

**THE 1693 CENSUS OF THE SWEDES  
ON THE DELAWARE**

*Family Histories of the Swedish Lutheran Church Members  
Residing in Pennsylvania, Delaware, West New Jersey & Cecil County, Md.*

*1638-1693*

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## Foreword

Peter Craig did not make his living, or support his four children, during a career of teaching, preparing classroom lectures, or burning the midnight oil to grade examination papers. It was sheer love of the subject that triggered off his interest, and motivated him to engage in research and writing in the discipline of American history.

Peter was professionally educated as an attorney-at-law, receiving an undergraduate degree at Oberlin College followed by a JD from Yale Law School in 1953. He was subsequently admitted to the bar in the District of Columbia, and in 1959 was admitted to practice before the United States Supreme Court. His legal career comprised 36 years of general and corporation law practice in the nation's capital.

In 1989 he voluntarily took early retirement from a responsible position as Associate General Counsel of a national corporation's headquarters in Washington, D.C. His objective was to devote full time to a different field of endeavor which had been consuming more and more of his leisure time and attention. The irony was that the new area of specialization was unrelated to the broad spectrum of the nation's legal history, but he narrowed his focus on a topic which to some may have seemed minuscule; namely, the study of Swedish immigration to the Delaware River valley in the early seventeenth century, with its accompanying genesis of one small facet of Euro-American colonial life on a New World beachhead.

Why did a man of Peter's educational background and experience turn away from a legal career in favor of what might appear to be constraints of this limited field of inquiry? There was no secret about it. The essential reason was a very personal one — he had learned through his part-time research that his family tree included *nine* of these Scandinavians. They were among the earliest residents who made up the initial population of what the Swedes called Nya Sverige (New Sweden), the name they gave to their American colonial venture intended as a counterpart of New England, New France, New Netherland, New Spain, and other New World colonies settled by Europeans.

William Penn later used the quaint and misspelled words "Antient Sweeds" to characterize the Swedish and Finnish settlers who crossed the



Atlantic before Penn was born! Peter learned that there were a number of small, but thriving Scandinavian communities on the shores of the Delaware and its tributaries when Penn arrived in 1682 seeking a peaceful refuge for his persecuted Quaker followers.

One of Peter's first ancestors to arrive in New Sweden was a Swedish soldier named Peter Jochimson (progenitor of the Yocum family), a native of Schlesvig-Holstein, who arrived on a crowded ship with Governor Johan Printz in 1643. He married a young Swedish maiden named Ella Stille in 1652. Peter is a 12th generation descendant of this marriage which was a fruitful one; the couple's son had ten children. Jochimson did not live to tell his grandchildren about the homeland from whence he came. He was selected as a diplomatic courier to carry a message to the rival Dutch administrator in New Amsterdam on Manhattan Island "proffering all good neighborliness." He fulfilled his mission, but died in New Amsterdam of unknown causes and never rejoined his family on the Delaware.

Peter's curiosity was aroused by what had happened to Jochimson's wife and children, and this naturally led him to collateral relatives and neighbors. He found rare fulfillment not by delimiting himself to his own lines of descent, which is often where genealogical research stops, but in gathering every shred of information he could find about *all* the migrant families from Sweden. His goal was to learn everything he could about each family who debarked from Gothenburg in the known expeditions between 1637 and 1655, braving rough seas, discomfort, hunger, and often sickness and death, before reaching the capes of Delaware Bay.

What were the names of the vessels and their captains and mates? Were passenger lists extant? What were the occupations of the heads of families, and what motivated them to leave a land of religious freedom to go to America? Where along the tributaries of the Delaware River did they make new homes? How did they get along with the native Indians? How did the Dutch administration of the New Netherland, which included the Delaware estuary, react to the intrusion of uninvited families?

These and many other questions could only be partially answered in published sources. Peter found books and articles dealing with colonial governors, accounts of rivalries among European countries in the scramble for New World riches, and descriptions of wars and international hostilities. Regrettably there was very little in print about the lives of the settlers themselves and their families.

Dr. Amandus Johnson, the outstanding source of historical data about New Sweden, devotes limited space to brief biographical sketches, but these largely pertain to contemporary nobility, and other prominent political and commercial personalities. Johnson's list of the names of some of the common people is incomplete and lacks detail. Johnson realized this and stated, "It is the intention of the writer to publish a more complete list in a

following volume, which comprises names of Swedish, Dutch, Danish and Norwegian settlers from 1656 to 1700, also indicating the localities where the colonists lived."<sup>1</sup> It is not my intent to detract from the work of this pioneer in early Swedish-American history, but other activities took precedence over the goal he set for himself.

Peter learned why local and regional writers often reach an impasse in providing information about the "little" people — it has simply not been published. A work-study grant enabled him to pursue his research in the National Archives in Sweden, and in other Swedish institutions where letters, journals and state documents have still been preserved in longhand. Illegibility of some of this material often constitutes a problem in making accurate transcriptions, and data recorded in Swedish, German or Dutch must be translated into English. These data are not like ripe grapes waiting to be plucked, and the tangled vines yield fruit only through patient and tireless research.

Peter comments about this problem in his Sources and Acknowledgments, as well as American court and church records, all indispensable to a scholar seeking enlightenment in primary sources. This is especially important when one is reconstructing family histories as a contribution to American life and culture in contrast to merely tracing one lineage.

Aware of Peter's experience as a lawyer, it is apparent to me that he speaks with authority when discussing warrants, land patents, testamentary letters, nuncupative wills, title deeds, and other legal instruments. Life may have been less litigious in the early communities covered by the 1693 census than it is in modern America. Nevertheless, there were contentions that had to be resolved on legal grounds, and Peter's technical point of view uniquely serves a useful purpose as he digs into documentary records.

In a publication dealing with vital statistics, dates, places, events, personal names, and individual details, one might ask whether inaccuracies have found their way into the text? Peter answers this question himself on the first page of his Introduction. He says that although the unknowns he faced when he started the project have been reduced, "Additional analysis and still undiscovered evidence will further reduce the unknowns in the future." If the reader possesses information that negates any of his data, or if contradictory information should come to light, I'm sure he would be the first to accept it. Nothing would please Peter Craig more than a flawless account of the "Antient Sweeds" in which all of the questions anyone can ask will have satisfactory and undisputed answers.

C. A. Weslager

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<sup>1</sup> Johnson, 716, n.24.

## Introduction

The 17th century Swedish settlers on the Delaware River have been a mystery for historians and genealogists alike. For many historians, the colony of New Sweden (1638-1655) was an insignificant blip on the screen of American colonial history. The more conscientious have sought to identify and understand the New Sweden settlers, but with limited success. Records seemed too few; the names too confusing. All too often, conjecture and myth became substitutes for facts. This is unfortunate because there are an estimated 20-30 million living descendants of these early Swedish settlers.

This book is written as a step toward filling the gaps in our knowledge about the first settlers on the Delaware. It is based upon the 1693 census of the Swedes on the Delaware, a census taken to document the colonists' argument to Swedish authorities that there remained a sizable group of Swedes in America who were worthy of help in the form of new pastors for their churches and new religious books in the Swedish language.

That 1693 census, never accurately presented before, was the basis for a series of articles originally published in the *Swedish American Genealogist*, 1989-92. The objective of that series was to identify the location and inhabitants of each of the 195 households enumerated in that census and to trace these persons back to their New Sweden origins.

In this book, I have retained the organization of the seven chapters of this series — down to preserving the same footnote numbers. These chapters have been expanded, however, to incorporate corrections and to add new materials that were not contained in the original publications.

Writing this book has been a learning process for me. When I began, I thought some of the 1693 census entries were insoluble. However, as the pieces of the Swedish Delaware River puzzle were put together, the number of unknowns has been materially reduced. Additional analysis and newly discovered evidence will further reduce the unknowns in the future. It is hoped that the act of publishing my findings to date will help spur further research in this neglected area of American local history and genealogy.

## The New Sweden Colony

Between 1637 and 1655, Sweden equipped thirteen passenger voyages for the South (Delaware) River, which departed with about 800 prospective



settlers. Eleven vessels and some 600 passengers reached their intended destination.

The first settlers were carried on the *Kalmar Nyckel* [Key of Kalmar] in 1637-38. Although 24 men were left at Fort Christina (now Wilmington), only one of these — Clas Johansson — remained in America permanently. In 1693 his descendants were known as Johnsons in present Pennsylvania and as Classons in present Delaware and Maryland.

The *Kalmar Nyckel* came again in 1640 carrying over 35 new settlers, including a minister and the first women and children. For the third expedition, in 1641, the *Kalmar Nyckel* was joined by the *Charitas*. Together, they brought over 80 men, women and children.

Another 60 arrived in 1643 on the *Fama* and *Swanen* [the Swan]. Among them was Johan Printz, who was to govern New Sweden for the next ten years. Both the *Fama* and the *Kalmar Nyckel* came again to New Sweden in 1644, but brought only 13 new settlers. War between Sweden and Denmark caused a suspension of colonization efforts and it was not until 1647-48 that emigration was renewed. Approximately 25 passengers then arrived on the *Swan*, including a new pastor, Lars Carlsson Lock. In 1649, another 70 settlers departed Sweden on *Kattan* [the Cat]. None of them reached the Delaware. They were shipwrecked near Puerto Rico and imprisoned by the Spaniards. Fewer than half managed to return to Sweden alive.

The colony came close to collapse in the early 1650s. Governor Peter Stuyvesant erected a fortified town at present New Castle in 1651 under the flag of the Dutch West India Company. Several dissatisfied settlers left New Sweden for the promise of free lands in neighboring Maryland. Others returned to Sweden, having completed their terms of voluntary or (in the cases of convicts) involuntary service. The freemen who remained in New Sweden rallied and, on 27 July 1653, twenty-two of them presented a petition to Governor Printz, complaining of his autocratic rule and urging reform. Signing this petition were many of the Swedes who were to serve as leaders of the Swedish community for the next generation:

Matts Hansson	Oluf Erichsson	Per Rambo
Olof Stille	Henrik Mattsson Finn	Petter Kock
Axel Stille	Valerius Loo	Swen Gunnarsson
Johan Hwiler	Hans Månsson	Anders Hansson
Hendrick Mattson	Peeter Jochim	Mårten Mårtensson
Iffver Hindriksson	Anders Andersson	Claes Johansson
Måns Andersson	Matts Hansson	Johan Fisk
		Lars Thomasson Bross

For the 400-pound Governor Printz, this was the last straw. Branding the petition of grievances a "mutiny," he threatened legal action against the signers and accused pastor Lock, Olof Stille and one of his own soldiers (Anders Jönsson) of instigating the crime. He ordered the soldier killed by a firing squad, packed up his possessions and returned to Sweden, leaving the colony under the command of his son-in-law Johan Papegoja.

Meanwhile, Sweden was preparing its largest expedition to New Sweden under the command of Johan Rising, who would be the last governor of the colony. The ship *Örnen* [the Eagle] left Gothenburg 2 February 1655 with a reported 350 passengers, 100 of whom died at sea. Reaching the Delaware, Rising demanded that the Dutch Fort Casimir surrender -- which it did; it had no gunpowder. Then Rising received the discouraging report from Papegoja that the population of New Sweden had been reduced to 70.

Of the 22 freemen who had signed the petition to Governor Printz in 1653, seven were no longer on hand to sign a new loyalty oath to Governor Rising at Tinicum Island in June 1654. After Printz' departure, fifteen men, many with families, had run away. Papegoja had then hired Indians to bring them back, dead or alive. The Indians returned with the severed heads of two men. As Anders Hansson and Valerius Loo had made it safely to Kent Island, Maryland, in the Chesapeake Bay and Axel Stille, John Hwiler [Wheeler] and Måns Andersson were to be found at Fort Casimir, it may be inferred that Hendrick Mattsson the Swede and Matts Hansson the gunner, brother of Anders Hansson, were the two victims of Papegoja's hired Indians. Their names do not appear on any record after the 1653 complaint.

In June 1654, Governor Rising reported back to Sweden that the population of the colony, "including the Dutch and all," was then 368 persons. This implies a population of about 50 persons (Dutch and Swedes) at Fort Casimir, which he had added to the colony under a new name — Fort Trinity. He fully expected more supplies and more settlers would arrive soon. They did not. *Gyllene Hajen* (the Golden Shark), which originally was to accompany the *Eagle*, did not leave Gothenburg until mid-April and, due to a navigation error, landed near Manhattan, where the ship was seized by Governor Stuyvesant and its cargo confiscated in September 1654. Only about ten of its passengers reached New Sweden. The others remained with the Dutch in New Netherland.

Governor Rising quickly made amends with the freemen who had protested Printz' conduct. Peter Rambo and Matts Hansson from Borgå were named to his Council, and Olof Stille and Peter Cock served as justices at court sessions held at Tinicum Island. By the end of the year, he had negotiated an "Ordinance Concerning People, Land and Agriculture, Forestry and Cattle," which guaranteed various property rights for the freemen. Food supplies, however, were insufficient for the increased population. The Dutch at Fort Trinity quietly returned to New Amsterdam. And several of the newly-arrived soldiers and freemen heeded invitations from their countrymen in Maryland and moved to that colony.

It may be estimated that about 300 persons remained in the colony of New Sweden when, on 30 August 1655, Governor Peter Stuyvesant appeared in the Delaware with seven armed ships and 317 soldiers. The outnumbered Swedish forces recognized that fighting was useless. Their fifty soldiers were divided between two fortresses. Captain Sven Skute surrendered Fort Trinity



on 1 September 1655, and Governor Rising surrendered Fort Christina on 15 September 1655.

Even as Rising was signing the final surrender of New Sweden, a thirteenth voyage was being prepared in Sweden. That voyage, by the *Mercurius*, carrying ten former New Sweden officers and servants, two Swedish wives, two Swedish maidens, and 92 Finnish men, women and children from the province of Värmland, Sweden, left Gothenburg on 25 November 1655 and arrived on the Delaware River on 14 March 1656.<sup>1</sup>

### The "Up-River Swedish Nation," 1656-1681

After the surrender of New Sweden, Governor Rising, several of his top aides and a few of the soldiers and freemen returned to Sweden. However, ninety percent of the colonists decided to remain in America. An important factor in this decision was the solicitude shown to his new subjects by the Dutch governor, Peter Stuyvesant, who agreed to recognize what was variously known as the "Swedish and Finnish Nation," the "Swedish Nation," the "up-river Swedes," or, in its final manifestation, "Upland County."

After overpowering New Sweden, Stuyvesant startled Governor Rising by offering to return the colony to him. Stuyvesant would retain Fort Casimir (present New Castle) and the area south of the Christina River, but he was willing to honor the boundaries as they had existed in Governor Printz' time, restoring the area north of the Christina to New Sweden. Governor Rising declined.

After Rising left the Delaware River with 36 of his supporters, Stuyvesant renewed his offer to the remaining settlers. The Swedes would be governed by a court of their own choosing; they would be free to continue their own religion and have their own militia and officers; they would retain their land-holdings and have freedom to continue trading with the Indians. In return, they were required to pledge loyalty to New Netherland and have their officers approved by Stuyvesant.

The "Swedish nation" was formally launched at a ceremony held at Fort Casimir on 4 August 1656 — 14 August by the Dutch calendar. On that day, the sheriff Gregorius van Dyck from Gothenburg appeared with the four magistrates — Olof Stille from Roslagen, Sweden; Mats Hansson from Borgå, Finland; Peter Cock from Bångsta, near Strängnäs, Sweden; and Peter Rambo from Hisingen, near Gothenburg, Sweden. All were sworn in and warned that in trading with the Indians no "strong beverages" were to be sold. Other initial appointments included Jöran the Finn of Crum Creek as provost or court-messenger, Sven Skute as captain of the militia, Anders

<sup>1</sup> See generally, *Johnson and Rising, passim*. Population data and name verifications come from the author's study of original New Sweden records in the Handel och sjöfart series at Riksarkivet (the National Archives) in Stockholm, Sweden.

Dalbo as lieutenant and Jacob Svensson as ensign.<sup>2</sup>

Although the actions of the "Swedish nation" were carefully monitored by Stuyvesant's deputy, Willem Beeckman, stationed at old Fort Christina (renamed Fort Altena by the Dutch), Stuyvesant's efforts to dictate policy to the Swedes were unsuccessful. In 1660, when preparing to make war on the Indians at Esopus (Kingston, New York), Stuyvesant tried to recruit soldiers from the Swedish nation. They declined. He also ordered the Swedes and Finns to move to a single fortified village. Again the Swedish nation refused, preferring to remain on their widely dispersed plantations.<sup>3</sup>

South of the Christina River there were several changes of government. In 1656 this area was transferred from the Dutch West India Company to the City of Amsterdam. Its colony, called New Amstel, was then captured by the English in 1664, only to be retaken by the Dutch in 1673. In 1674, it was returned to the English.<sup>4</sup> Throughout this period, the up-river Swedes successfully resisted any major encroachment on their historic domain.

