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The Old and New Societies of the Delaware Valley in the Seventeenth Century

"THIS country of New England from Virginia southward, to the french northward at Penobscott is about 6 or 700 miles along the sea coast. Towards the South at a place called Delaware bay live some Swedes, about an hundred, and likewise some few Hollanders, which hinder the English from planting there, though some 20 familyes from Mr. Davenports plantation [at New Haven] have attempted to settle there. This river is a very great river, very fruitfull, and will contayne more people than all New England beside. I suppose this place for health and wealth the best place the English can set there [*sic*] foot in. If any leave the Kingdom I pray counsell them to this place, and here many will joyne with them who have seen the place."*

This reliable account of the English settlements along the Atlantic coast, written in Boston on December 24, 1645, "when the weather

* In the essay below, the author has developed some of the themes that he once had planned to expand in a volume on the middle colonies for "The Beginnings of the American People." Because of a decision made two years ago, not to continue that series, the results of investigations pursued over several years appear in the present form for this issue of *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*'s centennial year.

was so cold that the Ink and pen freeze extreamly," was drawn up by Dr. Robert Child, "the Remonstrant," to fulfill a promise made to his friend Samuel Hartlib, the celebrated authority on English husbandry.[1] We are surprised to learn that the valley of the Delaware was so well known at the Massachusetts Bay as early as 1645 and pleased that this accurate description of this still unoccupied region was made by the colonist who undoubtedly was the person best informed about agriculture in North America. Understandably Dr. Child was not aware of the fact that the region had been the home of a centuries-old native society that was now doomed to disintegration and collapse.

To understand the societies, the old and the new, one must view the area *as a whole*.[2] From 1600 to 1700 the entire system of waterways and the land drained by it formed a single geographical unit of greater historical importance than the sum of the four political divisions that comprise it taken together—Cecil County in Maryland, the Lower Counties on the Delaware, Pennsylvania, and West New Jersey. This was true before the advent of the Europeans and, to an unrecognized extent, it remains so in our own time.

The broad, unusually clear and placid river served as the avenue giving access to, as well as unifying, the peoples who lived along its banks from the Delaware capes to the falls at Trenton, and also those situated up the many large "cricks" that were navigable for small craft for one to ten miles inland. The terrain along the east shore in West New Jersey was flat, and its soil, though fertile, was generally sandy; a mile or two in from the rich low-lying west bank of the river, the land of Bucks, Philadelphia, Chester, and New Castle counties was rolling and then hilly; and there too the soil proved to be productive under careful cultivation. Everywhere springs abounded, and the region was well watered.

1 *Publications of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts, Transactions 1947–1951*, XXXVIII (Boston, 1959), 50.

2 The *Oxford English Dictionary* defines *society* as "the living in association for the purposes of harmonious existence by a body of individuals in a more or less ordered community." *Society* is used in this essay in preference to *culture* which, as the social scientists employ it, represents a species of professional jargon that does violence to the original meaning of the word. Moreover, to the layman *culture* obscures more than it clarifies.

1610 – 1638

In common with all history, a correct distribution of events through time is antecedent to a proper understanding of the Delaware Valley during the seventeenth century. Modern books dealing with the area often give the impression that the history of the valley properly begins with the landing of William Penn and his followers. They ignore the "Original People," a loosely confederated group of tribes whose members spoke Algonkian dialects.[3] These Indians, the Lenni Lenape or Delawares, had been living in the valley for hundreds of years when the century opened, principally on the west bank of the great river from its mouth to the falls.

In 1600 the society of the Lenni Lenape numbered somewhere between two and three thousand people who were flourishing, virtually unaffected by contact with either the things or the people of Europe. They were not wandering hunters; they led a settled existence in small open villages, basically a life of peace and harmony. The average community consisted of five or six "longhouses" sheathed with strips of bark and each having a peaked or ridge roof. These early American multifamily dwellings varied from thirty to one hundred feet in length and from twenty to twenty-five in width, each of them sheltering several families. Contrary to white mythology, the natives kept their persons clean; youths swam daily in most seasons, and adults visited their "sweat lodges" weekly or oftener to take steam baths. In the open fields surrounding the longhouses, the natives grew tobacco and the "three sisters"—corn, beans, and squash. They also traded with distant tribes.[4]

The first meetings between the Indians of the valley and Europeans occurred about 1610, but chaffering for pelts did not become common until after 1620 when, with Dutch thoroughness, skippers and traders from Manhattan began exploring the river and its tributaries. Surviving evidence indicates that it was the European *things* offered by the Dutch in exchange for pelts that initiated the transformation of the Indian society.

3 Paul A. W. Wallace, *Indians in Pennsylvania* (Harrisburg, 1961), 16.

4 Peter M. Lindeström, *Geographia Americanae, with an Account of the Delaware Indians . . . 1654–1656* (Philadelphia, 1925), 198–241; Wallace, *Indians*, 4, 17–83; and in general C. A. Weslager, *The Delaware Indians: A History* (New Brunswick, N. J., 1972).

The Dutch made no effort in the early years to establish permanent settlements in the valley; Fort Nassau (1626) and Fort Beversreede (1648) were merely trading posts maintained by a few men—theirs was a male society. At first beads and similar baubles attracted the Lenni Lenape, but it was not long before the Indians were insisting that, in exchange for their furs, the traders should give them firearms, ammunition, hatchets, kettles, hoes, and a variety of metal utensils; later on they asked for red and white cloth. The Hollanders also introduced the natives to brandy and, after the mid-century, to rum. As the months and years passed, the Indians became more and more dependent upon European goods for performing all the tasks allied with daily living: agriculture, hunting, and household chores. Correspondingly, pottery-making and other native crafts and skills deteriorated from disuse. Gradually it came about that the peltry traffic was leading to unforeseen changes in the life of the Lenni Lenape.

With the white men's ever-mounting, insatiable demand for beaver skins and other pelts, the Indian men gave up their age-old ways of life and became hunters and trappers exclusively, which meant that they were away from their families and fields for long periods of time. Furthermore they abandoned their instinctive habit of solicitously conserving wild life, especially the beaver and deer, and proceeded to slaughter beasts of all kinds indiscriminately merely for their skins. Later they killed them to provide meat for the white men.

The increasing demand for pelts stirred up competition among the Indians that quickly became a divisive factor in intertribal relations and inevitably brought hitherto friendly tribes into fratricidal conflicts. Less numerous than the Lenni Lenape, the Iroquoian-speaking "White" and "Black" Minquas, or Susquehannocks, who lived in the Susquehanna River basin, were more given to hunting than to aboriginal agriculture. They were active traders, procuring many of their skins from tribes to the westward, but by 1624, at least, they were encroaching on the territory of the defenseless Lenni Lenape, who greatly feared them. The Minquas congregated in villages surrounded by palisades that protected them from retaliation by enemies. When David Pieterszoon de Vries first encountered them near deserted Fort Nassau in 1633, it was clear

that this warlike Iroquoian tribe already dominated the Lenni Lenape.[5]

Despite being technologically outmoded by the white newcomers, the Indians made great and lasting contributions to the development of the white society. Long before the coming of the first Europeans, the Minquas and, to some extent, the Lenni Lenape had worked out routes of overland travel, often no more than fifteen inches wide, along forest paths from the head of Chesapeake Bay to the Delaware River, and from its falls across New Jersey to the Raritan River. From their palisaded strongholds on the west bank of the Susquehanna, the Minquas would sometimes float down stream in their unsinkable dugout canoes, which were loaded with furs, to the Chesapeake Bay and then paddle up the Elk River to one of the portages leading to the Christina or Appoquinimink creeks, or farther overland to the tributaries of the Schuylkill. These waterways and forest paths and portages constituted a series of inland travel routes that were to prove invaluable to the white traders.[6]

By 1638 the Indian society, whether it was composed of the sedentary, peaceful Lenni Lenape or the fierce, hunting and trading Minquas had been irrevocably disrupted and undermined by the fur trade, alcohol, and *things* made in Europe. The final collapse of the society as it existed prior to 1600 was ensured by the arrival of numbers of white men who came with the intention of settling permanently in the valley. It ill becomes us of the twentieth century to dismiss the process as the normal outcome of the clash of an advanced society with a backward one. Which was the superior, which the inferior one? Of this we can be certain, however, the seventeenth-century history of the great valley is, from the Indians'

[5] Albert Cook Myers, ed., *Narratives of Early Pennsylvania, West New Jersey, and Delaware, 1630–1707* (New York, 1912, 1959), 18–24; Thomas Campanius Holm, "A Short Description of the Province of New Sweden," Historical Society of Pennsylvania, *Memoirs*, III (1834), 158; Francis Jennings, ". . . The Susquenhannock Indians in the Seventeenth Century," American Philosophical Society, *Proceedings*, 102 (1968), 15–21.

