

### III. HISTORICAL RESEARCH

#### A. INTRODUCTION

The historical research was conducted in two phases. The first took place in association with the archaeological fieldwork during the late summer of 1986. The second occurred during July 1987 and was designed to augment prior work by focusing on the occupants of the parsonage in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries and the nature of their support. Overall, LBA has concluded that the ministers of the Swedish church, who occupied the parsonage in the eighteenth century were paid salaries and hence participated in the local market. In the early nineteenth century, the parsonage was used by the rector or leased out, the rents providing a salary to the incumbent. Other than the ministers who chose to remain in the dwelling, the residents of the lot during this period are unknown.

Numerous cartographic sources were identified at the Historical Society of Delaware in Wilmington and at the Hall of Records in Dover; these were particularly important for establishing the overall development and partitioning history of the block. The chain-of-title was established for property at the corner of Spring Alley and Walnut Street as far back as 1842, the earliest deed of record. Early deeds illustrating the transfers of property to the Old Swedes Church, the owner of record in 1842, were also examined. Limited data were recovered from the city directories and census records, although both of these sources were fully checked. The Minutes of the Old Swedes Church, now held by the Old Swedes Church and the Historical Society of Delaware, were carefully examined, and contextual information on religious life in general was obtained at the Gardner A. Sage Library, New Brunswick, New Jersey, and the Speer Library, Princeton, New Jersey. Additional descriptive information was found at the Morris Library, University of Delaware, Dover.

#### B. THE HISTORY OF BLOCK 1184 SOUTH OF SPRING ALLEY

The area bounded by French Street, Walnut Street, Second Street and Spring Alley was historically contained in the glebe of Trinity (i.e., Old Swedes) Church. Swedish colonists organized the earliest European settlement in the vicinity of Wilmington in 1638, but their colony, Christinaham, had largely vanished by the end of the seventeenth century. One of the cultural survivals of the Swedish presence was, however, the Swedish Lutheran Church, which perpetuated some use of the Swedish language. In 1698, the Swedish Crane Hook congregation built the stone church near a pre-existing graveyard; this became the nucleus for Christiana, or Trinity, Parish. Despite the presence of the church, many congregants spoke little Swedish by the middle of the eighteenth century, and the Reverend Israel Acrelius, who served the parish from 1748 to 1756 taught himself English in order to communicate with his parishioners (Hall 1938:3-4).

The Swedish (Lutheran) church was similar to the Anglican Church in that it retained the Apostolic Succession and episcopal organization. Like the Church of England, it was a national church in which the monarch played an integral role. The king, for example, appointed the ministers and paid their way to the colonies (Burr 1890; M'Cullough 1895:8-9). Rightmeyer (1947:97, 110) maintains that the historic cooperation between the English and Swedish congregations in Delaware rested more on the Erastian bases of both churches than on doctrinal terms. Here, the influence of latitudinarianism within both churches contributed to harmonious relations.

The fact that the Swedish monarch officially appointed their minister appears to have created little conflict, if any, for the colonial residents of Delaware, who apparently considered themselves full citizens of the English colony. The organization of the parish government into a panel of vestrymen and church wardens was virtually identical to that characteristic of the Anglican parishes. Finally, there are numerous examples of Swedish ministers preaching and administering the sacraments to German Lutheran and Anglican congregations. In one instance, the Society of the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, a secular institution, affiliated with the Church of England, that supported missionaries in the colonies, offered the Reverend Andreas Hesselius of Christiana an annual stipend of ten pounds in 1721 "in case you perform Divine service and preach in the English language in the several vacant churches in Pennsylvania, at least twenty times in one year" (as quoted in Rightmeyer 1947:102). The sharing of ministers, the similarity in church doctrine and government in the Erastian context all appear to have contributed to an environment of mutual toleration among theologically similar albeit culturally distinct groups.