The first test arose in 1663 when the Dutch West India Company transferred the area north of the Christina River to the colony of New Amstel. On the last day of 1663 (by the Swedish calendar), Governor Alexander d'Hinojossa summoned the Swedish magistrates with many of their fellow Swedes and Finns living north of the Christina River and demanded that they give him a new oath of allegiance, "which they unanimously refused to take until they had in writing those privileges of trade and other things which they had enjoyed under the Company's [Stuyvesant's] administration; without this they said they would be forced to leave." The Swedish nation prevailed. Their court continued. As a token of his authority, however, d'Hinojossa began issuing patents to the settlers north of Christina River, many of which are noted in subsequent English surveys and patents.<sup>5</sup>

The same persistence of the Swedes prevailed in October 1664 when the English overpowered the d'Hinojossa government and renamed New Amstel as New Castle. Under the surrender agreement, the existing Swedish magistrates were permitted to continue their offices and jurisdictions as formerly.<sup>6</sup> The make-up of the court for the Swedish nation, then meeting in Upland, witnessed changes. Israel Helm was added in 1663. With the retirement of Olof Stille and the death of Mats Hansson of Borgå before

<sup>2</sup> *NYHM*, 18:21; *NYCD*, 12:190-91, 211-13.

<sup>3</sup> *NYCD*, 12:297-98; *NYHM*, 18:82, 83a, 84, 85a, 86a.

<sup>4</sup> C. A. Weslager, *Dutch Explorers, Traders and Settlers in the Delaware Valley, 1609-1664* (1961) and *The English on the Delaware, 1610-1682* (1967).

<sup>5</sup> *NYHM*, 19:92; Henry D. Paxson, *Where Pennsylvania History Began*, 31; *PA2d*, 19:353-54; *DYR*, 123-24; *Wharton*, 39, 43, 62-63.

<sup>6</sup> *NYHM*, 20:1a, 1b.



1673, they were replaced by Lars Andersson Collinus, who had arrived on the *Eagle* in 1654 as a minister's scribe, and by Olof Svensson (son of Sven Gunnarsson), who had been born on the *Kalmar Nyckel* in 1640.<sup>7</sup> In 1676, a sixth justice was added, Otto Ernest Cock.<sup>8</sup>

The boundary between the Upland and New Castle courts became blurred during the temporary recovery of the Delaware River by the Dutch in 1673-74, when the Dutch Governor ordered that *both* courts could exercise jurisdiction on *both* sides of the Christina River.<sup>9</sup> This overlapping jurisdiction was doomed to failure. As the Upland court met quarterly and the New Castle court met monthly, the *de facto* boundary, dictated by litigants' desires for faster relief, moved northward to the Bought (half-way between Christina River and Naamans Creek) by 1678 and then, by 1681, all the way to Naamans Creek.<sup>10</sup>

In June 1680 the increased influx of Englishmen brought an end to the exclusively Swedish character of the Upland court. Otto Ernest Cock became the presiding judge. Israel Helm continued on the court. Lasse Cock replaced his father, Peter Cock. But Peter Rambo, Lars Andersson Collinus and Olof Svensson were replaced by two Englishmen, Henry Jones and George Browne.<sup>11</sup> A year later, the Swedes no longer held a majority of the court positions and, on 12 September 1682, the Upland court held its last session.<sup>12</sup>

<sup>7</sup> On 4 November 1674, Governor Edmund Andros issued an order to Peter Cock, Peter Rambo, Israel Helm, Lars Andersson and "Woolle Swain" [Olof Svensson] "authorizing you who were Commissaries at the time of the Dutch coming into these parts in July 1673, to reassume your places as Magistrates," with Cock serving as presiding justice. *NYHM-General Entries*, W:8.

<sup>8</sup> *UCR*, 37-38.

<sup>9</sup> *NYCD*, 2:604-05.

<sup>10</sup> In 1678 the two courts agreed that the boundary between them would be Olle Fransson's Creek, otherwise called Stony Creek, at the Bought on the west side of the Delaware and Single Tree Point on the east side of the river. *UCR*, 119; *NCR*, 1:262. In April 1681, however, the New Castle court named Hans Petersson overseer of roads from Brandywine Creek "as far as Upland Creek, as formerly" and decided three cases involving defendants living at Marcus Hook. *NCR*, 1:467, 473, 476-77. The New Castle court soon retreated. In March 1681/2 the Upland court named overseers of highways as far south as Naamans Creek. *CCR*, 1:14.

<sup>11</sup> *UCR*, 165.

<sup>12</sup> William Markham, acting for the new proprietor, William Penn, doubled the size of the Upland Court in September 1681, providing for an equal number of English and Swedish judges. *CCR*, 1:3-23. Commencing in 1683 the Upland court was replaced by three new county courts, for Philadelphia, Chester and Bucks counties.

### William Penn and the Swedes, 1682-1693

The end of the Swedish nation on the Delaware was sealed in March 1681 when William Penn received his charter for Pennsylvania. This was supplemented, on 24 August 1682, by deeds to Penn from James, Duke of York, adding the three lower counties (present Delaware). Although Penn did not come to the Delaware until late October 1682, twenty-three ships arrived from England in 1681-82 carrying his Quaker followers. The hegemony of the up-river Swedish nation was now history.<sup>13</sup>

Writing to England on 16 August 1683, Penn observed:<sup>14</sup>

"[T]he Swedes [inhabit] the freshes of the river Delaware. \* \* \* they are a plain, strong, industrious people, yet have made no great progress in culture, or propagation of fruit trees, as if they desired rather to have [just] enough than plenty or traffic. But I presume the Indians made them the more careless by furnishing them with the means of profit, to wit, skins and furs, for rum and such strong liquors. They kindly received me, as well as the English, who were few before the people concerned with me came among them. I must needs commend their respect to authority and kind behavior to the English; they do not degenerate from the old friendship between both kingdoms. As they are people proper and strong of body, so they have fine children, and almost every house full; rare to find one of them without three or four boys, and as many girls; some, six, seven, and eight sons. And I must do them that right, I see few young men more sober and laborious."

Thomas Paschal, a 1682 immigrant from Bristol, England, who lived adjacent to the Swedes at Kingessing, wrote in January 1683 that "most of the Sweads and Finns are ingenious people: they speak English, Swead, Finn, Dutch and the Indian." The men "will cut down a tree, and cut him off when down, sooner than two men can saw him, and rend him into planks or what they please, [using] only the axe and wooden wedges; they use no iron." They "have lived much at ease, having great plenty of all sorts of provisions." He found it strange, however, that they "plant but little Indian corn, nor tobacco" and noted that "their women make most of the linen cloth they wear; they spin and weave it and make fine linen. Many of them are curious housewives: The people generally eat rye bread, being approved of best by them."<sup>15</sup>

William Penn courted the Swedes' favor and it was desperately needed for his new enterprise. Not only did the Swedes provide food and housing for the newcomers but also essential services in negotiating with the native Indians. Peter Rambo, Peter Cock, Lasse Cock, Måns Cock, Sven Svensson and Peter Petersson Yocum were called upon to serve as interpreters in the purchase of lands from the Indians, lands which the Swedes had purchased

<sup>13</sup> *Soderlund*, 14-15.

<sup>14</sup> *Soderlund*, 317.

<sup>15</sup> *Myers*, 250-52.



many decades before.<sup>16</sup> When Maryland challenged Penn's claims to lands on the Delaware, seven of the "Antient Sweeds" provided depositions in 1684 verifying that the Swedish nation had possession, by purchase and occupation, since 1638.<sup>17</sup> Finally, the Swedes cooperated in providing Penn the lands he wanted for the City of Philadelphia, for his Pennsbury estate, and for disposition to new settlers.<sup>18</sup>

### Seventeenth Century Terminology

This book tries to employ 17th century terminology and spellings and, where the option exists, to prefer the Swedish usage over contemporary English and Dutch versions.

**"Swedes" and "Finns":** Throughout the 17th century Finland was an integral part of the Kingdom of Sweden. Hence the term "Swedes" *included* persons from Finland or persons whose primary language was Finnish. The term "Finns," as used in the 17th century, was restricted to persons whose primary language was Finnish. In point of fact, all of the "Finns" who came to the Delaware came from provinces in present Sweden (principally Värmland) and bore Swedish names. Conversely, those settlers coming from Finland proper were Swedish-speaking and were *not* called Finns.

**Dates:** The Dutch used the New Style (Gregorian) calendar in the 17th century. The Swedes and the English used the Old Style calendar which was then ten days behind. In addition, the English started the new year on March 25th. Thus, the date of 31 January 1693 (to the Swedes) would be rendered as 10 February 1693 by the Dutch and as 31 January 1692 (sometimes 1692/3) or 31 Eleventh Month 1692 by the English. This book seeks to apply the Swedish dating system.

**Spelling:** There was no standardized spelling in the 17th century among the Swedes, English or Dutch. The author has taken the liberty of modernizing spelling in most instances. Where a Swedish word or name was used, the apparently preferred 17th-century spelling has been used. Then, as now, the Swedes had three vowels not found in English: Å (pronounced as in "moan"), Ä (pronounced as in "fair") and Ö (pronounced as in "burn") The letter J is pronounced like Y; K is always sounded before N; W is pronounced like V; and G is frequently "soft" and pronounced like Y. Thus, Jöran or Göran, the Swedish equivalent of the English George, was rendered

<sup>16</sup> *PA1st*, 1:47-49, 62-67, 92-95.

<sup>17</sup> Affidavits of 11 Jan. 1683/4 and 25 June 1684, reproduced in Dunlap and Weslager, "More Missing Evidence: Two Depositions by Early Swedish Settlers," *PMHB*, 91:35-45. Peter Cock, Peter Rambo and Hans Månsson signed both depositions. Lasse Cock, Sven Svensson, Jacob Young from Gothenburg and Lars Andersson Collinus also signed the first one.

<sup>18</sup> See, e.g., Hannah Benner Roach, "The Planting of Philadelphia; A Seventeenth-Century Real Estate Development," *PMHB*, 92:3-47.

as Yurian or Urin by the English.

**First Names.** Some of the more common first names used by the Swedes evolved into English substitutes, which were not always literal translations:

Swedish	English	Swedish	English
Anders, Andreas	Andrew	Anna, Annika	Ann
Bengt	Benedict, Benjamin	Brita, Brigitta	Bridget
Carl	Charles	Catharina, Karin	Katherine, Cary
Christiern	Christian	Christina, Stina, Kirstin	Christiana
Eskil	Ezekial	Elisabeth	Elizabeth, Ella
Gösta, Gustaf	Justa	Gertrud	Hiertrude
Hendrick	Henry	Gunnilla	Jane, Jean
Jöns	James or Jonas	Helena	Eleanor, Ella
Jöran, Göran	George	Ingeborg	Ingebo
Lars, Lasse	Lawrence	Johanna	Hannah
Måns	Moses	Magdalena, Lena	Maudlin
Nils	Nicholas	Margareta, Greta	Margaret
Olof, Olle	Woolley, William	Maria	Mary
Mårten	Morton	Walborg	Barbara
Matthias, Mats	Mathew		
Pål	Paul		
Peter, Pehr, Per, Pelle	Peter		
Staffan	Stephen		
Sven	Swan		

**Last Names:** The principal barrier in following the history of individual Swedish families on the Delaware is the **patronymic** naming system then in vogue. Instead of a surname, boys and girls generally were known by their father's first name, followed by "son" or "dotter." Thus, the soldier Jöns Nilsson (later Jonas Nilsson) named his eldest son Nils Jonasson (Jonas' son). Society pressures were to add a surname or alias, especially when there were two or more persons with identical first names and patronymics. When surnames were selected or applied, however, they did not always stick. In addition, not infrequently, sons adopted (or were called by) their father's patronymic. Thus Peter, the son of Måns Petersson Stake, was called Peter Månsson, Peter Petersson and Peter Stake in contemporary records. He died as Peter Peterson, which became his family's surname.

### Geography and Place-Names

Virtually all of the adult males in the 1693 census of the Swedes were farmers. Their log cabins were built within walking distance of the Delaware River or a navigable stream. The dugout canoe was their primary means of transportation, whether it was to or from church, a court or a market. Although most of the Swedes owned horses and many owned oxen, wagons or carriages were rarely found in the inventories of their estates.

The Delaware River, therefore, was "main street" for the Swedish community, as it had been for 55 years. Overland roads, principally Indian paths, were secondary highways and generally not suitable for wagons.



Unable to find any maps that accurately depict the area covered by this 1693 census, I have employed the talents of Sheila Waters to prepare maps for the service areas of the two Swedish churches in 1693. These maps are reproduced on pages 11 and 13.

### The Wicaco Church

In 1693, the log church at Wicaco served Swedish families lining the Delaware River and its tributaries from Neshaminy and Senamensing on the north to Marcus Hook and Oldmans Creek on the south.<sup>19</sup>

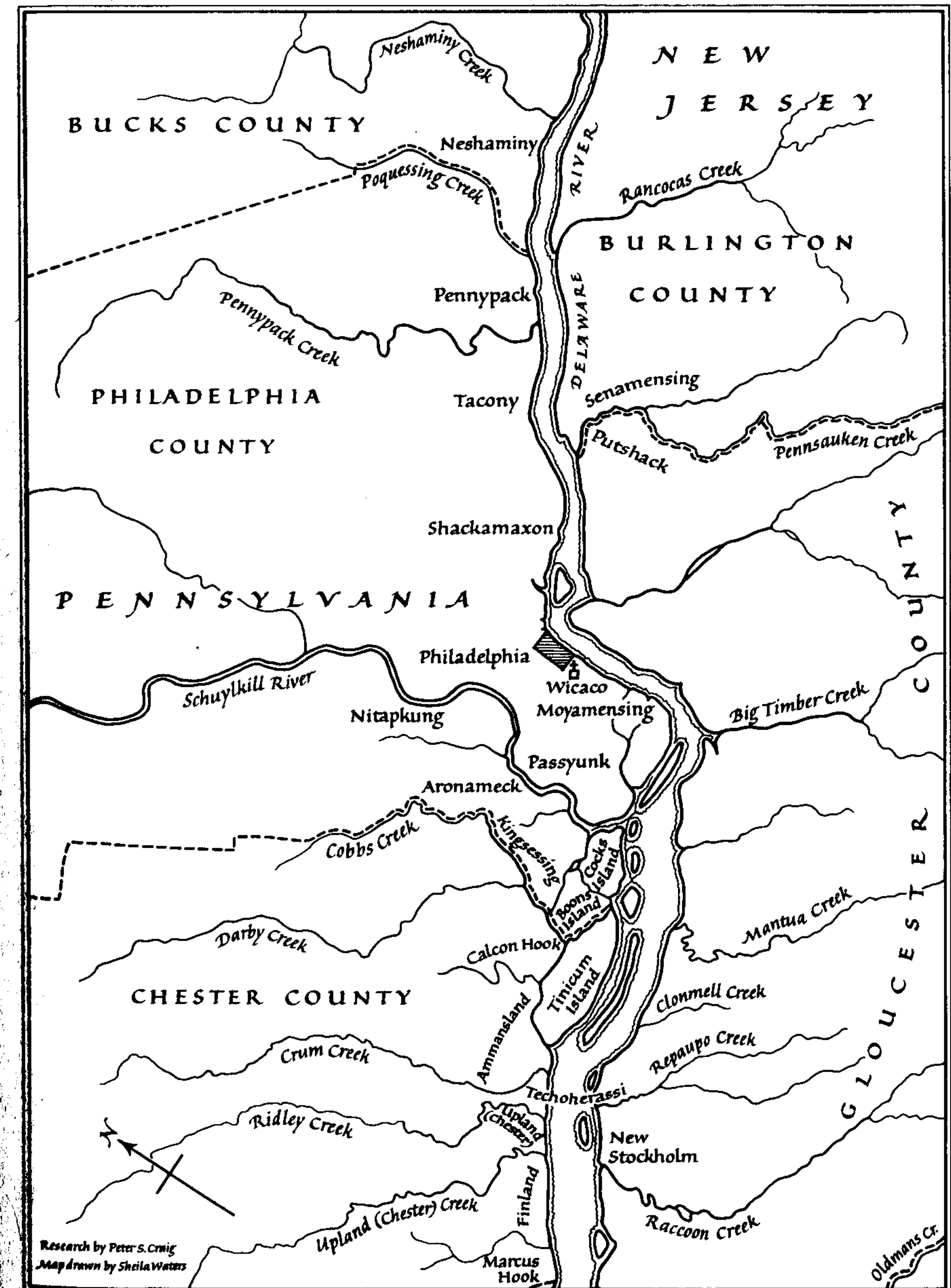
On the west side of the Delaware, all Wicaco church members lived below the fall line of the navigable streams. It would be several years before the first Swedish families ventured above that fall line to settle in new Swedish tracts granted by William Penn at Matsunk (present Upper Merion township in Montgomery County, Pennsylvania) and Manatawny (present Amity township in Berks County).