[6] Paul A. W. Wallace, "Historic Indian Paths of Pennsylvania," *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* (*PMHB*), LXXVI (1952), 411–439, and folding map facing p. 438; Robert Proud, *The History of Pennsylvania in North America* (Philadelphia, 1797), II, 253–255, for creeks and portages; and for the Indian paths of New Jersey, see Wheaton J. Lane, *From Indian Trail to Iron Horse* (Princeton, N. J., 1939), 6, 17 (map of trails), 24.

standpoint, one of a grim disaster in which the ignorance and greed of the victorious whites figured far more prominently than their vaunted humanity.

1638 – 1675

The arrival of Peter Minuit with colonists in the spring of 1638 started a profound shift in the composition of the population of the Delaware Valley. In addition to the few Dutch and English traders, who do not exactly qualify as settlers, two new national groups, Swedes and Finns, came in 1638 to live permanently in the valley of the Lenni Lenape. Four European languages added to the Algonkian and Iroquoian tongues complicated communication for the inhabitants, and the presence of Calvinist, Lutheran, and Congregational Christians confused the pagan majority who revered the Great Spirit. In 1655 the Dutch conquered New Sweden, and in 1675 John Fenwick settled 150 English Quakers on Salem Creek. If the 60 or 70 black slaves taken from the Dutch by the English in 1664 were kept in the valley, they, together with a few French, added one more race and at least two more languages to the already cosmopolitan character of the area.

It was not the English, Irish, and Welsh Quakers, led by William Penn, but the Swedes and the Dutch who first bought lands from the Lenni Lenape. Fort Christina, erected on the land purchased by Minuit at the mouth of the creek of that name, gave the Swedes and Finns access to the peltry trade with the Minquas; it also signaled the beginning of an enduring agricultural settlement of members of the white race in the valley. The introduction of the Old-World concept of absolute ownership of land, in opposition to the Indian idea of use only, and the fencing in of land, the visible sign of private property, were alien to Indian thinking.

From the outset in 1638, the Swedes and Finns proceeded slowly and unobtrusively to develop communities of the European type. The Lenni Lenape seemed to be more than willing to "sell" land, that is to allow the newcomers the use of it and, moreover, they taught the Europeans the elements of aboriginal farming. In 1641, New Sweden was made up of tracts of land on the west bank of the

Delaware between the bay and the falls, and on the east bank upstream from the bay as far as the mouth of Raccoon Creek. By the end of this period, these enclaves, as well as a few Dutch communities, provided the sole fixed element in an otherwise unstable situation.

The Scandinavians were never very numerous, and, though this might have been disadvantageous to New Sweden, the slow growth of population cushioned all contacts with the Lenni Lenape and the Minquas. These white men managed to get along very well with their Indian neighbors. In 1640 the settlers totaled a mere 40; and at the peak of development, in 1654, they numbered only 370 souls. Some of the Swedes and, later, a few Dutch learned to speak Algonkian and Iroquoian, which greatly facilitated trading, and the Indians welcomed the establishing of Swedish fur-trading posts up and down the river to tap the trade with the Minquas. This generosity may have stemmed from the Indians realizing what Governor Printz did not learn until 1643–1644, which was that the supply of beavers in their own valley had been exhausted.

The most important contribution of the colonists of New Sweden (half of whom were Finns) to the newly-forming society of Europeans was family life. The Dutch mariners and traders had operated as a strictly male group until the 1650s, but the Scandinavians wanted wives and children and home life. "For one who wishes to remain here, he cannot be without a wife," Vice-Governor John Pagagoya wrote plaintively in 1644. "If one were in Sweden, there would be no want; but here one must himself cook and bake and himself do all the things women do, which I am not accustomed to do, and it is difficult for me."[7] Governor Johan Printz had made a great point in 1647 and again in 1650 of the Company's sending over wives for the farmers. Three years later Printz contrasted the prospering farming families with his sorry lot of soldiers and company officials. William Penn, when he landed at New Castle in 1682, particularly praised the sturdiness and civilized qualities of the Swedish and Dutch colonists, who came to settle after the conquest of New Sweden, emphasizing that "they are a People

[7] Amandus Johnson, ed., *Instructions for Johan Printz, Governor of New Sweden* (Port Washington, N. Y., 1969), 136, 161, 177, 187–188.

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 Young men more sober and laborious."[8]

Coming from a forested land, the Swedes and Finns were skilled in the use of an ax and made faster work of clearing land than did the settlers in other colonies. They were also accustomed to using an ax to shape up timbers, and upon their arrival in the Delaware Valley they erected weather-tight houses or "cabins" of round-crossed or hewn logs, such as they had known in their homeland. Later they put up larger log structures—forts, Crane Hook Church (1667), and the blockhouse used for worship at Wicaco (1669). The few barns they built were also of crossed-notched construction. The Czech Augustine Herrman imitated the Swedish method when he built "a Logg house Prison" at Bohemia Manor in Cecil County, Maryland, in 1669, as did the Quaker justices of the English court who, in 1681, ordered "a Convenient Logg house for a Prison" at Burlington. In general, as Jasper Danckaerts and Peter Sluyter noticed in 1679, in both West New Jersey and Pennsylvania the English built clapboard houses without regard to the superiority of the Scandinavian structures.[9]

Adaptability being the price of survival, the Swedish, Finnish, and Dutch husbandmen learned to imitate the tobacco and maize culture of the Lenni Lenape. They also shrewdly employed the natives to supply them with venison, turkeys, and other game until such time as they could raise their own domestic animals. Farms soon clustered around the Swedish trading posts at Christina, Upland, Tinicum Island, Passyunk, and, after 1658, when the Dutch sent over 500 colonists of several nationalities, at New Amstel (formerly Fort Casimir and after 1664 New Castle). Most of the colonists, whose

8 Myers, ed., *Narratives of Pennsylvania*, 237–238.

9 C. A. Weslager, "Log Structures in New Sweden," *Delaware History*, V (1952), 77–89; *Archives of Maryland* (Baltimore, 1884), II, 224–226; H. Clay Reed, and George J. Miller, eds., *The Burlington Court Book . . . 1680–1709* (Washington, D. C., 1944), 11–12; Bartlett B. James and J. Franklin Jameson, eds., *Journal of Jasper Danckaerts, 1679–1680* (New York, 1913, 1959), 96, 97, 98, 101, 148; Myers, ed., *Narratives of Pennsylvania*, 250; and the standard work of Harold R. Shurtleff, *The Log-Cabin Myth* (Gloucester, Mass., 1967).

numbers had doubled by these late arrivals, lived on the west bank of the Delaware between New Amstel and the falls; "a handful" of Swedes, Finns, and Dutch resided on the east bank; they planted orchards and grew wheat, rye, and barley. From Virginia and Manhattan they imported cattle, which multiplied "greatly with great wonder" by mid-century. Jasper Danckaerts marveled in 1679 at the sight of an ox on Tinicum Island as large as those of Denmark and Friesland.[10]

As late as 1685, however, Francis Daniel Pastorius believed that "the old inhabitants" were poor agriculturalists; "many of them have neither barns nor stables, let their grain lie unthreshed for several years under the open sky, and their cattle, cows, swine, etc., run summer and winter in the underbrush, whereby they gain but little benefit from them." What this superior husbandman was looking askance at was pioneer agriculture, and he failed to see that these farming colonists were producing enough grain and cattle by the close of this period to enable them to feed many of the advance contingent of the Quaker invasion.[11]

