Dutch and Swedish Exploration and Settlement

THE NATIONAL SURVEY OF HISTORIC SITES AND BUILDINGS

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR
NATIONAL PARK SERVICE
The National Survey of Historic Sites and Buildings

Theme VII

Dutch and Swedish
Exploration and Settlement

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Stewart L. Udall, Secretary

National Park Service
Conrad L. Wirth, Director
FOREWORD

This study represents the work of the National Park Service field staff assigned to the National Survey of Historic Sites and Buildings. In the process of evaluating the sites treated in the several themes, the Consulting Committee for the Survey and the Advisory Board on National Parks, Historic Sites, Buildings, and Monuments have screened the findings of the field staff. Some sites recommended by the field staff for classification of exceptional value have been eliminated, and in a few cases sites and buildings have been added to the exceptionally valuable list.

The sites and buildings associated with this study, "Dutch and Swedish Exploration and Settlement," recommended for classification of exceptional value by the Advisory Board are as follows:

1. Fort Christina, Delaware
2. Holy Trinity (Old Swedes) Church, Delaware
3. The Printzhof (Capital of New Sweden), Pennsylvania
4. Van Cortlandt Manor, New York
5. Philipse Manor, New York
6. Philipsburg Manor, New York
7. Dutch Reformed (Sleepy Hollow) Church, New York
8. Hurley (Historic District), New York
9. Fort Crailo, New York
10. Voorlezer's House, New York

The Swedish Cabin (Morton Homestead), Pennsylvania, was eliminated from the list of exceptionally valuable sites.

Action was deferred on the Van Alen House, New York, pending further consideration in another theme.
The following sites were recommended for further study in this theme:

1. Staats-Von Steuben House, New Jersey
2. Zabriskie-Von Steuben House, New Jersey
3. Pieter Bronck House, New York
4. Log Cabin, Pennsylvania
5. Abraham Yates House, New York
6. Hendrick Kip House, New York
7. Schenck-Crooke House, New York
8. Verplanck-Van Wyck House, New York
9. Wyckoff Homestead, New York

When the studies are published for wider distribution, they will reflect these changes.

Conrad L. Wirth
Director
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PREFACE

The National Survey of Historic Sites and Buildings is a resumption of the Historic Sites Survey begun in 1937, under the authority of the Historic Sites Act of 1935. During World War II, and the emergency following, it was necessary to suspend these studies. The Survey has now been resumed as part of the National Park Service MISSION 66 Program.

The purpose of the Survey, as outlined in the Historic Sites Act, is to "make a survey of historic and archeologic sites, buildings, and objects for the purpose of determining which possess exceptional value as commemorating or illustrating the history of the United States." In carrying out this basic directive, each site and building considered in the Survey is evaluated in terms of the Criteria for Classification, which are listed in the appendix of this report.

When completed, the Survey will make recommendations to the Director of the National Park Service and the Secretary of the Interior as to the sites of "exceptional value." This will assist the National Park Service in preparing the National Recreation Plan, including sites which may be administered by the National Park Service to fill in gaps in the historical and archeological representation within the National Park System. It will also recommend and encourage programs of historical and archeological preservation being carried out by state and local agencies.

Each theme study prepared in the course of the Survey will
consist of two parts: a brief summary of the theme itself, and a discussion of the sites and buildings which were considered in connection with the study. The historians who prepared this report made personal visits to the more important sites in 1960-61.

This study was prepared by Charles E. Shedd, Jr., Historic Sites Historian, National Park Service, Region Five, Philadelphia, Pa., in consultation with the Branch of History in the Washington Office of the National Park Service. Material on a number of sites is based on the survey of the Dutch and Swedes in America, made in 1940 by Rogers W. Young, Staff Historian in the Branch of History, Washington Office, National Park Service. For those sites surveyed by Mr. Young, it was necessary only to bring the information up-to-date, thanks to the high quality of his original study.

After completion, the study was presented to the Consulting Committee for the National Survey of Historic Sites and Buildings. The Committee consists of Dr. Waldo G. Leland, Director of the American Council of Learned Societies; Dr. S. K. Stevens, Executive Director of the Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission; Dr. Louis B. Wright, Folger-Shakespearean Library; Mr. Earl H. Reed, American Institute of Architects; Dr. Richard H. Howland, Head Curator, Civil History, Smithsonian Institution; Mr. Eric Gugler, American Scenic and Historical Preservation Society; Dr. J. O. Brew, Committee for the Recovery of Archeological Remains; Mr. Frederick Johnson, Robert S. Peabody Foundation for American Archeology; and Mr. Robert Garvey, Jr., Executive Director of the National Trust for Historic Preservation.
The over-all Survey, as well as the theme study which follows, is under the general direction of John O. Littleton, Chief, National Survey of Historic Sites and Buildings, who works under the general supervision of Herbert E. Kahler, Chief Historian, Branch of History, and Daniel B. Beard, Chief, Division of Interpretation, of the National Park Service.

Conrad L. Wirth
Director
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The work of the National Survey profits from the experience and knowledge of a considerable number of persons and organizations. Every effort is made to solicit the considered opinions of as many qualified persons as possible in reaching final selection of the most significant sites. Assistance from the following persons in the preparation of this report is gratefully acknowledged:

Miss Anna K. Cunningham, Supervisor of Historic Sites, University of the State of New York, State Education Department, Albany, New York; Mr. Leon deValinger, Jr., State Archivist, Hall of Records, Dover, Delaware; Mr. Peter Geldof, Jr., Superintendent of State Parks, Wilmington, Delaware; Mr. David S. Hugg, Information Officer, Delaware State Development Department, Dover, Delaware; Mr. Donald H. Kent, Chief, Research and Publications Division, Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, Harrisburg, Pennsylvania; Mr. Richard S. Rodney, President, New Castle Historical Society, New Castle, Delaware; Mr. Stephen S. Waligurski, Town Historian, Hurley, New York.
DUTCH AND SWEDISH
EXPLORATION AND SETTLEMENT

Introduction

Compared with other Europeans who explored and settled North America in the 17th Century, the role of the Dutch and the Swedes appears, at first glance, to have been a minor one. Few in numbers, and sovereign over their territorial claims for a comparatively short time, the Dutch and Swedes were overwhelmed by their English neighbors in New England and Maryland long before the 17th century had run its course. Dutch and Swedish explorers did not penetrate the continental interior on a scale to match the Spanish or French, preferring to remain near the seaboard which was the commercial link with Europe. Yet, in their brief dominion over the Middle Atlantic region from the Delaware to the Hudson, the Dutch planted communities and institutions able for generations to withstand assimilation by the far more populous English settlements which crowded in upon them.

The Swedes, pitifully few in number and scattered along the lower Delaware, left less of a cultural legacy. The log cabin, traditionally and wrongly associated with the English settlers of New England and Virginia, was perhaps their most singular and lasting contribution to the American scene. Yet the Swedes, like the more numerous Dutch who conquered them, opened to permanent white settlement a stretch of coastal wilderness heretofore the domain of the Indian who hunted and fished along the lower Delaware.
It frequently has been noted that New Netherland is one of the most interesting of the pioneer European settlements in North America. This because it was cosmopolitan to a degree unmatched in the other colonies. Although the bulk of the population was Dutch, there came to New Netherland traders, settlers, seamen, and soldiers from virtually every nation of Western Europe. This polyglot immigration created in New Netherland, and particularly its capital on Manhattan Island, a cultural pluralism that has ever since characterized the metropolis at the mouth of the Hudson.

The settlement of New Sweden assumed to some extent the melting pot aspect of New Netherland. In the brief period of its sovereign existence, not only Swedes, but Dutch, Finns, Englishmen, African Negroes, and mercenary soldiers from a dozen countries brought their language and customs to the lower Delaware.

While it can be said that the Dutch and Swedes failed in North America because there never were enough of them to hold their claims, the fundamental reasons for the fall of New Netherland and New Sweden stem from the national backgrounds and character of the settlers. The Dutch, on intimate terms with the sea, were as hardy a race of mariners as the world has known. And hand in hand with mastery of the oceans went commerce -- the lifeblood of Holland's prosperity. The rulers and merchants of the Netherlands were vitally interested in colonies as commercial outposts. They were concerned only incidentally with the planting and long-term development of overseas homes for Dutchmen who would cultivate the
soil and create in the New World a frontier of the Old. The individual Hollander was generally comfortable, and remarkably free from the despotism that drove other Europeans from their homes. He had little incentive to exchange life in a prosperous Dutch community for the dubious honor of planting a colony in the wilderness for the profit of a lordly trading company.

By the same token, the highly nationalistic Swedes had little to gain in giving up a native soil, lightly populated and rich in undeveloped resources, to risk the perils of America. Like the Dutch, they enjoyed a high degree of personal liberty, free of the religious persecution and political tyranny that hung like a pall over most of Western Europe. In short neither the Dutch nor the Swedes suffered those grim pressures of religious harassment, political abuse, domestic overcrowding, and poverty which drove the great mass of Englishmen westward across the Atlantic, determined to win and hold a permanent home in the New World. Finally, because the stake of Holland and Sweden in America was so small and unprofitable, New Netherland and New Sweden were abandoned to their fate as expendable pawns in the power politics of 17th century Europe.

The account which follows summarizes the short history of New Netherland and New Sweden, and notes briefly the persistence of their institutions long after the colonies had disappeared as political entities. Unfortunately, much of the color and detail that put flesh on the bare bones of a chronological narrative can only be touched on in the pages allotted to the historical summary.
When told in detail, the story has its share of hardship and suffering, but for the modern reader the affairs of the Dutch and Swedish colonies, particularly their rivalry, have a ring of tragi-comedy. In the drama are pompous officials trading insults and invective; sly traders cheating the Indians, the settlers, and one another; wily redmen selling the same land to successive purchasers, with each sale solemnly recorded in an impressive deed; smugglers and moonshiners conducting their enterprises in woodland hideaways; wars that were fought, forts that were taken, and "armies" that capitulated with never a shot fired, unless a musket accidentally discharged. These, of course, were serious matters to the Dutch and Swedish settlers, but in the perspective of three centuries they relieve the grim recital of failure, famine, massacre, and treachery.

There are romantic figures in the story--thanks in great measure to Washington Irving's warm, witty, and satiric "history" of the Dutch. But for every Minuit, Stuyvesant, or Printz, there were a thousand unknowns; colonists, traders, seamen, and soldiers. For many of these the only reward was death, sudden and ugly at the hands of the Indians, or lingering and squalid from disease bred in wretched immigrant ships and in rude settlements on the fringe of the wilderness.

Although they failed to win permanent dominion in the New World, the Dutch and the Swedes left their stamp on the land; shaping its character and enriching its heritage out of all proportions to their numbers.
At the dawn of the 17th Century a race was on between the maritime powers of Europe for a share in the plunder of the New World. Not the least of the rivals was Holland, vital and aggressive despite the strain of the Republic's long, cruel struggle for independence from Spain. Indeed, Dutch harassment on the high seas was proving a serious threat to Spain's hold on her rich overseas empire.

In the early years of the century, Dutch sails appeared in Canadian waters seeking a share in the burgeoning fur trade with the northern Indians. The most memorable of the pioneer voyages under Dutch auspices, however, came to the New World seeking not furs but an older lure, the will-of-the-wisp Northwest Passage to the Orient. Henry Hudson, an Englishman in the employ of the Dutch East India Company, had failed to find the passage in northern European waters. Now, in 1609, he pointed the prow of the speedy little Half-Moon toward America. After a stormy passage of the North Atlantic the Half-Moon raised the shores of Newfoundland. Hudson steered southward, pausing in the vicinity of Penobscot Bay long enough to loot an Indian village. The Half-Moon coasted down as far as Virginia, then veered north again. Beating back up the coast, Hudson sailed into Delaware Bay. Here he remained only briefly, unwilling to risk the Bay's tricky shoals and bars. A few days later, in early September, the Half-Moon entered the mouth of the "Great North River." Here, at last, might be the passage to the East.
For more than a week the **Half-Moon** bore her crew of less than two dozen men northward, until, at the site of modern Albany, near where the Mohawk flows in from the west, shallow water blocked further progress. The Great North River afforded a spectacular entry into the North American mainland, but it was not a passage to India and Cathay. Still, the interior had been penetrated and contact made with its inhabitants. The upriver Indians proved to be friendly, but those below, nearer the river's mouth, already knew enough of the white man to regard him as a dangerous intruder. This hostility would be a sore burden to the Dutchmen for whom Hudson had won a claim on the Great North River.

Ironically, Hudson's greatest achievement was considered by the navigator and the company which employed him as only an incident in the search for the Northwest Passage. Even after Hudson had been forced to relinquish his employment by the Dutch, he clung to the dream of the passage to the Orient. He gave his life in pursuit of that dream when, in the summer of 1611, he was set adrift by a mutinous crew in Hudson's Bay, and was seen no more. Hudson was not the first European to find the river which bears his name, but he was the first to give it a place in recorded history.

If the East India Company was not excited by Hudson's report of the North River, other Dutch merchants were. Within a year after Hudson's voyage up the North River to the mouth of the Mohawk, Dutch fur traders were plying the river and exploring the adjacent waters.
In 1613, one Adriaen Block explored the islands at the mouth of the North River. After sailing eastward along the coast, he ascended a river he called the "Fresh Water", but which the English were later to call by its Indian name, "Connetticock." Block reached a point above the present Hartford, dropped back into Long Island Sound, and sailed as far north as Massachusetts Bay. Block's coastal exploration is recalled by the island which bears the Dutchman's name.

Naturally enough, the fur trade centered at the head of navigation on the North River, at its confluence with the Mohawk. A post at the junction of the two rivers would control the heart of a region rich in furs, inhabited by the virile and aggressive Iroquois, a people anxious to trade for the white man's guns and hatchets. In 1614 Fort Nassau was planted on Castle Island, below the site of Albany. When this trading post was ruined by a flood in 1617, Fort Orange was built on the west side of the Hudson, near modern Albany. "Fort" is a misleading term for the little settlements on the upper Hudson. In reality, they were nothing more than crude fur outposts, occupied for the most part by a transient population. While Fort Orange controlled the head of navigation on the North River, another post was growing up at the river's mouth, on an island named by the Dutch for its Indian inhabitants, "Manhattan."
THE WEST INDIA COMPANY

Ten years after Hudson's voyage up the North River, Dutch occupation of the region bounded by the Delaware and the Hudson was so light that passing vessels might never see a sign of white men. Holland's interest was at first purely commercial. Dutch traders came as transients hoping to strike it rich, not as colonists determined to make a permanent home in the new land. Although few in numbers, the Dutch early proved a threat to the French who were making the strongest bid for the northern fur trade. As early as 1615 Champlain found that the Dutch had already appeared in the upper Susquehanna Valley seeking to direct Iroquois furs to the Hudson. Although the Dutch and French never clashed in open warfare, it was arms supplied by the Dutch to the Iroquois that enabled the five nations to bring New France to the brink of destruction later in the century.