The largest concentration of Swedes west of the river was between the towns of Philadelphia and Chester (former Upland), extending from Wicaco to Ridley Creek (formerly Olof Stille's Creek) and encompassing Moyamensing, Passyunk, Nitapkung, Aronameck, Kingsessing (including Carkoens Hook at its western end), Cocks Island, Boons Island, Calcon Hook and Ammansland. Tinicum Island, the place of government under Governor Printz (1643-1653), was in English ownership in 1693.

East of the Delaware the principal concentration of Swedes attending the Wicaco church lived in the area from Mantua Creek to Raccoon Creek. A smaller group resided near the mouth of Pennsauken Creek in areas known as Senamensing and Putshack.

Most of the place-names were derived from Indian names or phrases, although many had Swedish origins, as is obvious with Upland (Uppland), Finland and New Stockholm. Boons Island, Cocks Island and Cobbs Creek were named after families belonging to the Wicaco church. Crum Creek was derived from the Swedish word for "crooked" (*krum*). Ammansland (often written as Amosland) means "land of the wet-nurse" in Swedish. Calcon (*kalkon*) is the Swedish word for wild turkey and was pronounced Calcoon, the spelling found in many English documents.

<sup>19</sup> For a historical overview of the Swedish churches on the Delaware during the 17th and 18th centuries, see Richard H. Hulan, "New Sweden and its Churches," in Oliver K. Olson (editor), *The Church in New Sweden* (1988), 3-33.



1693 Service Area of the Swedish Log Church at Wicaco



### The Crane Hook Church

The service area of the Swedes' log church at Crane Hook was an equally large territory in 1693. Most of its congregation lived on the Delaware and its tributaries, although several member families resided at Sahakitko, a trading center for the Susquehanna (Minquas) Indians located at the head of the Elk River, the present location of Elkton, Maryland. For communication with the Delaware River, portages were necessary between the Elk River and Christina River, between Back Creek and St. Georges Creek (the present route of the Delaware River-Chesapeake Bay canal) or between the Bohemia River and Appoquinimink Creek.

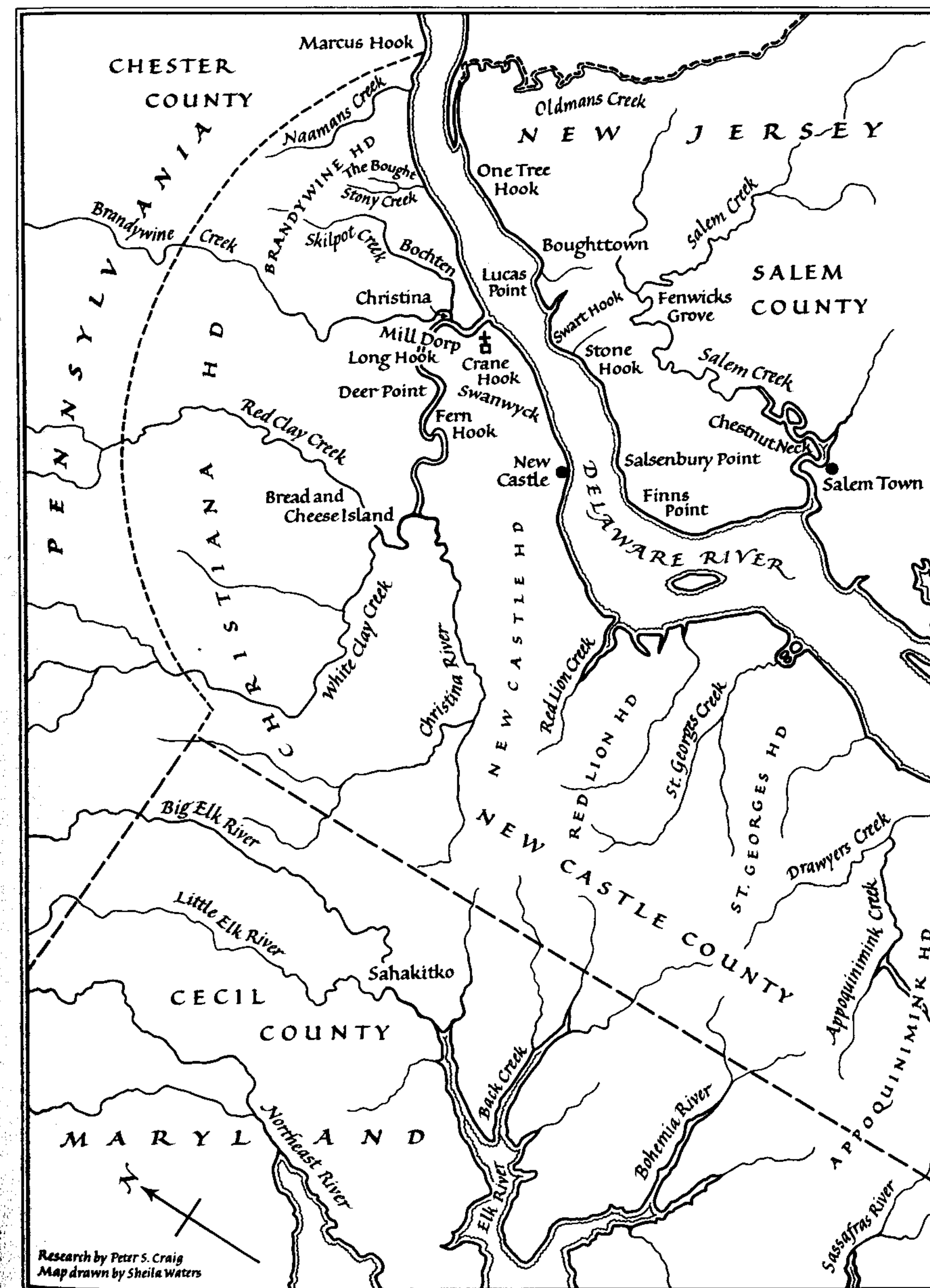
West of the Delaware the member households were concentrated in the area between the Bought and Crane Hook and up the Brandywine and the Christina River, including the lower reaches of Red Clay and White Clay creeks. Soon, however, several of the church members moved south to Red Lion, St. Georges and Appoquinimink creeks.

East of the Delaware, the member households extended from One Tree Point to Chestnut Neck, opposite Salem town. This entire area was also generally known as Penn's Neck.

Many of these place-names had Swedish origins, such as Finns' Point; Christina and the Christina River [named after Queen Christina]; Skilpot Creek [from *sköldpadda*, "tortoise"]; Fern Hook [from *furen*, "pine"]; Bochten, the Bought and Boughttown [from *bukten*, "the bend"].

### Sources and Acknowledgments

As is evident from the footnotes and bibliography, a large number of Swedish, Dutch and English records had to be examined and analyzed in the preparation of this book: the records of the New Sweden colony at Riksarkivet in Stockholm and at other Swedish archives; records of the Dutch and English administrations of the Delaware, 1656-1693; the earliest church books of Gloria Dei (Old Swedes) Church in Philadelphia and of Holy Trinity (Old Swedes) Church in Wilmington; records of the later Swedish churches at Raccoon Creek and Penn's Neck; contemporary letters, journals and diaries; tax lists, surveys, patents and deeds now filed in five different states (New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware and Maryland); wills and probate records in the same five states; and colonial court records of New Amsterdam (New York); Burlington, Gloucester and Salem counties, New Jersey; Upland, Philadelphia, Bucks and Chester counties, Pennsylvania; New Castle County, Delaware; and Cecil County, Maryland. Unfortunately, many of these records have not been printed or even abstracted, thus requiring special research trips to Sweden and to state and county archives and historical societies in this country.



1693 Service Area of Swedish Log Church at Crane Hook



The author is grateful for a special grant from the Bicentennial Swedish-American Exchange Fund, financed by the Swedish government, for a six-week study trip to Sweden, which permitted analysis of original manuscripts relating to New Sweden and the Swedish families living on the Delaware. The author also wishes to acknowledge the support and assistance provided in Sweden by professors Stellan Dahlgren and Hans Norman of the history department at the University of Uppsala; Per Stille, a doctoral candidate at the same university; Dr. Lars Ljungmark, professor of history at Gothenburg University; Prof. Alf Åberg of Stockholm; genealogists Johan von Sydow of Gothenburg and Christopher von Warnstedt of Stockholm; and the many Swedish archivists who helped me in my research.

It is impractical to mention all of the persons in this country who have assisted me in my work, but a few should be singled out:

From the beginning of my researches into the early Swedes, Dr. C. A. Weslager, author of numerous books and articles on the Delaware River's colonial history, has been my mentor, adviser and consultant. Others who have been unsparing in their suggestions and assistance include Dr. Richard H. Hulan, folklorist, of Arlington, Virginia; Dr. Charles T. Gehring of the New Netherland Project, Albany, N.Y.; Dr. Benkt Wennberg, former Governor of the Swedish Colonial Society and professor emeritus of Drexel University; and Dr. Nils William Olsson, F.A.S.G., the editor of *Swedish American Genealogist*.

In addition, I have been blessed with a widespread network of genealogists who have freely shared their research about many of the Swedish colonists mentioned in this book. I ask their indulgence for not trying to list them all here.

## Chapter 1

### The 1693 Census

The most frequently copied 17th century document relating to the history of the Delaware River valley is the 1693 census of the Swedes on the Delaware. The census was appended to a letter dated 31 May 1693, written by Charles Springer of New Castle County and addressed to Johan Thelin, postmaster of Gothenburg, requesting his assistance in sending new ministers to fill the empty pulpits of the two Swedish churches on the Delaware.<sup>1</sup>

Unfortunately, none of the many versions of this census printed over the past three centuries is accurate. This study presents that census in full — and accurately — for the first time.

All previously published versions of this 1693 census can be traced back to a copy entered into the earliest record book of Gloria Dei Church in Philadelphia by Pastor Andreas Rudman, one of three ministers sent from Sweden to the Delaware in 1697 in response to the 1693 letter. That record book, which is still in existence, was relied upon by Jehu Curtis Clay, the first pastor of Gloria Dei to be born in America, when he wrote his *Annals of the Swedes on the Delaware* (Philadelphia 1835). This was the first publication of the Rudman copy in a book written in English.

Two earlier transcriptions of the Rudman copy had been made. Peter Kalm, a Swedish naturalist, borrowed the Gloria Dei record book around 1750 and copied the list into his journal. Kalm's copy remained in manuscript until it was printed in Fredrik Elving's (editor) *Pehr Kalms resa till Norra Amerika: Tilläggsband sammanställt* (Helsingfors 1929), pp. 204-06. Also in the 1750s, Israel Acrelius, pastor of Holy Trinity (Old Swedes) Church in Wilmington, made a copy which was printed in his history of New Sweden, *Beskrifning om De Swenska Församlingars Forna och Närvarande Tilstånd*, etc. (Stockholm 1759), pp. 217-220. Rudman's copy of the 1693

<sup>1</sup> Springer's letter, as translated into English, appears in William M. Reynolds' translation of Israel Acrelius, *A History of New Sweden* (Philadelphia 1874), 185-89. Charles Springer's own English version (a copy made for Governor Markham of Pennsylvania in 1693) has been printed in Jeannette Eckman, *Crane Hook on the Delaware* (Newark, Dela., 1958), 73-76, and has been reproduced in the Appendix of this book.



census had been forgotten by the time Benjamin Ferris published his *History of the Original Settlements on the Delaware* (Philadelphia 1846).<sup>2</sup> At pages 305-07, Ferris chose to copy the Acrelius list, although he erroneously attributed it to Campanius Holm.<sup>3</sup>

Comparison of the three copies of Rudman's copy of the 1693 census yields many puzzling results: Dismissing the not unsubstantial differences among them,<sup>4</sup> each of the three copies includes the names of persons not otherwise appearing in contemporary records. Each omits names that should have been present on this census. Each also shows a total number of persons in several households contradicted by contemporary records.

Now the answer to these problems has emerged. The Rudman copy of the 1693 census which, in turn, had been copied by Clay, Kalm and Acrelius, was very inaccurate. Many names were omitted;<sup>5</sup> others were misread;<sup>6</sup> and the number of persons that appears after each entry was, in several instances, transposed from an adjoining entry.<sup>7</sup>

In place of the many defective copies of Rudman's defective copy, the *original* version of the 1693 census is now available. Stored for almost three

<sup>2</sup> Ferris may have assumed the original Rudman copy had been lost. The Gloria Dei churchbook containing records of marriages, baptisms and burials, 1697-1750, was lost before the middle of the 19th century. See John F. Watson, *Annals of Philadelphia* (Willis P. Hazard enlargement, Philadelphia 1879), 3:107. However, Rudman's copy of the census had been inserted in the record book of accounts and vestry records, which is still preserved.

<sup>3</sup> A reference to Thomas Campanius Holm, *Kort beskrifning om provincien Nya Sverige uti America*, etc. (Stockholm 1702), which was available to Ferris in the translation by Peter S. Du Ponceau, *Memoirs of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania*, vol. 3 (Philadelphia 1834).

<sup>4</sup> Clay's version was the most accurate rendition of Rudman's copy, although it was badly mangled by the printer in the most recent (fourth) edition of 1938. Kalm omitted Frederick Hopman (#74) and significantly misspelled a number of other names. Acrelius (or his printer) badly jumbled the order of the listings, which was perpetuated by Ferris. Each also introduced errors in the number of persons in various households.

<sup>5</sup> Each copy omitted the entries for Peter Cock (#10), Sven Svensson (#15), Lars Halton (#78), John Ekoren (#93), John Vander Veer (#125) and Michel Larsson alias Weinam (#174).

<sup>6</sup> Names significantly misspelled included #36 ("Bowles" read as "Bonde"), #51 ("Claes" read as "Lars"), #61 ("Olle" read as "Otto"), #90 ("Tathe" read as "Faske"), #121 ("senior" omitted), #124 ("junior" omitted), #133 ("Jones" read as "Jonsson"), #143 ("Parkom" read as "Parchon"), #151 ("Båtsman" read as "Bagman"), #162 ("Slobbe" read as "Stoby"), #167 ("Skaggen" read as "Schrage"), #203 ("Longshore" read as "Longhorn") and #207 ("Hollingz" read as "Halling").

<sup>7</sup> Erroneous listings were given for the households of Anders Rambo (#4), Gunnar Rambo (#5), Nils Gästenberg (#48), Eric Gästenberg (#49), Anders Hopman (#75), Jacob Vander Veer, Jr. (#124), Peter Månsson (#129), Hendrick Tussey (#131), John Tussey (#132), Thomas Jones (#133), Jacob Clemmentsson (#134), John Skrika (#139), Matthias Skrika (#140) and Olle Kuckow (#188).

centuries in the Swedish National Archives (*Riksarkivet*) in Stockholm, the document<sup>8</sup> was photographed and made a part of the Finnish exhibit on New Sweden entitled "Delaware 350," which made its debut at the University of Delaware in March 1988. Dr. Richard H. Hulan of Arlington, Virginia, obtained a copy of the original from *Riksarkivet* and supplied me with a transcription. The present book relies upon this version.

It is Dr. Hulan's opinion, with which I agree, that the list was written by Charles Springer. To a degree unrivaled among the Swedes on the Delaware of his time, Springer was educated in both Swedish and English.<sup>9</sup> The names entered in the census fluctuate between Swedish and English styles, both of spelling and of handwriting. Throughout the list, Springer revealed the proclivity to double consonants (e.g., "Petter" instead of "Peter"). Sometimes adopted surnames were disregarded in favor of the patronymic. In other instances, the patronymic was ignored in favor of the adopted surname. In only two instances were both used.

The order of the names on the census is highly significant. The first 95 names listed were members of the Swedish log church at Wicaco (Philadelphia) which served the Swedes living in present Pennsylvania and Burlington and Gloucester counties, New Jersey. The next 93 names (Kerstin Stalcop through Erick Ericksson) were members of the Swedish log church at Crane Hook (between present Wilmington and New Castle), which served the Swedes living in New Castle County, Delaware; Cecil County, Maryland; and Salem County, New Jersey. The last seven names were addenda to the Wicaco church listing.

Within both church groups, the tendency was to enter the names in *geographic* order with the exception that members of certain large families (e.g., Rambo, Cock, Stedham, Van der Veer) were placed together in lieu of the order of their place of residence.