From 1638 to the coming of William Penn and his followers, tobacco dominated agriculture and trade. After becoming familiar with the paths and portages the fur traders had learned from the Indians, the colonists gradually converted them into thoroughfares—cart and "rolling roads"—that enabled tobacco grown in Maryland and Virginia to be brought overland to Fort Christina and New Castle. Governor Printz shipped 20,467 pounds of the leaf to Sweden in 1644, of which about 5,000 pounds were produced in New Sweden and the balance in Accomac, Virginia. A decade later, the governor made a contract with Edmund Scarborough of Accomac, who often traded in New Sweden, to supply 80,000 pounds of the "Stinkingeweede" of America to the homeland. The traffic swelled continuously and, down to 1700, this "chopping

10 *Instructions for Printz*, 177; Myers, ed., *Narratives of Pennsylvania*, 107, 125; Edward B. O'Callaghan, and Berthold Fernow, eds., *Documents Relative to the Colonial History of the State of New York* (Albany, 1856–1887), II, 9, 10, 16, 76, 210, 211; Colonial Society of Pennsylvania, *Records of the Court at New Castle on Delaware, 1676–1681* (Philadelphia, 1904), I, 81, 94–95; Jameson, ed., *Journal of Jasper Danckaerts*, 105.

11 Julius F. Sachse, ed., *Letters Relating to the Settlement of Germantown* (Philadelphia, 1903), 13.

herbe of hell" continued to be the principal export from the lower Delaware Valley.[12]

As the value of tobacco exports mounted, the fur trade declined precipitously. The latter had been very profitable in the early decades of settlement and probably reached its peak in 1649 when the white men traded for between 7,500 and 10,000 beaver pelts. After that year the Dutch, who had more goods to barter with than the Swedes, took over most of the trade in peltry. One of their reasons for seizing New Sweden in 1655 was that "thousands of Beavers can be bought here [on the river] and around the Schuylkill or [Fort] Bevers reede" from the Black and White Minquas. When the Minquas were defeated by their Iroquois kinsmen in 1675, the traffic in furs, something the new English rulers counted on, dwindled to almost nothing.[13]

The slow extension of settlement by the white men was an important feature of the economic transformation of the Delaware Valley, for it was accompanied by the spreading of the culture of tobacco and grain, as well as cattle grazing. The improvement in the routes of travel was a prime factor in this expansion. As early as 1644 Governor Printz had expressed the desire to drive the Lenni Lenape out of the valley: "Then one would have a passage free from here [*New Sweden*] unto Manathans, across the country, beginning at Zachikans [*the falls*]." As noted earlier, the Dutch had explored the river and its tributaries, and in 1654 Peter Lindeström, a Swedish engineer, recorded the waterways on his excellent "Map of New Sweden."[14]

For commercial, as well as political reasons, the Dutch, who had become a decisive factor in the development of the valley during the fifties, sought very early to open an overland route from their base on Manhattan to the Delaware River that would be safer

12 Myers, ed., *Narratives of Pennsylvania*, 96, 97, 145, 157; *Instructions for Printz*, 190–191, 258; Edward B. O'Callaghan, ed., *Laws and Ordinances of New Netherland, 1638–1674* (Albany, N. Y., 1868), 307–309; *Calvert Papers*, Maryland Historical Society, *Fund Publications* (Baltimore, 1888), I, No. 28, p. 76.

13 Amandus Johnson, *The Swedish Settlements on the Delaware . . . 1638–1664* (Philadelphia, 1911), I, 335, 337, 339, 341; *N. Y. Col. Docs.*, I, 588; Francis Jennings, "The Indian Trade of the Susquehanna Valley," American Philosophical Society, *Proceedings*, 110 (1966), 406–424.

14 Myers, ed., *Narratives of Pennsylvania*, 103–104; Lindeström, "Map of New Sweden," *Geographia Americanae*, facing pp. 152, 156.

than the all-water one. From the Raritan River in New Jersey, two Indian paths, known as the Upper and Lower Assunpink trails, crossed the level country to the falls of the Delaware. In order to surprise Printz and the Swedes in 1651, Director Peter Stuyvesant "came here himself overland, accompanied by 120 men; but eleven vessels came by sea, which met him here at Fort Nassau [*Gloucester*]."[15] This long and successful march along the Upper Assunpink Trail to the falls of the Delaware by the largest military force yet raised in the colonies was a remarkable feat and, considering the conditions along the way, a triumph of logistics. Thenceforward, the two New Jersey routes were in continuous use.

Governor Rising told the Swedish West India Company in 1654: "Hereafter it would be well worth while to settle Christina Kill, in order that one might be more secure against Virginia [*actually Maryland*], and besides to carry on a trade with them, making a passage [*canal*] from their [*Elk*] river into the said kill, by which we could bring the Virginian goods here and store them, and load our ships with them for a return cargo." This earliest proposal for a Delaware and Chesapeake Canal had been made to Governor Rising by Thomas Ringgold of Kent County, Maryland. The governor hoped to purchase a tract of land from the Minquas at the present Elkton, and "then this could be well brought about, and we could carry on the best trade with them [the Minquas] there." He also stated that the shortest portage was from the Appoquinimink Creek to Head of Elk, and that the English in Maryland "are now beginning some trade from their own river in that direction."[16] A year later, Peter Stuyvesant defeated the Swedes and New Amstel became the principal trading port on the Delaware.

Some of the colonists of New Sweden—servants of the trading companies who desired to avoid harsh treatment, and freemen who wanted to acquire cheap land—cleared out prior to the change over in government and located around the head of Chesapeake Bay (one piece of land in Maryland became known as "None so good in Finland"). In a complaint about the tendency to flee inland,

15 Lane, *Indian Trail*, 17 (map); *Instructions for Printz*, 180–181; Johnson, *Swedish Settlements*, I, 435–436.

16 Myers, ed., *Narratives of Pennsylvania*, 139–141; Jameson, ed., *Journal of Jasper Danckaerts*, 127–128.

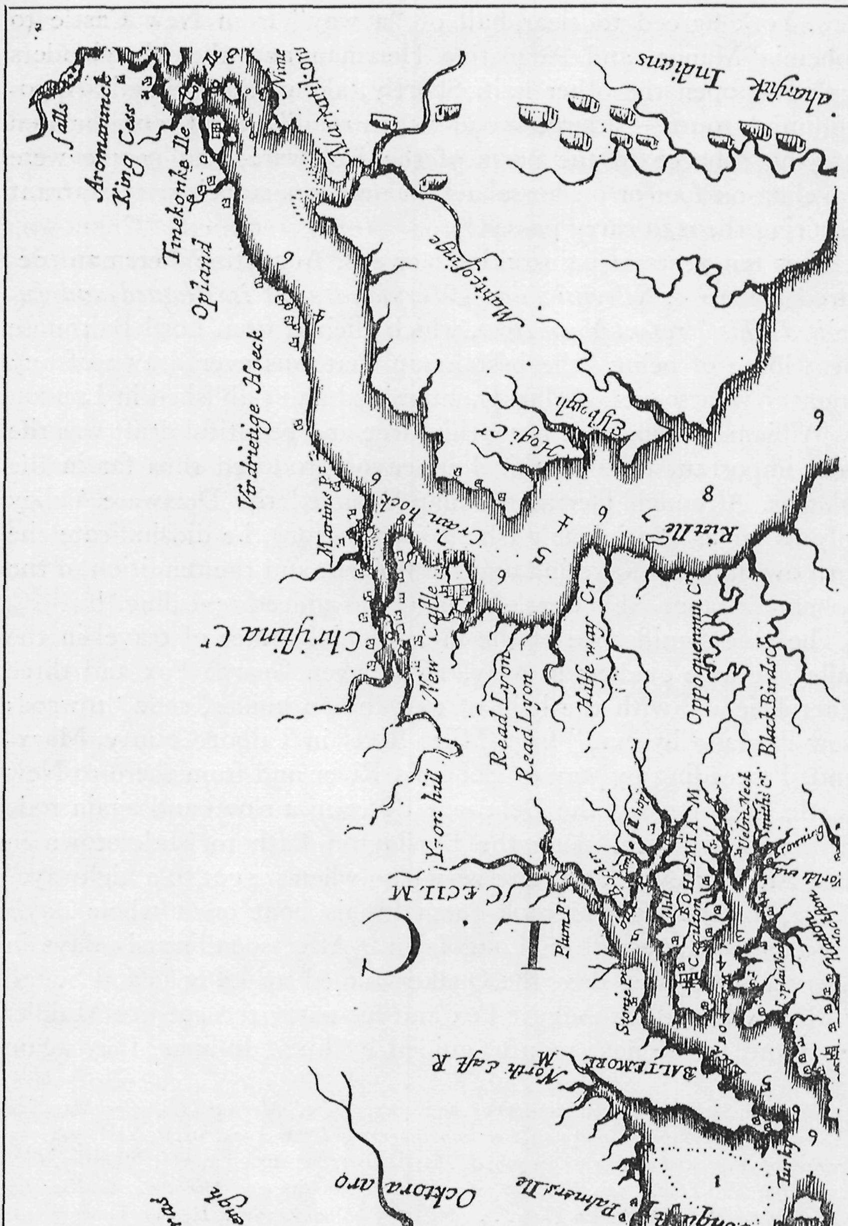
Governor Johan Rising stated that "the English draw our people to themselves over to Virginia (Saverne [*Severn*]) as much as they are able and keep those who deserted thither last year. They largely ruin our trade with the Minques." The draining off of settlers continued; in 1676 the Duke of York's Laws prohibited all persons in the middle colonies from traveling without a passport, and the first laws promulgated in Pennsylvania (1682) required "Unknown persons" to carry passes for each county. In the neighborhood of Bohemia Manor in 1679, Jasper Danckaerts, who carried a passport, learned that "They are almost all Dutch who live here."[17]