In 1621, after a series of failures, a group of Holland merchants won from the States General a charter to form the United Company of the United Netherlands, or, more familiarly, the Dutch West India Company. Field of operation for the new company included America and the west coast of Africa, below the Tropic of Cancer. Primary objective of the Company was to harry the overseas colonies and commerce of Spain, although the development of Dutch commerce through the planting of foreign colonies was also encouraged.

Leadership of the Company was vested in the Lords Directors, representing branches or chambers in five Dutch cities. The extensive powers granted to the Company in the areas to be colonized
made it virtually a sovereign state. To the Company's Amsterdam chamber was assigned the monopoly on commerce and colonization in the settlements to be erected in the territory claimed by the Dutch in North America. Headquarters would be on Manhattan Island, where a trading post already stood.

In 1624, the Company despatched its pioneer colonizing expedition, mostly Walloons, to the North River. Adriaen Tienpont took several families up the river to establish the first permanent colony at Fort Orange. Another expedition, under command of Cornelius May, sailed down to the South River (the Delaware) and planted a small colony at the mouth of Big Timber Creek. This outpost they named Fort Nassau. The site is on the southern edge of today's Gloucester, New Jersey.

Fort Orange on the north and Fort Nassau on the south now marked the limits of the Company's field of operations. Widely scattered in the beginning, the first colonists were shortly to be recalled and consolidated in the vicinity of the headquarters at Fort Amsterdam, on Manhattan Island. To this headquarters in May 1626 came one Peter Minuit, making his second voyage to Manhattan. A few months later, upon the ouster of the colony's provisional director, Minuit became the governor of New Netherland, as the Dutch now called their claim in the New World. In many ways Minuit was the best of the several directors of New Netherland, but he is chiefly remembered for a real estate deal. Minuit it was who traded the traditional $24 worth of trinkets to the Indians in exchange for Manhattan Island.
THE PATROONS

Their High Mightinesses of the West India Company realized that it would be no easy task to uproot their contented countrymen and transplant them in the American wilderness. Obviously, they would have to make an attractive offer to the members of the Company who had the means and the spirit to undertake overseas colonization. In its "Charter of Privileges and Exemptions" of 1629, the Company promised, to any member who would establish a colony of at least 50 persons, 16 miles of land on one side of a navigable river, or eight miles on both sides, extending as far from the river as the claimant could manage. On this land the Patron, or Patroon as the Dutch called him, would reign supreme. He would exercise the rights of a feudal lord, a law unto himself, with a monopoly on fishing, hunting and milling. His colonists would be bound to him by contract for an agreed number of years. Ten of these would be free from taxation, but the tenants would pay rent to the patroon, and could trade with him only.

The Patron charter had the desired effect, and agents in America quickly snapped up the best lands for the Company's directors who had no intention of braving the rigors of the New World in person. Within a few months great tracts on the Hudson, the Delaware, and the Connecticut had been claimed for patroonships. But, from the beginning, the Patron system was a disappointment. The West India Company, which kept Manhattan Island for itself, never gave whole-hearted support to its American colony. Absentee owners
could not oversee affairs from Holland, and many of the settlers and those who ruled them were ill-equipped by temperament or experience to tame the wilderness. To these obstacles was added the increasing hostility of the Indians who made life ever precarious for thinly-held outlying settlements.

When New Netherland fell to the English only two of the patroonships still existed; the rest had reverted to the Company. Of all the Dutch names that appeared on the land with the coming of the Patroons, none is remembered more than that of Kiliaen van Rensselaer. For the estate which he never saw, Kiliaen wisely chose an extensive tract along the Hudson above and below the Company's strategically-placed outpost at Fort Orange (Albany). Rensselaerswyck was the only patroonship to prosper, in spite of, or because of, the fact that Kiliaen van Rensselaer directed its affairs from Holland. In 1640, the patroonship system was modified. The grants were reduced in size, and the terms of settlement made less restrictive on the tenants. Even when revised the unwieldy system had too much against it to prosper, but despite its failure, it remained in effect in New York until 1775. Thereafter the patroons became proprietors of manors. The change in terminology meant little, for many of the feudal aspects of the system persisted into the 19th century.

FAILURE ON THE DELAWARE

The Delaware colony at Fort Nassau on the Delaware had been withdrawn in early summer of 1627 to strengthen the settlement
of New Amsterdam, on Manhattan Island. Now, with the granting of
the Charter of Privileges, a patroonship was established on the west
bank of the South River. In the spring of 1631, the Dutch returned
to the Delaware, settling on what is now Lewes Creek, at the present
village of Lewes. Thirty-three persons made up the colony which
was given the poetic name "Zwaanendael", meaning "Valley of the
Swans." The patroons of the Delaware hoped to profit from whaling
in the shallow coastal waters, but in this, as in so much else,
they were doomed to disappointment.

What the colony might have accomplished can never be known.
When a second expedition arrived late in the following year it found
Zwaanendael in ruins. The large house built to shelter the colonists was a heap of charred timbers, and the bleaching bones of men and animals lay strewn on the sandy soil. According to an Indian informant, a red chief had pulled down a tin coat-of-arms erected by the colonists. He wanted to make pipes of it. The whites had demanded punishment of the offender, and the ensuing friction, added to other provocations suffered or imagined by the Indians, led to disaster. In a surprise raid the Indians wiped out the Valley of the Swans, leaving but one survivor to tell the story in New Amsterdam. Thus ended in blood and ashes the first attempt by Europeans to colonize Delaware Bay. The expedition which made the grisly discovery at Zwaanendael did not attempt reprisals against the Indians, nor did it attempt to rebuild the settlement. Dutch traders continued to visit the region in quest of furs, but for the
next few years the permanent homes of white men would not be found on the South River.

THE GROWTH OF NEW NETHERLAND

In 1631, the Lords of the Company recalled Director-General Minuit from New Amsterdam, charging that he had the interests of the patroons too much at heart, at the Company's expense. A temporary successor held office for a year, until in 1633 there arrived a new Director-General, Wouter van Twiller -- Walter, the Doubter, as Washington Irving satirized him in the wonderful Knickerbocker history. Van Twiller, who enjoyed the not-inconsiderable advantage of having for uncle-in-law the great patroon Kiliaen van Rensselaer, was and is a controversial figure. He managed to make enemies of many of his important contemporaries in New Netherland, and historians generally have dealt harshly with him. That he used his office to his own advantage is certain, but there were few men in high places who did not do so. In the overall direction of the colony he probably did as well as could any official in his place. Van Twiller was faced with mounting pressure from the English on north and south; he was plagued by the three-cornered conflict of interest between the Company, the patroons and the ordinary settlers, and he was harassed by subordinate officers fully as avaricious as their chief. When his enemies finally succeeded in toppling him from office, the Doubter retired to Uncle Kiliaen's great estate upriver, succeeding to its management upon the old patroon's death.
Subsequent directors of New Netherland were no more successful in solving the colony's myriad problems. From his arrival in New Amsterdam in 1638, until 1647, the Director-General was the despotic William Kieft. His troubled administration was marked by the outbreak of the murderous Indian attacks against the settlers who were preempting the wilderness and making ever-more pressing demands for tribute from the red nations.

To coordinate their defense and extricate the colony from its mortal danger, the leaders of New Netherland assembled at the call of Director Kieft in August, 1642, and named a committee of 12 men to consult with and advise the governor. After considerable wrangling, the committee consented to a punitive expedition against the Indians. This turned into an indiscriminate slaughter of neighboring tribes, some of whom were, themselves, refugees from the fury of more warlike neighbors.

The Indians had welcomed contact with the transient fur traders who brought trinkets, kettles, hatchets, and guns. But with the influx of permanent settlers it was clear to the original inhabitants of the forest that they would soon be crowded out by the villages and farms of the white man. In the period between 1641 and 1645 savage raids and savage reprisals devasted the outlying white and red settlements of New Netherland. Most of the colonists were forced back to the town at the foot of Manhattan Island. In
1644, a wall was built across the island to protect the inhabitants of New Amsterdam. Along its site runs today's Wall Street.

The Twelve Men, as Kieft's advisory council was called, took the Indian troubles as an advantageous time to demand redress of the colony's grievances. From the governor they got little more than promise of reform, but at last, a petition for Kieft's recall was approved by the States-General. Not until 1647, however, would a successor arrive to replace the hated Kieft.

**ENTER PETER STUYVESANT**

With the arrival of Kieft's successor, affairs in New Netherland underwent a decided change. Whether for better or worse is still argued. In 1647 crusty, opinionated Peter Stuyvesant, late governor of the Dutch Caribbean Colony of Curacao, stumped ashore at New Amsterdam. Peter had lost a leg in the service of the West India Company, and, whatever his failings, had shown himself thoroughly loyal to its Directors. Following the loss of his limb, in an attack on Portugese St. Martin in 1644, Stuyvesant returned home to recuperate. His new wooden leg, on which he lavished much care, proved to be no handicap. Peter put his convalescence to good use, wooing and winning in marriage Judith Bayard. When he was named Director-General of New Netherland, Stuyvesant took his bride on a honeymoon voyage to New Amsterdam, arriving there in May, 1647.

What greeted the newlyweds was a village of perhaps a thousand souls, representing virtually every nation of Western
Europe. The appearance of the town was unmistakably Dutch, complete with canals, houses with stepped gables and tile roofs, and a windmill. Although, of necessity, most of the settlers in and around New Amsterdam were farmers, the prosperity of the colony depended on the fur trade. The traffic with the Indians ran like threads up the Hudson to Fort Orange, into the Mohawk region, southward to the Delaware, and eastward into Connecticut. The fist that held all of the threads was New Amsterdam. To the town came fur traders to meet the great cargo ships rolling at anchor below the battery of the fort on the tip of Manhattan Island. Lest the picture be too charming, it should be noted that the inhabitants of this little image of Holland were a sullen and demoralized lot, restless and resentful after years of misrule. Unhappily, the colonists' expectations of better times under Stuyvesant were quickly dashed.

When the Director-General announced on landing that "I shall be as a father over his children", the burghers of New Amsterdam might well have suspected the worst. As if to insure his alienation of the people, Stuyvesant, in one of his first official acts, quashed a demand for an investigation of ex-governor Kieft's administration, and summarily banished Kieft's accusers. The new Director's loyalty first, last, and always was to the Company, whatever the needs or desires of the settlers.
A few months after his arrival, Stuyvesant, desperately in need of money which could be raised only by taxes, tried to regain popular support by allowing the colony a measure of self-rule. From 18 representatives chosen by the colonists, a committee of nine was chosen, to confer with the Director and his council. The relaxation of Stuyvesant's grip was illusory, for the committee existed and acted only by his sufferance.

Restrictions on his "children" poured from Stuyvesant's headquarters. Regulated was not only their commerce, but their social conduct and spiritual estate as well. Regulation of the fur trade, imposition of custom duties, and restrictions on commerce with the Indians brought business in New Amsterdam to a standstill. New England, hurt by Stuyvesant's economic measures, retaliated by closing her Indian trade to Dutch vessels. Under "Hardkoppige Piet" (Hard-Headed Pete), as the disgruntled colonists referred to their governor, the straws were piling thick and fast on the galled and protesting back of the New Netherland camel.

In this brief summary, it is impossible to trace in its wearisome detail the long vendetta between Stuyvesant and the colonists of New Netherland. He was a stern and inflexible father, and his children were quarrelsome and rebellious, taking every opportunity to circumvent their leader in America and discredit him with the Company at home. No matter how unattractive
his personality, and how controversial his judgment and ability, all of the blame for the troubles of Dutch America cannot be laid at Stuyvesant's door. Goaded by the West India Company's single-minded insistence on quick profits from its colonial venture, and forced to control the settlers' desire to build prosperous lives free of irksome responsibility to the Company, the one-legged autocrat stayed on top of a job which would have broken a lesser man.

Peace between Holland and Spain had cut off the Spanish loot flowing into the West India Company's coffers and reduced the Company's ability to subsidize its struggling colonies, even had it the will to do so. To complicate matters further, the borders of New Netherland were coming under increasing pressure from the more populous English colonies to the north and south. Stuyvesant could withstand the internal pressures which weighed upon him, but these aggressive English were something else again. Negotiation was preferable to outright defiance which might mean the loss of everything and, in 1650, the Director-General entered into a discussion of the sensitive question of his colony's boundary with New England. This negotiation from a position of weakness had the usual result—surrender by the weaker party. In this case, Stuyvesant gave up his colony's long-standing claim to Connecticut.
The surrender of the Connecticut claims did not enhance Stuyvesant's prestige and authority in New Netherland. Under mounting pressure from his hostile lieutenants and subjects, and with the prodding of the Company back home, the dictator of Dutch America made a few grudging concessions. In April 1652 a step toward more liberal rule was taken when New Amsterdam was designated a municipality; the idea presumably being that the people would have a say in the selection of their officials. In practice, Stuyvesant kept the appointive power in his own hands. New Amsterdam, municipality or not, and all of New Netherland, remained firmly under the thumb of Hardheaded Pete.

SWEDISH INTERLUDE

While New Netherland was slowly spreading northward from Manhattan Island along the Hudson, and eastward to Long Island and the Connecticut, Dutch settlement on the Delaware had languished. It will be remembered that Fort Nassau on the Delaware had been established in 1624. This pioneer outpost was abandoned a few years later, its inhabitants returning to New Amsterdam. The grim face of the later Delaware settlement of Zwaanendael has already been described. After the destruction of Zwaanendael by the Indians the Dutch claim to the South River was evident only in the occasional passing of an itinerant fur trader.
Nevertheless, the South River and Bay were not forgotten in the trading houses of Europe, and where the Dutch had failed the Swedes were ready to try. A colonizing company had been formed as early as 1626 with the endorsement of Sweden's brilliant and energetic King Gustavus Adolphus. This hopeful beginning languished while the King led his magnificent army from one victory to another in the early stages of the blood bath known to history as the Thirty Years War. In 1632 Gustavus was killed in battle and five years passed before the New Sweden Company was organized to plant a colony in North America. The advisors to Sweden's youthful Queen Christina, daughter of the great Gustavus, supported the Company, and into its service came veterans of the first Dutch expeditions to the Hudson and the Delaware. First Director of the Swedish company was none other than Peter Minuit, but recently sacked as Director of New Netherland. Minuit, some say, was so provoked at the Dutch West Indian Company that he was more than eager to help the Swedes set up a rival colony. On a December day in 1637 Minuit and his party sailed from Gothenburg bound for the Minquas Kill, now the Christina River, at the site of present-day Wilmington. This pioneer expedition was ordered to get possession of the land and hold it for the settlers who would follow.
Holland's claim to the Delaware rested, with the sweeping
generalities of 17th century exploration, on Hudson's "discovery"
of the South Bay. Now the Swedes went forth with instructions to
get a stronger title to the region by buying it from the Indians.
In the latter part of March, having made a couple of stops en
route, the two ships of the expedition reached their assigned
destination on Minquas Creek. Peter Minuit, to whom real estate
transactions with the Indians were no novelty, quickly opened
negotiations with the natives for lands which extended from Bombay
Hook to the Schuylkill. The southern portion of this tract hap­
pened to overlap a portion of the land recently purchased by the
Dutch West India Company from the unsuccessful Delaware patroon.
Thus was planted the seed of future trouble. The purchase of New
Sweden was Minuit's last contribution to American colonization.
A few months later, while on a trading mission to the West Indies,
he was lost at sea.