The original census was entered on a single sheet with two columns on each side of the sheet, a total of four columns. The first two columns contained the original listing of the Wicaco church; the third and fourth columns contained the original listing of the Crane Hook church plus, at the end, seven additional members of the Wicaco church. The list is captioned "An exact list and roll of all the men, women and children that are found and are still alive in New Sweden in Pennsylvania on the Delaware River."

Opposite each name, Springer entered the number in the household, which ranged from one (for bachelors) to as many as 11 (for five households). He also entered running totals at the bottom of each column.

<sup>8</sup> *Svenska ecklesiastika, Handlingar 1686-94*, vol. R 1100, no. 184, *Riksarkivet*, Stockholm.

<sup>9</sup> In a letter to his mother in Stockholm, dated 1 June 1693, Charles Springer explained how he had been shanghaied from a London dock and taken to America after completing his studies in reading and writing the English language. Eckman, *Crane Hook on the Delaware*, pp. 106-08. His letter is reproduced in the Appendix.



However, his total for the first column (273) left off one person so that his reported total (971) should have been 972. Of this total, 554 were members of the Wicaco church and 418 were members of the Crane Hook church.

Not all of the heads of household were of Swedish heritage. In several instances, they were men of English, Dutch, Holstein or German origin who had married Swedish women. On the other hand, the list did not include all persons of Swedish origin then living in the vicinity of the Delaware River. Many who had migrated to Maryland no longer associated with the Swedish churches on the Delaware. Others, whose names appear in the church records of Wicaco and Crane Hook, 1697-1699, apparently were not active church-goers in 1693 when both churches were without a minister. Rudman estimated that on his arrival in 1697 there were 1,200 persons in former New Sweden who spoke Swedish. This represented over 5% of the total area population<sup>10</sup> and well over 10% of the rural population, as only one of those listed (Andreas Derickson) lived within the towns of Philadelphia, Chester, New Castle, Burlington or Salem.

A faithful transcription of the 1693 census is reproduced below in the first column of names. The only intentional deviation from the original is that I have capitalized all proper names. Springer frequently used a lower case "p." In the second column I have attempted to set forth each individual's complete name where (as is often the case) both a patronymic and a surname were used in contemporary records. Each name has also been assigned a number for ease of reference. In subsequent chapters, each name and family will be discussed to identify, where known, the immigrant ancestor, the place of residence and the relationships with other families on the list.

The spelling used for the "normalized version" of each name cannot avoid being somewhat arbitrary. Contemporary records were an admixture of English, Dutch and Swedish. There was no standardized spelling in any of these languages. And many of the subjects of this census could not write their own names. In general, however, I have sought to apply the spellings preferred by the Swedish clergy, who were well educated, or the spellings later adopted by the families involved.

<sup>10</sup> The population of West Jersey, Pennsylvania (including present Delaware) and Cecil County, Maryland, was growing at a rate of 1500 annually in the 1690s and was estimated at 25,100 as of 1700. Carl Bridenbaugh, "The Old and New Societies of the Delaware Valley in the Seventeenth Century," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, 100:162-63 (Apr. 1976), reprinted in Bridenbaugh, *Early Americans* (New York 1981), 67. Rudman's estimate of 1,200 Swedish-speaking residents appeared in his letter of 29 October 1697 to Professor Jacob Arrhenius at Uppsala, as translated in Jehu Curtis Clay, *Annals of the Swedes on the Delaware* (4th ed., Philadelphia 1938), 88-90.

Original List	Souls	Normalized Version	Reference No.
Petter Rambo Senior	2	Peter Gunnarsson Rambo	1.
Petter Rambo Junior	6	Peter Rambo, Jr.	2.
Johan Rambo	6	John Rambo	3.
Anders Rambo	8	Anders Rambo	4.
Gunnar Rambo	9	Gunnar Rambo	5.
Captain Lasse Cock	11	Lars Petersson Cock	6.
Erick Cock	9	Eric Petersson Cock	7.
Mouns Cock	8	Måns Petersson Cock	8.
John Cock	7	John Petersson Cock	9.
Petter Cock	7	Peter Petersson Cock	10.
Gabriell Cock	7	Gabriel Petersson Cock	11.
Anders Bonde	11	Anders Svensson Bonde [Boon]	12.
Swen Bonde	5	Sven Andersson Bonde [Boon]	13.
Anders Bengtsson	9	Anders Bengtsson	14.
Swenn Swennsson	5	Sven Svensson [Swanson]	15.
Johan Swensson	9	John Olleson Svensson	16.
Gunnar Swensson	5	Gunnar Andersson Svensson	17.
Michell Niellsson	11	Michael Nilsson Lycon	18.
Anders Niellsson	3	Anders Nilsson Lycon	19.
Britta Göstaffsson	6	Brita Gustafsson [Justis]	20.
Göstaff Göstasson	8	Gustaf Gustafsson [Justis]	21.
Jonas Niellsson	4	Jonas Nilsson	22.
Nielss Jonesson	6	Nils Jonasson [Jones]	23.
Mouns Jonesson	3	Måns Jonasson [Jones]	24.
Anders Jonesson	4	Anders Jonasson [Jones]	25.
Johan Jonesson	2	John Jonasson [Jones]	26.
Hanss Jurensen	11	Hans Geörgen [Urian]	27.
Mons Stake	1	Måns Petersson Stake	28.
Petter Stake	3	Peter Petersson Stake	29.
Morton Mortensson Senr.	3	Mårten Mårtensson, Sr.	30.
Morton Mortensson Junr.	10	Mårten Mårtensson, Jr.	31.
Matthiass Mortensson	4	Matthias Mårtensson	32.
Otto Ernest Cock	5	Otto Ernest Koch [Cock]	33.
Anders Pärsson Longåker	7	Anders Petersson Longacre	34.
Petter Yocomb	9	Peter Petersson Yocum	35.
John Bowles	1	John Bowles	36.
John Skutte	4	John Svensson Skute	37.
Matthiass Hollsteen	7	Matthias Claessen Holstein	38.
John Stille	8	John Olleson Stille	39.
Anders Wheller	4	Anders Johnsson Wheeler	40.
Mouns Justasson	2	Måns Gustafsson [Justis]	41.
Neils Leikan	5	Nils Nilsson Lycon	42.
Erick Mollika	8	Eric Pålsson Mullica	43.
Jonass Keen	8	Jonas Jürgensson Keen	44.
Matthiass Keen	3	Matthias Hansson Keen	45.
Bengt Bengtsson	2	Bengt Andersson Bengtsson	46.



	Souls		
Christiern Claesson	7	Christiern Claesson	47.
Neilss Gestenbergh	7	Nils Nilsson Gästenberg	48.
Erick Gestenbergh	3	Eric Nilsson Gästenberg	49.
Lasse Buur	8	Lars Larsson Boore	50.
Claes Johnson	6	Claes Johnsson	51.
Dirich Johnson	5	Dirick Johnsson	52.
John Johnson	2	John Johnsson	53.
Petter Steelman	4	Peter Hansson Steelman	54.
Frederich König	6	Frederick Fredericksson King	55.
Ellias Tay	4	Elias Johnsson Toy	56.
Jöns Steelman	4	Jöns Hansson Steelman	57.
Cassper Fisk	10	Caspar Fisk [Fish]	58.
Staffan Ekorn	5	Staffan Johnsson Ekoren	59.
Petter Dalboe	9	Peter Mattsson alias Dalbo	60.
Olle Daelboe	7	Olof Andersson Dalbo	61.
John Matzson	11	John Mattsson alias Dalbo	62.
Antonij Long	3	Anthony Nilsson alias Long	63.
Niels Matzson	3	Nils Mattsson	64.
Israell Hellm	5	Israel Åkesson Helm	65.
Anders Homman	9	Anders Andersson Homman	66.
Olle Dirichsson	7	Olle Dericksson	67.
Anders Lockenij	1	Anders Carlsson Lock	68.
Mouns Lockeny	1	Måns Carlsson Lock	69.
Hans Pettersson	7	Hans Petersson	70.
Hindrich Collman	1	Hendrick Andersson Kolman	71.
Jöns Jöstafsson	3	Jöns Gustafsson [Justis]	72.
John Hoppman	7	John Hopman [Hoffman]	73.
Frederich Hoppman	7	Frederick Hopman [Hoffman]	74.
Anders Hoppman	4	Anders Hopman [Hoffman]	75.
Nicolaes Hoppman	5	Nicholas Hopman [Hoffman]	76.
Mouns Hallton	9	Måns Jönsson Halton	77.
Lasse Hallton	3	Lasse Halton	78.
John Andersson	9	John Andersson Sträng	79.
Wholle Pettersson	6	Olle Petersson	80.
Larss Paulsson	1	Pål Pålsson Corvhorn	81.
Hans Wholleson	5	Hans Olleson	82.
William Talleij	7	William Talley	83.
Morton Knuttzon	6	Mårten Knutsson [Canuteson]	84.
Niels Larsson Frändes änka	7	Nils Larsson Frände's widow	85.
Anders Frände	4	Anders Nilsson Frände [Friend]	86.
Reijneer Pettersson	2	Reynier Petersson	87.
Anders Hindrichsson	4	Anders Hendricksson	88.
John V. Cullen	5	Johan van Culen	89.
Hendrich Tathe	5	Hendrick Thaten [Torton]	90.
John Hendrichsson	5	John Hendricksson	91.
John Adrian	6	John Arian [Archer]	92.
John Ekorn	[blank]	John Johnsson Ekoren	93.
William Kabb	6	William Cobb	94.
Hans Keens efterlefverska	5	Hans Jürgensson Keen's widow	95.

	Souls		
Kerstin Stallcopt	3	Widow of John Stalcop	101.
Lucas Stedham	7	Lucas Stedham	102.
Lulloff Stedham	9	Lulof Stedham	103.
Asmund Stedham	5	Asmund [Erasmus] Stedham	104.
Adam Stedham	8	Adam Stedham	105.
Benjamin Stedham	7	Benedict Stedham	106.
Britta Pettersson	8	Widow of Samuel Petersson	107.
Jöran Andersson	5	Jöran Andersson	108.
Broor Sinnike	7	Broer Sinnicksson	109.
Jesper Wallraven	7	Gisbert Walraven	110.
Jonas Wallraven	1	Jonas Walraven	111.
Conraet Constantine	6	Conrad Constantine	112.
Wholle Thommas	9	Olle Thomasson	113.
Petter Paulsson	5	Peter Pålsson	114.
John Ommersson	5	John Nomersson [Numbers]	115.
Matthias de Foss	6	Matthias Mattsson de Foss	116.
Christiern Jöransson	1	Christiern Jöransson	117.
Carrell Springer	5	Charles Springer	118.
Johan Andersson	7	John Andersson Cock	119.
Henrich Jacobsson	4	Hendrick Jacobsson	120.
Jacob Vn d. Ver Senior	7	Jacob Vander Veer, Sr.	121.
Cornelius Vn d. Ver	7	Cornelius Vander Veer	122.
William Vn d. Ver	1	William Vander Veer	123.
Jacob Vn d. Ver Junior	1	Jacob Vander Veer, Jr.	124.
John Vn d. Ver	3	John Vander Veer	125.
Hans Pettersson	5	Hans Petersson	126.
Petter Pettersson	3	Peter Petersson Smith	127.
Påwell Pettersson	3	Paul Petersson	128.
Petter Mounsson	5	Peter Månsson [Mounson]	129.
Johan Mounsson	5	Johan Månsson [Mounson]	130.
Hendrich Tossa	4	Hendrick Olleson Tussey	131.
John Tossa	2	John Tussey	132.
Thomas Jones	4	Thomas Jones	133.
Jacob Clemmetzon	8	Jacob Clemmentsson	134.
Olle Rosse	5	Olle Rosse [Rawson]	135.
Jacob Claesson	6	Jacob Classon	136.
Hendrich Andersson	5	Hendrick Andersson Smith	137.
Hendrich Iwarsson	9	Hendrick Evertsson	138.
Johan Skrika	3	Johan Mattsson Skrika, Jr.	139.
Matthiass Skrika	1	Matthias Mattsson Skrika	140.
Olle Pålsson	9	Olle Pålsson [Paulson]	141.
Johan Steelman	5	John Hansson Steelman	142.
Hendrick Parkom	4	Hendrick Petersson Parker	143.
Simon Johnson	10	Simon Johnsson	144.
John Grantum	3	John Granthum	145.
Bengt Pålsson	5	Bengt Pålsson [Paulson]	146.
Lasse Kempe	6	Lars Pålsson Kämpe	147.
Gösta Pålsson	6	Gustaf Pålsson [Paulson]	148.
Hans Göstaffsson	7	Hans Gustafsson [Justis]	149.
Petter Stålpkøft	6	Peter Stalcop	150.
Jörran Botzman	3	Jöran Jöransson Båtsman, Jr.	151.

	Souls		
Erick Jüransson	2	Eric Andersson Jöransson	152.
Jöran Jöransson	1	Jöran Jöransson Orrhan	153.
Lorentz Osterson	2	Lawrence Osterson/Eustason	154.
Johan Hendrichsson	6	John Hendricksson	155.
Dawidh Hendrichsson	7	David Hendricksson Bilderback	156.
Karell Pettersson	5	Charles Petersson	157.
Isacc Savoy	7	Isaac Savoy	158.
Wholle Franson	7	Olle Fransson	159.
Lasse Piettersson	1	Lars Petersson	160.
Matthias Reepoot	3	Matthias Nilsson Repot	161.
Wholle Slobbe	3	Olle/William Slubey	162.
Matthiass Stark	3	Matthias Nilsson Stark	163.
Israell Stark	1	Israel Nilsson Stark	164.
Johan Stalcop	6	John Johnsson Stalcop	165.
Paul Mink	5	Paul Paulsson Mink	166.
Johan Skaggen	6	John Johnsson Scoggin	167.
Niels Repott	3	Nils Nilsson Repot	168.
Hendrich Jacobs	1	Hendrick Jacobsson	169.
Matthiass Jacobs	1	Matthias Jacobsson	170.
Anders Sinneke	5	Anders Sinnicksson	171.
Johan Hendrichsson Junior	3	John Hendrickson, Jr.	172.
Anders Weinom	4	Anders Andersson Weinam	173.
Michell Larsson	4	Michael Larsson Weinam	174.
Lars Larsson	1	Lars Larsson Weinam	175.
Hendrich Daniellsson	5	Hendrick Danielsson	176.
Wholle Torsson	4	Olle Larsson Tussey	177.
Jonas Skaggens änkia	6	Jonas Scoggin's widow	178.
Larss Tossa	1	Lars Larsson Tussey	179.
Matthias Tossa	1	Matthias Larsson Tussey	180.
Staffan Jürensso	5	Staffan Jöransson	181.
Larss Larsson	7	Lars Larsson Hendricksson	182.
Jöran Ericksson	1	Jöran Ericsson Litien	183.
Jacob Hendrichson	5	Jacob Hendricksson	184.
Petter Lucas	1	Peter Lucasson Petersson	185.
Lucas Lucasson	1	Lucas Lucasson Petersson	186.
Hance Lucasson	1	Hans Lucasson Petersson	187.
Olle Kuckow	8	Olle Olleson Kuckow	188.
Hendrich Slobeij	2	Hendrick Slubey	189.
Christoffer Meijer	7	Stoffel Michel Meyer	190.
Hendrich Larsson	6	Hendrick Larsson Corvhorn	191.
Matthias Ericksson	3	Matthias Ericsson Hammalin	192.
Erick Ericksson	1	Eric Ericsson Hammalin	193.
Thomas Dünns	6	Thomas Dennis [Denny]	201.
Anders Robertzon	3	Andrew Robeson	202.
Robert Longshore	4	Robert Longshore	203.
Anders Dirichsson	1	Anders Dericksson	204.
Christiern Thomass änkia	6	Christiern Thomasson's widow	205.
Pål Sahlunge	3	Paul Johnsson Salung	206.
Loretz Hollingz	1	Laurence Marcusson Huling	207.