At the local level, the secular affairs of the congregation, including hiring the pastor, were handled by the vestry, and the parish was financially supported by its members (M'Cullough 1895:13). Following medieval precedent, a glebe was set aside in 1699 for use of the church, including maintenance of the incumbent. Through the eighteenth century, clerics in Sweden received the greater part of their income from tithes and payments for performing specific ceremonies in addition to shelter and a supply of corn. These had medieval antecedents, which had been altered by the Reformation, the evolution of the Swedish economy to include industry as well as agriculture, and the substitution of the Swedish Crown for the Roman ecclesiastical hierarchy. The clergy had generally maintained their financial rights through the eighteenth century, although the payments took the form of a tax for the support of the church rather than as in-kind contributions (Alsne 1966:447-448). With the critical difference that it lacked state support and hence the authority to levy taxes, the vestry of Trinity continued this pattern, providing their rector with shelter and a salary, based on ground and pew rents. He augmented his income by charging fees for certain services (e.g., marriages) beyond catechizing the members and performing the sacraments. In this regard, ministering to the Germans and English assumed a financial dimension, as the Swedish minister was able to charge for his services.

With the survey of Wilmington immediately west of the glebe, the vestry decided in 1736 to subdivide their lands evidently in a grid similar to that characteristic of the fledgling town. One hundred and sixty parcels were eventually rented at an annual rate of £133 (Statement of Ground Rents, 1836, Holy Trinity [Old Swedes] Church Material, Box #1). The ground rents, it was supposed, would provide income to the congregation. This practice was not uncommon. Indeed, the Trinity Church of New York City (Anglican) let nearly 200 leases for lots on its farm west of Broadway and extending as far as the Hudson River (Blackmar 1979:133).

The system soon encountered difficulties. In 1738, the congregation discussed the need to hire a lawyer to retrieve back rents at a general parish meeting, and in 1745, the parish agreed to transfer the responsibility for looking after the ground rents to two agents. The confusion over the ground rents intensified. By July of 1753, a full list of leases could not be compiled because many of the lots, which had rented with the stipulation that they be improved within three years, had, in fact, been conveyed to new owners, who assumed full control over the property. In July of the following year, Pastor Acrelius discovered widespread disregard for the parish's stipulations and decided to reclaim possession of the land. At the annual meeting of the vestry in 1755, the board agreed to sell the vacant lots as the opportunity occurred (Burn: 1890:384, 391, 448-449, 454, 457). Control of the church lands and the associated finances remained a

problem. After Acrelius left in 1756, his successor, Eric Unander, applied for and received in 1759 a charter incorporating the church as the "Minister, Church Wardens and Vestry of the Swedes' Lutheran Church, called Trinity Church, in the Borough of Wilmington," hoping that a more secure legal basis would facilitate recovering their assets (Sharf 1888:II:706).

The initial partitioning and sale of lots in the block south of Spring Alley took place by the mid-eighteenth century (Figure 3). The Parsonage Lot originally extended the length of the block from Walnut Street to French Street; the presence of the parsonage at the southeast corner of Spring Alley had been verified by deed research and investigation of surviving church minutes (see Section III.C). A second lot extended across the middle of the block from Walnut to French Street. Two long, narrow lots, facing Walnut Street, at the southeast corner of the block, were leased to Caleb Way and Thomas Broom and the large lot at the corner of French and Second Streets was rented to Daniel Culvert. The rear portion of the Parsonage Lot and the two lots comprising the center lot were sold off in 1748 and were presumably vacant. The properties may have been improved according to the covenants of the leases.

On the eve of the Revolution, the block was on the periphery of the town (Anonymous 1772). By the middle of the next century, it had become almost fully developed through a mix of industrial and residential uses, with William Hare's pottery located on French Street and a series of dwellings lining Walnut Street (Sidney 1850). At this point, Trinity Church still owned land along Second Street, which had been leased to Caleb Way and Thomas Broom, but this property was sold to David Bush in 1855 (Church Wardens and Vestrymen of Trinity Church to David Bush; November 6, 1855, recorded December 7, 1855; New Castle County Deed Book U6:271). Bush sold part of the property, which contained 211 Second Street, to John Merrick a coach manufacturer, three years later (William and Susanna Bush to John Merrick; November 3, 1858, January 19, 1859; New Castle County Deed Book D7:451). By 1870, the lot contained three dwellings and a stable (John and Sarah Merrick to Rebecca Stephens; July 15, 1870, October 24, 1870; New Castle County Deed Book E9:481). Early in the twentieth century, the property was incorporated into the G. W. Baker Machine Company (Helen M. Barton et al. to G. W. Baker Machine Company; July 21, 1917, August 14, 1917; New Castle County Deed Book V26:380). A chain-of-title for the Parsonage Lot is included in Appendix D of this report.