Minuit was gone, but the colony he brought to the Dela­
ware survived. At the site of future Wilmington, Minuit had built
a fort and named it for Sweden's young Queen Christina. Within
a few years the settlement around Fort Christina had taken on a
look of permanence, thanks to the arrival of colonists able to
clear and cultivate the land. These settlers were perhaps even
more ill-assorted than was usual with such groups. The Swedes,
like the Hollanders, were reluctant to migrate and the Company
welcomed anyone on whom it could lay hands for shipment to America.
Among the colonists were convicts sent to do penance on the Delaware, deserters from the army, and others no more desirable. Included in the roster of early settlers were a considerable number of Dutchmen and Finns, many of these last being convicted "forest destroyers", peasants who cleared the land by burning its trees in a manner considered extremely careless by the Swedish government.

**THE DUTCH REACT**

Authorities in New Amsterdam and Holland were disturbed at the appearance of the Swedes on the lower Delaware. They lost no chance covertly to discomfort the newcomers, without getting into an open squabble with tough and aggressive Sweden. More blatant were the English who claimed the whole east coast from the Carolinas to Maine. In 1641, a party representing some restless settlers at New Haven came to the Delaware and bought from the Indians two extensive tracts on both sides of the river. One group from New Haven settled on the New Jersey side, on Salem Creek in Dutch territory. The other established itself on the Schuylkill, on land claimed by the Swedes. While getting title to the land from the Indians gave a certain air of respectability to white occupation, it had a serious drawback. The Indians, and not necessarily the same Indians, willingly sold the same land time and again to Swedes, Dutchmen, and Englishmen alike. Here was a running source of irritation between the rivals for the Delaware. However, in the case of the intrusion from New Haven, the Swedes did not debate the question of who had the best title.
to the land; they simply expelled the Englishmen from their outpost on the Schuylkill. The group on the Dutch side of the river was not molested, for the present, by either the Dutch or the Swedes.

"A MAN OF BRAVE SIZE"

Reports of the growing English threat to New Sweden had reached the home government, and reinforcements were authorized for the colony. In mid-February of 1643 there arrived from Sweden two ships crammed with food, supplies, livestock, settlers and soldiers. But the most significant and imposing addition to the colony's strength was not carried in a ship's hold. Rather it stood on deck in the gigantic figure of the new governor, Johan Printz. This mountain of a man, weighing 400 pounds according to one who knew him, was one of those remarkable individuals whose talents and energy deserved a more promising cause, and who, for want of the right biographer, is almost forgotten. At the hands of a Washington Irving, Printz might have equalled, if not surpassed, Peter Stuyvesant in the gallery of colonial portraits.

For the next ten years the career of Printz and the destiny of New Sweden were one and the same. As harsh as Stuyvesant, profane and gargantuan in thirst and appetite, Printz was an able leader despite his failure to accomplish what the Company asked of him. He had been instructed by the optimistic directors in Sweden to establish fisheries, locate mines, cultivate grapes, raise tobacco
and livestock, and export timber. To Printz's credit it was not for want of energy that he failed to carry out these visionary assignments. The little colony had all it could do to raise enough food for its own survival. There was never a surplus of anything, least of all labor to cultivate grapes, search for mines, or cut marketable timber.

Printz's record should be judged not by what the uninformed Company told him to do, but by what he accomplished with the feeble resources at his command. The new governor quickly sewed up control of the Delaware by erecting a number of outposts, one of which was Fort Elfsborg on the New Jersey side, south of Salem Creek. The new fort overshadowed the English settlement on Salem Creek, and the intruders from New Haven were given the choice of swearing their loyalty to Sweden or withdrawing from the Delaware. On Tinicum Island, at the southern edge of modern Philadelphia, Printz erected another post, and here he built his home. From this capital of New Sweden, "Big Guts", as the admiring Indians called Printz, directed the affairs of his little empire through a decade of toil and danger.

The gravest danger threatening the little colony did not stem from the Indians, as might be supposed. On the whole the Swedes were more successful in their relations with their red neighbors than were other Europeans in North America. The
big danger to New Sweden was from other white men. To the south were Englishmen in overwhelming numbers. To the north were the Dutch and countless more Englishmen. All of these were potential enemies who might strike at any time. Curiously enough, the jealous Dutch were New Sweden's best defense during Printz's governorship. They were not ready to wrest the Delaware from the Swedes, but neither did they intend to let the English grab control.

THE DUTCH RETURN TO THE SOUTH RIVER

For more than 10 years after their arrival on the lower Delaware the Swedes, thanks in part to Printz's surprisingly artful diplomacy, were relatively undisturbed by their Dutch and English neighbors. Indeed, in lean years the colony obtained desperately needed supplies from the English—at only twice the customary price. But with Governor Peter Stuyvesant for a neighbor, New Sweden was living on borrowed time. Some of the colony's inhabitants were, in fact, quite willing to have the Dutch or the English take over. Certainly the change could make things no worse. For most of its troubled existence the colony was virtually abandoned by the founding Company and left to survive as best it could. Finally, decided Governor Stuyvesant, the time had come for the Dutch to enforce what was rightfully theirs—control of the South River.

In 1650 only Fort Nassau, on the east bank of the Delaware, asserted the Dutch claim to the river. As Stuyvesant well knew,
even as he warned the English to stay away from the river, it was one thing to claim and another to possess. In June of 1651 a fleet of 11 Dutch ships sailed into the Delaware, sweeping up and down the river "with drumming and cannonading," in defiance of Printz's forts--whose feeble condition was well-known to the Dutch. Stuyvesant then proceeded to get from the Indians a title to the land they had previously sold, apparently with some mental reservations, to the Swedes.

Having observed the formalities, Stuyvesant returned to his more familiar role as a man of action. On the present site of New Castle he erected Fort Casimir, moving the guns and garrison down from Fort Nassau to the new post. This was Stuyvesant's ace in the hole. Fort Casimir was the farthest downstream of all the posts on the Delaware. To get into or out of the river, all vessels would have to run the gauntlet of Casimir. Let Printz protest as much as he liked, he was in a bottle and Stuyvesant had put in the cork at Fort Casimir. When Printz did send a letter of protest proclaiming the validity of his prior purchase of the land along the Delaware, Stuyvesant was moved not at all. Despite the misgivings of his superiors at home, the governor of New Netherland had clearly won the first round in the climactic struggle for mastery of the South River.

With the return of the Dutch in strength to the Delaware, the sands were fast running out for Johan Printz and New Sweden.
The colony had dwindled to a few score settlers, and those who remained languished without hope of succor from the homeland. Even the self-assured Printz was showing the strain of sustaining the colony virtually alone. The settlers grew restive, and a group of them presented a petition complaining of their leader's policies and administration. Printz in his role of prosecutor, judge, and jury promptly hanged the individual he considered the ringleader of the disaffected colonists.

The governor clearly saw that he had hitched his wagon to a doomed star. Repeated pleas for more colonists and more supplies had gone unanswered, confirming his belief that the colony had been written off at home. For some time Printz had wanted to be relieved of his thankless job. Now with the Dutch in firm control of the Delaware and his colonists seething with discontent, "Big Guts" gave up his battle to win for Sweden a place in the North American sun. The end of 1653 found Printz en route home, and so passed from the scene the remarkable giant who for 10 years had borne on his immense shoulders the destiny of New Sweden.

Ironically, when Printz arrived home the relief he had begged for New Sweden was already in preparation. Early in 1654 the ship Eagle weighed anchor for New Sweden, bearing with its cargo and settlers one Johan Rising, able successor to Printz. Unfortunately, Rising's only major blunder during his brief term as New Sweden's last governor occurred just as soon as he touched land on the Delaware. Disregarding his instructions to avoid
hostilities, Rising demanded the surrender of the Dutch Fort Casimir. The fort was in poor condition and its garrison surrendered without firing a shot.

With his capture of Casimir, which the Swedes renamed Trefaldighet (Trinity), Rising threw down the challenge for the final struggle with Stuyvesant. The new governor on the Delaware did not know it, but he had only 15 months to rule New Sweden. In that short time he rebuilt the colony physically and morally, showing what he could have accomplished had he been given time. Unfortunately he had come too late. To Rising fell the unhappy duty of presiding over the extinction of New Sweden.

In late summer of 1655, durable Peter Stuyvesant appeared in the Delaware with three stout ships and a strong army. With booming cannon, rattling drums, and blaring trumpets the Dutch announced that once more they were the masters of the South River. After more bombast, threats, and, finally, negotiation, the Dutch got back their Fort Casimir. A short time later Fort Christina capitulated. The only blood shed in the whole episode was that of a Swedish deserter shot while attempting to take informal leave of Fort Trefaldighet.

With this comic-opera war the saga of New Sweden came to an end. The Dutch now owned the lower Delaware by right of conquest. But their triumph was a hollow one. New Netherland, too, was doomed; her fall was less than a decade away.
LAST YEARS OF NEW NETHERLAND

Even as Governor Stuyvesant was writing finis to the story of New Sweden, word came down from New Amsterdam that the Indians were making trouble. In urging the governor to come back home, his alarmed subordinates noted that it wouldn't do much good to beat the Swedes on the Delaware if New Amsterdam was overrun by Indians. Realizing that the situation up north prevented him from leaving a strong force to control the late New Sweden, Stuyvesant offered to return Fort Christina to the Swedes, and permit them to control the river north of the fort. In return the Swedes were not to molest the Dutch south of Christina. Doubtful of their authority to treat of such matters with the Dutch, and with their farms and homes ruined in the Dutch invasion, the Swedes had no heart to perpetuate the shadow of New Sweden. Rising, his officials, and his soldiers said farewell to the Delaware and sailed away with their conquerors.

When Governor Stuyvesant got back to New Amsterdam he found the Indian threat had abated. Not so the old problems -- the unrest of the colonists who wanted a louder voice in determining their destiny, and the popular resentment against the arrogance, favoritism, and despotism displayed by Stuyvesant and his council. One of the blackest marks in the ledger of Stuyvesant's career was his intolerance of all dissent from the established Dutch Reformed Church. With a zeal all too typical of the age the governor punished the wayward for the good of their souls. For the Quakers he harbored a special hatred. Unfortunate indeed was the Friend who encountered Old Pete's particular brand of justice.
domestic problems were vexing, but they were an old story to Stuyvesant. He had learned when to give and when to take away in dealing with his restless, resentful children. He never let the myriad problems of office obscure his fundamental responsibility to try to make the colony a profitable venture for the West India Company.

It was in the realm of foreign affairs that Stuyvesant's most baffling and critical problems arose. For reasons discussed earlier in this summary, New Netherland had grown only slowly during the years that saw a steady stream of English colonists pouring into New England, Virginia, and Maryland. From the perspective of today, the inevitability of English expansion at the expense of the Dutch is clear. But to Stuyvesant such expansion was just one more problem to be met and solved in the best interests of the Company. With considerable naivete he played for time as, step by step, the English converged on New Netherland and, step by step, the Dutch retreated. The first Anglo-Dutch war, 1652-1654, did not lead to armed conflict between the two national groups in North America, but it had ominous reverberations for New Netherland. By the mid-1650's, Connecticut had been lost and much of Long Island was gone. Still, with pathetic optimism Stuyvesant could express his hopes for a "prompt and immediate settlement of the Boundary."

The Indians who looked to the Dutch or the English for protection and trade were keenly sensitive to the opportunities for loot offered by the impending clash between the rival white colonies. Stuyvesant, in turn, was hopeful that a settlement with
the English might reduce not only the friction between whites, but between the red nations as well. It would be particularly beneficial if peaceful relations could be established with the Indians who threatened the outlying fur posts up the Hudson.

**THE FALL OF NEW NETHERLAND**

While Stuyvesant in New Amsterdam continued to hope for a settlement which would insure the safety of the borders of New Netherland, events in England were hastening the inevitable fall of the Dutch colony. The monarchy had been restored in 1660, and Charles II sat on the throne left vacant by the execution of his father more than 10 years earlier. As the king and his counsellors looked at the American colonies, the island of Dutch settlement separating Virginia and Maryland from New England was too troublesome and too tempting to be long ignored. In 1664 King Charles gave to his brother James, the Duke of York, a vast grant of land which included the territory between the western boundary of Connecticut and the eastern shore of Delaware Bay. This, of course, neatly wrapped up most of New Netherland, except for the settlements on the west side of the Delaware.

York lost no time in possessing himself of his brother's gift. Within two weeks after the issuance of the patent, Colonel Richard Nicolls had been named deputy governor of James' grant, and the King had commissioned an expedition to seize New Netherland for his brother.

In New Amsterdam, Stuyvesant was still walking the tightrope between the Indians and the encroaching Englishmen. The Indian
situation had been worsening for several years. Then in 1663 it erupted in full fury when redmen dispossessed by the Dutch settlers of Wiltwyck (Esopus) murdered many of the inhabitants of that Hudson Valley settlement. Stuyvesant hit back hard and in May 1664 wrung a surrender from the Indians of the Esopus region. It was his last victory.

Stuyvesant had heard from friendly New Englanders that the English were mounting an expedition against him. Belatedly he set about to strengthen his defenses. Moving against the Dutch were not only the ships and troops from England, but the armed strength of New England as well. To oppose this combined force the governor of New Netherland had crumbling Fort Amsterdam, and the indifferent support of his own people who could see in English rule no tyranny more oppressive than Stuyvesant's.

