. She next went up the river, and assisted in the capture of Baton Rouge and Natchez. She passed the batteries at Vicksburg, June 28, 1862, and also on July 16, 1862, on the return to New Orleans. From thence the "Iroquois" was ordered to New York and put out of commission.

In December, 1862, Paymaster Clark was ordered to Pensacola Navy-Yard, in charge of the West Gulf squadron, and remained on duty there till the close of the war. His next term of duty was at Boston, as paymaster from 1865 to 1868. He then received orders to accompany the South Pacific squadron as fleet-paymaster. Joining the United States ship "Powhatan" and returning to New York in September, 1869, he was sent on the same ship as fleet-paymaster of the East Gulf squadron. In January, 1870, the "Powhatan" went out of commission at Philadelphia. On May 1, 1870, he was made inspector of clothing and provisions at the Philadelphia Navy-Yard, continuing until 1873, when he became paymaster at the United States Naval Asylum, remaining until 1875.

In February, 1877, he was again ordered to the Philadelphia Navy-Yard as inspector of provisions and clothing, continuing in that position until September 1, 1879.

On December 5, 1880, he was retired under the act of Congress, having attained the age of sixty-two years. He returned to Milford, which he always recognized as his home since the time he first came to it as a school-boy. In all Paymaster Clark was twenty-three years in active service, filling all the positions of responsibility and trust assigned to him with eminent satisfaction to his superiors, being distinguished for the marked accuracy, ability and fidelity with which he discharged his official duties.

December 4, 1848, he married Eliza P. Cubbage, of Kent County, Delaware. Three children were born of this union, all dying in childhood.

Both he and his wife were communicants of the Methodist Episcopal Church at Milford.

In 1842 he was made a Mason in Temple Lodge No. 9, at Milford.

After spending seven years in the quietude of his home, surrounded with every comfort, he was stricken with paralysis December 17, 1887, and died from its effects three days later.

He was a man of remarkable business tact and energy, quick of apprehension, sound in judgment,

Robert H. Clark.

firm in his convictions and devoted and faithful in all his domestic relations. He was large of stature, and dignified and courtly in bearing, a man of inflexible honesty and spotless integrity.

At the breaking out of the war many mechanics were thrown out of employment, and general stagnation prevailed in all branches of business. This did not however, continue very long, for when the government began active operations there was great necessity for all kinds of manufactured articles. This demand gave employment to a great many manufacturers in Wilmington, and mechanics were in great demand. Among the first government contracts given to Wilmington was one for building the steam boilers, engines and machinery for the United States sloop-of-war "Juniata," then being constructed at the Philadelphia Navy-Yard. It was awarded in September, 1861, to Messrs. Pusey, Jones & Co., and amounted to about $100,000.

The immense demands that the war occasioned upon the ship yards of Wilmington gave full employment to them, and the heavy and urgent requisitions of the government were met with a corresponding energy of production. The largest orders were filled with a promptness and fidelity which elicited the special thanks of the departments and the praise of the officers to whom the work was delivered. Among the first vessels sold to the government, of Wilmington manufacture, was the side-wheel steamer "Delaware," built by Messrs. Harlan, Hollingsworth & Co. This enterprising firm built some of the most historic gunboats and monitors mentioned in our naval history. Among them may be mentioned the monitor "Patapsco," "Saugus," "Napa" and others.

James H. Deputy, ship-builder at Milford, also sold one or more gunboats to the government. The United States steamer "Mingo" was built at the ship-yard of D. S. Mershon.[1]

Government army wagons were built for the government by Messrs. Flagler & Woolman, tent-poles were made by Messrs. Wright & Allen, and Henry S. McComb had large contracts for furnishing knapsacks, stocks and other army and navy supplies.[2]

Governor Burton called the members of the General Assembly to convene in special session on Monday, the 25th of November, 1861, for the purpose of taking proper action in reference to the collection and payment of Delaware's portion of the assessment levied by Congress upon the several States of the Union for war purposes. The Governor in his message to this body said:

"Our citizens have acted in a manner highly creditable to them, and well deserve the quiet they have enjoyed. There, if there be any, and doubtless there are some everywhere, whose sympathies incline to the South, are quiescent, laying no impediments in the way of the Government, nor affording its enemies any sort of aid. Some of the innumerable rumors afloat throughout the country may, perhaps, represent a different state of things; but were the test of truth properly applied to those reports, most of them would be found wholly unreliable."