The Swedish congregation at Christiana was folded into the American Episcopal Church in the early 1790s. The King of Sweden lost interest in the mission to the former English colonies after the Revolution, and the Swedish congregations had become, according to Rightmeyer (1947:109) "completely Americanized." In search of an institutional affiliation, the individual Swedish congregations in Delaware and New Jersey appear to have joined the dominant, local Protestant denomination. For Wilmington, this meant joining the American Episcopal hierarchy with which Trinity had historically enjoyed harmonious relations. Joseph Clarkson, who came to Trinity in 1791 was the first Episcopal rector.

The sale of the Parsonage Lot was obviously unrelated to Trinity's absorption into the Episcopal church but took place some fifty years later in 1842. In the intervening years, some of the ministers occupied the house and others did not. The dwelling and lot were then leased out and the proceeds were used to support the minister. The decision to sell the Parsonage Lot followed years of financial disarray in the wake of uncollected rents and coincided with a period of population growth associated with the transition from the merchant/milling economy of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries to the industrial economy of the period, 1830-1880 (Louis Berger & Associates 1987:I:25-26). Subdivision of lots and construction of residential rental properties in the 1840s was also observed in the nearby Block 1191 (Louis Berger &

TABLE 1. EARLY PASTORS OF HOLY TRINITY (OLD SWEDES) CHURCH,  
1712-1847.

NAME	PERIOD/TENURE	USE OF THE PARSONAGE*
	<u>Swedish Lutherans</u>	
Andreas Hesselius	1712-1723	Not Built
Samuel Hesselius	1723-1731	Not Built
John Enneberg	1732-1742	Not Built
Peter Tranberg	1742-1748	Not Built
Israel Acrelius	1748-1756	Residence 1751-1756
Eric Unander	1755-1758/60**	Residence
Andrew Borell	1758-1767	Residence
Lawrence Girelius	1767-1791	Residence
	<u>Episcopalians</u>	
Joseph Clarkson	1791-1799	Residence
William Price	1799-1813	Residence 1799-1811
William Wicks	1814-1817	Residence
Levi Bull	[1817?]-1819	Residence
Richard D. Hall	1819-1821	Residence
Ralph Williston	1822-1827	Residence
Pierce Connally	1827-1828	Rental Property
Isaac Pardee	1828-1835	Rental Property
Hiram Adams	1835-1838	Rental Property
John W. McCullough	1838-1847	Rental Property

\*Refers the the third parsonage, built in 1751.

\*\*Unander was recalled to Sweden in 1758 but because of the war did not leave Delaware until 1760.

Tranberg found the parsonage near the church to be uninhabitable. He offered to build a house at his own expense, if the congregation would provide the land. The church, then, gave him a lease of a corner lot in the "quarter" (i.e., neighborhood) in which the old parsonage had been located. Tranberg began the house in the spring of 1743 and moved into it at the end of the year (Burr 1890:379).

In 1749, Israel Acrelius was designated Provost of the Swedish Lutheran Church in the colonies. When Tranberg died in that year, Acrelius was assigned to Christiana (i.e., Wilmington). For a time after he arrived, Acrelius lived with Tranberg's family. In April 1750, the congregation resolved to build him a "priest house," underwritten by cash subscriptions (Account of the Parsonage House in Wilmington, 1750-1753, Trinity Church Accounts and Bonds, Item #9). In February of the following year, Andrew Tranberg and Henry Colesberry began to supervise construction, seeing to the purchase of stone, brick and lime and hiring workers. Actual construction began in July, and by autumn the house was so far advanced that the walls were up and the roof in place. Money to pay the mason and laborers was, however, lacking (Burr 1890:430, 432, 434, 436).