Appended to the above list was a supplemental list, which was entitled, "This list is also to let you know how many there are of the old Swedes and Finns that are still alive that have come from our fatherland." That list, keyed to the family involved (where known), was as follows:

Petter Ramboe — who have been here	# 1.
Anders Bonde — for 54 years	#12.
Anders Bengtzson	#14.
Swen Swenson	#15.
Michell Niellsson	#18.
Jonas Niellsson	#22.
Mouns Staaake	#28.
Morten Mortensson Senior	#30.
Morten Mortensson Junior	#31.
Erick Mollika	#43.
Nielss Matzon	#64.
Antonij Long	#63.
Israell Hellm	#65.
Anders Homman	#66.
Olle Dirichsson	#67.
Hans Piettersson	#70.
Hendrich Kollman	#71.
Jöns Jöstasson	#72.
Mouns Hallton	#77.
Hans Olleson	#82.
Carell Christoffersson Springer	#118.
Hendrich Jacobsson	#120.
Jacob Clemmesson	#134.
Olle Rosse	#135.
Hindrich Andersson	#137.
Hindrich Iwarsson	#138.
Simon Johnsson	#144.
Paul Mink	#166.
Olle Pålsson	#141.
Olle Pettersson	#80.
Anders Sinnike	#171.
Broor Sinnike	#109.
Eskell Andersson	#194.
Matthiass de Foss	#116.
John Hendrichsson	#155.
Anders Weinom	#173.
Staffan Jüransson	#181.
Olle Kuckow	#188.
Anders Dirichsson	#204.
Anders Ming [Mink]	#195.
Total, 40	

Two of the above cannot be placed by family unit: Eskell Andersson (#194) and "Anders Ming," better known as Anders Johnsson or Anders Grelsson Mink (#195). Both belonged to the Crane Hook church.



The 102 census entries relating to the Wicaco church are discussed in chapters 2, 3 and 4, as follows:

- #1-37: See chapter 2.
- #38-58: See chapter 3.
- #59-94: See chapter 4.
- #95: See chapter 3.
- #201-202: See chapter 4.
- #203-207: See chapter 3.

The 95 census entries relating to the Crane Hook church are discussed in chapters 5, 6 and 7, as follows:

- #101-118: See chapter 5.
- #119-154: See chapter 6.
- #155-189: See chapter 7.
- #190-195: See chapter 6.

In the appendix, following chapter 7, translations are presented of four letters that went to Sweden with the 1693 census:

1. Letter of 31 May 1693 from the congregations to Johan Thelin.
2. Undated letter from Peter Gunnarsson Rambo to his sister.
3. Letter of 31 May 1693 from Lasse Cock to his uncle.
4. Letter of 1 June 1693 from Charles Springer to his mother.

## Chapter 2

### The Wicaco Congregation

On the last day of May 1693, twenty-six members of the Swedish congregation at Wicaco gathered at the log church to sign the letter to Sweden requesting new ministers for the Delaware.<sup>1</sup> Their church, facing the Delaware River on the site of today's Gloria Dei (Old Swedes) Church in Philadelphia, had originally been built in 1677 to serve the Swedes living above the Schuylkill River, with the 1646 church at Tinicum Island continuing to serve members located between the Schuylkill and Marcus Hook.<sup>2</sup> However, when Tinicum Island passed out of Swedish ownership in 1683, the church at Tinicum was abandoned.<sup>3</sup> By 1693, the Wicaco

<sup>1</sup> The 26 signatures (or marks), in the order of their appearance, were: Peter Gunnarsson Rambo [by his mark], Peter Rambo Junior [mark], Syen Svensson [mark], Otto Ernest Koch, Andreas Bengtston, Capt. Larss Cock, Anders Bonde, Caspar Fisk, Hans Geörgen, Israell Helm, Mårten Mårtensson [mark], Piter Yokum, John Stille, Mårten Mårtensson Junior [mark], Lars Büür [mark], Gunnar Rambo [GR, his mark], Erick Kock [EK, his mark], Piter Cock, Erick Mollika [mark], Michel Leikan [ML, his mark], Carl Göstaffsson [C, his mark], Anders Wheler [4, his mark], Hans Whollson, John Hoppman [i, his mark], Jesta Jesta and Hans Leikan [H, his mark]. Also signing, from the Crane Hook congregation, were Broor Sinnike [B, his mark], Jesper Wallraven [GW, his mark], Olle Thomason and Peter Mounsson [p, his mark]. *SEH*, #181.

<sup>2</sup> On 13 May 1675, Governor Edmund Andros of New York approved a proposal "that the Magistrates up the River have liberty to build a Church at Wiccakoe, to bee for the Inhabitants above Passayunk, with power to raise a tax for its building and to agree upon Maintenance for the Minister. \* \* \* For Upland etc. The Church at Tinnicum Island. For Crane Hooke another." *NYHM*, 20:63b. Four days later, the Upland court, sitting at Peter Rambo's house at Passyunk, levied two fines, one half of which were "to bee towards the building of the new church at Wickakoe." *NYHM*, 20:65c. Construction was completed by 9 June 1677, Trinity Sunday, when Jacob Fabritius delivered his first sermon at Wicaco. *Acrelius*, 180.

<sup>3</sup> William Penn wrote on 16 Aug. 1683 that the Swedes had three churches, at Christina (Crane Hook), Tinicum and Wicaco. *PWP*, 2:455. Six days later, on 22 Aug. 1683, a consent judgment was entered by the Upland court in which Otto Ernest Cock agreed to surrender Tinicum Island to Arnoldus de la Grange, who claimed title through purchase of the island by his father from Armegot Printz. De la Grange then sold the island on 2 February 1683/4



congregation embraced 102 Swedish households extending from Neshaminy Creek in Bucks County to Marcus Hook, on the Pennsylvania side of the Delaware, and from Pennsauken Creek in Burlington County to the southern boundary of Gloucester County (Oldmans Creek) on the New Jersey side of the river.

Identification of the 554 Swedish church members living within this area is facilitated by the fact that in 1697 the new Wicaco minister, pastor Andreas Rudman, made a house by house enumeration of his congregation, which was later copied and preserved.<sup>4</sup> The present chapter focuses on the first 37 of the listed households attached to the Wicaco church in 1693. In each instance, the household's location is shown as evidenced by contemporary land records. In addition, the value or size of each property is shown (in pounds or acres) as reported in contemporary tax records.<sup>5</sup>

### Peter Rambo and His Sons

#1. **Peter Gunnarsson Rambo** (Passyunk, £100): Heading the list was the revered Peter Rambo from Hisingen, near Gothenburg, then 81 years old, who had arrived in New Sweden on the second voyage of the *Kalmar Nyckel* in 1639-40. Employed initially as a farm hand at ten guilders per month, Peter sent part of his wages home to his father, Gunnar Petersson.

to Christopher Taylor. *CCR*, 1:28-30, 40. The 10 August 1684 subscription list of Wicaco church members for the support of Fabritius included not only Swedes living north of the Schuylkill but also the Swedes living between the Schuylkill and Darby Creek. *PMHB*, 2:342. Swedes from Calcon Hook down to Marcus Hook and from Gloucester County may have continued to assemble for worship at the glebe land at Upland until the death of pastor Lars Carlsson Lock in September 1688. However, after Lock's death, the trustees of the church at Wicaco, "with consent of the Swedes' congregation of Wicaco and Crane Hook," sold the seven acres of glebe land at Upland by deeds of lease and release dated 28 and 29 December 1693, recorded 9 Dec. 1701. *Smith*, 555-56; *Acrelius*, 188; *UCR*, 200-01; *CCR*, 2:80. The consent of the Crane Hook congregation was in the form of a letter to Sven Svensson dated 12 Nov. 1693 from the Crane Hook churchwardens (Hendrick Evertsson, Anders Andersson, Gisbert Wallraven, Paul Mink and Charles Springer) which demanded half of the proceeds because part of the lot "which formerly the pastor did live upon . . . belongs to us and part belongs to you." *Smith*, 555. The pastor referred to was Lars Carlsson Lock. Fabritius resided in a glebe house provided by Sven Svensson adjoining the Wicaco church. *Myers*, 403-04; *Acrelius*, 206.

<sup>4</sup> Rudman's 1697 census, as translated by Rev. Nicholas Collin, is printed in *PMHB*, 2:224-228. In some instances, Rudman also added births or deaths occurring in 1698 and 1699.

<sup>5</sup> The 1693 tax list for Philadelphia County appears in *PMHB*, 8:82-105; for Chester (now Delaware) County in Futhey & Cope, *History of Chester County, Pennsylvania*, 233-34; for New Castle County in *PGM*, 37:1-14 (1991); for Bucks County, the tax list at the Bucks County Historical Society, Doylestown, Pa.. A 1694 assessment list for Gloucester County, N.J., is reported in Frank H. Stewart, *Gloucester County under the Proprietors*, 30.

On 1 November 1644, Peter Rambo became a freeman and settled in Kingsessing. In 1653 he joined other freemen in signing the complaint against Governor Printz. Under Governor Rising's rule, he served on the Council of New Sweden. He also served on the court under Swedish, Dutch and English rule for 29 years. On 7 April 1647, Peter Rambo married Brita Mattsdotter from Vasa. By 1669 they had moved to a 300-acre plantation at Passyunk. They had four sons (named below) and four daughters, one of whom died at the age of eight. Two other daughters married Anders Bengtsson (see #14) and Peter Mattsson (see #60). The third married daughter has not been identified; she died by August 1694. Peter Rambo's wife died 12 October 1693 and Peter himself was buried on 29 January 1698 at the age of 85 years and almost eight months.<sup>6</sup>

#2. **Peter Rambo, Jr.** (Pennypack, Dublin township, £100): A church warden, he was born in Kingsessing, New Sweden, 17 June 1653. On 12 November 1676 he married Magdalena Skute, born 25 March 1660 near the Schuylkill, the daughter of Captain Sven Skute, who had been the chief military officer in New Sweden under Governor Printz and Governor Rising. Peter and Magdalena Rambo established their home on a 300-acre tract called "Ramstorp" in Pennypack. Completing the household of six in 1693 were their children Sven (born 19 October 1677), Brigitta (10 March 1679), Peter (20 Dec. 1682) and Anders (2 April 1691). Peter Rambo, Jr., was elected to the Pennsylvania Assembly in 1709. He died at Pennypack in his 77th year on 12 December 1729, survived by his wife who was named executrix of his will.<sup>7</sup>

#3. **John Rambo** (Little Mantua Creek, Gloucester County, 175 acres): John Rambo, born in 1661, and Brigitta Cock, born in 1665, were married over a year after the birth of their first child, Brigitta Rambo, who was born 15 Nov. 1685. In 1687 they established their home in Gloucester County on lands provided by John's father. Filling out the household of six in 1693 were Catharine (born 4 Oct. 1689), Margaret (23 Jan. 1691) and John (6 July 1692). John Rambo was a justice on the Gloucester County court, 1695-98, 1711-16 and 1724-27. He also served in the West Jersey General

<sup>6</sup> *Johnson*, 463, 602, 605, 612, 721; *Huygen*, 4; *New Sweden Journal*, 348, 390; *NYHM*, 20:23, 21:103; *PMHB*, 2:227; 91:37; 92:14-15; letter from Peter Gunnarsson Rambo to his sister in Gothenburg, undated but clearly written on 31 May 1693, *SEH*, #187 (see translation in Appendix); burial record of Peter Gunnarsson Rambo as copied by Nicholas Collin from Gloria Dei church book, Amandus Johnson Papers, Balch Institute, Philadelphia, box 69, folder 6; will of Peter Rambo dated 3 Aug. 1694, proved 6 Nov. 1698, Phila. wills A:423. A possible candidate for the third married daughter is the unknown wife of John Gustafsson Jr. [Justis], who was a widower in 1697. See household #20. For a genealogy of the Rambo family, see Beverly Nelson Rambo, *The Rambo Family Tree* (1987).

<sup>7</sup> Subsequent children were Elias (b. 7 Feb. 1694) and twin sons Jacob and John (28 Mar. 1697). *PMHB*, 2:225, 341-42; *UCR*, 61, 123-24; *LLP*, 1:624-25; Phila. wills, E:133. Peter Rambo, Jr., was a church warden in 1684 and 1693. *PMHB*, 2:342; *Smith*, 555.



Assembly from 1697 to 1701. John's wife Brigitta, a daughter of Peter Larsson Cock, died 21 Aug. 1726. John was buried 17 October 1741 at the age of 80.<sup>8</sup>

#4. **Anders Rambo** (Passyunk, living with his parents, #1): Anders Rambo, born 1658, was married to Maria Cock, born 1661, another daughter of Peter Larsson Cock. Their household of six also included three children: John (born c. 1687), Anders (1689) and Peter (c. 1691) and a hired man, Peter Homman, son of Anders Andersson Homman (#66). Anders Rambo died at Passyunk in 1698; his widow was still living in 1717.<sup>9</sup>

#5. **Gunnar Rambo** (Shackamaxon, Northern Liberties, £100): Gunnar, born in January 1649, was the eldest of the four Rambo brothers. He, too, married a daughter of Peter Larsson Cock — Anna Cock, born c. 1652. Their eldest son, John Rambo, apparently was hired out to another family. Children then living at home were Peter (born 1678), Gunnar (1680), Anders (1682), Måns (1684), Brigitta (1685), Gabriel (1687) and Matthias (1690). As a resident of Shackamaxon, Gunnar served on the Pennsylvania Assembly in 1685. He sold his Shackamaxon plantation in 1697 and moved, with his son John, to Matsunk on the Schuylkill in Upper Merion township. Gunnar died there in January 1724 at the age of 75. His wife predeceased him.<sup>10</sup>

#### The Sons of Peter Larsson Cock

**Peter Larsson Cock** was born at Bångsta, Turinge parish, Stockholm län, in 1610, and adopted the surname of Kock (meaning "cook" in Swedish) in 1641 when, having been sent as an imprisoned soldier to New Sweden, he became the cook on the ship. On the same voyage was Måns Svensson Lom with his wife, two "almost grown up daughters" and a small son. This writer believes that Peter's wife Margaret, whom he married in 1643, was one of these daughters. They had thirteen children, one of whom died young. The

<sup>8</sup> Subsequent children: Peter (b. 6 Jan. 1694), Maria (5 May 1695), Elisabeth, Anders, Gabriel, Martha, Deborah. *Soderlund*, 215; *PMHB*, 2:225; *RPN*, 234-62, 328-30; *GMNJ*, 13:12, 16; *GCR*, 1:153-191, 370-88; 2:41-71, 453-92; *NJA*, 30:390 (will of 12 Apr. 1740 proved 21 Nov. 1741). For Brita Cock's successful litigation to force John Rambo to fulfill his promise of marriage, see Samuel W. Pennypacker, *Pennsylvania Colonial Cases*, 79-84, 108, 112-14.

<sup>9</sup> Subsequent children: Brigitta (b. c. 1693), Maria (c. 1695) and Martha (c. 1697). *Soderlund*, 215; *PMHB*, 2:227, 341. Anders Rambo had been named executor of his father's will but died before it was probated on 6 November 1698 when Peter Rambo, Jr. (#2), was named in his place. Phila. wills, A:423. Letters of administration for Andrew Rambo's estate were granted to Mary Rambo, his widow, 16 April 1717. Phila. Admin., B:146; *PGM*, 20:57.

<sup>10</sup> Subsequent child: Elias (b. 1693). *PMHB*, 2:226, 341; *NYHM*, 20:101, #12; *Wharton*, 41-43; *PA2d*, 19:476, 765; *Gibbons*, 44-45; *LLP*, 1:623-24; Gloria Dei accounts; Gunnar Rambo will of 4 Jan. 1723/4 pr. 20 March 1723/4, Phila. wills, D:388. By 1697 John Gunnarson Rambo had married Anna Lycon (see #18) and had one son, Peter. *PMHB*, 2:227; *NJA*, 23:287.

six sons are listed below. Three daughters married Rambo sons (see #3-4-5). Three others married Anders Petersson Longacre (#34), Robert Longshore (#203) and Bengt Bengtsson (#46). After becoming a freeman, Peter Cock settled on an island at the mouth of the Schuylkill River. In July 1651 he witnessed two Indian affidavits confirming that the Swedes were owners of the land on which Stuyvesant had built Fort Casimir, his name being erroneously copied as Peter Bock (instead of Kock). Governor Printz accused him of illegally trading guns with the Indians and, after Cock had been exonerated by the jury, sentenced him anyway, to three months of hard labor. This incident was one of the grievances in the freemen's 1653 complaint against Printz, which Peter Cock signed. Under Governor Rising, Cock served as a judge on the court, a position that he retained under Dutch and English rule until succeeded by his eldest son Lars in 1680. Frequently called upon to handle negotiations with the Indians, Peter Cock also won favor with the English by capturing Marcus Jacobsson, the instigator of the so-called Long Finn Rebellion of 1669. Peter Cock died at his island, which he called "Kipha," 10 Nov. 1687. His widow Margaret, who had been born in Roslagen, Sweden, was buried 13 Feb. 1703 at the age of 77.<sup>11</sup> During the 18th century, the family surname evolved into Cox.

