

2.

become embroiled in warfare, which was to them as natural a pursuit as hunting. (Stone age, etc.)

The great peculiarity of the Indians consisted in their lack of political connection. A single town often constituted a government, a collection of ten or twenty wigwags might be an independent state. The greatest chief in the country could not muster more than a few hundred fighting men. Their wars rarely led them into the open battle-field, - they were accustomed rather to sudden surprises at daybreak or by moonlight, and the subtle devices of false hood (Bancroft). The dialect of each small tribe seemed a language by itself, and their only law was that of retaliation. They remembered kindness, they never forget an injury, and always, if possible, repaid both.

The Kewi-Kenape - the original people, as they called themselves, inhabited the shores of the river Delaware, from which they later took their name. According to Heckenelder, the Moravian missionary, they were favorable specimens of their race. Their history is complicated, and nearly forty tribes acknowledged them as "grandfather" or parent stock. The legends and stories related by the braves of the Delawares, extended over a long period of time, several centuries, in fact.

1.

The Proprietors of the Delaware.

January 25th
1931

We know little of the aborigines who inhabited the shores of the Delaware River at the advent of Europeans, and the information we have is due to the records of the Moravian and the Jesuit missionaries of the 17th and 18th centuries. (Heckenelder, Charlevoix & others) It is a strange thought that America, when it became known to Europeans, was, and had long been a scene of wide spread revolution. Tribe was giving place to tribe, language to language, for the Indians, hopelessly unchanging in respect to individual and social development, was as regarded tribal relations and local haunts, mutable as the winds. In Canada, and the northern parts of the United States, the elements of change were especially active. The population around Montreal and Quebec found and described by Cartier in 1535 had entirely disappeared at the beginning of the next century, and another race had succeeded, quite different in language and customs.

The vast tract of wilderness from the Mississippi to the Atlantic, and from the Carolinas to Hudson's Bay, was inhabited by "two great families of tribes," the Algonquins and the Iroquois, who had been driven from the west, and after planting themselves upon the Atlantic border, had soon divided, and

4. Henry Hudson, an Englishman in the employ of the Dutch East India Company, sailed from Amsterdam in the Half Moon, a little ship of eighty tons, on the 6th of April, 1607, in the hope of discovering a north-west passage to Asia, that phantom which had ended in the death of more than one explorer. The English were becoming very active in that direction, and while in the service of the Muscovy Company, an English corporation, Hudson had made two voyages, which had gained for him a reputation for superb seamanship, and during which he had come nearer the North Pole than any man before him. These voyages of Hudson were memorable for other things, aside from their ^{interest} history in the history of navigation. They revealed the presence of whales in vast numbers around Spitzbergen, larger and better than any known before, and this led to a renewal of whale fishery, in which Holland kept the lead until the beginning of the 19th century. - Secondly, on the 26th of May, 1609, while doubling the North Cape, on his return to the Atlantic waters, Hudson made the first recorded observation of a sun spot. It was a year and a half later that sun spots were first recorded by Horst and Galileo. How the Dutch prevailed upon Hudson to leave the service of the English Company we do not know,

3 The Pharooses were of Southern origin, and occupied the basin of the Cumberland Valley before the settlement of Europeans on the continent. They probably belonged to the Algonquin tribe also, as there was little variation in the language. It is difficult to disentangle the web of conflicting evidence as to the nationality of the Indians who, from time to time, occupied the soil of Pennsylvania, so I mention only the Delawares and the Pharooses, because they were, for almost a century, the principal parties to all treaties.

They have entirely disappeared from their former homes, and only the names of our streams and mountains are left to remind us of the vanished red men.

It is interesting to remember how large a part the element of chance played in the voyages of the early navigators. A notable instance of this is: when the Pilgrim Fathers embarked at Plymouth in September 1620, they were bound for Delaware Bay, but under adverse weather their ship was carried far out of its course, and they landed north of Cape Cod.

5.

but as Christopher Ward observes: "It was a clever stroke on the part of the Dutch to take their principal rivals' best man!"