By October 1751, Acrelius had left Tranberg's household and had taken rooms in a house formerly owned by Hans Schmidt. The vestry examined the new parsonage and pronounced it satisfactory, but the pastor found the baking and cooking arrangements wanting and requested, in addition, that stone be laid around the house to keep water out of the cellar. Acrelius moved into the dwelling in November of that year although it was still incomplete (Burr 1890:443).

Acrelius returned to Sweden in 1755. His replacement, Eric Unander, arrived in September 1755 and remained until 1760 when he, too, was recalled to Sweden. No records have survived for the period of Provost Bell's incumbency (1750-1767). Lars Girelius arrived in October 1767 to fill the position, and Bell, who had remained in the colony, died in April of 1768 (Burr 1890:484-484).

There appear to have been three, eighteenth-century buildings used as a parsonage for Trinity (Old Swedes) Church. The most recent of these, i.e., the 1751 dwelling built for Acrelius with a detached kitchen (built in 1783), is probably the parsonage associated with the southwest corner of Spring Alley and Walnut Street. Scharf (1888:I:649) associates this location with the residence built by Tranberg and occupied by his heirs. However, the records of the congregation indicate (1) that Tranberg built this house at his own expense; and (2) that Tranberg's dwelling in which Acrelius briefly resided was the second of the three known eighteenth-century parsonages and obviously distinct from the residence that Acrelius occupied from 1751 to 1755. Both Scharf and the church records imply that Tranberg's heirs held on to the property, and the title search failed to link ownership or occupancy of the lot at the corner of Spring Alley and Walnut with Tranberg or his heirs. The Reverend Tranberg's sons Peter and Andrew owned and occupied adjacent lots on French Street (Tranberg Genealogical File, Historical Society of Delaware).

Thus, the subject lot has been correctly associated by Sharf with the parsonage of the Swedish church but incorrectly linked to Tranberg's occupation.

Ferris's (1736) map depicting Wilmington in 1736 shows a structure facing Spring Alley in the center of the northern lot (Figure 9). This was apparently the structure that Ferris (1846:297) later described as "one large wooden house . . . in Spring Alley between French and Walnut Streets, on the south side." The building belonged to the Swedish church, he continued, "and was the residence of their minister before they had built for his use that fine old brick house on

Walnut Street at the west corner of Spring Alley which is yet standing." The brick house, still extant in 1846, obviously corresponds to the structure built in 1751. The question is, can the presence of an older parsonage, presumably the first one built, be authenticated, since the source of Ferris's information is unknown and the deeds refer only to the most recent parsonage, which was still standing in the early 1840s.

The wooden dwelling appears to correspond to an "old" parsonage described by Acrelius in his history of Swedish settlements, which he published in 1759 after he returned to Sweden. Acrelius's (1759:305-306) version of the events leading to construction of the third parsonage in 1750-1751 is essentially the same as that recorded in the contemporary parish records. He described a brick parsonage built in 1751 at the cost of £343 16s 4d, which contained three stories with two rooms on each floor "according to the custom of the town." The "old parsonage," obviously distinct in Acrelius's mind from the Tranberg dwelling in which he had temporarily resided, was still standing after the new parsonage was built and "serves for a kitchen, store-room, servant's room & stable, all under one roof." This structure was presumably the wooden building described by Ferris, although as it served as a kitchen, it may have been fairly close to the brick dwelling. According to Acrelius, a vegetable garden was also located near the house.

The vestry minutes from the second half of the eighteenth century contain references to various repairs undertaken at the parsonage and its associated grounds. Overall, the most significant aspect of these items, when considered collectively, is that they are consistent with a parsonage complex that included the brick dwelling, associated garden and outbuildings. On September 12, 1768, the church paid "Lipence [?]" for "taking down the Old House." The next entry, made two weeks later, was for shingles for the parsonage stable and the following August (1769), Isaac Justis was paid for "work done at the Parsonage House & Stable" (Christiana Congregation to Neils Justis and Justa Walraven, Trustees, December 19, 1770, Trinity Church Accounts and Bonds, Item #36). It is plausible that the former (or "old") parsonage, which had contained several functions including stabling horses, was the "Old House" taken down in 1768, which was replaced by a new stable then under construction.