After the conquest of New Sweden in 1655, many Dutchmen removed to Maryland and settled around the head of Chesapeake Bay.[18] Among them was Augustine Herrman, the most important individual connected with the Delaware Valley in the two decades before the arrival of William Penn in 1682. Born in Prague in 1605, he grew up in Holland. When he arrived in America he had a knowledge of the Czech, Dutch, French, English and German languages, an ideal equipment for the roles he was to play: trader, surveyor, diplomat, and principal founder of the fur and tobacco trades in this cosmopolitan valley.

Herrman made his first public appearance at the treaty with the Lenni Lenape of Passyunk at Fort Nassau in 1648, but it was a diplomatic mission to Annapolis undertaken for Stuyvesant in 1659, which took him overland from New Amstel southward to the river Elk that changed the course of his life. Mightily attracted by the rich land he observed around the Chesapeake area, he moved to Maryland a year later. In 1663 he and his family were naturalized; he received a grant from Lord Baltimore of 13,000 acres in Cecil County, where he erected Bohemia Manor. He had been a denizen of Maryland a very brief time when, in 1661, he began planning a cart road from his estate to New Amstel. Ten years later, two of his sons settled on the Delaware at Augustine Manor, a second tract belonging to their father. And in this same year, Herrman's dream of the road came true when the Governor and Executive Council of

17 Myers, ed., *Narratives of Pennsylvania*, 151, 157; Staughton George, *Charter to William Penn and Laws of Pennsylvania . . . Preceded by the Duke of York's Laws . . .* (Harrisburg, Pa., 1879), 72, 151; Jameson, ed., *Journal of Jasper Danckaerts*, 130.

18 George Johnston, *History of Cecil County, Maryland* (Elkton, Md., 1881), 20, 33, 58, 64.



MAP I. Section of Augustine Herrman's *MAP OF VIRGINIA AND MARYLAND*, 1673, showing the streams and inlets between the Delaware and Chesapeake bays. (Courtesy of The John Carter Brown Library)

New York agreed to clear half of "a way" from New Castle to Bohemia Manor, and Augustine Herrman and the Marylanders agreed to open the other half. Shortly, along this Bohemia-Appoquinimink route—"a large broad wagon road"—carts could be seen carrying tobacco to the ports of the Delaware, and people were traveling on foot or on horseback in numbers sufficient to warrant requiring them to carry passes.[19]

After ten years of painstaking surveys, Augustine Herrman prepared a map of *Virginia and Maryland as it is Planted and Inhabited This Present Year 1670*, which elicited from Lord Baltimore the tribute of being "the best mapp that was ever drawn of any Country whatsoever" (Map I). Engraved and published in London by William Faithorne in 1673, this large and beautiful draft was the most important cartographical endeavor produced thus far in the colonies. Although Herrman's map depicted the Delaware Valley only as far as Matinicunk Island (Burlington), he did indicate the path overland to Navesink and New York; and the rendition of the Bohemia Manor-New Castle streams was indeed revealing.[20]

The true significance of the intercolonial routes of travel in the valley became evident in May, 1672, when George Fox and three other Friends, with the help of two Indian guides, rode "towards New England by land" from Miles River in Talbot County, Maryland. Proceeding by way of Bohemia River and from there to New Castle, they crossed the Delaware River in a sloop and again rode through woods and along the Burlington Path to Middletown in East New Jersey—"and were very glad when we got to a highway." There, another Friend took them in his boat on a whole day's passage to Gravesend on Long Island. After spending six days in meetings at Oyster Bay, the Quakers sailed up Long Island Sound to Rhode Island. In August Fox and his party returned to Middletown and in the next month, guided by hired Indians, they again

19 Percy G. Skrivers, "Seven Pioneers of the Eastern Shore," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, XV (1920), 396–409; *Dictionary of American Biography* (New York, 1943), VIII, 592–593; *Archives of Maryland*, III (1), 398–399; I, 462; II, 199, 205–206; 330–331; Johnston, *Cecil County*, 72; *N. Y. Col. Docs.*, XII, 481, 483; Victor H. Palsits, ed., *Minutes of the Executive Council of the Province of New York . . . 1668–1673* (Albany, 1910), II, 566; Jameson, ed., *Journal of Jasper Danckaerts*, 113.

20 Herrman's map was published in facsimile by the John Carter Brown Library (Providence, 1948); Johnston, *Cecil County*, 58.

made their way through the woods to the Delaware River, and then down stream to New Castle and retraced their way to the Bohemia River route and on to Talbot County.[21]

Three years after George Fox's journey, William Edmundson and a Quaker companion sailed from New York to Shrewsbury, East New Jersey. He reported that "we took our Journey through the Wilderness towards Maryland, to cross the River at Delaware-Falls." Their progress fell short of expectations, for the Indian guide lost his way and "left us in the Woods." The next day they went back over ten miles of the previous day's journey to the Raritan River, where they found "a small path" from the New York landing place (New Brunswick) that led to the falls, at which point they took a canoe over the Delaware and followed the west shore to Upland. They recrossed the river to Salem, and back to the west shore and New Castle, and thence overland to the Sassafras River. The old routes traversed by the Indians and fur traders and gradually improved and developed by the Swedes and Dutch had become avenues for communication, travel, and transport suitable for the age and place. The English had but to make greater use of them in the linking of their colonies.[22]

The conquest of New Netherland by the English in 1664 was undertaken with the twofold object of eliminating Dutch competition in the tobacco trade and consolidating the Hudson and Delaware Valley settlements with the Chesapeake colonies on the south and those of New England to the north, all under the control of Charles II. The English traders, according to William Tom's report of 1671, neglected to learn either the Algonkian or Iroquoian tongues, which was bitterly resented by the Indians. Their sachems were actually threatening to make war upon the settlers, charging that "where the English come they drive them from their lands," as in northern Virginia and Maryland, and were fearful that a similar fate would be theirs.[23]

21 John L. Nickalls, ed., *The Journal of George Fox* (Cambridge, England, 1952), 618–620, 630–634.

22 William Edmundson, *Journal* (London, 1715), 93–96. For the use of this Quaker overland route by proselyting Anglicans in 1702, see George Keith, *A Journal of Travels from New Hampshire to Caratuck* [N. C.], . . . (London, 1706).

23 *N. Y. Col. Docs.*, XII, 493.