It was not for money that he entered the service of the Dutch East India Company. — they hired him for 320 dollars, and promised to pay his wife 80 dollars more if he never came back.

His instructions were explicit: he was to look for a passage by the north, around by the north side of Nova Zembla. he was to think of no other passage except the route around the north and north-east of Nova Zembla".

He found the northern ocean impassable for the same reason which had hindered him before, — great fields of ice. He had a letter from Captain John Smith of Virginia in his possession which told him that from Maryland — or thereabouts — there was open water all the way to China. He had, therefore, a good reason for yielding to his mutinous crew, and turning his course away from the heavy fogs, and the menacing icebergs of the arctic seas.

On the 18th of July he entered Poughkeepsat Bay. His little ship had been badly treated by the winds and waves of the Atlantic and repairs were vitally necessary. so Hudson mended his sails, and refitted his ship with a foremast from the woods. This work completed, he sailed south, until he sighted the

Sebastian Cabot,
William Barentz

7 accumulation of silt and sand bars, and the shoal water told him that this was the mouth of a great river, and not the sea leading into the western ocean, which was his life's desire. After having found and explored the river which bears his name, he crossed the Atlantic, landing at Dartmouth, whence he sent his report to his employers. He had found two great bays and rivers, had visited and ^{partly} explored the Atlantic seaboard, from Maine to Virginia. Here was a vast territory open to permanent possession by the East India Company, but it was not India, the land of silks and spices, and at first, had little value in the eyes of the Dutch.

The story of the establishment of the Dutch West India Co is an interesting one. Twelve years before the organization of the East India Co in 1602, an enterprising merchant in Holland, William Verelstede by name, a Belgian by birth and possibilities in the accounts of the new western land, and tried to get a charter for a West India Company. Many political and theological complications arose to interfere with his project, but he never gave it up, and on the 3rd of June, 1621, the new company was incorporated for twenty-four years, with a pledge of renewal of its charter.

6 Virginia coast. His papers from Capt. John Smith had promised him "a sea leading into the western Ocean by the north of the Southern English Colony". There are curious maps surviving from those days, and one of them, Michael Lok's, made in 1582, shows a solid continent from Florida to the Gulf of California, but north of this, and west of "Hornbege" (supposed to be an Indian village on the site of New York) an enormous sea is shown, sweeping over the whole of North America, separated from the Pacific by only a narrow isthmus, - and called the Sea of Herazgano! This in Capt. Smith's mind was undoubtedly the Chesapeake, which he had partly explored. "Horn strangely is the name of Captain John Smith linked with the beginnings of American history. He was the savior of Virginia - he gave New England its name, and was instrumental in leading the Dutch to Manhattan. (Hibb.) Hudson turned back once more, feeling his way this way and that, until he came to a great Bay and River. His journal tells us, in quaint language, that the Bay was found shoal, - and had sight of Breaches and drie sand - he that will thoroughly discover this great Bay must have a small Pinnace to sound before him". The strong current, the

9. Godyn, Van Rensselaer, Blommaert, the historian de
Laet, and a new partner David Pieterse de Vries
were members. In Dec 1630 a ship of 18 guns
commanded by Pieter Heyes, laden with emigrants
store of seeds, cattle and farming implements
embarked from the Texel, partly to cover the
southern shore of Delaware Bay with fields of
wheat and tobacco, and partly for whale
fishing on the coast. This vessel reached its
destination early in the spring of 1631, although
a yacht accompanying it was captured by a
Dunkirk privateer. Just within Cape Henlopen on
Leves Creek, a colony of thirty souls was formed,
superintended by Gillis Hornet. A little fort was
built protected by palisades, the arms of Holland
were affixed to a pillar. The country received
the name of Soranendael, ^{or valley of the Swags.} the water that of Godyn's
Bay. "According to English rule, occupancy was
necessary to a title to the wilderness; the Dutch
now occupied Delaware." Bancroft.