On the other hand, a new kitchen was not built until 1783/1784 (Christiana Congregation to Justa Walraven, January 5, 1785, Trinity Church Accounts and Bonds, Item #47), so the older structure may have been retained, although the complex was expanded to include a separate stable in the late 1760s. In May 1775, the minister requested construction of a kitchen. Not until April of 1783, however, did the vestry agree to build a kitchen. In October, the cellar was dug for the kitchen and the foundation laid. By the end of December, the roof had been finished. It was apparently a two-story structure as there are references to an interior stairway (Burr 1890:509, 514).

In addition to the stable and the kitchen, other elements of the parsonage complex in the early 1780s included a cellar, an "out" cellar, a cow shed and fences enclosing the kitchen garden and separating the lot from the street. Although the dates of the various accounts are as late as 1785 and 1786, the entries appear to refer to structures in place or under construction in 1783 and 1784, when a series of renovations was undertaken. Shaded ovens with iron doors, apparently outside of the kitchen, were built at this time, and work was done on the interior of the house and other buildings. Windows of the dwelling were reglazed; mouldings and shelves in the "big room" were mended, and the "balcony door" was repaired. Repeated purchases of shingles imply that much work was done on the roofs of various structures, and repair of the floor of the stable was specifically itemized. Lime was also bought, which may have been used both for

whitewash and for plaster (Burr 1890:415; Christiana Congregation in Account with Justa Walraven February 14, 1788, The Church Wardens and Vestrymen of Christiana Congregation to Lawrence Girelius, [1783-1784], The Corporation of Trinity Church in Account with Lawrence Girelius, [1785], Trinity Church Accounts and Bonds, Items #50, #56, #60).

References to the parsonage in the vestry minutes for the period 1795-1840 imply intermittent use by the rector and as rental property. Discussion of the parsonage usually occurred in the context of sometimes acrimonious annual negotiation of salaries or when bills were presented for repairs, for which the parish, not the incumbent, was responsible. The lot appears to have been occupied by the Swedish ministers through 1791 as well as by the first two "English" (or Episcopal) rectors (Table 1). The condition of the parsonage was frequently an issue. In January 1800, Price agreed to return to the church on the condition that he have the "mansion house and garden with the stable and chair house [sic] in good order" as well as several other lots and marsh lots from which he would derive income over and above his salary of £160, paid by the church (Meeting, January 13, 1800, Holy Trinity [Old Swedes] Church Material, Box #2).

In December 1811, Price appeared before the vestry and reported that he had left the parsonage to occupy a residence near the College, suggesting that they "put in a tenant to suit themselves" (Quarterly Meeting, Edward Thomas Tavern, December 7, 1811, Holy Trinity [Old Swedes] Church Material, Box #2). The following March, Isaac Hendricson, one of the church wardens, reported that he had rented the "parsonage house, garden and stable" to Sarah Springer and William Clark (Quarterly Meeting, March 7, 1812, Holy Trinity [Old Swedes] Church Material, Box #2). Since Springer and Clark were each responsible for only half of the annual rent of \$100, and since Clark split his share among himself and two partners, it is unclear if either Springer or Clark intended to occupy the lot. Rather, they may have decided to sublease to unknown tenants. One year later, in March 1813, the church warden resumed control of the "Parsonage House and Lots" in order to "rent them to best advantage" (Meeting, Trinity Church, March 20, 1813, Holy Trinity [Old Swedes] Church Material, Box #2).

Rental of church lots had long been a means of supporting the congregation, and it is not clear from the subsequent minutes whether the former parsonage was henceforth relegated to the status of other rental properties or whether it was used solely by the incumbent. Arrangements between the vestry and the various ministers in this period typically contained provision for housing as well as a salary and the rents from some of the church lands. Wicks seems to have occupied the parsonage in 1814 (Porter 1815), but the arrangements in 1815 for the following year (i.e., 1816) included the provision for augmenting his salary if he "should incline to take another house." Wicks's discontent seems to have stemmed from deterioration of the parsonage, since he accepted the renewal with the understanding that "the vestry do some repairs to the Parsonage house," which were completed by December 1815 (Special Meeting, Lamborn's Inn, March 11, 1815, Meeting, Trinity Church, June 10, 1815, Holy Trinity [Old Swedes] Church Material, Box #2).