At the end of August 1664 the English fleet appeared off New Amsterdam, and Colonel Nicolls sent a relatively mild surrender demand to Stuyvesant, which the governor angrily rejected. With all the odds against him, Old Pete really intended to make a fight of it. But he stood alone. Even as he stumped the flimsy parapet of Fort Amsterdam he was distracted by the pleas of his own people that he surrender without a fight. The loyalty of the fort's mercenary garrison was suspect. Frightened for their lives, theburghers of New Amsterdam were, for once, possessed of a fear greater than that inspired by their governor. They simply would
not risk their lives and property in the folly of resistance ordered by Stuyvesant. When the obstinate old governor was convinced that the cause was hopeless, he gave in to Nicolls' demand. New Amsterdam had become New York. With the fall of New Amsterdam, the conquering English turned their attention to the remaining center of Dutch sovereignty, the lower Delaware.

**CONQUEST OF THE SOUTH RIVER**

When the Dutch took possession of the lower Delaware in 1655 the change, as far as the settlers were concerned, was hardly apparent. A Dutch vice-director represented Stuyvesant on the South River, but up-river, above Fort Christina, Swedish officials continued to manage local affairs. A more far-reaching change in the affairs of the Delaware took place in 1656 when the Dutch West India Company gave to the City of Amsterdam in payment of debts, the land between Fort Christina and Bombay Hook. The transfer included the settlement of New Amstel, which had grown up around Fort Casimir--today's New Castle. The Company retained only the area north of Fort Casimir. In 1663, when the end of New Netherland was only a year away, the West India Company sold to the City of Amsterdam its last interests on the Delaware, above Fort Christina, signalling the end of a generation of frustration and failure. There were those who still had hopes for the Delaware Colony. A few more Swedes were persuaded to migrate to the Delaware, but this was the all too familiar story of the Dutch and the Swedes in America--too little and too late.
Although the Delaware settlements lay west of the grant issued to the Duke of York, no such fine geographical distinctions were observed by the English force which came to take possession of New Netherland. No sooner had Peter Stuyvesant reluctantly surrendered New Amsterdam than an expedition was off to the South River, there to capture the Dutch colony and its commerce.

The invasion of the Delaware was not a repetition of the mild affair at New Amsterdam, although the English commander, Sir Robert Carr, had been instructed to offer easy terms. Unfortunately, the Dutch director at New Amstel, Alexander D'Hinoyossa, foolishly elected to oppose the English landing. In the ensuing attack puny little Fort Casimir was overrun and its garrison taken, along with most of the colony's leaders. Their blood up, the English troops proceeded to do what their orders expressly forbade. With ferocious diligence they looted New Amstel and surrounding countryside, abusing the peaceful inhabitants who until now had been spared much personal inconvenience in the shifting fortunes of the colony on the South River. Happily the dark days did not last long. Infamous Sir Robert was recalled from the Delaware and life soon settled back into its accustomed rut, enlivened mainly by an influx of English settlers.

For all practical purposes, New Netherland, as a political entity, was gone, save for the brief revival of Dutch sovereignty in 1673-74. At that time, in the course of the third Anglo-Dutch War, a Holland fleet retook New York. No armed force
was sent to reoccupy the Delaware, nor was any necessary. From the South River came delegates to pledge their loyalty to the Prince of Orange, but the gesture was a meaningless one. The Dutch revival was the last feeble stirring of an organism that had never been healthy enough to sustain itself apart from its parent. In February 1674 peace was restored between England and Holland. With the return of English rule to the Delaware and the Hudson, New Netherland disappeared in the political sense. But, in terms of its social and cultural institutions, the Dutch colony lived vigorously on, molding the face of the land for generations in what had been New Netherland.

THE DUTCH HERITAGE

With the traditional pertinacity of their character, the Dutch in America refused to be overwhelmed or fragmented by a mere change in their political allegiance. A generally benevolent English rule confirmed the Dutch land titles, and left the former citizens of New Netherland free to follow their customs and traditions. Even crusty old Peter Stuyvesant, more than 70 years old when he surrendered New Netherland, was allowed to live peacefully on his farm, where he died in 1672.

The language, customs, and architecture of Dutch America remained a virile force in the shaping of the nation, long after the political identity of New Netherland had vanished. Travelers in the Hudson Valley as late as the 19th century were struck by the closely-knit Dutch villages, whose inhabitants had preserved
for two centuries the ways of their immigrant ancestors. Indeed, as any traveler along the Hudson knows, Dutch architecture, Dutch custom, and good solid Dutch names give the valley of the great North River a warmth and flavor uniquely its own. The map is enriched by names--Kinderhook, Rensselaer, Catskill and Dunderberg, Amsterdam and Rotterdam Junction, Stuyvesant, Van Cortlandtville, and Vrooman's Nose--which evoke the image of the hardy, self-sufficient people who built the sturdy houses and barns which dot the valley of the Hudson. Less extensive, but unmistakably Dutch are dwellings in many New Jersey communities where Dutchmen settled the mainland opposite Manhattan.

Dutch leadership in the Hudson Valley persisted for generations and found its echo in names like Schuyler, Van Buren, and Roosevelt. The Dutch church preserves the worship that old Pete Stuyvesant insisted his people attend. Dutch cooking and Dutch folklore nourish the bodies and imagination of Americans, whether descended from the settlers of New Netherland or not. After more than 300 years the Dutch heritage remains a strong, bright thread in the fabric of American history. There can be no higher tribute to the vitality and tenacity of the few thousand Dutchmen who opened for white settlement two of the continent's major rivers and planted the seed of the world's greatest city.

The Swedes, far fewer in number, had a correspondingly smaller impact on the region they called New Sweden, and they became
Anglicized much more quickly. Yet, their techniques for mastering the forests were absorbed by other pioneers, and made a significant contribution to the conquest of the continent that stretched westward from the Delaware. Together, the Dutch and Swedes, despite their bitter and futile rivalry, opened the Middle Atlantic region to European colonization, completing the chain of settlement between New England and Maryland and establishing the first white communities in the future colonies and states of Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Delaware.

ARCHITECTURE OF NEW NETHERLAND AND NEW SWEDEN

When the pioneer colonists arrived in the North American wilderness, their first consideration was shelter. To provide it, they hastily erected flimsy bark-covered huts or made crude dugout dwellings. The immediate need provided for, they could turn their hands to more substantial homes. In a region abounding in virgin timber it was natural that many dwellings were constructed of wood. However, along the Hudson, and on the west side of the river, opposite Manhattan, solid stone houses were common, their walls sometimes a yard thick.

The third, and, by the end of the 17th century, the most popular construction material was brick, reminiscent of the homes left behind in the Old World. In New Amsterdam and along the Hudson evolved the true Dutch Colonial architecture, characterized by wide clapboarding and broad gambrel roofs. On Long Island
and in New Jersey developed the Flemish style, utilizing wide clapboards and shingles, or, commonly in New Jersey, sandstone. The predominant architectural feature of the Flemish style was the wide projection of the roof on front and back, with a curve or flare at the eaves. The projection grew wider and wider until, by the late 18th century, it became a porch.

The patroonships and the later manors under English rule did not produce structures commensurate with the power of the Dutch aristocracy and the extent of the lands over which they ruled. Rather, the houses of the lords of the Hudson were distinguished mainly by their simple, solid lines, built for utility and permanence rather than ostentation.

The octagonal Dutch churches, curious to the 20th century taste, have all disappeared, as have the brick shops and dwellings that made of 17th century New Amsterdam, "a replica in miniature of Amsterdam."* This flavor of the mother country persisted in New York until most of the old city went up in the flames of the great fire of 1776.

Although there are few, if any, Dutch buildings positively identified as dating from the period of the sovereignty of New Netherland, the heritage of the Dutch has manifested itself in American architecture for more than 300 years. The design and construction of houses representative of Dutch settlement are treated more fully in the descriptions of surviving structures recommended in this report as having exceptional value in the story of Dutch set-

The Swedes on the lower Delaware were, in the main, farmers and woodsmen, and developed no communities comparable to those of the more cosmopolitan Dutch. Their principal construction material was wood and, consequently, the public buildings and private dwellings of New Sweden lacked the permanence of the Dutch stone houses which survive today. Nevertheless, the Swedes made a notable architectural contribution, for it was they who introduced into America the log cabin, employing round, notched logs. None of the Swedish originals of this design are known to survive, although several of the hewn-log type still exist. These were commonly built on a two or three room plan, their most notable characteristic being corner fireplaces. The three-room cabin, on the Swedish plan, was the type recommended by William Penn to his settlers in Pennsylvania.
Suggested Reading

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Survey of Sites and Buildings

General Discussion

Sites and buildings relating to the earliest settlements of the Dutch and Swedes have been all but obliterated by the passing of three centuries and more. Especially is this true of 17th century Dutch and Swedish structures. Only a relative few authenticated examples remain. Those which have survived are, in most cases, much altered; others have been inaccurately restored beyond any semblance of their original character.

Many important sites are lost beyond hope of recovery and restoration. Dutch New Amsterdam lies beneath the steel and concrete of modern New York City. Present-day Wilmington, Delaware, has swept away all but a vestige of the first settlement of New Sweden, on the banks of the Christina River. On the Hudson and along the Delaware, place names are about all that remain of the first period of Dutch and Swedish exploration and settlement. Happily, however, there are islands of the past which have been surrounded but not eaten away by the spread of Megalopolis on the Atlantic seaboard. Notable among these islands in time are Tinicum, the "capital" of New Sweden in the mid-17th century, and "The Rocks" in Wilmington where the first Swedish expedition landed and established Fort Christina.

The bulk of surviving Dutch and Swedish structures post-date the period when each of those national groups made sovereign
claim to colonies in North America. Swedish rule ended in 1655 with the conquest of the Delaware by the troops of New Netherland. A decade later the Dutch, in turn, were overwhelmed by the English. Still, the institutions, language, traditions, and architecture of the Dutch and Swedes persisted for generations in the regions they originally claimed as their own.

Most of the structures described in the following section of this report date from this later period--when New Sweden and New Netherland had been conquered but not assimilated by the English who pressed in upon them. Although these later buildings do not represent the period of Dutch and Swedish sovereignty, they are, nevertheless, valid illustrations of the life and achievements of the original settlers and their descendents who resisted alien assimilation for many years after falling under English domination.

Unlike other Europeans who explored and settled North America, the Dutch and Swedes were relatively sedentary once they had secured their footholds in the new land. While the Spanish, French, and English roamed far afield from their first lodgments in the New World, the Dutch and Swedes were, by choice and force of circumstances, more closely bound to their established communities. Even the fur traders seldom penetrated the interior in any great depth. The Swedes, most of them transplanted farmers, stayed close to their land. Their numbers were too pitifully few to create the pressures that encouraged migration, or to support a movement inland and still maintain its vital contact with the sea. The Dutch, with
an urban and mercantile background, were content to establish their settlements, cities, and estates in the New World as nearly as possible on the order they had known in the Old.

Consequently, the surviving sites and buildings of Dutch and Swedish origin fall into a relatively well-defined and narrow geographical pattern. For the Dutch this zone lies along the Hudson, from the region around Albany southward to Long Island, across the Hudson into eastern New Jersey, with a scattering of remains on the lower Delaware. For the Swedes the pattern of settlement extends in the main from the Wilmington area northward to the Schuylkill River at today's Philadelphia. Delaware, southeastern Pennsylvania, and southwestern New Jersey all have traces of Swedish occupation.

In these areas are scores of charming homes and churches which trace their origin to Dutch and Swedish builders. Regrettably, in all but a few instances, years of use and abuse, and misguided efforts to achieve a Dutch and Swedish "colonial" effect, have damaged or destroyed their historical and architectural integrity. All of the sites and buildings recommended in this report for the classification of exceptional value have inevitably been altered over the years to some degree from their original form. The problem in the Survey was to identify those buildings which appeared to illustrate best the Dutch and Swedish story, and which still possessed sufficient architectural integrity to meet the Survey criteria. In most cases the several properties recommended here have been restored on the basis of competent investigation.
Sites of Exceptional Value

- Fort Crailo, Rensselaer
- Van Alen House, Kinderhook
- Hurley (Historic District)
- Van Cortlandt Manor House, Croton-on-Hudson
- Philipsburg Manor, North Tarrytown
- Sleepy Hollow Church, Tarrytown
- Philips Manor Hall, Yonkers
- Swedish Cabin - "Morton Homestead", Prospect Park vicinity
- Governor Printz Park (capital of New Sweden), Essington
- Site of Fort Christina, Wilmington
- Holy Trinity - "Old Swedes" Church, Wilmington
DELAWARE

Fort Christina State Park (Site of Fort Christina)

Location: Wilmington, near foot of East 7th Street, on Christina River

Ownership-Administration: State of Delaware, administered by State Highway Department, Dover, Delaware

Significance: Here, at the end of March, 1638, landed the first Swedish expedition to the Delaware. Here was erected the first fortification of New Sweden, around which grew the community destined to be the nucleus of Swedish settlement on the Delaware. Historically and geographically Fort Christina was the heart of New Sweden, and its site is the most important physical link with the time more than three centuries ago when Swedes ruled the South River.

With the formation of the New Sweden Company in 1637, an expedition under Peter Minuit, late of New Netherland, was despatched to secure a Swedish foothold on the Delaware. The destination assigned to Minuit was the Minquas Kill, renamed the Christina River in honor of Sweden's young Queen. At the end of March 1638, the expedition of some 50 men, in two vessels, reached the Minquas Kill, landing at a natural wharf of rocks which jutted into the stream about two miles above its confluence with the Delaware. At "The Rocks" Minuit erected Fort Christina, to guard the pioneer settlement and serve as the administrative and commercial center for the new colony.

Although not situated directly on the Delaware, Fort
Christina remained a principal center of Swedish settlement, even during the 10-year period when Governor Printz ruled from his headquarters on Tinicum Island, some 15 miles north on the Delaware. When New Sweden fell to the Dutch in the bloodless conquest of 1655 a few of New Netherland's soldiers were posted at Christina, called Altena by the Dutch. Their relations with the Swedish colonists were amicable and under the peaceful occupation Christina fell into disrepair. This neglect was soon remedied by Governor Peter Stuyvesant who ordered the fort repaired for use as headquarters of the Dutch West India Company. Despite the Dutch invasion the settlement around Fort Christina (Altena) remained predominantly Swedish. When the Delaware fell to the English in 1664 the King's soldiers garrisoned the fort, but it was the Swedish settlement which remained the heart of the village that spread along the banks of the Christina and became, in the next century, Wilmington.

Features and Condition: The wharf of rocks which was the site of the first landing and the heart of the first Swedish settlement in North America is preserved in the two acres comprising Fort Christina State Park. The ledge of rocks is still partially visible although much of the natural formation is covered by a plaza surrounding the striking monument commemorating the first Swedish settlement. The monument, of black Swedish granite, consists of a shaft designed by the late Swedish sculptor Carl Milles, and is surmounted by a stylized representation of the *Kalmar Nyckel*—the Key of Kalmar—one of the two ships that brought the first Swedish
expedition to the Delaware. Treatment of the park is formal, with high brick walls on two sides, an iron fence and ornamental iron gateway on the third, and with the Christina forming the boundary of the fourth side. These developments have preserved the site from destruction by industrial development surrounding the area, but they convey little of the historical significance of the outstanding survivor of New Sweden. Archeological investigation would be most desirable to establish specific information on the fort and surrounding buildings.