De Vries was an outstanding figure in this
expedition, and afterwards. He is described by
Hike as a bold and skillful sea man, a wise
counsellor, and an able diplomat. In his dealings
with the Indians, he showed that he had a

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Colonization on the Delaware and the Hudson was
neither the motive nor the main object of the company,
but it was soon found necessary not only to erect
trading posts, but to leave people in charge of them
between voyages. In the spring of 1623, the new
Netherlands, a ship of 260 tons burden, carried out
thirty families. A landing was made at Manhattan,
as we learned at our last meeting - and afterwards
the ship sailed on to the South River, captained by
Cp Jacob Cornelis Mey, who has left his name on the
south county and Cape of New Jersey, and was described
by an Indian chief as "a skipper with a film over
one eye." He ascended the river, and on Timber
Creek, a stream entering the Delaware a few miles
below Camden, built Fort Nassau.

In June 1629, Samuel Godyn and Samuel Blommaert
bargained with the Indians for the land from
Cape Henlopen to the mouth of the Delaware River
and in July 1630, this purchase of an estate more
than thirty miles long was ratified at Fort Amsterdam
by Minuit as his council. It is the oldest deed for
land in Delaware, and comprises the water line
of two southern counties in that state.

A company was formed to colonize this tract, and
the first settlement in Delaware, older than any
in Pennsylvania was undertaken by a company of which

11. crew of a ship's aloft, probably from Virginia, and in confirmation of this story, he saw Indians dressed in English clothes. De Vries returned to Holland by way of Virginia, where he had occasion to deny the ownership of Delaware Bay by the English, and to tell the story of the English crew.

The next year Wouter Van Twiller, then Director General of New Netherland restored Fort Nassau to a condition of defence, and was reprimanded for extravagance in the use of public funds for doing so. It remained with more or less of a garrison until it was destroyed by the Dutch (1650) themselves, as you will hear later on.

There is an amusing chapter in Chambers's recent book "Dutch and Swedes on the Delaware" entitled "Parchment and Seals". I will quote a paragraph or two. "Hardly a voyage could be begun, hardly a right to possession be asserted unless it was authorized and ratified by a parchment dignified by a royal sign-manual, and decorated by a large ~~red~~ seal. Hardy mariners might voyage upon uncharted seas, encounter untold dangers, endure dreadful hardship, make landfall upon unknown coasts, achieve the feat of discovery - but no rights accrued to them, nor to anyone, unless some stay-at-home gentleman of lofty title set his right hand to a parchment, granting

10. humane heart, and a gentle and kindly disposition. After the dreadful Pocumuck massacre ^{of which we were last meeting,} (Feb. 1643) it was he who induced the Indians to come to Manhattan and conclude a peace.

The little fort he built at Svanendael, he called Alpland, and it served as "fort, trading post and general place of rendezvous". De Vries stayed long enough to effect what he hoped would be a permanent settlement, and then sailed away for supplies and reinforcements, happy in that thought. When he returned in 1632, he found the house and palisades in ruins, partly consumed by fire, and the bones of the casualties scattered here & there. The story is that an Indian chief attracted by the emblem fastened to a post - merely a glittering piece of tin with the arms of Holland gaily painted upon it - took it to use as an ornament for his pipe, not knowing that he was committing an indignity. On complaint of the settlers, the chief was put to death by his own people, and his head brought to Hout. His friends, however, avenged his death by a general massacre.

De Vries then ascended the river to visit Fort Nassau, but found that the Dutch families had left it, and that a few Indians were in possession who wanted to barter furs. Here he was informed by a friendly squaw, of the murder of the English

King would soon take part in the great war which was raging, known as the "thirty years war," Arminius, an exile from Belgium wished to see the Spaniards driven from the Flemish Netherlands and an important step towards that direction was to add to the number of Spain's enemies upon the sea. Gustavus Adolphus saw the advantages which might be expected from colonies and increased commerce, and in 1626, a company was sanctioned ^{by him} with the right to plant colonies, and incorporated in May 1627. The scheme met with great public favor, and the subscription list, headed by the King contained many important names. The war in Germany ^{absorbed} so much attention - and incidentally - so much of the fund subscribed - that nothing was done until 1635, after the death of Gustavus, when the Chancellor Oxenstierna, declaring himself to be but the executor of the wish of Gustavus renewed the charter and extended its benefits to Germany. The first permanent settlement on the Delaware was thus due to Oxenstierna. (Bancroft) The person chosen to conduct this expedition was none other than Minuit, former Director General of New Netherland, who had reason to feel that his dismissal was undeserved and unjust. He now offered the benefit of his experience to the Swedes. In 1638 he landed his colonists on the west shore