It was perhaps inevitable that as the society of the Europeans took permanent form, that of the red men should visibly decline. The truly peaceful relations of the white men with the Indians occurred during the Dutch-Swedish era down to 1675, for there were never any wars between the Indians and these predecessors of the Society of Friends, such as vexed the inhabitants of the Hudson River Valley.

The Swedes, the Finns, and the Dutch had sought to treat the Indians well. They were always careful to purchase land before they occupied it, and the Swedes charged the Minquas lower prices than the Hollanders did for trading goods; they learned both the Iroquois and Algonkian dialects and taught the naked Indian to wear European cloth.[24] Just as the white men tolerated each other's faiths—Calvinist and Lutheran forms of Christianity—they refrained from interfering with aboriginal worship of the Great Spirit. In these, and in so many other ways, they set precedents for William Penn and the Quakers.

During the period from 1638 to 1675, Europeans prepared the way for the coming in force of the Quakers under Penn. Ultimately, they dealt the *coup de grace* to the native society by gradually substituting their own technology for that of the Indians by clearing the land, starting farms, fencing fields, building houses, erecting courts of law, and forming towns. Not only did they settle along the west bank of the river and reach out toward Maryland; they opened West New Jersey for occupation and built the towns of Salem and Burlington. They laid the foundation for the cosmopolitan society composed of many European races, which has ever since been so outstanding a feature of life in this region. And by introducing black slaves well before 1644, they added a third race in the Delaware Valley. In 1675, the inhabitants, black and white, may have numbered around seventeen or eighteen hundred.

Peter Alricks noted in 1664 a sharp drop in the Lenni Lenape population, estimating that there were not more than 1,000 living on both sides of the Delaware. An early settler in West New Jersey, Robert Smythe, thought the Delawares there were tractable, and saw no need "to new-mold, displace, or remove, contend or quarrel"

[24] *Instructions for Printz*, 80; Weslager, *Delaware Indians*, 128.

with them as long as their lands were purchased before settlement began. "And the *poor Creatures* are never the Worse, but much better, as Themselves do confess; being now supplyed by the *English*, in the way of Truck and Trade, with whatsoever they want or stand in need of. And they Hunt and Fish, as here-to-fore, except in Enclosed or Planted Ground." From the falls of the Delaware in 1680, Friend Mahlon Stacey remarked sanctimoniously, with the arrogance of an Englishman, that he believed God "*is determined of a small number to make a Great and Strong Nation* . . . and the Lord is mightily bringing it to pass, in His Removing the *Heathen* that know him not, and making room for a better People that fears his Name. 'Tis hardly credible to believe how the Indians are wasted in Two Years Time . . . and how the English are increased both in Cattle and Corn in a little Time."[25]

The earliest settlers turned over to the Quakers a well-explored region, and a system of roads, paths, portages, and waterways that made overland communications possible and, for that age, relatively easy. Moreover, they had linked the plantations of New England with those of the Chesapeake and the Carolinas, so that in the coming wars the colonists were able to present a strong front to the French. From both an intercolonial and an imperial point of view, the joining together of the twelve continental colonies under one common law, one language, and one flag was an achievement of incalculable significance.

In 1681 the valley of the Delaware was physically, economically, and socially ready for the arrival of the Quakers who, as a result, never had to undergo many of the trials or perform the difficult tasks of early pioneers. The dazzling spectacle of the Quaker success, 1681–1700 and beyond, should no longer obscure the very important contributions of the aboriginals and the first traders and colonists.

1675 – 1700

The most impressive and far-reaching development in the insular and continental possessions of the English during the second half of the seventeenth century was the emergence in less than two decades of a new and strikingly successful society in the valley of

[25] *An Abstract or Abbreviation of some Few of the Many . . . Testimonys from the Inhabitants of New Jersey* . . . (London, 1681), 20, 27. Italics mine.

the Delaware. By 1700 the course of this predominantly English society had been fixed.

Many writers have examined the institutional and political histories of each of the provincial components of the society of the valley, but primarily it has been the role of the Quakers that has attracted "official" chroniclers and apologists. A preoccupation, at times amounting to an obsession, with the contests for power and the torrid factionalism in Pennsylvania and the Lower Counties especially has resulted in an unfortunate neglect of the truly spectacular rise and growth that went on in the whole region, a phenomenon that, regardless of men and measures, proceeded at a pace hitherto unparalleled and encompassed all other activities. Although a fully rounded survey of the process in this essay is patently impossible, one may draw attention to several unrecognized and uninvestigated aspects and qualities of the white society of the Delaware Valley that, without a grasp of their peculiar nature, leave its history obscure.

It is incumbent upon the investigator to develop a deep sense of companionship with the men and women who built this society, and therefore we begin with the people. The proportions of the three races shifted with the introduction of large contingents of Europeans. The society and life of the aborigines—disrupted by tribal competition in the fur trade, liquor, and disease—ended with the radical decline of the original population of 1638. Dutch and Swedish colonists agreed about this. Gabriel Thomas reported in 1698 that "the Indians themselves say, that two of them die to every one Christian that comes here." The Minquas disappeared from the Susquehanna Valley after their total defeat by the Iroquois in 1675; and Penn's three land purchases of 1682, 1683, 1684 forced the Lenni Lenape to move westward to the headwaters of the Brandywine and, eventually, to the Susquehanna Valley. By 1700 the Indians had virtually ceased to be a determining factor in the lives of the valley people. Actually they never were a real threat to the European settlers of this era, and now the "civilization" of the white men had overwhelmed them.[26]

Some sixty or seventy members of the black race had been held

[26] Myers, ed., *Narratives of Pennsylvania*, 344; Weslager, *Delaware Indians*, 139–140, 150, 161–163, 165; *Pennsylvania Archives* (Philadelphia, 1852), First Series, I, 47, 62, 64, 117.

by the Dutch, as has been noted, when the English took over in 1664. Whether or not those particular blacks remained in the valley has not been ascertained, but we have the assertion of Herman Op de Graeff in 1685 that "We have Blacks or Moors here also as slaves to labor." The slaves were numerous enough by 1688 to arouse the concern of Francis Daniel Pastorius and other Germantown Quakers to the point that they issued their famous protest against holding Negroes in bondage. In spite of their remonstrance, however, the number of black slaves unquestionably increased from 1690 to the end of the century.[27]

With the arrival of the first permanent white settlers in the valley, who proved immediately that they could use the skills of the aboriginals and support themselves in the New World, the eventual dominance of the white race was ensured. Immigration varied from year to year, of course, in numbers, nationalities, and choice of place in which to locate.[28]

The Swedes and the Dutch had been the first to settle in the valley, and many of them stayed on after the English took over in 1664, but settlers from the British Isles predominated. The white residents numbered between 1,500 and 1,800 in 1675, and in the years before 1682 additional English, Irish, and Scottish Quakers arrived in West New Jersey to take up lands on the liberal terms offered by the Proprietors. To serve as market centers for these people, Salem was established in 1675, and two years later Burlington was founded, for by that time the east bank of the Delaware was dotted with farm buildings on cleared land from Salem Creek up to the falls.[29] With the founding of Pennsylvania, however, immigration to West New Jersey slackened.

Even before the English conquered New Sweden, it may be recalled, some of the Swedes, Finns, and Dutch had moved over to the area around the head of Chesapeake Bay. Many of them had been

[27] *N. Y. Col. Docs.*, III, 345; Sachse, ed., *Germantown Letters*, 32; Marion D. Learned, *Francis Daniel Pastorius* (Philadelphia, 1908), 260–263; Marion Balderston, ed., *James Claypoole's Letter Book: London and Philadelphia, 1681–1684* (San Marino, Calif., 1967), 223.

[28] *PMHB*, IV (1880), 315; Proud, *History of Pennsylvania*, I, 209*n.*; *Claypoole's Letter Book*, 223–224; Myers, ed., *Narratives of Pennsylvania*, 260.