Besides appropriating $74,681, the direct tax apportionment assessed upon the State by the general government, a movement was made at this session to pass a bill, providing for the ultimate abolition of slavery within the State. The scheme was based upon the payment by the United States of a certain sum to establish a fund towards securing full and fair compensation to the owners. It was not, however, successful.[3]

[1] John D. Benton, of Wilmington, manufactured for a number of builders of iron vessels a model of the original "Monitor," made out of pure gold. It was 23 inches long, 5½ inches wide and 1¾ inches deep. It had a revolving turret with guns, a smoke-pipe, binnacle, steam-whistle, machinery, &c. The machinery which turned the turret also played an organ with fourteen tunes. The model cost seven thousand dollars, and was presented to Captain John Ericsson, the inventor of the "Monitor."

[2] The Union men of Cedar Neck, Sussex County, in August, 1861, organized a "Home Guard" with the following officers: Captain, R. H. Davis; First Lieutenant, Henry B. Spence; Second Lieutenant, James Reed. In September the patriotic citizens of Lewes raised the stars and stripes amid the discharge of cannon, the beating of drums, &c. Addresses were made by Messrs. H. F. Rodney, S. Adams and L. Waples. In October the ladies of the upper part of Christiana Hundred were busily engaged in preparing underclothing and other supplies for the soldiers. A ladies' soldiers' aid society, composed of the leading ladies of Camden, Delaware, was formed in November, 1861. The ladies of Pencader Hundred in January, 1862, sent a sum of money and many necessary articles to the members of the Second Delaware Regiment. The ladies of Magnolia, Kent County, about the same time sent many useful articles to the sick and wounded soldiers. A Ladies' Aid Society was formed October 19th, by the ladies of Mill Creek and Christiana Hundred, at the request of the United States Sanitary Commission, and did good work, furnishing aid and comforting the sick and wounded soldiers. The Ladies' Soldiers' Aid Society of Middletown forwarded many useful articles to the First Delaware Regiment early in 1862. The patriotic citizens of South Milford raised a large pole and flag in April, 1862. Speeches were made by Dr. W. C. Davidson and Charles P. Masten. The ladies of Delaware City also forwarded many comforts and dainties to the sick and wounded soldiers in May, 1862. The Union men of Ogletown raised a large flag the 21st of June, 1862. The meeting was addressed by S. M. Harrington, Jr.

A large and enthusiastic Union meeting was held at Dover, June 24, 1862, which was addressed by Messrs. N. B. Smithers, Edwin Wilmer, Wm. P. Lord, N. B. Knight, James R. Lofland and C. H. B. Bay.

On July 22, 1862, the citizens of Sussex County had a grand Union demonstration at Georgetown, where addresses were delivered by Hon. George P. Fisher, N. B. Smithers, Jacob Moore and Hon. C. S. Layton.

A large and successful festival was held at Summit Bridge on October 1, 1862. The object was to procure funds for the relief of the sick and wounded soldiers. Addresses were made by N. B. Smithers, E. G. Bradford and Rev. E. J. Way.

One of the largest and most enthusiastic meetings ever held at Middletown came off on the 23d of October, 1862. Speeches were delivered by Hon. George P. Fisher, Philip S. White, of Philadelphia, N. B. Smithers, Edward G. Bradford and Edward Wilmer. Resolutions strongly in favor of the Union were adopted.

There was a great Union meeting at Dover, June 9, 1863, at which speeches were made by James M. Scovel, of New Jersey; Hon. David Dudley Field, of New York; Hon. Henry Winter Davis, of Maryland; Hon. Judge Bond, of Baltimore; and Major-General Schenck, commander of the Middle Department, United States Army.

[3] On the first Monday in November, 1861, Hon. George P. Fisher, then a member of Congress from Delaware, received a dispatch from Montgomery Blair, stating that President Lincoln desired his immediate presence in Washington. Judge Fisher did not know what was desired of him, but after some thought concluded it was in relation to the slaves in the State. He replied that he would be in Washington in a few days. The Legislature was to meet the next day, and upon its adjournment on Wednesday Judge Fisher went to Washington, and called on the President. He felt certain of the object of the summons by this time, and opened the conference by saying: "I suppose you want to see me about the slaves in Delaware?" The following dialogue then ensued:

President Lincoln—"That is it exactly."

Judge Fisher—"How much are you willing to give if I could procure the passage of a law by our Legislature to emancipate the slaves, and what proposition have you to make?"

President Lincoln—"How many slaves have you?"

Judge Fisher—"Seventeen hundred and ninety-eight, or say an even eighteen hundred."

President Lincoln—"To emancipate your slaves I will give, by instalments for ten years, three hundred dollars per head for the men, women and children, young, old and decrepit."

Judge Fisher desired more than this, and replied: "We must have five hundred dollars for each one."

The President, after a while, agreed to give this. Judge Fisher's object in striking the best bargain he could, was to procure to each slaveholder for his slave the compensation according to his value in this State, and the surplus between the real value and the five-hundred-dollar payment to be made by the United States to be appropriated to public us-