#6. **Lars Petersson Cock** (Passyunk, £150): Generally known as Captain Lasse Cock, Lars was a Wicaco church warden, had served as a justice on the court since 1680, was a member of the Pennsylvania legislature and was frequently called upon by William Penn's government to act as interpreter and witness to treaties with the Indians of Pennsylvania. Born in New Sweden 21 March 1646, he married on 15 May 1669 Martha Ashman, English, born in August 1650. She was the daughter of Robert and Katherine Ashman, who had moved from Long Island to Passyunk by 1666. As a result of this union, Lasse acquired greater skill with the English language than his Swedish and Finnish contemporaries. Initially, Lasse Cock's family lived at Shackamaxon, but by 1678 their home plantation was located at Passyunk. By 1693 his wife had borne eleven children, three of

<sup>11</sup> Letter from Lars Persson Cock to his uncle Måns Larsson in Bångsta dated 31 May 1693, *SEH* #186; *Johnson*, 151-52, 440-42, 462-63, 712, 715; *Huygen*, 26; *Soderlund*, 213; *PMHB*, 91:37; *Kalm*, 219; *Benson*, 730, 732-33; *PA3d*, 1:39-40; Peter Cock will of 25 June 1687, proved 4 Mar. 1688/9, Phila. wills, A:126. Lasse Cock's letter (translated in the Appendix) identifies Peter Larsson Cock's father as Lars Petersson of Bångsta.

Måns Svensson Lom, a tailor and former lieutenant, came to New Sweden in 1641 as a freeman and died before 1654 when his widow signed the loyalty oath. *Huygen*, 40; *Johnson*, 152, 413, 712, 720. She then married Lars Andersson Collinus, a minister's scribe, who arrived on the *Eagle* in 1654. *DH*, 23:20; Von Elswick 1655 accounts. He became the stepfather of Peter Månsson Lom, Sven Månsson Lom and five Lom daughters: Margaret (wife of Peter Cock), Catharine (wife of John Wheeler and mother of Anders Wheeler, #40), Beata (who married Lars Carlsson Lock; see #68), Christina (who married Mårten Garretts-son and was mother of Johan Skute's wife, see #37), Helena (who married Michael Nilsson Lycon, #18) and Maria (who married Johan Mattsson, #62). See *Stille*, 170, n.90.



whom had died in childhood. Their eldest child, Catherine, born December 1669, had left home and was living nearby with her English husband, Richard Rhodes (Passyunk, £60; not shown in 1693 church census). Lasse's household included their son Peter, born 20 Jan. 1671, his wife Elisabeth, daughter of Anders Svensson (see #17), six unmarried children, John (born 20 Jan. 1673), Anders (1675), Robert (Sept. 1681), Måns (4 Nov. 1683), Margaret (18 Feb. 1685) Lars (15 Aug. 1688) and a grandson, Lars Petersson Cock (1692). Captain Lasse Cock died in October 1699. His widow was still living in 1724.<sup>12</sup>

#7. **Eric Petersson Cock** (Shackamaxon, £100): Eric was married to Elisabeth, daughter of Olof Philipsson, a Finn from Letstigen in Värmland, who had arrived in New Sweden with his wife and five children on the *Mercurius* in 1656. Eric's children: Peter (born 1674), John (1676), Lars (1683), Olof (1685), Helena (1687), Margaret (1689) and Anna (1693). By 1697 the family had moved to Mantua Creek, Gloucester County, where Eric died in 1701. His widow was described as being "80 or more" when she died in April 1735.<sup>13</sup>

#8. **Måns Petersson Cock** (Shackamaxon, £100): Måns Cock was married to Gunnilla, daughter of Jonas Nilsson (see #22). Their household included six children: Margaret (born 1681), Peter (1683), Jonas (1685), Helena (1687), Gabriel (1690) and Maria (1692). An Indian trader, Måns Cock assisted the new Pennsylvania government in negotiating land agreements with the Indians. By 1697 the family moved to Senamensing, Burlington County. Later, they resided in Gloucester County, where Måns was still living in 1720.<sup>14</sup>

<sup>12</sup> Subsequent children: Deborah (b. 7 July 1693), Gabriel (25 Mar. 1695). Lasse Cock's 1693 letter (see Appendix); *PMHB*, 2:227, 342; *Smith*, 555; *Gibbons*, 41-45, 51; *NYHM*, 20:101, #12; *UCR*, 116-18; *Soderlund*, 215; *PGM*, 6:14-15, 283; *LLP*, 1:288-90; Lawrence Cock will of 1 Oct. 1699, proved 1 Dec. 1699, Phila. wills, B:28. On 25 May 1694 Lasse's son John married Margaret, daughter of Sven Svensson (see #15). *PMHB*, 2:227.

<sup>13</sup> Subsequent children: Maria (b. 1695), Eric (c. 1698). *PMHB*, 2:225, 341; *NYHM*, 20:101 #12; *GCR*, 1:179, 183, 228, 292; *NJA*, 23:277; West Jersey deeds, A-P:491 and Glo.A:129-30. The parents of Eric's wife are identified by the lawsuit in the New Castle court on 23 Oct. 1677 by Eric Cock and Eric Poulson [Mullica], acting for their "brother" Nils Olsson, deceased. *NCR*, 1:137. Both were brothers-in-law of Nils Olsson as shown by Eric Mullica's passport of c. 1684 which identifies his wife as "Ingeri Philips" from Värmland who arrived in the Delaware River on the *Mercurius*. *Benson*, 715; *Kalm*, 185. Olof Philipsson, his wife and five children were passengers on the *Mercurius* in 1655-56. *Johnson*, 725. They were described as being from "Letstigen," the name of an old road in Närke and Värmland leading from Örebro to Kristinehamn via Kvistbro, Svarta, Nysund (where it crosses the Let River) and Visnum. C. M. Rosenberg, *Geografiskt Handlexikon öfver Sverige*, 2:29.

<sup>14</sup> Subsequent child: Catharine (b. 1696). *PMHB*, 2:224; *PWP*, 3:107, 113; *PA1st*, 1:93, 117; Phila. deeds, E-5:311; West Jersey deeds, Z:488; *GCR*, 2:572. Måns Cock and his wife Gunnilla were involved in frequent litigation at the Burlington County court between 1697 and

#9. **John Petersson Cock** (Crum Creek, Ridley tp., £40): John Cock born in 1656, was married to Brigitta, daughter of Nils Larsson Frände or Friend (see #85). Their five children as of 1693 were Peter (born 1679), Catharine (1681), Charles (1685), Magnus (1688) and Anna (1690). Previously, they had lived at Passyunk. In 1700 they moved to St. Georges Creek in New Castle County, where John Cock was buried in his own garden on 16 Dec. 1713. His widow was still living in 1720.<sup>15</sup>

#10. **Peter Petersson Cock** (Passyunk, £80): Peter Cock, Jr. (b. 1658) was married to Helena, daughter of Israel Helm (#65). Their five children were Maria (born 1683), Helena (1685), Peter (1688), Margaret (1690) and Israel (1693). Peter Cock became a church warden of Gloria Dei in 1704 and was a vestryman from 1705 until his death. He died by 15 May 1708 when letters of administration were granted to his widow.<sup>16</sup>

#11. **Gabriel Petersson Cock** (Peter Cock's Island, Kingsessing, £150): In consideration for caring for his aged parents, Gabriel Cock (born 1663) inherited his father's island in the Schuylkill. Gabriel's wife was Maria, a daughter of Nils Larsson Frände (see #85). Residing in their household, in addition to his mother Margaret Cock and a Swedish servant (probably Matthias Hendricksson), were three children: Peter (born 1688), Gabriel (1690) and Rebecca (1692). In 1714, after selling his father's island, Gabriel moved his family to St. Georges Creek in New Castle County to live with the family of widow Brigitta Frände Cock (see #9).<sup>17</sup>

1709. *BCR, passim*. No will or administration has been discovered for either of them. Måns Cock and his son Gabriel pledged £2 to the Raccoon church on 27 Feb. 1720 for the church glebe. *RPN*, 115.

<sup>15</sup> Subsequent children: Maria (b. 1693), John (1695), Augustine (c. 1698), Elias (c. 1700). *PMHB*, 2:228; *Soderlund*, 215; *DH*, 5:182-83, 282; John Cock will of 3 Dec. 1713, pr. 14 Aug. 1714, *NCW*, 18-19. John Cock was taxed for land at Crum Creek in 1693 although the deed confirming his purchase of 280 acres was not executed until 25 March 1694. This land was sold 26 Nov. 1700. *PA2d*, 19:298. Meanwhile, on 7 November 1700, he had purchased 854 acres at St. Georges Creek, New Castle County, from Jacob Young, Jr., of Maryland. New Castle deeds, G-1:199. John Cock's wife is identified by the Chester court entry of 13 December 1698, when a grand jury presentment against "John Cock's wife and her sister," Sarah Friend, was dismissed. *CCR*, 2:29. New Castle court records show the entry of a judgment on 15 Nov. 1720 by Martha Cock [widow of Lasse Cock] for a £6 debt against Bridget Cock, executrix of John Cock.

<sup>16</sup> Subsequent children: Måns (b. 1695), Catharine, Deborah, Susannah. *PMHB*, 2:227; *Soderlund*, 215; Phila. deeds, I-12: 157; Phila. Admins. B:66, *PGM*, 20:46. See also 1701 will of Israel Helm, *NJA*, 23:221.

<sup>17</sup> Subsequent children: Margaret (b. 1695), David (1697), Anna (c. 1699), Ephraim and possibly Isaac and Frenne or Friend. *PMHB*, 2:227; *Soderlund*, 213; *PA3d*, 1:39-40; *Friend*, 31-32. Gabriel Kock's daughter Annika and David Kock appeared as baptism sponsors at Holy Trinity Church in New Castle County on 16 Dec. 1718. *HTR*, 2:86. Ephraim was baptized 20 June 1705 at St. Pauls Church in Chester. The name of Gabriel Cox appeared



## Anders Svensson Bonde's Family [Boon]

#12. **Anders Svensson Bonde** (Boon's Island, Kingsessing, £350): Anders Svensson, born in 1620 in Sweden, came to New Sweden in 1639-40 on the *Kalmar Nyckel*, having been hired in Gothenburg as a laborer at a wage of five guilders per month. Later adopting the surname of Bonde ("farmer" in Swedish), he was promoted on 1 May 1643 to the position of gunner. In 1653 he returned to Sweden with Governor Printz, only to come to America again on the *Mercurius* in 1656. By 1660 he had married Anna (parents not identified), who had been born in Nya Kopparberget, Ljusnarsberg parish, Örebro län. Under English rule, the second syllable of his surname was dropped so that the surname became "Boon" in most civil records. Aside from the parents, the household in 1693 included his second son Peter (b. 1664), Peter's wife Catharine (daughter of Mårten Mårtensson, Jr., #31), and seven unmarried children: Hans (born 1669), Nils (1675), Olof (1677), Margaret (1679), Brigitta (1681), Anders (1683) and Ambora (1685). The eldest daughter, Catharine, was then married to Anders Jonasson (#25). Anders Bonde's will of 18 April 1694 was proved 1 June 1696. His widow Anna was allegedly 79 when buried on 11 Jan. 1713.<sup>18</sup>

#13. **Sven Andersson Bonde** [Boon] (Calcon Hook, £50): Sven Bonde or Boon, eldest son of Anders Bonde (#12), born in 1661, was married to Brigitta, daughter of Sven Svensson (see #15). Their children: Gertrude (born 1689), Catharine (1691) and probably a third who died before 1697. Swan Boon died in November 1729. His widow was still living at Calcon Hook in 1753.<sup>19</sup>

twice in New Castle court records on 16 Aug. 1720; it is uncertain whether this was the father or the son by the same name. New Castle court records also show that in 1727 Gabriel Cox, having a wife named Magdalena, served as administrator of the estate of Augustine Cox, son of John Cock. No record of the death of Gabriel Cock, Sr., or that of his wife has been found.

<sup>18</sup> PMHB, 2:227; Soderlund, 213; Johnson, 710; Huygen, 5; New Sweden Journal, 1180, 1320; MGB, 41, 87; Kalm, 219; Andrew Swanson Boone will, Phila. wills, A:339; Ann Boon will of 8 Jan. 1712/13, Phila. wills, C:337. In 1705 Peter Boon moved to Boughttown in Penn's Neck, where he acquired the one-third interest then owned by Matthias Nilsson Stark (#163). Peter died in 1707, survived by three sons (Andrew, Morton and Peter) and his widow Catharine, who later married John Savoy, son of Isaac Savoy (#158). See wills of Peter Boon, Sr., and Peter Boon, Jr., NJA, 23:45; 30:52, and land transactions identified in Phila. deeds, E-4/7:131.

<sup>19</sup> Subsequent children: Anders (b. 1695), Margaret (1699). PMHB, 2:228; 1696 will of Swan Swanson, Phila. wills, A:346; will of Swan Boon of 2 Nov. 1729, proved 26 Nov. 1729, Chester County wills, A:306; Phila. County deed of 14 Nov. 1732, F-6:91. The daughter Margaret was not named in Swan Boon's will, having already been granted land in 1725 after her marriage to Charles Justis (son of Gustaf Gustafsson, #21). Phila. deeds, IC-11:558. Gloria Dei records show that Margaret Justis died 24 Dec. 1752 at the age of 53. The 1753 Wicaco census confirms that widow Brigitta Boon was then living at Calcon Hook.

## The Bengtsson [Bankson] Family

#14. **Anders Bengtsson** (Moyamensing, £200): Anders Bengtsson, born on Hanström farm in Fåxarn, today Fuxerna parish, Älvsborg län, northeast of Gothenburg in 1640, arrived on the *Mercurius* in 1656. On 22 November 1668 he married Gertrude Rambo, born 19 Oct. 1650, daughter of Peter and Brita Rambo (see #1). Anders wrote his own name as Andreas Bengtston and was known in English records as Andrew Bankson. His descendants used Bankson or Bankston for their surname. As of 1693 his eldest son Bengt had left home (see #46). Other children: Anders (born 1672), Peter (6 Mar. 1677), Catharine (29 Jan. 1679), John (31 Mar. 1681), Jacob (19 Oct. 1684), Brigitta (10 Apr. 1687) and Daniel (22 Jan. 1691). A long-time church warden and lay reader of the Wicaco church, Anders Bengtsson was also politically active. He was a court justice 1681-82, 1693 and 1701-03 and was elected to the Pennsylvania Assembly in 1683, 1686 and 1698. He suffered an accidental death, drowning in the Delaware River, and was buried 14 Sept. 1705. His wife survived him.<sup>20</sup>

## Sven Gunnarsson's Sons [Swanson]

**Sven Gunnarsson**, who was sent to America for punishment, arrived in New Sweden with his wife and several small children on the *Kalmar Nyckel* in 1640. After becoming a freeman, he settled in Kingsessing and was one of the freemen signing the 1653 complaint against Governor Printz. Before 1664 he moved with his three sons to Wicaco, where he died c. 1678. He had two known daughters, Gertrude who married Jonas Nilsson (see #22) and a daughter who married Peter Månsson, son of Måns Svensson Lom, and moved to Cecil County, Maryland. His three sons were Sven Svensson, born in Sweden, Olle Svensson, born on the *Kalmar Nyckel* in 1640, and Anders Svensson, born in New Sweden in 1644.<sup>21</sup>

#15. **Sven Svensson** [Swanson] (Wicaco, £250): A Wicaco church warden, Sven Svensson was the eldest and sole surviving son of Sven Gunnarsson in 1693. He was born in Sweden and his wife Catharine (parents not identified) was born near Stockholm. Sven Svensson was a justice on the Upland court in 1681-82 and was elected to the Pennsylvania

<sup>20</sup> Subsequent child: Joseph (b. 2 May 1696). PMHB, 2:227, 342; Smith, 555; Kalm, 219; Benson, 723, 728; Acrelius, 90, 181; Clay, 51, 60, 96, 119; Andrew Bankson will, Phila. wills, C:38; LLP, 1:184-86. By 1695 Anders Bengtsson, Jr., had married Gertrude, probably a daughter of Lars Boore (#50). PMHB, 2:225.

<sup>21</sup> Huygen, 10; Kalm, 226; Benson, 731; Johnson, 463, 702, 718; UCR, 78, 134-35; LLP, 1:693-94; Yocum, 248-49; Stille, 170, n.90. The suggestion in Johnson, 711, that Sven Gunnarsson was the brother of Peter Gunnarsson Rambo is erroneous; Peter's letter to his sister in 1693 made no mention of Sven Gunnarsson or his children. No kinship between the two families is evidenced in contemporary records.