[29] *New Castle Court Records*, I, 136; Jameson, ed., *Journal of Jasper Danckaerts*, 115, 134; Edward B. O'Callaghan, ed., *Documentary History of the State of New York* (Albany, 1849), I, 98.

residing along the west bank of the Delaware from Shackamaxon south to Appoquinimink Creek since 1650 and by 1675 were successful farmers. They raised cattle and wheat and grew enough tobacco to add substantially to the growing number of hogsheads of the leaf brought overland from Cecil County, Maryland, to make up shipments by water to Manhattan.[30]

The Quaker immigrants of West New Jersey made remarkable progress on their farms between 1675 and 1682. Unsurpassed orchards of apples, peaches, and cherries plus fields that yielded quantities of marketable wheat and Indian corn were the rule, and already Jerseymen were known for their excellent cider. By 1678 they were freighting a "great plenty of horses" from Burlington to Barbados and Jamaica. When the Quakers began to arrive by the thousands after 1682, the husbandmen of the first settlements in the valley were ready to join the Lenni Lenape hunters in feeding them;[31] there was to be no starving time, nor even a protracted food shortage.

Land was cheaper on the west bank of the river, and consequently after 1681 more than a few Jersey Quakers moved across the Delaware to Upland (Chester) and to the good land at the falls in what would become Bucks County. Shortly thereafter thousands of English, Irish, Scottish, and Welsh Quakers, attracted by William Penn's *Account* and *Further Account* of the goodness of his land, flocked to the new refuge, followed in a brief time, but in smaller numbers, by Germans from the lower Rhine Valley, Hollanders, French Protestants, and some Danes. Presbyterian Scottish and Scotch-Irish servants began to arrive after 1690, and so it went, the influx of Europeans continuing unabated. About 1,500 persons were added each year from 1690 to 1700 to the thousands already in the valley. At the close of the century one can estimate that it contained about 25,000 inhabitants of all races and many nationalities distributed somewhat as follows:[32]

30 Myers, ed., *Narratives of Pennsylvania*, 191–192.

31 Proud, *History of Pennsylvania*, I, 153; George Scot, *A Model of the Government of the Province of New Jersey* (Edinburgh, 1685), 70–71; Myers, ed., *Narratives of Pennsylvania*, 191.

32 Myers, ed., *Narratives of Pennsylvania*, 199–216, 257–278, 317, 325; Rufus Jones, *The Quakers in the American Colonies* (New York, 1966), 522; William Penn to Robert Harley, *c.* 1701, *Historical Manuscripts Commission, Fifteenth Report*, Appendix, Part IV, "Duke of Portland MSS" (London, 1897), IV, 32.

West New Jersey	3,500
Pennsylvania and the Lower Counties	20,000
Cecil County, Maryland	1,600
	25,100

The arrival of all these new inhabitants intensified still further the cosmopolitan nature of the population. Linguistically, communication among the people became more difficult as two Indian and eight or nine languages or dialects could have been heard at the Philadelphia market; in Germantown, a knowledge of *Hochdeutsch* was necessary for conducting any kind of business. The Welsh, Swedes, and Germans formed linguistic as well as national enclaves among the English. This permanent mélange of the peoples of 1700 adumbrated what much of the later United States would be like, and it was bound to affect both economic and social life, and politics of the Delaware Valley.

The central fact about the rapid peopling of the area in this period was that it was accomplished for the most part by *families.* The number of Quaker families was second only to the number of Puritan families that settled New England. In age, the Friends ranged from infants born at sea to very old men and women. The ratio of females to males was very close, and the population rose rapidly because of a high birthrate and a low deathrate. Conditions such as these combined to speed the formation of a sound, English type of society: men, women, children, servants, and hired laborers.[33]

The English-speaking settlers from the British Isles outnumbered all of the other nationalities taken together, but not by as big a margin as was formerly supposed. In numbers, wealth, trade, and influence, the members of the Society of Friends overshadowed their fellow colonists. On the other hand, the Delaware society turned out to be far less homogeneous religiously and socially than is generally stated. Early in 1685, for instance, "about 700 persons" came to Pennsylvania "From Carolina (one of the finest places in the world)" to "live under that peaceful regime." These immigrants were certainly not Quakers.[34]

33 Myers, ed., *Narratives of Pennsylvania*, 191, 232.

34 Jones, *Quakers*, 522; Sachse, ed., *Germantown Letters*, 35.

Of major importance to the strength of the society was the coming of individuals and groups of colonists from Rhode Island, Massachusetts Bay, New York, the Chesapeake colonies, and the West Indies—Barbados, Antigua, and Jamaica. These colonists, most of them Quakers, provided Pennsylvania and West New Jersey with a select personnel possessed of wide colonial experience, considerable wealth, useful intercolonial connections, and political insight that enabled them to figure prominently in the creating of the bourgeois aristocracy noted by travelers, such as Dr. Benjamin Bullivant, in the nineties.[35]

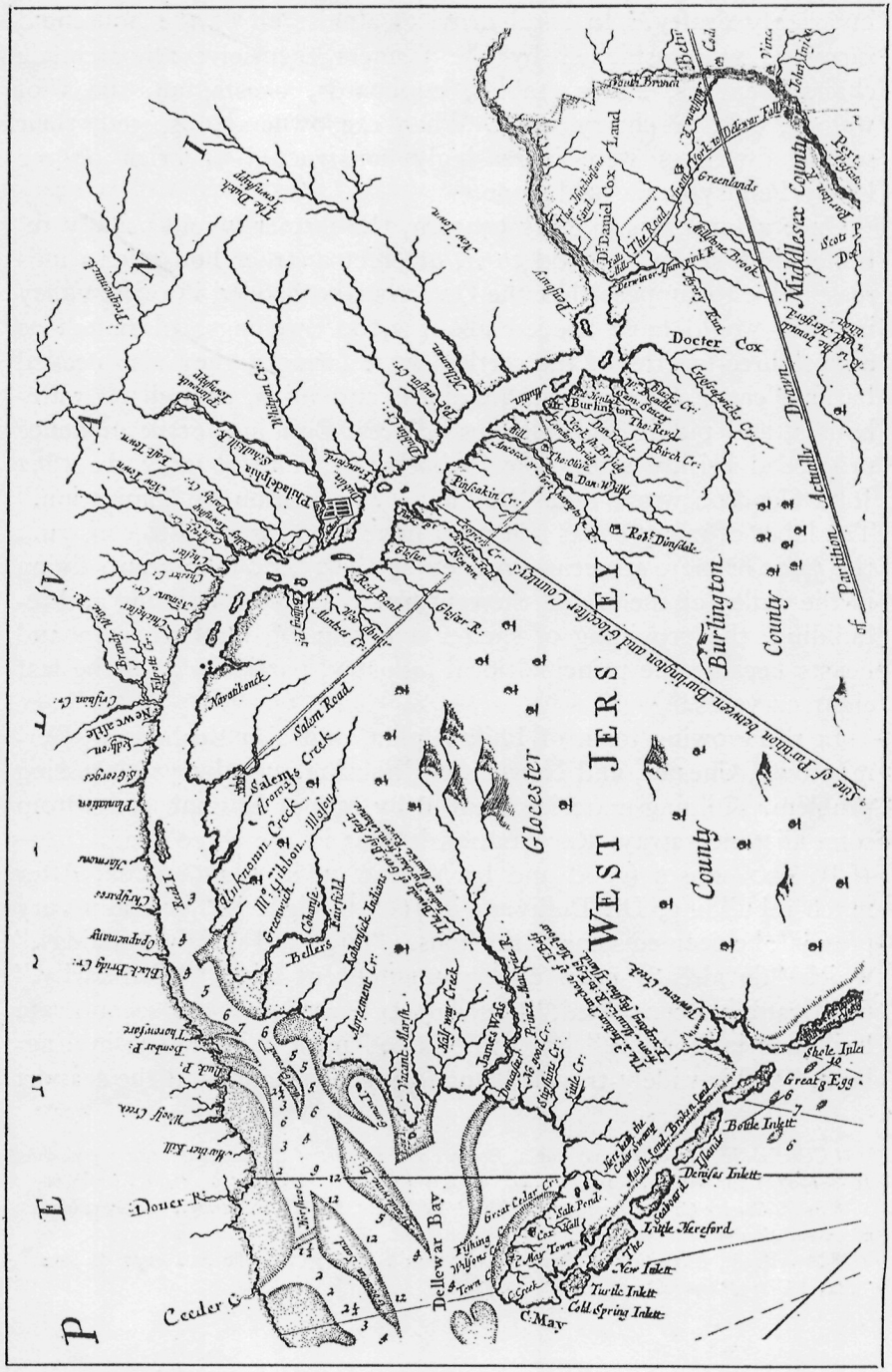
Land in small or large parcels was sought by the newcomers, who soon located themselves up and down the Delaware, Schuylkill, Appoquinimink, Christina, Rancocas, and other streams of the six counties of Sussex, Kent, New Castle, Chester, Philadelphia, and Bucks, and in West New Jersey up to the falls. Farms appeared as much as fifteen to twenty miles inland from the west bank of the Delaware, to Plymouth Meeting for example. On the excellent map made by John Worlidge and published at London in 1700 by John Thornton, this expansion, except for the plantations of the Elk River-New Castle region, is clearly indicated[36] (Map II).