"The Rocks" on the Christina River at Wilmington formed a natural wharf for the first expedition to New Sweden in 1638. At this site Peter Minuit, Director of the Colony, established Fort Christina, named for Sweden's young Queen.

March, 1961  

NPS Photo
At "The Rocks", on the site of Fort Christina stands the memorial to the Swedish colonists, designed by Sweden's late sculptor, Carl Milles. The ship represents the Kalmar Nyckel, one of the two vessels which brought the first Swedish settlers to the Delaware. In the background is the Christina River.

March, 1961

NPS Photo
DELAWARE

Holy Trinity (Old Swedes) Church

Location: Wilmington, Delaware; East 7th and Church Streets

Ownership-Administration: Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America, Diocese of Delaware, Maintained by The Holy Trinity (Old Swedes) Church Foundation, Inc., Wilmington, Delaware

Significance: Built in 1698 on the site of the first burial ground of the settlement around Fort Christina, Holy Trinity is the oldest surviving church built by and for a Swedish congregation in the Delaware Valley. No other structure is so closely related historically and geographically to the pioneer Swedish settlement on the Christina River, and none has retained its architectural integrity to so marked a degree. From every standpoint, Holy Trinity is a pre-eminent survival of Swedish settlement on the Delaware.

Although its construction post-dates by many years the fall of New Sweden in 1655, the church was built while the Swedish heritage was still a dominant influence on the Delaware. For nearly a century Holy Trinity's missionary pastors came out from Sweden to tend the Lutheran flock descended from the colonists who planted the settlement at Fort Christina. Beneath the church and in the venerable cemetery adjacent to it rest the remains of thousands of early settlers of New Sweden, many in unmarked graves.

The first churches of New Sweden were rude affairs, con-
structed of logs in the manner later adopted by the American frontiersmen. The earliest religious services for Swedish settlers on the Christina were held in the fort. Later, in 1667, the local congregation built a wooden church at Tranhook (Cranehook), on the south bank of the river, near its mouth. However, for a period of 42 years after the fall of New Sweden there was no direct supervision of the colonial Church from the homeland. Then, in 1697, three Swedish missionary pastors were sent out to revive the Church on the Delaware. As the first step, a new church site was chosen—at the burial ground long used by the settlers around Fort Christina. On May 28, 1698, the first foundation stone was laid and on Trinity Sunday, June 4, 1699, the church was consecrated as Helga Trefaldighet Kyrcka—Holy Trinity Church.

As originally built, the structure was of the utmost simplicity; a plain rectangle with a brick floor, shingled roof and gabled ends, with neither tower, belfry, gallery or porch. The ceiling was plastered, and the pews built of pinewood. The altar railing and pulpit were carved from walnut. Around 1750 the arched south porch was added and the gallery, with outside stairs, was built in 1774. The tower dates from 1802.

In 1791 the last Swedish pastor departed, and jurisdiction over the church was transferred by the Swedish Missionary Society to the Protestant Episcopal Church. The old church fell on evil days after 1830, and, badly in need of repair, was closed for 12 years. When Holy Trinity was reopened wooden benches were substituted for
the pews except in the gallery, wooden flooring was placed over the original bricks, and the gallery stairs were moved inside. When the building was restored in 1899 these alterations were corrected.

**Features and Condition:** Holy Trinity is rich in objects which date from its origin at the end of the 17th century, or which demonstrate its traditional ties to the Mother Country. The original altar is preserved within a later one of marble, and the aged pulpit, carved in 1698, still serves. Portraits of the early Swedish pastors, some of whom are buried beneath the church, are hung in the vestry. Used on special occasions is the silver Communion service sent to Holy Trinity from Sweden in 1718 by a former pastor, Erik Bjork. The altar cloth was a gift, in 1950, from the late King Gustav V of Sweden. The King, himself, embroidered in gold thread the central cross. All of these objects, displayed in the setting of the 17th century interior, remind the visitor that this venerable church is one of the most significant and memorable links between Swedish America and the present. Holy Trinity is preserved and maintained in excellent condition and is open to visitors upon request. The Garden Club of Wilmington restored the old churchyard in 1946-47. On the grounds a short distance from the church is the Hendrickson House, c. 1690. This fine Swedish stone dwelling stood until recently in Essington, Pennsylvania. Moved to the grounds of Holy Trinity and carefully restored, the house will
serve as a museum and library devoted to Swedish colonial life on
the Delaware.

References: The Rev. H. Edgar Hammond, Old Swedes
Church Foundation, Inc., Wilmington, Delaware, to Region Five
Office, National Park Service, letter of April 18, 1961; Historic
American Buildings Survey (7 sheets, 1934; 8 photos, 1934); "Holy
Trinity, Old Swedes Church, Wilmington, Delaware," leaflet issued
by The Holy Trinity, Old Swedes Church Foundation, Inc.; Amandus
Johnson, Swedish Settlements on the Delaware: Their History and
Relation to the Indians, Dutch, and English, 1633-1664 (New York,
1911); Esther Chilstrom Meixner, Swedish Landmarks in the Delaware
Valley (Bridgeport, Pa., 1960); Hugh Morrison, Early American
Architecture (New York, 1952); Rogers W. Young, "Holy Trinity (Old
Swedes) Church, Wilmington, Delaware" (Ms. Report, National Park
Service, March 23, 1940).
In 1698, Swedish Lutherans laid the first foundation stone for Holy Trinity (Old Swedes) Church, Wilmington, Delaware. Many of the Colonists of New Sweden are buried in the adjoining cemetery.

March, 1961

NPS Photo
The original walnut pulpit, carved in 1698, still serves in Wilmington's Holy Trinity (Old Swedes) Church. The dove hanging in the pulpit symbolizes the Holy Spirit, and was a gift from Sweden.

March 1961

NPS Photo
Governor Printz Park, "Capital" of New Sweden

Location: Delaware County, Essington, near junction of State Routes 291 and 420, corner of Taylor Avenue and Second Street

Ownership-Administration: Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, Administered by Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, Harrisburg, Pennsylvania

Significance: On Tinicum Island, formed by Darby Creek, Bow Creek, and the Delaware River, at the southern edge of modern Philadelphia, stood the headquarters of the colony of New Sweden from 1643 until 1653. This span covered the administration of the fabulous Governor Johan Printz who made Tinicum Island his home as well as his "capital." The site is one of the most notable preservations relating to the story of the New Sweden, and it derives further significance from the fact that it was the first permanent white settlement in what became the colony and later the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania.

In 1638 the first Swedish expedition to America planted a settlement on the banks of the Minquas Kill, now the Christina River, at the site of modern Wilmington, Delaware. The infant colony limped along for a few years, virtually ignored by the homeland, until in 1643 the energetic autocrat Johan Printz arrived to direct the affairs of New Sweden. Printz, or "Big Guts" as the admiring Indians called him, explored the Delaware from Cape Henlopen to the site of Trenton, New Jersey, seeking a suitable location for his own dwelling place. Tinicum Island, he found, was well-protected.
against human enemies by the creeks and river which form it and the soil was fertile. This, Printz decided, would be his home and seat of government.

A fort, New Gothenburg, was erected on the island and within it Printz built a log house for himself and his family. Both the fort and the commodious main house were completed in a short time, together with a log chapel, a storehouse and a brewery. Two years later, in November 1645, the buildings of the Tinicum settlement were destroyed by fire and the explosion of the fort's powder magazine. With characteristic energy, the Governor rebuilt the ruins of Fort New Gothenburg and his home, The Printzhof. Until his departure from New Sweden in 1653, Printz ruled his struggling colony with an iron hand from the base at Tinicum Island. Here he held court, acting as prosecutor, judge and jury, and from here he conducted a holding action against the claims to the Delaware by his Dutch counterpart in New Amsterdam, Peter Stuyvesant. At Tinicum were located the first mills, church, and school in territory that would one day be Pennsylvania. For most of its sovereign existence New Sweden was borne on the stalwart shoulders of Johan Printz. The site of his headquarters and home, happily spared from the intensive modern development of the banks of the Delaware, is one of the most notable survivors of 17th century America.

Features and Condition: The site of the Printzhof and a portion of the surrounding settlement is preserved in the seven acres of Governor Printz Park. Archeological investigation in 1937
by the Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission disclosed the stone foundations of Printz's house, and uncovered thousands of artifacts of Swedish origin. The foundations of the Printzhof are the only visible remains of the settlement. The present park was created through the donation of land by the Swedish-Colonial Society, as a feature of the 300th anniversary celebration of the founding of New Sweden, in 1938. The park was formally dedicated by Prince Bertil of Sweden on June 29, 1939. Printz Park is maintained in good condition, and is administered jointly with the Swedish Cabin, about one mile north. This latter structure is described elsewhere in this report. Additional archeological investigation of the site would be desirable to establish the location and identity of buildings known to have stood in the vicinity of the Printzhof.

On Big Tinicum Island, foreground, Governor Johan Printz established the "capital" of New Sweden in 1643. From his home, the Printzhof, the Governor ruled his Colony with an iron hand for 10 years.

March, 1961

NPS Photo
Swedish Cabin (Morton Homestead)

Location: Delaware County, Prospect Park, on State Route 420

Ownership-Administration: Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, Administered by Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, Harrisburg, Pennsylvania

Significance: This hewn-log structure is the best preserved and most carefully documented of the few known remains of Swedish settlement in the 17th century. The oldest portion of the house is believed to date from the middle of the 17th century, perhaps as early as 1654, one year before New Sweden fell to the Dutch. A second cabin was erected a few feet distant in 1698, the date being inscribed inside the fireplace. At some later date the two 17th century sections were connected by a third structure, this one of stone. The long-time tradition that the house was the birthplace of John Morton, a Signer of the Declaration of Independence, is not verified, although a patent of 1672 does establish that the land on which the cabin stands was once owned by Morton's great-grandfather.

Throughout its precarious existence New Sweden clung close to the Delaware, lifeline of trade and the avenue to the Atlantic and the Mother Country. Following the initial Swedish settlement at Fort Christina (the site of Wilmington) in the spring of 1638, settlers scattered up and down the Delaware, some going north to the vicinity of the Schuylkill, which flows into the Delaware at the site of modern Philadelphia. In February, 1643, the new
Governor of the colony, Johan Printz arrived in New Sweden and soon decided to move his capital northward from Fort Christina to Tinicum Island on the west side of the Delaware at the southern edge of today's Philadelphia. During the spring Fort Gothenburg was established on Tinicum, and Printz built his dwelling and headquarters on the island. It was natural that this "capital" of New Sweden would attract other settlers, and as the few years of New Sweden's sovereign existence passed a Swedish community grew up in the vicinity of Printz's settlement.

Among the Swedes who settled near the Schuylkill was one Morton Mortonson who came out to New Sweden in 1654, or, some sources indicate, a few years earlier. At a site about a mile north of Tinicum Island Morton built his rude log home, of the type common to Swedish settlement on the Delaware and later widely adopted by the frontiersmen who pushed American settlement westward. Morton and his Swedish neighbors lived under Swedish rule only a short time, for in 1655 the Dutch under crusty Peter Stuyvesant conquered New Sweden in a brief and bloodless campaign. The Swedish settlers, especially those north of Fort Christina were little disturbed by the shift in their political fortunes. They continued to live in peace with the Indians, the Dutch, and finally the Englishmen, Germans, and others who came to the colony granted to William Penn.

The cabin built by Mortonson, and the later addition of the 17th century, is one of few surviving links with the Swedish settlement of 300 years ago. Even in its restored form it graph-
ically exemplifies the role of the settlers of New Sweden and their
descendants in shaping the colony, and later the Commonwealth, which
was the keystone of settlement in the Middle Atlantic region.

**Features and Condition:** In 1935 an earlier act of the
Pennsylvania Legislature authorizing a monument to John Morton was
amended to provide for the preservation of his alleged birthplace.
Unverified tradition places this event in the home built by Morton's
great-grandfather soon after his arrival on the Delaware in the
mid-17th century. Careful investigation by the Pennsylvania His­
torical and Museum Commission turned up no evidence to support the
birthplace tradition. The Commission now evaluates the structure
primarily in terms of its significance as an architectural example
of the Swedish log cabin, and as an illustration of the way of life
of the early settlers on the Delaware. At the time of its acquisi­
tion by the Commonwealth the property was in a dilapidated condition
and was surrounded by relatively modern frame houses. The unsightly
intrusions have been removed and the three-section house restored.

The timber sections of the house are constructed of hewn,
squared logs, with dovetailed corners, characteristic of the Swedish
cabin. The building is furnished in primitive fashion in keeping
with its period and story, and the setting of the house is preserved
by a small park of approximately three acres. The cabin is open to
visitors throughout the year.

**References:** Adolph B. Benson, "John Morton," in *The
Dictionary of American Biography*, vol. 13 (New York, 1934); Esther
Chilstrom Meixner, *Swedish Landmarks in the Delaware Valley* (Bridge­
port, Pa., 1960); Donald H. Kent, "Preliminary Report on the Morton
One of few authenticated dwellings of Swedish settlers in the 17th century is preserved by the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania at Prospect Park, south of Philadelphia. Unverified tradition identifies the house as the birthplace of John Morton, descendant of Swedish settlers and a signer of the Declaration of Independence.

March, 1961
Van Cortlandt Manor

Location: Croton-on-Hudson, New York, on U. S. Route 9, north of intersection with State Route 9A

Ownership-Administration: Sleepy Hollow Restorations, Tarrytown, New York

Significance: This structure, with its grounds and outbuildings, constitutes the most authentic and significant survival of the 18th century Dutch-English manor house of the Hudson Valley. The oldest portion of the manor house dates from the latter half of the 17th century; some authorities dating it from between 1665 and 1681. The building's simplicity of line and detail set it apart from the more pretentious manor houses of a later period, as exemplified by the nearby Philipsburg Manor at North Tarrytown and Philipse Manor in Yonkers. The Van Cortlandt manor house was remodeled in the mid-18th century and it is this period which is reflected in the recent restoration of the property.