In December 1817, Wicks left under a cloud of scandal, the details of which are unknown. His successor, Levi Bull, agreed to accept the call to Trinity, provided he was paid a salary of \$1000 and given the parsonage, "garden, etc." (Special Meeting, Little Church, December 13, 1817, Holy Trinity [Old Swedes] Church Material, Box #2). Bull remained at Trinity for a year and was replaced by Richard Hall, who accepted \$800 in annual salary and "proceeds of the two lots" (Meeting, Trinity Church, March 1, 1819, Holy Trinity [Old Swedes] Church Material, Box #2). There is no explicit reference in the vestry minutes to occupation of the Parsonage Lot as part of Hall's remuneration, but later negotiations refer to the "house and other privileges he

now enjoys" and the vestry was charged for cleaning the parsonage in December 1821 after Hall departed. Still another reference noted a parishioner's call on Hall at the "Parsonage" in 1819 (Meeting, Trinity Church, January 5, 1821, Holy Trinity; Special Meeting, Plumley's Inn, December 10, 1821, Holy Trinity [Old Swedes] Church Material, Box #2; The Rev. Richard Hall File, Historical Society of Delaware Genealogical Surname File).

Ralph Williston, Hall's successor, accepted \$700 and the "dwelling house, garden and lot at the Church." Shortly after he arrived, the vestry was billed for the costs of the paper for "the Parlour and entry of the Parsonage house." In 1825, the vestry also agreed to examine the parsonage and premises to assess the need for repairs (Special Meeting, Plumley's Inn, March 20, 1822; Meeting, Trinity Church, September 7, 1822, Holy Trinity [Old Swedes] Church Material, Box #2).

Williston left in 1827, and thereafter, the vestry attempted to pursue a policy of offering a salary not to exceed \$500 and use of the parsonage house, only if the incumbent occupied the dwelling, a stipulation that implies that occupation versus use of the parsonage may have been a source of disagreement. Pierce Connally, the minister from 1827 to 1828, appears to have rented the house in order to augment his living, having obtained permission to do so at a special meeting of the vestry in January 1828 (Special Meeting, February 1827; Special Meeting, January 25, 1828, Holy Trinity [Old Swedes] Church Material, Box #2). For the next several years, the minister appears to have had the choice of a salary plus use of or rents from the parsonage, and there are no references to maintenance of the property in the minutes. By 1835, the church was in serious financial trouble, much of it surrounding back rents for their properties. The investigating committee in December of that year recommended aggressive collection of back rents and stipulated that pew rents and rent of the parsonage be set aside for paying the minister's salary (Meeting at the House of the Rector, December 14, 1835, Holy Trinity [Old Swedes] Church Material, Box #2). In 1841, still in the context of straightening out their finances, the vestry appointed a committee to ascertain how much might be raised from outright sale of the Parsonage Lot, which they decided to auction off at their quarterly meeting in December (Meeting, Trinity Chapel, December 14, 1841, Holy Trinity [Old Swedes] Church Material, Box #4).

In 1842, Lewis Ashton bought the property at the corner of Spring Alley and Walnut Street (Appendix A). He eventually subdivided it into two lots. At that time, there was a two-story brick structure, corresponding to the parsonage on the northern two-thirds of the property (i.e., 217-219 Walnut Street). The southernmost parcel (215 Walnut Street) was sold to William Thatcher shortly after Ashton's purchase. The sale was subject to the requirement that Thatcher build a brick dwelling on the property within eighteen months, which would be of sufficient value to earn an unspecified annual rent.