The first act of a new inhabitant, after purchasing or acquiring a tract of woodland or a lot in town, was to erect some kind of temporary shelter. Following that he and his family usually spent many long hours clearing the land, putting up fences, and then planting corn and wheat.

Except in the vicinity of New Castle and on farms in Cecil County, Maryland, few of the Swedish-Finnish log houses were erected, although time had proved they were the easiest to build and the tightest pioneer shelters. An exception was Jeremy Collett of Chester County who did have "a logg house" in 1686. It is a truism that colonists are always conservative, and the recently arrived Quakers were no exception; furthermore few of them were skilled in the use of an ax. The "clabbord" framed houses they built were

35 *PMHB*, IV (1880), 196; Myers, ed., *Narratives of Pennsylvania*, 332; Wayne Andrews, ed., "The Travel Diary of Dr. Benjamin Bullivant," *The New-York Historical Society Quarterly*, XL (1956), 55–73.

36 Myers, ed., *Narratives of Pennsylvania*, 320–321, 332–333. There is a copy of John Worlidge's rare map in the Library of Congress.



MAP II. The Delaware Valley Settlements about 1700, as shown on *A NEW MAP OF EAST AND WEST NEW JARSEY BEING AN EXACT SURVEY BY MR. JOHN WORLIDGE.* Reproduced in part from John E. Pomfret, *The Province of East New Jersey, 1609–1702* (Princeton, 1962).

invariably drafty.[37] In rural districts almost all of the household furniture was fashioned by the farmers themselves: homemade chairs, benches, stools, tables, cupboards, chests, and beds of walnut, oak, or cherry wood. When the owners prospered, their second dwellings were increasingly constructed of brick or the lovely Pennsylvania field stone.

Once a farm was a going concern, the farmer would usually rebuild his first shelter, add to it, or erect another house, and it is reasonable to suppose that the Quakers who flooded into the valley in 1682 would have needed about 3,000 dwellings. Inasmuch as about three-fourths of the settlers were farmers, they also needed barns, "cattle houses," outbuildings, and mills, as well as warehouses, and public and religious edifices. Building for permanence proceeded briskly after 1685 in both town and country. In 1690 John Goodson wrote that "Building . . . goeth on to Admiration." The labor of many craftsmen must have been essential to construct the 5,000 or more structures needed by the 25,000 inhabitants living in the valley at the end of the century. What with building and rebuilding, the providing of shelter and housing for both men and beasts became the principal local industry, particularly in the last eighteen years.[38]

In the growing town of Philadelphia, and also Burlington, Germantown, Chester, and New Castle, housing was always a pressing problem. Building materials arrived by cart or in small boats from some distance away. Reports had it that in the three years 1682–1685, 600 houses (good and bad) went up in Philadelphia. After much rebuilding, Dr. Bullivant in 1697 thought it "generally very pretty"; he deemed some of the houses "large and stately dwellings," which "do already shew a very magnificent City." "Ordinarily," the Bostonian concluded, "their houses exceede not our second rate buildings in London," but did "exceed most shire towns in England."[39] This widely-traveled Anglican gentleman rated the seaport

[37] Colonial Society of Pennsylvania, *Records of the Court of Chester County, Pennsylvania, 1681–1697* (Philadelphia, 1910), 78.

[38] *Bucks County Court Records*, 88; *PMHB*, IV (1880), 20; XXIX (1905), 102, 103; Myers, ed., *Narratives of Pennsylvania*, 267, 271; Sachse, ed., *Germantown Letters*, 26, 32.

[39] Myers, ed., *Narratives of Pennsylvania*, 269; *PMHB*, IV (1880), 194–195; Bullivant, "Travel Diary," 69–70.

on a par with New York, Newport, and Boston only fifteen years after its founding.

A lucrative lumber industry developed out of the demands from all sides for building materials—heavy timbers for framing, boards of many sizes, clapboards, and shingles, plus pipestaves, barrel heads, and hoops for coopering and export, ship's timbers, and thousands of cords of firewood for Philadelphia and the smaller towns as well as for consumption on the farms. Lumbering was, in itself, one aspect of clearing the land for farms. The preparing of many square miles of thinly-forested land (as compared with the dense stands of timber in the Chesapeake colonies and New England) brought about a rapid and frequently wasteful destruction of the woodlands in the valley, an immense ecological loss unnoticed at the time.[40] Construction also stimulated the rise of allied industries, such as brickmaking, stone quarrying, and lime burning, all of which required increasing numbers of carts and the building of roads.

Although the economic history of the Delaware Valley is yet to be written, several of its determining features during this period may be sketched briefly. It should be emphasized that the extension of areas under cultivation took place continuously, year by year, with the result that some farms were well developed and producing at the same time that others were only recently cleared and not yet yielding a subsistence for the farmer and his family. Agricultural development was progressive: first came the time of investment of capital and living on purchased provisions; next the state of subsistence farming; and ultimately the annual production of a surplus of grain, tobacco, and livestock for sale in the local markets, or for export to distant places. In these successive stages, the population of the entire Delaware Valley participated in a rough regional division of activities.

After a residence of eight years in Pennsylvania, William Rodeney declared in 1690 that "Husbandry is generally followed there, and is highly commended by our Neighbouring Provinces, Virginia and Maryland, for surpassing them." Besides the crops of corn and wheat grown for export, oats, barley, and rye produced fodder for

[40] Thomas Budd, *Good Order Established in Pennsylvania & New Jersey* . . . (Philadelphia, 1685), 8; Sachse, ed., *Germantown Letters*, 32.

horses and the principal ingredients for "the strongest beere in America," which was so much relished in Barbados and Jamaica. "The Country-men," Richard Morris stated at this time, "finding the Profit now coming in, do clear away the Woods, Plow and Improve their Lands," and raised not only grain but also hemp and flax for rural weavers of cloth; they also fed "great stocks" of oxen, cows, hogs, and "some Sheep" for their flesh and hides. Meat was cheap in local markets, and many beasts were butchered, salted-down, and the meat shipped in barrels to the West Indies. Rural millers also sold quantities of flour to Philadelphia bakers who made bread and "bisket" for Caribbean slaves and ships' crews. "The Improvement in the Country of all Manner of Husbandry" stimulated commercial agriculture and the flourishing of coastal and overseas shipping, which, in turn, enriched many artisans and craftsmen and the merchants of the city of Philadelphia.[41]

As people moved inland away from navigable streams and farms appeared throughout the valley, internal improvements (as a later age labeled them) were promptly made. To enable the farmers to carry their produce and drive stock to Burlington, Philadelphia, or New Castle, or to the mills and wharves nearby, cart roads fanned out from such centers, and "Overseers of the Highways," set up by the county courts, or the justices acting themselves, became responsible for their upkeep and improvement. "London Bridge" and "the Yorkshire Bridge" at Burlington were a part of this program, as was the structure spanning Crum or Poquessing creek for the "King's Road," which ultimately ran up the west bank from New Castle to the falls of the Delaware. For the same reasons, that "traveling for men and beast may be more Easie, safe, and certain," ferries were instituted to eliminate the difficulties of crossing such wide streams as the Christina, Rancocas, and Neshaminy, as well as the Delaware and Schuylkill rivers.[42]

[41] *PMHB*, IV (1880), 194, 197–198, 200–201; Bullivant, "Travel Diary," 67, 70; *Calendar of State Papers Colonial, America and West Indies, 1696–1697* (London, 1904), 617.