Founder of the Van Cortlandt family in America was Oloff Stevense Van Cortlandt, a soldier who came from the Netherlands in 1638. Oloff's son, Stephanus had, by 1677, started acquiring land in the lower Hudson Valley. A few years later he began the construction of his country house possibly using the walls of an earlier fort and trading post as the foundation of the dwelling. This fort, some authorities believe, was erected as early as 1665. When the Manor of Cortlandt was created in 1697, Stephanus became the First Lord of a semi-feudal estate which at one time amounted
to 86,000 acres. However, it was not until 1749 that the house on the Croton River became a manorial dwelling in fact as well as name. In that year Pierre Van Cortlandt, Third Lord of the Manor, occupied the house as a permanent year-round home. Before moving his family to the manor Pierre enlarged the old house, adding a second story and otherwise modifying the earlier building to the extent seen by today's visitor.

Pierre Van Cortlandt added new lustre to the family name. A foremost leader of colonial New York, he was an active patriot in the War for Independence and became the first Lieutenant Governor of the state. During the Revolution the estate was abandoned by the family and fell prey to passing troops and the lawless elements which roamed in the wake of the armies. When it was safe for the family to return the damage was repaired and until 1940 the property remained home to succeeding generations of Van Cortlandts. In the 19th century two wings were added to the house, but these have disappeared, giving the house, today, the appearance of the time when it was home to Pierre Van Cortlandt, Third Lord of the Manor.

The house and a small portion of the original Van Cortlandt manor lands were purchased in 1953 by John D. Rockefeller, Jr., and the property is now a unit of Sleepy Hollow Restorations. Under these auspices the house and 175 acres of the original estate have been carefully studied and expertly restored.

Features and Condition: In addition to the manor house, the Van Cortlandt restoration includes the estate office building.
built by the Third Lord, the Ferry House, an 18th century tavern which served travelers on the old Albany Post Road, and the restored gardens, orchards, and outbuildings which served the Van Cortlandts. The house is handsomely furnished in the period of the Lords of the Manor, and a number of Van Cortlandt items are displayed. High-quality guide service is provided, and maintenance of the entire restoration is excellent.

The Van Cortlandt Manor House, Croton-on-Hudson, New York, was the center of an estate of 86,000 acres. The house and grounds have been expertly restored to reflect the daily life of a prominent Hudson Valley Dutch family in the 18th century.

March, 1961

NPS Photo
NEW YORK

Philipse Manor

Location: Yonkers, Warburton Avenue and Dock Street

Ownership-Administration: State of New York, Administered by State Education Department, University of the State of New York, Albany, New York

Significance: Although the construction date of the earliest portion of Philipse Manor is open to question, the building is an outstanding survivor of the 18th century Dutch manorial system in the lower Hudson Valley. The mansion served as the social and administrative center of the great manor of Philipsburg, created under English rule in 1693. Governed successively by Lords of the Manor Frederick Philipse I, II and III, Philipsburg was closer to the colonial capital of New York and was more intimately associated with its social and political institutions than any of the other Hudson River baronies.

The first Frederick Philipse came to New Netherland around 1650. Although well-born, he had little more than his good name when he arrived in New Amsterdam and became "carpenter" to the Dutch West India Company. Philipse prospered as a merchant and in April, 1657 acquired the Small Burgher Right of New Amsterdam which made him eligible to hold minor offices in the colony. Thereafter his rise was rapid as he acquired houses and land, and took a highly profitable role in colonial trade. Marriage in 1662 to Margaret de Vries, a wealthy widow, paved the road to further advancement and Philipse soon was counted as one of New Netherland's chief magnates.
In 1672, Philipse and two partners bought a great section of the former Patroonship of Adriaen Van der Donck, on the present site of Yonkers. Several years later Philipse bought out his partners and in succeeding years amassed holdings up the Hudson Valley as far as the Croton River. By 1693 his estate extended more than 20 miles along the east side of the Hudson, from the Croton southward to Spuyten Duyvil, embracing some 156,000 acres. Out of this vast empire was created by royal patent the Manor of Philipsburg, with Frederick Philipse as its First Lord.

Upon its creation as a manor, Philipse's domain became an important unit in the political and social development of provincial New York. At the time of his death, the First Lord was recognized as one of the colony's most influential citizens. His grandson, Frederick Philipse II, inherited the manor and maintained the family's role of leadership in the colony. But, under the Third Lord the manor's days were numbered. Frederick III remained loyal to the Crown when the colonies declared for independence, and in 1776, he was arrested on orders of General Washington. The Manor of Philipsburg was confiscated. When Philipse and his family fled to England a colorful and significant chapter in the story of colonial America came to an end.

The Story of the Manor Hall

Sometime in the 1680's, before the creation of Philipsburg Manor, Frederick Philipse, I, built a sturdy stone house on the site of modern Yonkers. Many authorities have asserted that this
structure is preserved today as the south wing of the present building. The investigator who studied the building most thoroughly and carefully over a period of many years concluded in the last of his several published accounts "that part of the foundation may antedate 1682; that part of the southern wing dates from about 1682-1694; and that the remainder and larger part dates from about 1725 or 1730, although the date 1745 is also given as that of the enlargement by the Second Lord of the Manor."*

In the years after the Revolutionary War the Manor Hall passed through several hands, coming, in 1863, into the possession of the Village of Yonkers for use as the Village and later the City Hall. Threatened with demolition at the end of the 19th century the Hall was saved through the efforts of local citizens and organizations. Finally, by means of an endowment from Mrs. William F. Cochran, the house, in 1908, was accepted by the State of New York, for maintenance by the American Scenic and Historic Preservation Society. By 1912, the structure had been completely renovated. The notable Cochran collection of portraits of presidents and other historical figures was assembled after 1912, and placed on exhibition in the Hall. The collection includes works by Stuart, Copley, the Peales, Trumbull and Vanderlyn.

As restored, the Manor Hall is an outstanding representation of the early Georgian style. The original stone portion of the building forms the base of the L-shaped plan, with the later addition of brick forming a long north arm. Its interior is distinguished by intricate plasterwork on the ceilings of a number of rooms in both the older and later sections. The older portion of the house probably received this embellishment when the new section was added by the Second Lord. The Hall is structurally sound and the exterior is in very good condition. The interior is in need of repair to plaster walls and ceilings, and additional period furnishings would be highly desirable. The important Cochran portrait collection is generally well-displayed. The house is open to the public and conducted tours are available. The grounds immediately adjacent to the Hall are well-kept, but the setting is marred by the heavily congested commercial development surrounding the property.

Philipse Manor, Yonkers, New York, is an outstanding survivor of the Dutch manorial system in the 18th century. On display here is the notable Cochran portrait collection.

March, 1961

NPS Photo
NEW YORK

Philipsburg Manor (Formerly Philipse Castle)

Location: North Tarrytown, Upper Mills, 381 Bellwood Avenue, off U. S. Route 9, north of intersection with State Route 117

Ownership-Administration: Sleepy Hollow Restorations, Tarrytown, New York

Significance: The older portion of this house was built in 1683 by Frederick Philipse, First Lord of a manor of 90,000 acres acquired from the Dutch West India Company.* Although the more pretentious manor house at Yonkers, a few miles south, was Philipse's main residence when away from the city of New York, the simple stone house in North Tarrytown remains an authentic and important survivor of the great 17th century manor.

When the First Lord died in 1702, the northern section of the manor passed to his second son, Adolphus, who made the manor house at North Tarrytown his permanent home. The southern section of the manor, ruled from the more imposing manor house on the site of Yonkers, was left to Frederick Philipse II, grandson of the First Lord. When Adolphus died in 1750, his nephew, Frederick II inherited the northern portion of the estate and thus was the entire manor reunited under a single owner.

Frederick II continued to live in the more elaborate manor house at Yonkers, and the building at North Tarrytown fell into obscurity. In 1785 the frame wing was added to the original stone structure by Gerard Beekman. The house was much abused over the years until its restoration was undertaken in 1943. Now a

*A more detailed description of the Manor and its Lords is given in the site report on Philipse Manor, beginning on page 61 of this Theme Study.
project of Sleepy Hollow Restorations it presents a remarkable picture of Dutch settlement in the lower Hudson Valley before 1750.

**Features and Condition:** At the time of the preparation of this report (Spring, 1961) Philipsburg Manor was closed pending completion of an intensive archeological research program started in 1956 by Sleepy Hollow Restorations. This investigation will provide identification of structures known to have existed on the property when it was the northern seat of the Manor of Philipsburg. Reconstruction of these features, including docks, a grist mill, sawmill and lime house is planned. The restoration of the house itself features 24 rooms furnished in period from the date of the earliest construction in 1663 down to the opening of the 19th century. In combination these rooms present a vivid cross-section of the continuity of Dutch life and tradition on the Hudson. Further adding to the interest and historical integrity of the property is the nearby Dutch Reformed Church built around 1697 by Frederick Philips, I, for his tenants.

An outstanding example of the Dutch mansion house of the late 17th and early 18th centuries is Philipsburg Manor, North Tarrytown, New York. The stone portion was built around 1683, and the frame wing added in 1785.

March, 1961

NPS Photo
Dutch Reformed (Sleepy Hollow) Church

Location: Northern Outskirts of North Tarrytown, on
U. S. Route 9.

Ownership-Administration: First Reformed Church of
North Tarrytown

Significance: The Dutch Reformed Church of North Tarrytown is a distinguished relic of Dutch America, notable for its architectural and historical associations with colonial life on the Hudson. As the social and religious center of public life on the Manor of Philipsburg the church provided a common meeting ground for landed proprietors and tenants, thereby helping to weld the manor into an effective economic and political unit of Dutch provincial society. While the exact date of the building's construction is not certain, architectural authorities are unanimous in dating it from the closing years of the 17th century.

Settlement of the Tarrytown region began around the middle of the 17th century and a community burial ground was soon established on the north bank of the Pocantico River. When Frederick Philipse, First Lord of the Manor, built his country seat and mill at North Tarrytown, around 1683, he found a small Dutch community firmly established. Already there were at least 50 burials in the little cemetery. To provide his tenants with a place of worship Philipse built a church at the southern end of the cemetery, probably on the site of the present structure. In 1692, a year after the death of his first wife, Philipse remarried, and,
tradition says, it was at the insistence of his second wife that the Lord of the Manor built a permanent stone church near his Tarrytown residence. Philipse died in 1702 and it appears certain that the present church was completed several years prior to his death. Church records show that the congregation was organized by 1697. In that same year a pastor accepted a call to the church and dedicated the building. A marble tablet placed on the front of the present church in the 19th century gives its date as 1699 although the date more generally accepted is 1697. Thereafter, the church served the succeeding Lords and Ladies of Philipsburg and their tenants until the outbreak of the Revolution.

The first significant changes in the church occurred during the Revolutionary era when the special pews of the Lords of the Manor were removed and the plain oak tenant benches in the church replaced with high back, soft pine pews. In 1837 in the course of repairing fire damage, more fundamental alterations were made, including the removal of the door from the south to the west wall, the changing of the old high-silled windows into low Gothic arched openings, the removal of the heavy beams from the interior, removal of the old north gallery, enlargement of the west gallery, and the replacement of the original pulpit. Prior to the bi-centennial observance at the old church in 1897, a partial restoration of the interior was undertaken. This consisted mainly of the reproduction of the original beams, quartered oak ceiling, and pulpit. Happily, this restoration corrected much of the 1837 alteration.
Subsequent to the Revolution the history of the church was peaceful and uneventful, save for damage occurring around 1337 when the building was struck by lightning and partially burned. Repairs and alterations following the fire have been described above. Around 1340 a new church was built in the village of Tarrytown to serve as a branch of the older one. Shortly after the Civil War, however, it replaced the original building as a place of regular worship. From that time on the 17th century church has been used only for occasional services and special programs.

**Features and Condition:** The old structure is not open to the public except on special occasions. Historical markers at the property do little more than identify the building, give the date of its construction and name its founders. The interior is barren of decoration and somewhat bleak in character. However, the charm of the original design remains and the church is maintained in very good condition. The adjacent burial ground is also well maintained, and includes among its graves the resting place of Washington Irving—creator of "Sleepy Hollow" from which the church takes its popular name. A short distance away is Philipsburg Manor, the manor house built by Frederick Philipse, I, a few years before he erected the church for his tenants.

**References:** John K. Allen, *The Legendary History of the Old Dutch Church of Sleepy Hollow, Tarrytown, N. Y.* (Tarrytown, 1891); *Two Hundredth Anniversary of the Old Dutch Church of Sleepy Hollow, October 10 and October 11, 1897, 1697 - 1897* (Tarrytown, 1898); Helen W. Reynolds, *Dutch Houses in the Hudson Valley Before 1776* (New York, 1929); Rogers W. Young, "Dutch Reformed (Sleepy Hollow) Church, North Tarrytown, New York" (Ms. Report, National Park Service, June 8, 1940).
"Sleepy Hollow Church", North Tarrytown, New York, dates from the last decade of the 17th century. For many years it served the Dutch settlers on the manor of Frederick Philipse.

March, 1961
NEW YORK

Hurley (Historic District)

Location: U. S. Route 209, Three miles west of Kingston and New York Thruway

Ownership-Administration: Privately-owned Houses

Significance:

Old Hurley is Dutch in everything but name, and that was Dutch for the first few years of its history when it was Nieuw Dorp, that is, New Village. With characteristically Dutch conservatism, Old Hurley has slumbered on through its nearly three centuries of existence; tucked away, as it were, in a backwater past which the swirling eddies of modern progress have raced heedless of its presence, it has preserved a refreshing savour of the days and ways of the New Netherlands of Peter Stuyvesant.*

Preserved in this little town, lying between the Hudson River and the Catskills, is a collection of stone houses which, despite the usual alterations wrought by the years, still preserves the Dutch heritage of the region to an unusual degree. Ten of these solid dwellings, many still occupied by descendants of early Dutch settlers, extend along Hurley Street, the town's principal thoroughfare. Scattered nearby are other survivors of two centuries and more. A few of these have characteristics more English than Dutch, attesting to the changes in settlement after the fall of New Netherland; changes which occurred despite the stubborn, if non-violent, resistance of the original settlers to the English and their alien ways.

Hurley was founded in the Spring of 1662 by a few Dutch

* Harold D. Eberlein and Cortlandt Van Dyke Hubbard, Historic Houses of the Hudson Valley (New York, 1942), 170.
and Huguenot settlers from nearby Wiltwyck (Kingston). By permission of Director General Peter Stuyvesant the new town was laid out on the fertile bottom land of Esopus Creek. The village was scarcely started when it was burned to the ground in a raid by the Esopus Indians. The Esopus were hapless victims of the whites who exploited them, and objects of contempt and suspicion by neighboring tribes because they had attempted to accommodate to invasion by the Dutch. Happily, the Indians did not harm the captives taken in the attack on Hurley. The prisoners were soon returned and after a short, ruthless campaign by troops of New Netherland peace was made in May, 1664. As usual, the treaty of peace was heavily weighted in favor of the white settlers and the red men were deprived of the few rights they had held prior to the uprising.