or confirming such rights. It began in 1482 when the King and Queen of Spain graciously gave Columbus permission to sail the western ocean and granted him a share in whatever he found. It reached the height of ^{glorious} absurdity in 1493 when Pope Alexander VI drew a north and south line one hundred leagues west of the Azores, giving Portugal all unchristian lands east of it, and Spain the western half of the world. It ran its course down through the whole story of the discovery and colonization of all America. The history of the Delaware River was repeatedly effected by it. The influence of the sealed document was thwarted and annulled frequently, and at the last, permanently, by the hard, unalterable fact, that right in this imperfect world, yields to might. Conquest and the strength to hold were the final arbiters of all disputes. Nevertheless, history must take this influence into account."

A new competitor for colonization on the shores of the Delaware appears at about this time. You will remember that the promoter of the Dutch West India Company was William Arminius, the exiled Antwerp merchant. After he succeeded in forming that company, he went to Sweden for the purpose of interesting Gustavus Adolphus in a similar project. It was hoped that this Swedish

15 part of the republic of New Haven, but Kieft immediately sent a couple of sloops with a few soldiers, who arrested all the English, and sent them to New Amsterdam, whence they were sent back to New Haven. A party of Swedes helped in the work of arresting them. No blood was shed, but the English claimed damages for 1000 pounds sterling.

In that same summer, 1642, Johan Printz was sent out to replace Hollandaer as governor, with the fifth expedition. Two ships, the Yama and the Poran were freighted with horses, cattle, sheep, grain, clothing, guns, mine but no goods for trade with the Indians. This would indicate an intention to build up the colony, rather than to rely upon the fur trade.

Here is the description of the disembarkation of the New Governor, taken from Christopher Ward's book: "A trumpet rang out ^{ing} with a glorious flourish, the long roll of a drum broke forth. The crowd at the head of the gang plank separated, fell back on both sides; and in the gap, plain to the view of all, for such could not be hid - appeared a - what? A man? It was impossible, but true. A monster, a mountain of a man, enormous, colossal, stupendous, vast beyond description or belief - trod the gang plank, that

14 of Delaware Bay, and bought of the natives a tract of land on and about the present site of New Castle and Wilmington extending north as far as the Schuylkill and westward "as far as circumstances might determine". This region he called New Sweden, and built a block-house to guard it, which he named for the child who was Queen of Sweden - Christina.

The records at Albany still preserve the paper in which Kieft, who was then Governor General of New Netherland, claimed for the Dutch the country on the Delaware, - "long guarded by forts," and sealed by the blood of their countrymen. But at this time the fame of Swedish arms in Europe protected the Swedish flag in the new world, ~~and~~ the Dutch did not proceed beyond this protest, and the little colony remained unmolested.

Meanwhile, accounts of the beauty of the country reached Scandinavia, and there were many conversions.

After three years Minuit died, and the rather inefficient Hollandaer took his place.

The Dutch were always more hospitable to the Swedes, in this neighborhood, than to the English. The people of the English colony at New Haven tried to make a settlement on the Jersey side of the river, near Salem, and another on the Schuylkill, declaring that these settlements formed

14 position for commanding the river, on Vinicum Island, and called it Fort Gottenburg. Here he built also, a fine house of bricks for himself, and called it Printz Hall. Between here and Fort Christina many farms were planted. He is described as being "an irascible, bluff but enterprising soldier-governor, who with a singular mixture of executive, legislative and judicial powers, discharged all the functions of government." (Hampton Carson)

Opposite New Gottenburg, on the east shore, whence the New Haven people had lately been driven, Printz built a triangular fort, which he called Elsingburg, and armed it with eight cannon.