Assembly in 1683. His will of 21 July 1696, proved 8 October 1696, named four daughters: Brigitta, who in 1693 was married to Sven Bonde (#13); Margaret (born 1671); Barbara (1674); and Catharine (1682). His only known son, Lars Svensson, died unmarried by 1693. Sven's widow Catharine was allegedly 92 years old when she was buried 19 August 1720.<sup>22</sup>

#16. John Olleson Svensson [Swanson] (Wicaco, £30): Although Olle Svensson ("Wolla Swanson") was still carried on the 1693 tax list, he had died in the summer of 1692. Born on the *Kalmar Nyckel* in 1640, Olle had married Lydia Ashman, daughter of Robert Ashman and sister of Lasse Cock's wife (see #6). Olle served as justice on the Upland court 1673-1680. In 1693 all of his children still lived at home with their mother Lydia: John (born 1667), who died at Raccoon Creek, N.J., in 1736 without issue; Peter (1668); Swan; Maria; Brigitta; Lydia (1680); Catharine; and Judith (1688).<sup>23</sup>

#17. Gunnar Andersson Svensson [Swanson] (Wicaco, £30): Gunnar's father, Anders Svensson, wrote his will 8 Jan. 1687/8 and presumably had recently died, although his name was carried on the 1693 tax list. Anders' widow Anna (parents not identified) was buried 8 December 1709. In the church census she lived with four unmarried children: Gunnar (born 1667, died 1702 without issue), Margaret, Christopher (1678) and Anders (1686). Three other daughters had married and left home: Catharine who married Anders Wheeler (see #40), Christina who married Måns Justis (see #41), and Elisabeth who married Peter Cock, son of Lasse Cock (see #6).<sup>24</sup>

<sup>22</sup> PMHB, 2:226, 342; Smith, 555; Swan Swanson will, Phila. wills, A:346, PGM, 2:30; Kalm, 226; Benson, 731. "Swen Swenson & son" were tydable (aged 16-60) in 1677. UCR, 78. The son presumably is the same person as "Lasey Swanson" who witnessed, with Swan and Andrew Swanson, an Indian deed in West Jersey on 10 Sept. 1677. Frank H. Stewart, *Indians of Southern New Jersey*, 60-61. Both Swan and "Laurence" Swanson witnessed a bond by pastor Fabritius on 21 April 1684, but only the father's name appeared on a pledge list of 10 August 1684 for Fabritius' salary. Gloria Dei records; PMHB, 2:342. The reported age of Swan's widow at her death (Kalm, 219) is suspect; if true, she was 54 years old at the time of the birth of her youngest daughter.

<sup>23</sup> Rudman's 1697 census omits the names of several children named in Olle Svensson's will of 7 May 1692; administration was granted to his widow on 18 Aug. 1692. PMHB, 2:226; Phila. Admin. A:153, PGM, 1:89. All of his children were still living on 11 June 1700 when they received a deed for land at Woodbury, Gloucester County, for land purchased by their father. Frank H. Stewart, *Notes on Old Gloucester County, N.J.*, 3:109. Olle Svensson's wife is identified in a Jamaica, Long Island, deed of 22 July 1690, executed by "Wooly Swanson" and "Lasse Cokse" of Philadelphia County, on behalf of their wives Lidiah Swanson and Martha Cokse, daughters of Robert Ashman, deceased. *Records of the Town of Jamaica. L.I.*, 1:325. Lydia Swanson died shortly before 28 Jan. 1731 when her lawsuit against Benjamin Vining was discontinued by the Gloucester County court because of the death of the plaintiff. GCR, 2:229. The Gloucester County will of her son John Swanson, signed 29 Sept. 1736 and proved 14 Dec. 1736, named only siblings and cousins as beneficiaries. NJA, 30: 468-69.

<sup>24</sup> PMHB, 2:226; Andrew Swanson will, proved 25 Sept. 1694, Phila. wills, A:259; Gunnar Swanson will of 2 March 1702, proved 18 May 1702, Phila. wills, B:231. Anna's burial is

### The Lycon Brothers, Peter and Michael Nilsson

The first recorded presence on the Delaware of the brothers Peter and Michael Nilsson occurred in 1671 when Peter was working for Armegot Printz at her "Printztorp" plantation on Upland Creek and Michael shared a Shackamaxon plantation with Lasse Cock (#6), his nephew. It is uncertain when the Lycon brothers arrived in America. Their father has not been identified. Both brothers were born in Sweden, possibly in Lyckan, Gunnar-skog Parish, Värmland. *Lyckan*, meaning "a clearing in the woods" or "a glen" was also a common suffix in other Swedish place-names in Värmland and elsewhere. Their adopted surname had no standard spelling, although Likens and Lycan appear to have been the preferred names among their descendants.

Peter Nilsson Lycon, apparently the eldest, joined his brother Michael Nilsson at Shackamaxon by 1675. His will of 21 Jan. 1691/2 was not proved until 10 March 1696/7, although he clearly was dead by 1693. His surviving sons were Nils (see #42) and Anders and Hans (see #19). In addition to three minor daughters named in his will (Anna, Magdalena, Brigitta), he had a daughter Ingeborg who was married to Måns Jonasson (see #24).<sup>25</sup>

#18. Michael Nilsson Lycon (Shackamaxon, £150): Born in Sweden, Michael Nilsson was married in 1670 to Helena, probably a daughter of Måns Svensson Lom. In 1671, with Peter Larsson Cock, he secured the first land patent at Shackamaxon and resided at this location until 1699 when he purchased land on Mantua Creek in Gloucester County. The 1697 church census shows him born in 1644, but the record of his burial on 17 April 1704 states that he was aged 73 at the time of his death. His widow Helena was described as aged 70 at the time of her burial at the Raccoon Creek church on 3 Jan. 1720. In 1693 their nine children were: Catharine (born 1671), Anna (21 Aug. 1673), Gertrude (16 Dec. 1675), Nils (20 Feb. 1677), Måns (10 Mar. 1679), Anders (11 Mar. 1682), Christina (17 Feb. 1684), Michael (11 Oct. 1686) and Helena (29 Dec. 1689).<sup>26</sup>

#19. Anders Nilsson Lycon (Shackamaxon, £200): Anders and his brother Hans, bachelor sons of the deceased Peter Nilsson Lycon, shared their father's former plantation with one of their sisters. Although their

shown in Collin's notes, Amandus Johnson papers, Balch Institute, 69/6. Her youngest daughter Margaret married Valentine Cock (see #33) by 1697.

<sup>25</sup> NYHM, 20:101 #12, 21:104; will of Peter Lykell alias Neallson, Phila. wills, A:352, PGM, 2:31.

<sup>26</sup> Subsequent child: Zacharias (b. 26 Dec. 1696). NYHM, 20:101 #12; PA2d, 19:399; PMHB, 2:226; Kalm, 219; Stille, 170, n.90; Michael Laycon will of 17 Aug. 1703 proved 24 Sept. 1707, NJA, 23:287; West Jersey deeds, AP:491, Glo. C:59; RPN, 326. By 1697 the two eldest daughters were married. See John Gunnarsson Rambo (#5) and Laurence Huling (#207).



### Marcus Lawrence and the Huling Family

Marcus Lawrence (to use the English spelling) was a Holsteiner, first found in Delaware River records in 1669 when he drew a nominal fine for involvement in the Long Finn Rebellion. By 1675 he had joined Olle Fransson (#159) and Nils Nilsson alias Repot (see #168) on a 700-acre plantation at the Bought in present New Castle County, north of Christina (Wilmington). He had two known wives, the first of whom was a daughter of Gustaf Danielsson of Upland. On 7 Aug. 1682 he and Caspar Fisk each acquired 100 acres at Putshack on Pennsauken Creek. Marcus Lawrence later added another 100 acres to his holding. He had three children: Laurence (#207), Regina (born c. 1682) and Marcus (1684). His first known wife died at Putshack and Marcus next married widow Christina, mother of Elias Johnsson Toy (#56). On 4 May 1689, Marcus Lawrence, on his death-bed, asked his wife Christina if she would stay with his children. She said she would first have to consult with her son. Lacking time to await an answer, he then named three Englishmen to manage his estate. In 1693 his two youngest children were living with their uncle, Caspar Fisk (#58). Later, as of 1697, they resided with their Gästenberg relatives (#48-49). Both of Marcus's sons used the surname of Huling, a name associated with their father only posthumously.<sup>49</sup>

#207. **Laurence Marcusson Huling** (Putshack): Laurence Huling was the eldest son of the late Marcus Lawrence. Before 1697 he married Catharine, daughter of Michael Lycon (#18), and had one son, also named Laurence. On 30 March 1700 he signed a receipt for his 100 acres at Putshack, inherited from his father, and a lease for the other 100 acres controlled by the surviving guardian of his brother Marcus Huling. The will of Lorens Hollins, dated 21 Aug. 1700, witnessed by pastor Andreas Rudman, Michael Laicon and Caspar Fisk and proved in the Gloucester County court on 1 March 1700/01, granted his entire estate to his wife. She was still living when her father wrote his will on 17 Aug. 1703.<sup>50</sup>

<sup>49</sup> NYHM, 20:5, 6, 88b; Wharton, 34-36; DYR, 95; NCR, 1:161, 163, 433, 2:113; CCR, 1:19, 23; NJA, 21:356, 358, 398, 409, 677, 23:285; BCR, 20, 29; GCR, 1:14, 26; PMHB, 2:225; GMNJ, 13:27-28. Proceedings involving Marcus Lawrence's nuncupative will did not identify his widow by name. NJA, 23:285. However, the place and circumstances clearly indicate that she was the mother of Elias Toy.

<sup>50</sup> Subsequent child: Michael, born c. 1699. PMHB, 2:225; NJA, 21:677, 23:233-34, 287. Lawrence Huling's brother Marcus moved to Manatawny around 1710 and married Margaret, daughter of Måns Jonasson (#24). PA2d, 19:499; PMHB, 30:445; will of Peter [Månsson] Jones of 27 June 1739 naming his "brother" Markus Hulings co-executor. Phila. wills, F:121. Regina Huling married Garrett Mårtensson Garrett (see #37) on 21 Oct. 1702 and lived at Nitapkung, Blockley township, Philadelphia County. Bible records as quoted in 4 April 1713 letter from Samuel Garrett to Gregory B. Keen, HSP.

## Chapter 4

### The Wicaco Congregation - Concluded

The description of the families attending the Swedish log church at Wicaco concludes with the households in Gloucester County, New Jersey, and in Chester County, Pennsylvania. For those residing on or below Raccoon Creek in New Jersey and at Marcus Hook in Pennsylvania, the distances to church discouraged attendance and, by 1697, they had become members of the "lower" Swedish church at Crane Hook.

#### The Ekoren (Jones) Family

**Anders Jonsson**, also known as **Anders Ekoren** ("the squirrel" in Swedish), arrived in New Sweden on the *Eagle* in 1654 and was stationed at Fort Christina in 1655 when the colony was surrendered to the Dutch. He relocated to the Schuylkill River and, as "Andries Inkhorne," was listed as one of the original inhabitants of Carkoens Hook in Kingessing. In 1678, "Andries Jonson Inckhooren" was granted 200 acres on the west side of the Schuylkill "just before Beaver Island" and apparently was living at this location when he sold his share of Carkoens Hook to Otto Ernest Cock (#33) in 1682. He probably died soon thereafter, survived by his wife Karin Ekoren and two known sons, John Ekoren (#93) and Staffan Ekoren (#59).<sup>1</sup>

#59. **Staffan Johnsson Ekoren (Jones)** (Little Mantua Creek,<sup>2</sup> Gloucester County) was named as Staffan Jonsson on the 1684 list of contributors to the Wicaco church and as Staffan Ekorn in this 1693 census, but throughout most of his life he was known as Stephen Jones. At the time of

<sup>1</sup> Johnson, 719, 726; Von Elswick's accounts, Riksarkivet, 1655; New Castle County Surveys, A:31, Delaware State Archives, Dover; NYHM, 21:104; UCR, 80, 87, 180, 193; CCR, 1: 5, 9-12, 19; recital in Phila. deed, I-8:533. Anders Ekoren's name did not appear among the church contributors for 1684. However, the name of widow Catharine (Karin) Ekoren appears in pastor Rudman's church accounts as late as 1701.

<sup>2</sup> Present Mantua Creek was called Great Mantua (or Great Mantoës) Creek in 1693. Little Mantua (or Mantoës) Creek is a small tributary of the Delaware a short distance above Mantua Creek.



the census, he had recently married Anna Mattsson, daughter of John Mattsson (see #62) and was probably living on land provided by his father-in-law. In 1693, their household of five also included their first son, Anders (born 1693), his wife's sister Gertrude, and his mother Karin Ekoren. After the death of his first wife on 10 June 1721, Stephen Jones married Catharine Fredericksdotter Hoffman, widow of John Lock (see #68). Stephen undoubtedly was in his 80s when he died in the middle of the 18th century.<sup>3</sup>

### The Mattsson and Dalbo Families

When the *Charitas* left Stockholm for New Sweden in 1641, its passenger list included two brothers: Anders Hansson and Matts Hansson. Matts, a gunner, was accompanied by his wife Elisabeth. Matts served as a gunner until 1 December 1646, when he became a freeman. Anders meanwhile had married Anna; one of their daughters was the first to be buried at the Tinicum Church in 1646. Both Hansson brothers joined in the July 1653 complaint against Governor Printz and thereafter fled. Anders and his family made it safely to Kent Island in Maryland.<sup>4</sup> However, Matts apparently was overtaken and murdered by Indians employed by acting governor Johan Papegoja.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>3</sup> Subsequent children included John (born 1695), Jonas (6 Aug. 1697), Catharine, Joseph, Abraham (4 Dec. 1714); by second wife, Sara (5 Nov. 1723), Marta (12 Sept. 1726). *PMHB*, 2: 225, 342; *RPN*, *passim*. On 24 Nov. 1748, "old Stephen Jones" was the sponsor at a Lock baptism at the new Moravian Church at Piles Grove, of which he was a charter member. *GMNJ*, 13:22; *Acrelius*, 441. However, his wife Catharina was described as a widow in the 1754 Raccoon church census.

<sup>4</sup> Anders and Anna Hansson had six known children: Catharine, (buried 28 Oct. 1646), Hans (born c. 1645), Frederick (c. 1647), Catharine (c. 1649), Margaret (c. 1651), Barbara (Oct. 1655). Anders Hansson died at Beaver Neck, Kent County, Maryland, in June 1655. His widow then married Andrew Elena, described as a Spaniard, 5 May 1656, and had two additional children, Sarah (b. 11 Aug. 1658) and Ann (c. 1659). Widowed again, she married Malcolm MacKenny, by whom she had a son John (b. c. 1662-65). Her fourth husband, John Dabb, was father of her last child, Lettis (b. c. 1667). See George Ely Russell, "Anicake (Hanson) (Elena) (MacKenny) Dabb of Kent County, Maryland, 1652-1674," *The American Genealogist*, 54:159 (1978); *Johnson*, 152, 367, 463, 711. Hans Hanson (c.1645-1704), son of Anders and Anna Hansson, later achieved prominence in the Maryland legislature. Edward C. Papenfuse, *et al.*, *Biographical Dictionary of the Maryland Legislature, 1635-1789*, 1:404-05. George A. Hanson, a descendant, stated erroneously in his book, *Old Kent: The Eastern Shore of Maryland* (1876), 110-113, that Anders was one of four brothers placed in Governor Printz' care by Queen Christina in 1642. This fiction, which bestowed "Swedish" ancestry on an English John Hanson (grandfather of John Hanson, a signer of the Declaration of Independence) was rebutted by George Ely Russell in "John Hanson of Maryland: A Swedish Origin Disproved," *The American Genealogist*, 63:211 (1988).

<sup>5</sup> Upon his arrival in New Sweden, Governor Rising was told that after Printz' departure (in 1653), fifteen men had run away to "Virginia" and that Lt. Papegoja had hired Indians to retrieve them. The escapees resisted and two of them were killed, their heads being brought

Elisabeth, the widow of Matts Hansson, returned to New Sweden with her sons John Mattsson (#62) and Peter Mattsson (#60) and soon married again. Her second husband was Anders Larsson Dalbo from Dalsland, who had been Printz' provost marshal. Dalbo had arrived in New Sweden in 1640 on the *Kalmar Nyckel* and was appointed to his military post by Governor Printz on 1 November 1647. After Printz' departure in 1653, Dalbo became a freeman and signed the 1654 loyalty oath to Governor Rising. He settled at Kingsessing and in 1656 was described as the lieutenant of the up-river Swedes. He died before 1671 when Elisabeth Dalbo was listed as the head of household at Kingsessing.<sup>6</sup> Her children by her second marriage included Lars (Lasse) Dalbo (1657-c.1686)<sup>7</sup>, Olof Dalbo (#61) and Anna, wife of Reynier Petersson (#87). In 1700, pastor Rudman reported the burial of Elisabeth, "born in Sweden, Anders Dalbo's widow and previously married to Mats Hanson," at the age of 78.<sup>8</sup>

#60. Peter Mattsson (Little Mantua Creek, 450 acres): Sometimes called Peter Dalbo (after his stepfather), Peter Mattsson was born in 1647 in New Sweden. On 16 Feb. 1674 he married Catharine Rambo, born c. 1655, daughter of Peter Rambo (#1). Initially they settled on a 300-acre plantation at Passyunk, surveyed in 1675, adjoining her father's farm. Later, with his father-in-law, Peter Mattsson acquired additional acreage in the area, which was divided in 1684. In the same year, "Peter Dalbo of the

back to Fort Christina by the Indians. *Rising*, 157, 163. It is presumed that Matts Hansson was one of the two victims, as his name does not thereafter appear in New Sweden records. *Johnson*, 153, 307, 463, 701, 711; *Huygen*, 16; *MGB*, 13. He is not to be confused with Matts Hansson from Borgå, Nyland (Porvoo, Finland), who was sent to New Sweden on the *Charitas* in punishment for a minor crime, later became a freeman, also signed the 1653 complaint against Printz, signed the 1654 loyalty oath to Rising and volunteered in 1655 to help defend Fort Christina. *Johnson*, 152, 705, 712, 755; *Huygen*, 26; *Yocom*, 269 n. 5, 270 n. 21; *Weslager*, *DH*, 23:7, 17; *Handel och sjöfart* 196, Riksarkivet, Stockholm. Matts Hansson from Borgå later became one of the justices on the Swedes' Upland court. *NYHM*, 19:25, 73.