The Dutch defeated the Indians with little trouble, but in a matter of months the victors were themselves conquered by the English who seized New Netherland in the name of the Duke of York. English rule was not harsh, but the Dutch of Nieuw Dorp stubbornly resisted any change in their way of life. In 1669 English Governor Lovelace gave Nieuw Dorp another name, calling it Hurley after his ancestral home of Hurley-on-Thames. But despite its English name, for the next century and more Hurley remained a Dutch provincial town—in language, customs, and architecture.

During the War for Independence the town was shaken from its accustomed serenity by the passing of the armies and the influx of refugees from Kingston when that Hudson River settlement was
burned by the British in October 1777. After the destruction of
Kingston, wartime capital of New York, the Council of Safety met in
Hurley for a month, in the Jan Van Deusen house which still stands
on the town's main street. Another survivor of the grim years when
the Hudson Valley was a cockpit of the war is the DuMond, or Guard,
House where Lieut. Daniel Taylor, British spy, was held before his
trial and hanging in Hurley. In 1782, when the fighting was at an
end and the infant Nation waited for the treaty of peace, General
Washington passed through Hurley. The proud citizens tendered him
a public reception. Local tradition places this event at the
Houghteling House, another fine surviving dwelling on the town's
main street, although another story has it that Washington sat his
horse, bareheaded in the rain, to receive his welcome.

These are incidents of the past which Hurley treasures,
but they do not give the town its distinction. Rather it is Hurley
itself, its quiet streets and sturdy houses, which merits recogni-
tion as a landmark of the time when Dutch America flourished in
the valley of the Hudson.

Features and Condition: As shown on the map following
this description, the principal concentration of Dutch stone houses
extends along Hurley's main street (U. S. Route 209). However, the
outlying 18th century houses should be included in the suggested
historic district outlined on the map. All of the most interest-
ing houses are contiguous in the sense that all but one lie along
two historic roads--Hurley Street and the Hurley Mountain Road,
west of Esopus Creek. The single exception is the Hardenbergh House, birthplace of the Negro evangelist Sojourner Truth. This residence is a short distance south of Hurley Street, on Schoonmaker Lane at the Millbrook, as shown. The house, dating from 1750, is easily accessible from Hurley Street and should be recognized in designating the historic district. The dates shown on the map should be used with caution, as study of the houses is still going on in an effort to authenticate their dates of construction. However, the dates probably are within a few years of actual construction. In the case of the historic district, the exact dates, while desirable, are not essential to recognition of the town's significance in preserving the Dutch heritage. The old cemetery north of Hurley Street is the resting place of many of Hurley's earliest settlers, as revealed by the Dutch names on the worn grave stones.

Not only Hurley's houses, but the fertile flood lands of Esopus Creek, west of the town, recreate the story of the early settlers, showing why they chose this spot for their "New Village."

Ten Dutch stone houses on Hurley Street (above) and more than a dozen others in the
town make Hurley, New York, an unmatched example of the Hudson Valley Dutch Community
of the 18th century. The Van Deusen House, foreground, was built in 1723 and was a
temporary capitol of New York during the Revolutionary War.

March, 1961

NPS Photo
The Houghtaling House is one of two dozen stone houses of the 18th century preserved in Hurley, New York. At this house a reception for General George Washington was held in 1782. The Houghtaling House has been proposed as a Visitor Center and community museum.

March 1961
Hurley, New York: Shaded areas indicate suggested historic district. Black squares represent existing historic houses.
NEW YORK

Fort Crailo

Location: Rensselaer, on Riverside Street, South of Columbia Street

Ownership-Administration: State of New York, Department of Education, University of the State of New York, Albany

Significance: Fort Crailo, in reality a brick manor house, probably was built around the beginning of the 18th century, although one authority asserts that it is "unquestionably of the 17th century."* It stands near the center of what was once the 700,000 acre estate of Kiliaen Van Rensselaer, the first and only successful patroonship established by authority of the Dutch West India Company. This building on the east bank of the Hudson is the only important structure preserving the story of the greatest of the patroonships. Through years of use and social evolution the structure has been altered to a considerable degree and has suffered a consequent loss of its original Dutch character. However, it remained a center of Dutch culture and institutions on the Upper Hudson even as it underwent architectural transition. Its role in Dutch life in the Albany region was a major one and the architectural changes in this case merely emphasize the social position and wealth which permitted the Dutch owners of Crailo to enlarge and alter their residence as the need arose.

The immense Van Rensselaer estate was founded in 1630 under terms of the Charter of Freedoms and Exemptions. By this document the States General of the Netherlands authorized the Dutch West

* Harold D. Eberlein and Cortlandt Van Dyke Hubbard, Historic Houses of the Hudson Valley (New York, 1942), 127.
India Company to grant lands and feudal rights in America to proprietors (Patroons) who would undertake to transport and establish in the New World at least 50 adult settlers. One of the first to take advantage of the grant was Kiliaen Van Rensselaer, a wealthy merchant of Amsterdam. Kiliaen never saw New Netherland, but his agents in a series of purchases assembled a vast tract which extended from the mouth of the Mohawk River southward for 20 miles along the Hudson, and on both sides of the river to a total width of almost 50 miles.

Headquarters of this Hudson Valley empire was established at 'Greenen Bosch'--''Fine Forest,'' in Dutch. Corrupted later to Green Bush, the area is now Rensselaer. Here in 1642 the Patroon's agent--and cousin--Arent Van Curler built a residence. In the cellar walls of the present Fort Crailo are two inscribed stones. On one are the initials ''KVR'' and the date ''1642.''' On the other is the partial inscription 'apolensis.' The name of the Domine sent by Kiliaen Van Rensselaer to his Patroonship on the Hudson was Megapolensis, who lived in Greenen Bosch from 1642 to 1649. While some authorities accept the stones as evidence that Fort Crailo dates from 1642, others believe that the building was constructed of material from the earlier house or that it stands on the foundation of the original residence built by Van Curler. A current description of Fort Crailo issued by the State of New York credits the building to Hendrick Van Rensselaer, younger brother of the Patroon, and dates it c. 1704. It is known that the Van Rensselaer family occupied the house as early as 1704, continuing to live there until 1871. During this period,
In 1740, Colonel Johanna Van Rensselaer added a cross hall and dining room, with rooms above, and the remainder of the L extending behind the main building. A grandson of Johannes made other alterations early in the 19th century. In 1924, the old house was given to the State of New York by a descendent of the original Patroon and most of the 19th century alterations were eliminated when the house was restored by the State.

**Features and Condition:** Fort Crailo is a two and one-half story structure, with cellar; the earliest portion containing two rooms and a hall on the first and second floor. Its heavy brick walls are laid in Dutch cross bond. The walls of the lower floor are penetrated by loopholes, evidence of the house's early role as a defense post. Furnishing has been done with care, in keeping with the building's significance as the manorial seat of a foremost Hudson Valley Dutch family. The house is maintained in good condition and open throughout the year. Ground between the building and the Hudson River is open, but intruding upon the other three sides is a crowded housing area which obscures the setting of the historic structure.

On the east bank of the Hudson River at Rensselaer, New York, stands Fort Crailo, once the headquarters of the great Rensselaer manor. The building, erected around 1704, is believed to stand on the foundations of a residence built in 1642.

March, 1960

NPS Photo
NEW YORK

Van Alen House

Location: East of Kinderhook, Columbia County, on U. S. Route 9H

Ownership-Administration: Privately Owned

Significance: Of the Van Alen House at Kinderhook, one architectural historian has written:

This house has an almost complete complement of truly Dutch characteristics from the date irons and mouse-toothing on the outside to the chimney hoods on the inside. It is a miraculous survival from the colonial period and by far the most complete example we know.*

Another authority lists the Van Alen house as "among the most perfect surviving examples of true Dutch architecture in America."**

Two architectural historians who made the most careful physical research of the house concluded their report with the evaluation "that the Van Alen house is of the greatest importance, architecturally. It is one of a very few examples that remain. Whereas most of the original fabric of the Van Alen house is still in place, the other examples are so mutilated that one hardly recognizes them as having similar characteristics."***

The house which elicited the above comments was built in 1737 by one Luycas Van Alen, a son of Laurens Van Alen who,

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*Charles L. Peterson, Statement prepared for Regional Director, Region Five, National Park Service, February 6, 1961.


with his brother Pieter, had established the family in the Hudson Valley in the 17th century. The District of Kinderhook was, by 1638, the only area in the vicinity of Albany where settlers could obtain land free from control by the Patroons whose vast holdings stretched along the Hudson. Luyues Van Alen, a relatively prosperous farmer, built his house on a knoll a short distance above a small brook. The site was a good one for several reasons. The stream provided sufficient water for stock, household needs, and a mill. The road on which the property fronted was already an important link with Albany and was destined to become, later in the century, the Post Road between Albany and New York. In the rear of the house rich fields and woodland rolled away south and west to Kinderhook Creek.

The house was simple in plan and construction. On the first floor were the living room and kitchen, each with a great tiled and hooded fireplace at the gable end. Walls were plastered and the ceilings were beamed with heavy timbers. A steep staircase led from the front of the kitchen to the single great sleeping room on the second floor, above which was a floored attic. Brick work was laid up in Dutch cross bond, with glazed headers, and at the gable ends were decorative tie-irons. The brick work was most carefully done on the front of the house. At the rear the work was more haphazard. The house rested on fieldstone foundations enclosing a cellar.

As the years passed, additional rooms were needed.
Earliest addition to the house was a brick wing added to the north elevation, probably before 1750. The first floor of the addition contained a hall with staircase, a small bedroom or larder in rear of the hall, and a parlor. On the second floor was a hall, storage room and bedroom. This addition had its own cellar, separate from the original. In the 19th century a number of interior changes were made, consisting mainly of the partitioning of the large original rooms and the cutting of numerous window and door openings. At the front of the house a porch was erected across the north wing.

During the years when Kinderhook was slowly growing, the Van Alen family continued to occupy the old house. Another house, close by on the old Post Road, was destined for more renown. This was "Lindenwald," the home of Martin Van Buren, president of the United States, 1836-1840. A charming local tradition has it that a Van Alen daughter was the inspiration of Washington Irving's heroine Katrina Van Tassel. Irving, in 1809, was a visitor in the house which later became "Lindenwald" but there is little else to support the legend that the creator of Katrina Van Tassel based his character on a Van Alen prototype.

The house remained in the hands of direct descendents of the builder, Luycas Van Alen, until 1933, when it was sold by the owner to a cousin. Since that time the building has not been occupied.

Features and Condition: The house has been spared from modern improvements which would further damage its original fabric.
Unfortunately, the building is in extremely poor repair, requiring major stabilization and restoration. The northeast corner of the structure is presently shored up with timber bracing to prevent its collapse. The grounds, amounting to some 30 acres are grown up in weeds and brush. The outbuildings have disappeared. Nevertheless, the setting is one of considerable charm. Despite the general air of neglect, the house and grounds retain the flavor of a bygone age to a degree unmatched by most of the too-meticulously restored Dutch homes along the Hudson.

AREAS IN THE NATIONAL PARK SYSTEM
RELATING TO
DUTCH AND SWEDISH EXPLORATION AND SETTLEMENT

The only areas in the National Park System which relate in appreciable degree to the present survey theme are Castle Clinton National Monument, Federal Hall National Memorial and Statue of Liberty National Monument, all in New York City. Although none of these areas preserves physical remains of Dutch settlement at New Amsterdam, they will include a treatment of that story in their proposed interpretive development. Castle Clinton, in particular, will trace the story of the forts of New York beginning with those of the Dutch settlers who planted New Amsterdam. Similarly, the proposed American Museum of Immigration, to be located in the base of the Statue of Liberty, will include in its broad treatment the story of the Dutch and Swedes in America.

One National Historic Site in non-Federal ownership is a notable preservation of the Swedish heritage. This is Philadelphia's Gloria Dei (Old Swedes') Church, at the junction of Christian Street and Delaware Avenue. Gloria Dei, Pennsylvania's oldest church building, dates from 1700. The present brick structure replaced a log church built in 1677. In the graveyard are buried many of the early Finnish and Swedish settlers of the area. Because of its significance as a
"splendid example of the cultural and religious aspect of Swedish colonization in North America," Gloria Dei was dedicated as a National Historic Site in 1942.
Criteria for Classification

In order to be designated as possessing "exceptional value as commemorating or illustrating the history of the United States," a site or building must meet at least one of the following criteria:

1. Structures or sites at which occurred events that have made an outstanding contribution to, and are identified prominently with, or which best represent the broad cultural, political, economic, military, or social history of the Nation and from which the visitor may grasp the larger patterns of our American heritage.

2. Structures or sites associated importantly with the lives of outstanding historic personages.

3. Structures or sites associated significantly with an important event which best represents some great idea or ideal of the American people.

4. Structures which embody the distinguishing characteristics of an architectural type specimen, exceptionally valuable for a study of a period style or method of construction; or a notable work of a master builder, designer, or architect.

5. Archeological sites which have produced information of major scientific importance by revealing new cultures, or by shedding light upon periods of occupation over large areas of the United States. Such sites are those which have produced, or which may reasonably be expected to produce, data which have affected theories, concepts, and ideas to a major degree.

6. Every historic and archeologic site and structure should have integrity—that is, there should not be doubt as to whether it is the original site or structure, and in the case of a structure that it is on its original location. Intangible elements of feeling and association, although difficult to describe, may also be factors in weighing the integrity of a site or structure.

7. Structures or sites of recent historical importance, relating to events or persons within 50 years, will not, as a rule, be eligible for consideration.
OTHER SITES EVALUATED

Many sites and buildings evaluated in the present study were not considered to possess exceptional value specifically in terms of Dutch and Swedish exploration and settlement. In some instances, however, the site and buildings noted below may have greater significance in another Survey theme or subtheme--such as architecture. Inclusion of sites and buildings in the category of "Other Sites Evaluated" does not preclude their consideration and possible recommendation for exceptional value in a theme where they more adequately meet the established criteria for the National Survey.

DELAWARE

Site of Crane Hook Swedish Church, Wilmington, east of New Castle Avenue: Approximate site of log church built in 1667, which was forerunner of Holy Trinity (Old Swedes) Church in Wilmington. Site is identified by native granite marker erected by the Historical Society of Delaware in 1896.

Hendrickson House, 610 Church Street, Wilmington: 17th century Swedish house, moved from original site at Essington, Pennsylvania, to grounds of Holy Trinity (Old Swedes) Church. House is noted in this report under description of Old Swedes Church.