[42] *Burlington Court Book*, 11, 19, 27; "Record of the Upland Court . . .," Historical Society of Pennsylvania, *Memoirs*, VII (1860), 184, 194; *Chester County Court Records*, 14, 33, 69, 77; George, ed., *Charter to William Penn*, 136–137, 139, 140; *PMHB*, XXIII (1899), 403, 404; *Bucks County Court Records*, 10, 32, 43, 109–110; *Minutes of the Provincial Council of Pennsylvania* (Philadelphia, 1852), I, 157.

Communications by water were improved as small wharves were built at suitable landing places up the many creeks where sloops and wood boats, and a variety of other small craft could take in cargoes of country produce and firewood destined for Philadelphia. To accommodate the rivermen engaged in this essential activity, boat and shipbuilding yards turned out a mounting number of wherries, shallops, sloops, and large ships fabricated chiefly from oak and other trees growing nearby. By 1686 established Delaware Valley farmers were exporting the produce from their fields, pastures, and orchards to the West Indies, New England, New York, and the Chesapeake colonies. As David Lloyd announced that very year, the region had become "the Grainary of America."[43]

The cart roads, bridges, ferries, and river craft together served to unify the society of the valley and, further, to speed communications up and down from West New Jersey to Maryland. Weekly, by 1695, a post rider traveled along a route extending from Portsmouth, New Hampshire, which passed through Burlington and Philadelphia, to New Castle. From Burlington, Dr. Bullivant set out for New York with the post rider and two Manhattan gentlemen in July, 1697. He had just arrived from New Castle where he had been much impressed with the technological ingenuity of the settlers along the Appoquinimink Creek, "by which you may come to a neck of Land 12 myles over, Crosse which are drawn goods to and from Mary Land and Sloopes, also of 30 tunns, are carryed over land in this place on certain sleds drawn by Oxen, and launched again into the water on the other Side."[44]

Economic activities in the Delaware Valley were paying off in these last years of the century. In pounds sterling the total investment must have been large, for houses of brick and stone were not uncommon; nor should the capital invested in many warehouses, artisans' shops, wharves, bridges, and miscellaneous structures be overlooked. Buying and selling land for speculation forced values

43 Budd, *Good Order Established*, 9–10; Myers, ed., *Narratives of Pennsylvania*, 253, 290–291; *PMHB*, IV (1880), 198–199.

44 Carl Bridenbaugh, *Cities in the Wilderness: The First Century of Urban Life in America, 1625–1742* (New York, 1938, 1966), 53; Bullivant, "Travel Diary," 68, 71; *Archives of Maryland*, XXIII (1903), 87; XXV (1905), 386.

upward, and income from rents was substantial. Today it is impossible to make precise calculations, but the creation of wealth between 1682 and 1700 in improved farm land, rural buildings, urban houses, commercial and maritime facilities, together with income property, represented a profoundly important achievement. Circulating money, it is true, was scarce, but so it was in other colonies; this was a time of barter and book transactions. Provincial politics may have been confused and disorderly, but the soundness of the new society of the Delaware Valley was a triumph.

This society was financed not alone by the capital of Quakers in England and a small group of rich merchants but also by smaller sums invested by thousands of artisans and the great body of farmers along with their own and their families' labor. The total amount of money poured into "the Holy Experiment" over two decades must have exceeded the more than £400,000 that the English Puritans were estimated to have invested in the Massachusetts Bay colony, 1629–1642.[45]

The remarkable religious and humanitarian accomplishments of the Quakers are well known, but their important secular, or worldly, achievement goes unheralded, even by nearly all of their own historians. The first of twenty-four ways by which the Friends supported activities of many kinds, listed by the apostate George Keith in 1702, was "their Established Weekly, Monthly, Quarterly, and yearly Meetings." There was also a variety of specially designated meetings: men's, women's, even children's; meetings for sufferings, meetings for the care of the poor, meetings for trade, and in 1700 a meeting "more particularly for the Negroes once a week" in Philadelphia. Some of these assemblages lasted several days or a week, at which time local Quakers offered "great hospitality to all friends and others." Through their quarterly and yearly meetings in particular, Friends succeeded in "keeping their Trade within themselves and maintaining a strict Correspondence and Intelligence over all parts where they are." Keith's twenty-second listing was that "By the People's great liberality to all their itinerant Preachers, putting many poor Mechanics, Servants, and Women that have no way of living . . . into such Ways of Trade and business, whereby to

45 Carl Bridenbaugh, *Vexed and Troubled Englishmen, 1590–1642* (New York, 1968), 472.

live plentifully, by which many of them combined farming with the exercise of their chosen mysteries."[46]

In planning and devising the superb organization of the Society of Friends for religious purposes, George Fox opened an intercolonial means of travel and communication that was promptly put to secular use. As George Keith observed, trade, as well as religious matters, was a part of the discussions in Friends' meetings; the Quakers were merely improving upon the late medieval custom of confining trade within the groups that were most trustworthy, such as the family, fellow countrymen, or merchants of a given region. The contribution made by this genius was the application of familiar organizing principles to the entire membership of his faith and the extension of its operation to a vast geographical area.

The New England Yearly Meeting, the first of its kind anywhere, had been convening at Newport, Rhode Island, for many years and was the model for the yearly meeting begun at Burlington in 1678, and which, after 1684, met alternately at Philadelphia and Burlington, This annual gathering, "essentially rural in its characteristics," embraced the Quakers of the whole Delaware Valley, Maryland, and parts of Virginia. By the end of the period, it included fifteen regular weekly meetings in West New Jersey and more than twenty-one in Pennsylvania, six of them in Philadelphia. "We have great and large Meetings in this Town and Province," John Goodson advised Friends in England in 1690. Both in scheduled sessions and perhaps even more informally, the Quakers who attended the various meetings discussed trading conditions, standards for goods and transactions, the care of the poor, exchanged shipping news, and worked out plans for the economic advantage of all Friends. Anglicans in the Chesapeake colonies, Congregationalists in New England, and Jews everywhere acted in much the same way, only their organization could not compare with that bequeathed by George Fox to the Friends.[47]

No mercantile community anywhere could boast of as many individuals who possessed an equal familiarity with geography,

[46] George Keith in Protestant Episcopal Historical Society, *Collections*, I, xix–xx; and for the precedent set by the New England Yearly Meeting, see Carl Bridenbaugh, *Fat Mutton and Liberty of Conscience: Society in Rhode Island, 1636–1690* (Providence, R. I., 1974), 70–73.

[47] Jones, *Quakers*, 438, 441, 522.

topography, and maritime conditions, or who had gained experience all over the colonies, as had the Society of Friends. In 1672 it was the founder and his companions who first traced what might be called the *Quaker Overland Route* from Maryland to Rhode Island. In his tract of 1685 praising the *Good Order Established in Pennsylvania and New Jersey*, Thomas Budd pointed out that until local sheep could be bred and raised, all of the wool needed for household weaving might be imported from the Friends in Rhode Island and Providence Plantations.[48] Family connections and personal acquaintances throughout the colonies, in the Caribbean, in the British Isles, and even in some European countries were kept alive by oral reports and regular correspondence. By means of the discipline and assistance dispensed in the meetings, the energy, ambition, and worldly interests of the members were harnessed and directed along approved avenues to prosperity for Friends everywhere. Quaker merchants did not hesitate, however, to do business openly with honest men of other faiths—Anglicans, Lutherans, and Dutch Calvinists—who lived and labored in the valley. Toleration and trade went hand-in-hand.

The new, burgeoning, and flourishing English society presided over by the Society of Friends had, by 1700, displaced "the Original People" in the valley of the Delaware. The Englishing of this rich region was, from the economic and social point of view, as profound an influence in American colonial history as Puritanism had been a half century earlier, involving, as it eventually would, more people and a greater extent of territory. It determined that the English language, common law, commerce, crafts, industry, culture, and political organization would prevail permanently over the ancient Indian or other European influences.

Providence, R. I. CARL BRIDENBAUGH

[48] Budd, *Good Order Established*, 11–12.