The stipulations of Thatcher's purchase imply intention to use the lot as rental property. Thatcher, a ship's carpenter, appears in the 1850 and 1860 Federal censuses of population (U.S., Bureau of Census 1850, 1860), but the city directories indicate that he lived on Shipley and maintained a business at the corner of Front and Pine Streets (Boyd 1857:116, 1865:269). Thatcher sold the property to Margaret Wigglesworth in August 1865. Wigglesworth owned the property for only three years, but the information in city directories indicates that she and her family occupied the house by 1866 (Milliken & Co. 1866:183) and were intermittently associated with the property until 1878, although she sold it to Hannah Reed in 1868. Wigglesworth and her four sons: E. F., a morocco dresser; George; J. Curtis, a bartender; and John H., a paper hanger; are listed at this address in 1869, 1871, and 1874 through 1878 (Boyd 1874:331; Commercial Printing Co. 1875:302, 1876:334-335; Ferris Bros. 1878:322; Whitecar and

Singley 1871:236). Wigglesworth owned several properties in Wilmington, including the lot at 305 French Street on which her son George lived (Louis Berger & Associates 1986b:II:IV-12).

Hannah and Samuel Reed owned the property until 1886. The Reeds appear to have moved to the dwelling in 1881 although Samuel kept his business in house furnishings on East Second Street (City Directory of Wilmington 1881-1882:346). They moved out of the house when it was sold in 1886, and the new owner, Henry Sharpless, used it as a rental property, leasing it in 1887 to Walter H. Hartlove, a gun and locksmith who lived at 215 Walnut Street and maintained his business at 300 French Street (Costa 1887:354). Hartlove remained at this location though 1890 (The Mercantile Printing Co. 1890:262) although the property changed hands several times in this interval. Lawrence Wall, a tinsmith who bought the lot in 1891, listed his residence as 215 Walnut Street in 1898 (Colquhoun 1898:699). The property appears to have been used as a dwelling through 1936 (Franklin Survey Company 1936).

Although a series of either tenants or resident owners were identified at 215 Walnut Street, relatively little information was obtained on the history of 217-219 Walnut Street for the period after 1842. The brick parsonage was obviously still standing in 1846. A pair of row houses replaced it by 1876 (Hopkins 1876). A second set of two-and-one-half story row houses of a somewhat different configuration may have replaced these by 1884 (Sanborn 1884), although the 1876 configuration is shown at this location on the 1893 Baist atlas (Baist 1893). By 1927, the property had been incorporated into the G. W. Baker Machine Company and a large shed covered the lots.

#### D. THE MAINTENANCE OF MINISTERS

Acrelius's description of the parsonage property made several assumptions about the structure and economic basis of the pastor's household. The lot contained a kitchen garden for the support of the household, and apparently, the eighteenth-century minister was expected to keep at least one cow as well as a horse. The presence of cellars indicates that some storage of food was available. The "old" parsonage included quarters for servants, who were probably considered a necessity. The care of animals and cultivation of the vegetable garden adjacent to the parsonage would not have been appropriate behavior for an educated man in the eighteenth century nor would it have been appropriate for his wife, although she probably supervised the activity.

Information on actual contents of the parsonage is meager. One list of chattels belonging to the parsonage at the time that Tranberg took over the post in 1744 itemized one "old contumacious negress," one "old cow," a walnut table, two chairs and some "old pewter spoons" (Burr 1890:380). Both the slave and the cow were sold. Except for this reference, the minister appears to have owned his household goods outright. The congregation, for example, agreed to pay for Acrelius's lodging while he boarded with Tranberg's family but he was expected to furnish other "necessities" for himself (Burr 1890:40). When Girelius left for Sweden, he advertised the sale of all of his household and kitchen furniture in the Delaware Gazette (The Reverend Lawrence Girelius, Historical Society of Delaware Genealogical Surname File).

Providing the garden, however, suggests that the congregation initially assumed at least some responsibility for the minister's subsistence. One list of funds advanced to Unander for the period 1756 to 1758 has survived, in which he was compensated for the purchase of three wine glasses, a pair of salts and a number of food items. Among the items listed were several quarts of rum, several pounds of sugar, one barrel of mackerel, one quart of clove water, one quart of aniseed and one bushel of oats (Old Swedes Records, Item #98). There are only 12 entries for

the two-year interval, suggesting that this represented some sort of agreed-upon augmentation rather than the source of his family's diet. It is, nonetheless, interesting in that it shows that the pastor operated on a monetary basis for foodstuffs, either in cash or credit, even in situations when the bill was eventually footed by the congregation.