Now the Dutch Fort Nassau was higher up the river, and these twin fortresses commanded the approach to it. Every ship coming up must strike its colours and wait for Governor Printz's permission to pass on. Numerous protests were made by the Dutch at Fort Nassau, but the altercations which arose from time to time, stopped short of warfare. Whatever his character, the Swedes thrived under the rule of Governor Printz.

Besides the places already named, settlements were made at Swedesboro, Upland, (near Chester) Mansuung, (at the mouth of the Schuylkill) Wiccasco (late Paryunk) Shackamaxon (late Kensington) and elsewhere.

The Dutch grew restless under these aggressions,

16 sagged and groaned beneath him. He weighed 400 pounds, - take de Vries' word for it - 'a man who weighs 400 pounds, says de Vries, and drinks three horns at every meal.' He had an eye as cold as an icicle, a nose that seemed to have been pounded into prominence, and a jaw that jutted like the prow of a ship, - a man to be marked among ten thousand. Now Sweden's new governor had arrived, for this was Lieutenant Colonel Johan Printz, late of the West Gotha Cavalry. One pauses to reflect, parenthetically, that it was a great day for the horses of the West Gotha Cavalry when Lt. Col. Printz left that branch of the service."

The energy of Printz matched his bulk, and it was well it did so, for his instructions were manifold. He was to maintain friendly relations with the Dutch, and also with the Indians, and to hold the trade of the last named; to grow grain for the use of the colonists; to plant tobacco; to breed sheep and cattle of a high grade; to raise silk-worms; to cultivate grapes; to manufacture salt; to search for metals and to promote the whale fishery.

He brought with him a strong body of settlers 100 in number. He erected a new fort of greater strength than Fort Christina, in a better

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what they considered Dutch encroachments. The English were coming over much faster than the Dutch, and that was another reason for uneasiness. At home, the two nations, who had been close friends for nearly three centuries, were becoming alienated by the growing commercial rivalry between them. When peace was made with Spain in 1648, there was need no longer for an alliance against a common enemy, and when in 1651 England passed the Navigation Act, which was aimed directly at the maritime supremacy of the Dutch, the two nations "came to blows, and the English Channel saw the hottest naval fighting the world had ever known". (Tiske)

"The destiny of the people on our river hung always on the whim of the great powers in Europe for peace or war," and the second war with Holland began with the capture of New Amsterdam in 1665, by an expedition organized in secrecy by Charles II, and ended with the Treaty of Breda which left the English in possession of New York. According to the English view point, James I took possession of the whole Atlantic Coast, when he signed the great charters for the London and Plymouth Companies in 1606.

Permanent occupation began at Jamestown in 1607, and at Plymouth in 1620. The Dutch might plant

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and when Stuyvesant was made Governor in 1647 he determined to separate the Swedish forts. He boldly destroyed ^{his own} Fort Nassau, and blockaded the river by the erection of a new fort, near New-Castle, which he called Fort Casimir. This made Fort Elsingburg untenable, and the Swedes excused their withdrawal by the plea ^{that the fort} had been made untenable by the many magistrates.

For a dozen ^{the colony of} years, New Sweden was allowed to exist, but when Queen Christina was dead, and her successor ^{Charles X} became absorbed in the war with Poland, there was a golden opportunity for New Netherland. Governor Stuyvesant swooped into the Bay and up the river with seven ships and seven hundred men. As the entire population of New Sweden did not exceed 200 souls, there was nothing to do but surrender. The Swedish colonists were promised the quiet possession of their estates, and later formed a sturdy element in William Penn's colony.

The time was coming when a precisely similar fate was to overtake Governor Stuyvesant and New Amsterdam.

The attitude of the English had always furnished the chief cause for anxiety to the Dutch, as the title to New Netherland had always been a subject for dispute. There were continual protests from all the English colonies in turn against

the debt in wilderness land. In 1680, he therefore petitioned the King for the grant of a territory on the opposite side of the Delaware, and as Charles II was always short of money, an easy way to cancel the debt was to grant him a province.

It was named Pennsylvania, in his father's honor (Baucroft.)