New Castle, six miles south of Wilmington on State Route 273: This historic community, founded by the building of Dutch Fort Casimir in 1651, contains a remarkable collection of public buildings and private dwellings reflecting its more than 300 years of existence. Inasmuch as the community relates to several periods and themes of history, it will be treated as an historic district under the architectural subtheme of Theme XX, The Arts and Sciences. The site of the original Dutch fort has been obliterated by changes on the waterfront of the Delaware River.
A charming survivor of Dutch settlement on the Delaware is The Old Dutch House in New Castle. The house is now a museum owned by the New Castle Historical Society.

March, 1961

NPS Photo
Swedish Blockhouse, Claymont, on U. S. Route 13 one-half mile south of Delaware-Pennsylvania boundary on Naaman's Creek: The "blockhouse," part of a later structure now used as a restaurant, is traditionally ascribed to Governor Johan Rising, last leader of New Sweden. The structure, two stories with hip roof, is believed to date from 1654. It supposedly was erected to guard the mills and dwellings on Naaman's Creek. Later it became the summer kitchen of a dwelling dating from the 16th century. This latter structure was a popular tavern on the road to Philadelphia.

Zwaanendael Settlement Site, Lewes: Granite block erected by State in 1909 marks supposed site of Dutch fort erected to protect the ill-fated Zwaanendael colony of 1631. Archeological investigation has turned up examples of Dutch brick and other artifacts. Although the colony failed, it has considerable importance in State history and is worthy of more interpretation to visitors.

NEW JERSEY

Abraham Ackerman House (Ackerman-Brinckerhoff House), 184 Essex Street, Hackensack: A fine early 17th century example of the Flemish Colonial style common to this section of New Jersey. To be noted further in Architecture Subtheme of Theme XX, Arts and Sciences.

Gebe Farm, Kings Highway, midway between Sharptown and Woodstown: Land purchased in 1720 by congregations of Swedish churches at Raccoon (Swedesboro) and Penn's Neck as site of Rectory to serve both parishes. Some foundation stones of original residence survive.

Log Cabin, Schorn Farm, one mile north of Swedesboro: Cabin traditionally believed to date from 1680's. Building stands on land originally purchased by Martin Mortensson, who also owned land on Darby Creek in Pennsylvania, described in this report under the "Swedish Cabin (Morton Homestead)."

Nothnagle House, one-quarter mile north of Repaupo, on Paulsboro-Repaupo Road: Considered one of oldest Swedish houses still standing in New Jersey, this one-story, whitewashed dwelling is believed to date from the mid-17th Century. The original log house is now part of a later structure.

St. George's Episcopal Church, Penn's Neck, Church Landing Road and Route 130: Church built in 1811 by congregation, originally founded by Swedish settlers in 1717. Present church stands about 200 yards north of site of original log building.
Staats-Von Steuben House, 105 Main Street, South Bound Brook: Built by a Dutch settler as a manor house around 1690; occupied by Von Steuben during the American army's encampment in the vicinity during the Revolution. The house has recently been restored and preserves many original features.

Terheun House, 450 River Street, Hackensack: Early 18th century Dutch gambrel type house of stone and wood construction; built by a French Huguenot family. Has a number of 19th century additions including wing, porch and dormers.

Trinity Episcopal (Old Sweden) Church, Swedesboro, on Kings Highway: Swedesboro was one of the earliest Swedish settlements in New Jersey and a major center of Swedish influence until the Revolution. Trinity Church was built by Swedish Lutherans in 1754 and was taken over by an Episcopal congregation five years later when the Swedish mission was terminated.

Zabriskie-Von Steuben House, North Hackensack: A fine Dutch Colonial house reflecting the period between 1735 and 1752. During the Revolution the house was occupied at various times by American and British commanders, including Washington and Cornwallis. Confiscated from its Tory owners and given to Baron Von Steuben, the house was never occupied by the great drill, and reverted to its original owners. House is a State property and is the headquarters of the Bergen County Historical Society.

NEW YORK

Bradt House, Schenectady County, on Schermhenhorn Road: A well-preserved example of the early 18th century, Dutch brick farmhouse once common to the region around Albany. End wing, and other additions reflect changes of the 19th century.

Brett-Teller House, Beacon, Von Nydeck and Teller Avenues: Original house of one-and-a-half stories, built in 1709, with later wings. Original portion has typical Dutch lines, with the gambrel roof curving outward to form the porch roof.

Colonel John Brinkerhoff House, near Fishkill: Built in 1730, this structure is a fine representation of the Dutch exterior in the Hudson Valley.

Pieter Bronck House, West Coxsackie on U. S. Route 9W: The stone wing of the present structure dates from 1663, while the larger brick addition was erected around 1738. Interior woodwork of the stone wing has been restored, and both sections of the house are relatively unaltered. The Bronck House is headquarters of the Greene County Historical Society.
Hendrick de Bries (Breese) House, Near Rensselaer on State Route 9J: A one and one-half story brick house built c. 1723. Considered at one time a good example of the brick farmhouse of the Albany area. The house is in ruins.

Dyckman House, Manhattan, Broadway at 204th Street: This Dutch-type structure is identified as the only remaining 18th century farmhouse in Manhattan. The house was built in 1783. Inasmuch as it relates to a period later than that covered in the present theme, the Dyckman House will be considered further under the Architecture subtheme of Theme XX, The Arts and Sciences.

Huguenot Street, New Paltz: The collection of Dutch-style stone houses which make Huguenot an unusual and important survivor of Colonial America has previously been classified in the National Survey in Theme IX, Development of the English Colonies, 1700-1775.

The "Old Stone House at Gowanus," Brooklyn: An excellent replica of the Dutch Colonial style, built in 1934. The prototype was built in 1699 and demolished in 1897.

Senate House, 312 Fair Street, Kingston: Originally a dwelling built by Colonel Wessel Ten Braeck in 1672. Here the New York State Senate held its first sessions in 1777. Building, constructed of rock-cut limestone with rear wall of brick, consists of one story, with basement and attic. Woodwork and roof burned by British during the Revolution have been replaced in period style.

Van Antwerpen-Webie House, Rotterdam Junction: A good example of a one-and-a-half story Dutch farmhouse, built of bluestone without mortar.

Van Cortlandt House, Van Cortlandt Park, in the Bronx, house is near Broadway and 242nd Street Entrance: House built in 1746-49 is a superior example of New York Georgian architecture. Will be considered more fully under Architecture subtheme of Theme XX, The Arts and Sciences.

Voorlezer's House, Staten Island, Richmond, on Arthur Kill Road opposite Center Street: This two-story frame building dating from before 1694, was erected by a Dutch congregation for religious and educational purposes. It has been identified by some sources as the Nation's oldest elementary school. The House will be given further consideration under the Education subtheme of Theme XX, The Arts and Sciences.
NORTH CAROLINA

New Bern (Historic District), Craven County: One of the oldest towns in North Carolina, it was founded in 1710 by a colony of Swiss and German Palatine settlers under the leadership of the Swiss Baron Christoph von Graffenried and was named after the present Swiss capital. Most of the surviving architecture is of the late 18th and early 19th centuries, and New Bern will be considered further under the Architecture subtheme of Theme XX, The Arts and Sciences.

PENNSYLVANIA

Christ Church (Old Swedes), Upper Merion, 740 River Road, Bridgeport: Stone church built in 1760 by Swedish congregation. Present church replaced a log cabin built in 1733 on land donated by Gunnar Rambo, a direct descendant of a Swedish settler who arrived with Johan Printz, a great governor of New Sweden.

Log Cabin, Darby Creek, one mile from Baltimore Pike, Lansdowne: Sometimes referred to as the "Lower-Swedish Cabin," this structure is supposed to date from about 1650. Log construction is typical of the Swedish Colonial style and consists of the original one-room cabin and a later addition, also of logs.

Saint James Church of Kingsessing, 6838 Woodland Avenue, Philadelphia: Church built in 1762 by a Swedish Lutheran congregation organized two years earlier.

Upper Swedish Cabin, 3860 Dennison Avenue, Clifton Heights: Much altered log building of one and one-half stories; date of construction is questionable, some sources placing it as early as 1643-1653, while others date it a century later.
OTHER SITES NOTED

Abraham Yates House, 109 Union Street, Schenectady, New York.

Hendrick Kip House, near Fishkill, on road from Beacon, New York.

Schenck-Crooke House, East Brooklyn, New York, U Avenue between E. 63rd and 64th Streets.


Wyckoff Homestead, Brooklyn, New York, corner of Ralph Avenue and Canarsie Lane.
Theme VII
Dutch and Swedish Exploration and Settlement

Working List of Sites Recommended for
Classification of Exceptional Value

Fort Christina State Park (Site of Fort Christina), Wilmington, Delaware. Here, at the end of March, 1633, landed the first Swedish expedition to the Delaware. Here was erected the first fortification of New Sweden, around which grew the community destined to be the nucleus of Swedish settlement on the Delaware. Historically and geographically Fort Christina was the heart of New Sweden, and its site is the most important physical link with the time more than three centuries ago when Swedes ruled the South River. Criteria 1 and 2. Previously approved by the Advisory Board.

Holy Trinity (Old Swedes) Church, Wilmington, Delaware. Built in 1693 on the site of the first burial ground of the settlement around Fort Christina, Holy Trinity is the oldest surviving church built by and for a Swedish congregation in the Delaware Valley. No other structure is so closely related historically and geographically to the pioneer Swedish settlement on the Christina River, and none has retained its architectural integrity to so marked a degree. From every standpoint, Holy Trinity is a pre-eminent survival of Swedish settlement on the Delaware. Criteria 1 and 4. Previously approved by the Advisory Board.

Governor Printz Park, "Capital" of New Sweden, Essington, Pennsylvania. On Tinicum Island, formed by Darby Creek, Bow Creek, and the Delaware River, at the southern edge of modern Philadelphia, stood the headquarters of the colony of New Sweden from 1643 until 1653. This span covered the administration of the fabulous Governor Johan Printz who made Tinicum Island his home as well as his "capital." The site is one of the most notable preservations relating to the story of the New Sweden, and it derives further significance from the fact that it was the first permanent white settlement in what became the colony and later the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania. Criteria 1 and 2. Previously approved by the Advisory Board.

Swedish Cabin (Morton Homestead), Prospect Park, Pennsylvania. This hewn-log structure is the best preserved and most carefully documented of the few known remains of Swedish settlement in the 17th century. The oldest portion of the house is believed to date from the middle of the 17th century, perhaps as early as 1654, one year before New Sweden fell to the Dutch. A second cabin was erected a few feet distant in 1693, the date being inscribed inside the fireplace. At some later date the
two 17th century sections were connected by a third structure, this one of stone. The long-time tradition that the house was the birthplace of John Morton, a Signer of the Declaration of Independence, is not verified, although a patent of 1672 does establish that the land on which the cabin stands was once owned by Morton's great-grandfather. Criterion 4. No record of previous action by the Advisory Board.

*Van Cortlandt Manor*, Croton-on-Hudson, New York. This structure, with its grounds and out-buildings, constitutes the most authentic and significant survival of the 18th century Dutch-English manor house of the Hudson Valley. The oldest portion of the manor house dates from the latter half of the 17th century; some authorities dating it from between 1665 and 1681. The building's simplicity of line and detail set it apart from the more pretentious manor houses of a later period, as exemplified by the nearby Philipsburg Manor at North Tarrytown and Philipse Manor in Yonkers. The Van Cortlandt manor house was remodeled in the mid-18th century and it is this period which is reflected in the recent restoration of the property. Criteria 1 and 4. Previously approved by the Advisory Board.

*Philipse Manor*, Yonkers, New York. Although the construction date of the earliest portion of Philipse Manor is open to question, the building is an outstanding survivor of the 18th century Dutch manorial system in the lower Hudson Valley. The mansion served as the social and administrative center of the great manor of Philipsburg, created under English rule in 1693. Governed successively by Lords of the Manor Frederick Philipse I, II and III, Philipsburg was closer to the colonial capital of New York and was more intimately associated with its social and political institutions than any of the other Hudson River baronies. Criteria 1, 2 and 4. Previously approved by the Advisory Board.

*Philipseburg Manor (Formerly Philipse Castle)*, North Tarrytown, New York. The older portion of this house was built in 1683 by Frederick Philipse, First Lord of a manor of 90,000 acres acquired from the Dutch West India Company. Although the more pretentious manor house at Yonkers, a few miles south, was Philipse's main residence when away from the city of New York, the simple stone house in North Tarrytown remains an authentic and important survivor of the great 17th century manor. Criteria 1 and 4. No record of previous action by the Advisory Board.

*Dutch Reformed (Sleepy Hollow) Church*, North Tarrytown, New York. The Dutch Reformed Church of North Tarrytown is a distinguished relic of Dutch America, notable for its architectural and historical associations with colonial life on the Hudson. As
the social and religious center of public life on the Manor of Philipsburg the church provided a common meeting ground for landed proprietors and tenants, thereby helping to weld the manor into an effective economic and political unit of Dutch provincial society. While the exact date of the building's construction is not certain, architectural authorities are unanimous in dating it from the closing years of the 17th century. Criteria 1 and 4. Previously approved by the Advisory Board.

Hurley, Historic District), New York. Preserved in this little town, lying between the Hudson River and the Catskills, is a collection of stone houses which, despite the usual alterations wrought by the years, still preserves the Dutch heritage of the region to an unusual degree. Ten of these solid dwellings, many still occupied by descendants of early Dutch settlers, extend along Hurley Street, the town's principal thoroughfare. Scattered nearby are other survivors of two centuries and more. A few of these have characteristics more English than Dutch, attesting to the changes in settlement after the fall of New Netherland; changes which occurred despite the stubborn, if non-violent, resistance of the original settlers to the English and their alien ways. Criteria 1 and 4. No record of previous action by the Advisory Board.

Fort Crailo, Rensselaer, New York. Fort Crailo, in reality a brick manor house, probably was built around the beginning of the 18th century. It stands near the center of what was once the 700,000 acre estate of Kiliaen Van Rensselaer, the first and only successful patroonship established by authority of the Dutch West India Company. This building on the east bank of the Hudson is the only important structure preserving the story of the greatest of the patroonships. Through years of use and social evolution the structure has been altered to a considerable degree and has suffered a consequent loss of its original Dutch character. However, it remained a center of Dutch culture and institutions on the Upper Hudson even as it underwent architectural transition. Its role in Dutch life in the Albany region was a major one and the architectural changes emphasize the social position and wealth which permitted the Dutch owners of Crailo to enlarge and alter their residence as the need arose. Criteria 1 and 4. No record of previous action by the Advisory Board.

Van Alen House, Kinderhook, New York. This brick house, built in 1737 is probably the most notable unrestored example of the Dutch farmhouse in the Upper Hudson Valley. One architectural historian has called it "a miraculous survival . . . ." Criterion 4. No record of previous action by the Advisory Board.