The tenure of the ministers at Wilmington was relatively brief, except for Girelius, who stayed for more than twenty years (see Table 1). Unfortunately, little is known about the composition of his household; his name does not appear in the reconstructed 1782 or 1790 censuses (DeValinger 1954; Hancock 1983). The reasons for the high degree of transiency are not clear. The eighteenth-century ministers were usually recalled to Sweden, and the nineteenth-century ministers appear to have left when the annual salary negotiations failed to achieve mutually acceptable terms.

Two of the nineteenth-century ministers were identified in the Federal census: William Price in 1800 and 1810 and Richard Hall in 1820. Price reported a seven-member household in 1800 that included five whites and two slaves (U.S., Bureau of Census 1810:175). Two of the whites, a man and a woman, were between the ages of 26 and 45; these were probably Price and his wife. The remaining white members of the household included a boy and a girl under the age of 10, and one girl between the ages of 10 and 16. In 1810, Price reported a thirteen-member household that included two free blacks, who may have been the slaves listed ten years earlier, now emancipated (U.S., Bureau of Census 1810:141). The age distribution of the white members of Price's household included one white male between the ages of 26 and 45, i.e., Price himself; one boy and two girls under the age of 10; one boy and two girls between the ages of 10 and 16; and two boys and two girls between the ages of 16 and 26. His wife had apparently died.

Genealogical information housed at the Historical Society of Delaware reveals that Sarah Price, William's first wife, died in 1814 at the age of 39 (The Rev. William Price File, Historical Society of Delaware Genealogical Surname File). He married Ann Shields, a widow, in May 1815, who died in January 1816 at the age of 41. Shields had been the widow of Captain Robert Shields and the daughter of William and Rebecca Stidham, who were members of a prominent local family. Price won a \$3000 ticket in the 1811 lottery, which may have occasioned his decision to leave the possibly dilapidated parsonage and then the employ of the church. He became a teacher at the "English School" at Wilmington College in 1816.

Hall's household, reported in 1820, was definitely smaller and possibly younger than Price's had been (U.S., Bureau of Census 1820:188). Hall reported one white man and one white woman between the ages of 26 and 45, presumably himself and his wife. They had one child, a boy under the age of 10. There was, in addition, one free black boy under the age of 14 listed as a member of the household.

The presence of slaves among the possessions of the eighteenth-century and early nineteenth-century pastors implies relative affluence as does the description of the brick parsonage. The scraps of genealogical information also suggest that these were men of some social position, consistent with their educational level, which in the eighteenth-century context elevated them to the status of gentlemen. It is not clear that this position of respect was matched by material well-being. Eighteenth-century Anglican clerics, about whom much more is known, routinely complained that their salaries fell short of a level necessary to maintain a standard of living appropriate to their status (Calam 1971:199; Ritchie 1976:41). Trinity parish in Wilmington was chronically in financial straits due to mismanagement of the rents and subscriptions that failed to

materialize. Although the Swedish pastors were able to augment their salaries by ministering to other congregations, it is unlikely that their maintenance was substantially more generous than that afforded clergy and teachers of the Church of England. Indeed, in the Southern colonies, where the Church of England was established and where salaries were tied to the price of tobacco, eighteenth-century Anglican clerics did quite well, on the whole. It is entirely possible that the various incumbents of Trinity did not rely solely on their salaries and fees but also had access to inherited capital. Unfortunately, virtually nothing is known of the economic backgrounds of the men who served Old Swedes Church in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.

The colonial congregation clearly operated primarily on a monetary basis with provision of shelter as the only in-kind contribution. The bulk of the remuneration was through salary and access to a portion of the rents of the church lands. The single reference to providing foodstuffs was in the form of reimbursing Unander for funds expended, indicating that the minister had paid cash or obtained credit for the items, and this may have been an isolated and unusual incident. By the 1820s, even the provision of shelter had been converted to a financial arrangement. Except for the produce from their garden and the milk from the cow, the ministers presumably relied entirely on the local market for their subsistence.