At length, writes William Penn, on the fifth of March, 1681. "after many waitings, watchings, solicitings, and disputes in council, my country was confirmed to me under the great seal of England. God will bless, and make it the seed of a nation. I shall have a tender care of the government, that it shall be well laid at first."

^{April} In 1681, Penn sent his cousin, William Markham, to be deputy governor of Pennsylvania, and with him a letter to the colonists already settled west of the Delaware River: "My friends, I wish you all happiness, here and hereafter. There are to let you know that it has pleased God in his providence, to cast you within my lot and care. It is a business that though I never undertook before, yet God has given me an understanding of my duty, and an honest mind to do uprightly. I hope you will not be troubled by your change and the King's choice, for you are now left at the mercy of no governor."

trading posts and farms, and from such beginnings, towns might grow, but it was only an sufferance. To this view the English pertinently clung, and there is no reason for doubting the honesty of their belief.

The acquisition of the Dutch colonies gave to the English command of the commercial and military center of the Atlantic coast, and brought New England into closer touch with Virginia and Maryland.

We must now recall our mention of documents and seals, during this state of union, bickerings between the colonies, ^{continued} for ten years, grants and charters changed hands with great rapidity between the various English claimants. We have reached the time of Charles II, and no Stuart King ever ever heeded such trifles as giving away to one man what had been already given to another.

William Penn had become deeply ^(Boundaries, Claims, back to our river) interested in the progress of civilization on the Delaware as early as 1666. It is supposed that the idea of having a great province on the Delaware as a refuge for the Quakers began with him through his connection with New Jersey, — he having bought East New Jersey from the heirs of Carteret in 1676, ^{in company} with eleven other men, — and also by the fact that the crown owed him 16000 pounds due to his father, and might be willing to pay

landed at New castle, where he was welcomed by the Dutch and Swedish settlers. From there he sailed to Upland, where there had been for some time a settlement. Turning to his friend and ship mate, Thomas Pearson, he said: "Providence has brought us here safe. Thou hast been the companion of my perils. What wilt thou that I shall call this place?" "Call it Chester," replied Pearson, who had come from that quaint old city of England.

After visits to New York and Maryland Penn sought out "the spot just above the confluence of the little Schuylkill, and the great Delaware and there laid out the squarest, clearest city, no doubt, that our planet has ever seen"

One of the most famous events of Penn's first (Fiske) visit to the new world was his treaty with the Indians. Of this covenant Voltaire wrote that it was "the only covenant between savages and Christians which was never sworn to, and never broken".

From the first the Indians were greatly pleased with Penn's looks and manners. Fiske says: "None can appreciate better than the red man that union of royal dignity with affable grace which characterized the handsome young cavalier." Penn often visited them in their wigwams, and partook of their food.

who comes to make his fortune great. 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, nor molest his person. God has furnished me with a better resolution, and has given me his grace to keep it. In short, whatever sober and free men can ^{reasonably} desire for the security and improvement of their happiness, I shall heartily comply with, and, in five months, I resolve, if it please God, to see you. In the meantime, pray submit to the commands of my deputy, as far as they are consistent with the law, and pay him those dues (that previously you paid to the Governor of New York) for my use and benefit, and so I beseech God to direct you in the ways of righteousness, and therein prosper you and your children after you. I am your true friend, William Penn.

In the course of the first year more than twenty ships sailed for the Delaware River, carrying perhaps, three thousand passengers. Penn did not come in five months, as he had hoped, for business in connection with his new colony was driving him. He sailed late in the summer of 1682, in the ship *Welcome*, with a hundred passengers, most of them Quakers. About thirty of them died of smallpox during the voyage. Late in October, he

Some of his letters describe the great beauty of the country, and he was evidently charmed with his woodland. He had every reason to feel content with the success of his settlements on the Delaware. Within three years of its founding, Philadelphia had 2500 inhabitants, while in the province there were more than 8000.

For nearly a hundred years from 1682-1776, while the province was growing and developing from a province into a commonwealth, the Quakers were the proprietors of the Delaware.