<sup>6</sup> *Johnson*, 599, 664, 700, 704, 711, 718; 1654 loyalty oath, Riksarkivet; *Weslager*, *DH*, 23:12-13, 20; *Huygen*, 9; *MGB*, 42; *NYCD*, 12:212-13; *NYHM*, 21:104. *Johnson* errs at p. 453 in claiming that Dalbo returned to Sweden in 1653.

<sup>7</sup> Lasse Dalbo was listed as 26 in the 1683 census of Kingsessing (taken by him), which shows him as the owner of the 120-acre Dalbo plantation. *Soderlund*, 213. His name appeared frequently in the records of the Upland court, 1677-1682. *UCR*, 48, 51, 58-60, 62, 79, 88, 95, 144, 159, 162, 176, 184, 190; *CCR*, 1:3-7, 11, 16-17, 19, 22-23. On 3 Feb. 1684/5, the Chester County court directed that Lasse Dalbo be paid £7.2.6 for building a courthouse and prison. *CCR*, 1:50. He died before 29 Feb. 1687/8 when Elisabeth Dalbo, widow, and her three surviving sons (John, Peter and Olle) sold the family plantation at Kingsessing to James Hunt. *PA2d*, 19:298.

<sup>8</sup> Note in the handwriting of pastor Nicholas Collin of burials reported in the now-lost Gloria Dei book of baptisms, marriages and burials, 1697-1750, Amandus Johnson papers, Balch Institute, Philadelphia, box 69, folder 6.



Schuylkill" was granted 200 acres on Little Mantua Creek in Gloucester County, where he made his home until his death in 1699. In 1693 their household of nine included seven children: Brigitta (born 1675), Elisabeth (7 Feb. 1678), Catharine (29 Dec. 1679), Maria (11 May 1682), Peter (27 May 1685), Matthias (12 Aug. 1688) and Margaret (1 Feb. 1692).<sup>9</sup>

#61. **Olof Dalbo** (Little Mantua Creek, 175 acres): Generally known as Woolley Dalbo or William Dalbo in civil records, Olof Dalbo was born in 1660 in Kingsessing and married by 1684 Catharine (Carin) Friend, daughter of Nils Larsson Frände (see #85). In the same year he moved to Gloucester County, where he served in the West Jersey legislature in 1685-86. Later he acquired a large tract known as "Fishing Place" on Raccoon Creek, where he died in the winter of 1711-12. He served his county in many ways, as overseer of roads (1687), constable (1690-91), overseer of the poor (1705-08), tax assessor (1708-10) and was a justice on the county court at the time of his death. His wife died 19 April 1721 at the age of about 60. In 1693, their household included his mother Elisabeth and four sons: Anders, Lars, Gabriel and Charles.<sup>10</sup>

#62. **John Mattsson** (Great Mantua Creek, 200 acres): Sometimes known as John Dalbo (after his stepfather), John Mattsson was probably older than his brother Peter, although no reference to his age survives. He married by 1672 Maria Lom, daughter of Måns Svensson Lom and step-daughter of Lars Andersson Collinus, who married Lom's widow. Lars Andersson Collinus arranged for him to have a quarter interest in the plantation he owned at Moyamensing with Anders Bengtsson (#14) and Olof Stille (see #39). John and Maria Mattsson sold this land on 25 Sept. 1684 and were described as being "late of Philadelphia County but now of Great Mantuaes Creek" when the deed was acknowledged on 6 Dec. 1684. Although John Mattsson's household had eleven persons in the 1693 census, several of these were nephews and nieces, children of Lars Lock and Beata Lom (see #68). John and Maria Mattsson's known children were three sons, Matthias, Måns and Anders, and at least four daughters, including Anna (married to Stephen Jones in 1693, see #59), Gertrude (see #59), and

<sup>9</sup> Subsequent children: John (born 14 June 1694) and Jacob (25 May 1697). *PMHB*, 2:224-25, 342; 92:14-15; *Soderlund*, 215; *Wharton*, 47-48; *UCR*, 87; *NJA*, 21:358, 403, 652; *GMNJ*, 13:13; will of Peter Mattson alias Dalbo, dictated 3 Oct. 1699 to Anders Rudman, minister of Wicaco church, and proved 1 March 1700/01; inventory of 2 April 1700. *NJA*, 21:662, 23:312. Administration of Peter Mattsson's Pennsylvania properties was granted to his widow Catharine on 17 Nov. 1701. *Phila. Admins.* A:347. She was still living on 31 May 1709 when she and her eldest son, Peter Matson, conveyed an island on the Schuylkill to Justa Justason (#21). *Phila. deeds*, E-4/7:272. Two of her daughters married Swedish ministers: Elisabeth, who married pastor Andreas Rudman, and Maria, who married pastor Andreas Sandel.

<sup>10</sup> Subsequent children: Peter, John, Sarah, Berthil and Elisabeth. *PMHB*, 2:225; *Soderlund*, 213; *Friend*, 29-31; *BCR*, 26; *GCR*, 1:28, 57, 63, 85, 182, 335, 358, 362, 376; *GMNJ*, 13:12, 15-16; West Jersey deeds, Basse:18, 31; O:431; *NJA*, 21:676; 23:125-26; *RPN*, *passim*.

Maria. Maria and other daughters (unnamed) may have been born after 1693. John Mattsson died in 1701; his wife predeceased him.<sup>11</sup>

### Nils Mattsson and the Nelson Family

#63. **Anthony Nilsson alias Long** (Great Mantua Creek, 100 acres): Born in Sillesön, Torshälla, Södermanland *län*, Sweden, Anthony Nilsson was a young boy when his parents (see #64) sailed to New Sweden on the *Eagle* in 1653-54. He was married by 1670, although the name of his wife is unknown. In 1677 he was granted 100 acres on Crum Creek; the survey named him Anthony Nilsson alias Long, presumably because he was unusually tall. In 1684, he acquired 100 acres along the east side of the Delaware River, southwest of Great Mantua Creek. In 1685 he was named constable of Gloucester County and also elected to the West Jersey Assembly. He died in April or May 1695, survived by his wife and five known children: Gertrude (born 1671) who was married to Elias Toy (#56), Catharine (1 May 1674), Anna (July 1676), Gabriel and Abraham.<sup>12</sup>

#64. **Nils Mattsson** (living with #63): Old Nils Mattsson was buried at the Wicaco church on 15 March 1701 at the age of 87. In 1693 he lived near his son with two of his grandchildren, but by 1697 he had become a charity case, being cared for (at church expense) at the house of Peter Petersson Stake (#29). From 1698 until his death, Nils was cared for by Mårten Mårtensson, Jr. (#31). A millwright from Sillesön, Torshälla, Södermanland *län*, Nils brought his wife and family to New Sweden on the *Eagle* in 1654. Initially, Rising assigned him a plantation in "Finland," the name then given to the area south of Upland. On 24 Sept. 1655, Rising issued a testimonial on behalf of "the honest and intelligent Nils Matson." In 1671 Nils Mattsson (sometimes called Long Nils in contemporary records) was a resident of Upland, but he soon moved to a tract on Crum Creek, which was patented to him on 10 March 1670/1. On 7 Feb. 1683/4, his wife Margaret was indicted for being a witch. After the trial on 27 Feb. 1683/4, the jury concluded that she was not guilty of the charges in the indictment.

<sup>11</sup> *PMHB*, 2:342; *UCR*, 78, 100; *PA2d*, 19:353-54; *Phila. deeds*, E-1/5:47; *GMNJ*, 13:12; will of John Matson of Greenwich township, Gloucester County, dated 12 March 1700/01 and inventory of 3 May 1701. *NJA*, 23:311. Fewer details are known about the John Mattsson family because the copyist of Rudman's 1697 census skipped his family (along with that of Israel Helm, #65).

<sup>12</sup> *PMHB*, 2:224; *UCR*, 55, 65, 79, 108-09, 121-22, 172; *CCR*, 1:33-34; *NJA*, 21:358, 403, 408; *GMNJ*, 13:11, 17. The will of Anthony Nelson, written in April 1695 and proved by his widow on 1 June 1695, has not survived. *GCR*, 1:153. For a genealogy of his Nelson family, see Elmer Garfield Van Name, *Anthony Nelson* (1962).



Olleson, acreage which was sold to Henry Slubey (#189) in 1694.<sup>73</sup> It seems likely that Olle Olleson Kuckow was dead by 1697. He probably was the father of Catharine, widow of Anders Bartleson, and may also be the father of both Sicca [Zacharias] Olleson and Peter Olleson of New Castle County.<sup>74</sup>

#189. **Hendrick Slubey:** The 1693 census is the first recorded reference to Hendrick Slubey, younger brother of William Slubey of Boughttown (#172). Born in Ammansland, Hendrick and his new wife Magdalena were living in Fenwick's Grove in 1693 and acquired title on 12 June 1694 to 200 acres that had been surveyed in 1690 for Olle Olleson [Kuckow] (#188). He and his wife were assigned pews in Holy Trinity in 1699. Henry Slubey died intestate before 9 March 1712/13 when his son-in-law and administrator Timothy Lucasson Stedham verified the inventory of his personal estate. Widow Magdalena Slubey, who willed a cow to the pastor of Holy Trinity, was buried in that church on 6 March 1715. They were survived by three daughters: Margaret (who married Timothy Lucasson Stedham and inherited the family farm), Maria and Catharine.<sup>75</sup>

<sup>73</sup> *Johnson*, 725; *Smith*, 520; *NYHM*, 21:104; *UCR*, 47, 53-54, 80, 110, 113, 142-44; *NCR*, 1:491; 2:20; *PA2d*, 19:613-14; *SCHS*, Mn40:100; *NJA*, 21:607; 23:27. Spelling variations of his last name included Kock, Kooko, Coeckoe and Cock.

<sup>74</sup> Catharine Bartleson named one son Peter and another son Zacharias (an unusual name among the Swedes). Sicca [Zacharias] Olleson (also known as Seger Aukes), a resident of New Castle County by 1677, married Margaret, daughter of Lars Olleson Thorsson (see #177), before 1684. His name disappeared after 1687. *NCR*, 1:160, 177, 357, 454; 2:37, 82, 103, 115-16, 169. The name of Olle Olleson Kuckow does not appear in Holy Trinity Church records, 1697-99. However, Peter *Kuckow* volunteered three days work on the church. *Burr*, 48; *HTR*, 1:32. On 16 March 1696, Olle Olleson was sued in New Castle County regarding land at St. Georges which he had purchased but not paid for. *NCR*, 2:223. The 1693 and 1697 tax lists for New Castle County show a Peter Olson as tydable near St. Georges Creek. These references suggest that Peter Olsson of St. Georges Creek was the Peter Kuckow referred to in Holy Trinity records. He was named Peter Olloson when granted a warrant for 100 acres in New Castle County on 28 April 1686 and Peter Oldson, "seated eight miles from New Castle on the Maryland road," when granted another 100 acres in January 1702. *NCR*, 172; *PA2d*, 7:195-65; 19:246.

<sup>75</sup> *SCHS* Mn40:100; *NJA*, 21:607; 23:423; *Burr*, 43, 45, 63-64; *HTR*, 1:29, 37, 42, 44, 46, 208; *DH*, 5:183. The daughters are identified in a 5 April 1737 deed by Henry Slubey's son-in-law John [Johnsson] Hoffman (husband of Maria Slubey who first married Lars [Andersson] Lock, *RPN* 306) to Robert Raines. *SCHS*, D-184. For references to Slubey's (later Stedham's) home plantation by adjoining owners, see *NJA*, 21:613; 23:200, 244; *GMNJ*, 55:48.

## Appendix

The following four letters were sent to Sweden with the 1693 census of the Swedes on the Delaware. Words in brackets have been supplied by the author.

1. **Letter to Johan Thelin signed by 30 church members.** The version below is Charles Springer's own English translation (with modernized spellings and punctuation) as it appears in the manuscripts of Gloria Dei (Old Swedes) Church in Philadelphia. For a literal translation, see *Eckman*, 73-76.

Honored, loving and much respected friend John Thelin,  
His Majesty's loyal subject and Postmaster in Gothenburg  
Our kind love remembered unto you, wishing you all prosperity.

Your unexpected and welcomed letter dated Gothenburg the 16th of November 1692, which came to our hand the 23rd of May 1693, was [to] us exceedingly welcome and made us heartily rejoice at the receiving of it, how it hath pleased Almighty God to raise up a young man, Andrew Printz by name, who hath formerly been here with us in the West Indies and did see how we do live here in one thing as well as another. Partly he has related truth and partly not. But the certainty of our condition and the reality thereof we will by this letter let you in verity and truth know.

We do further understand that his Majesty of Sweden, through this young man's relation, does yet bear a tender and a Christian heart and care unto us, as his former old and true subjects, for our souls' good and happiness, and a lover of the Lutheran faith. We also hear how great care his Majesty takes for us to get ministers to be sent over to us, with godly books, for which - his Majesty's great care and favor - we, every one of us, heartily and with all our heart do give his Majesty many thanks, wishing his Majesty prosperity, all heavenly and earthly blessing, and an everlasting happiness.

Therefore do we now kindly and with all our hearts' desire, since it has pleased his Majesty graciously to grant that we should with all expedition [obtain] ministers and books when we answer your letter, so kindly desiring that there may be sent unto us two Swedish ministers that are well learned in the Holy Scriptures, and that may be able to defend them and us against all false opposers who can or may oppose any of us, and also one that may defend the true Lutheran faith which we do confess, that if tribulation should come amongst us, and we should suffer our faith, that we are ready to seal it with our blood. And we also desire that these ministers may be such sober, discreet and wise men that by their good example given to us our children may also take a good example thereby in everything.

Further it is our humble desire that you would be pleased to send to us three Sermon Books, 12 Bibles, 42 Psalmbooks, 100 of the lesser, with 200 Catechisms [and] 200 ABC books, and as these books come to our hands then we do engage that we will make honest pay for the same and also deliver the payment to such place as you shall think it to order.

And for these ministers' maintenance, we engage and promise to maintain them honestly and truly, and when this, our letter, is sent away, then we shall buy a piece of land that shall belong to the Church, upon which the ministers may live.



Now what concerns our Living in this country and our lives and our conversations: We are for the most part husbandmen, and plant and sow and till the ground, and we use yet the good old fashions in meat and drink. This land is a mighty fruitful good and plentiful country, and here doth grow all sorts of grains in great plenty; and all that we sow and plant doth thrive mightily. Out of this River is sent and shipped away all sorts of grains every year to our neighboring islands in the West Indies. Here is also great plenty of all sorts — beasts, fowls and fishes. Our wives and daughters follow spinning of flax and wool, some with weaving, so that we have great occasion to thank the Almighty God for his manifold mercies and benefits, which we at his hand receive. God give that we may also get good shepherds to feed us with God's holy word and sacraments. We live also in peace, friendship and amity with one another, and the Indians have not molested us for many years.

Further, your letter specifies that it is related also that the Swedes' minister's sons perform the service of God as ministers in the Swede's church, but it is not so: In one of the churches [Crane Hook] we had a Swedish minister, Laurentius Caroli Lockenius [Lars Carlsson Lock], who came hither in this country with Governor John Printz in his time, but he is dead five years ago September next. He did preach for us the word of God many years. As for the other Swedish congregation [Wicaco], we have a Dutch minister, by name Magister Jacobus Fabritius, who preaches in the Dutch tongue and has preached for us these 16 years. He is a good preacher, but old and for several years blind, but nevertheless [has] done his office in all possible parts mighty well. In the other congregation [Crane Hook] they make use of a reader, a Swede born in Stockholm [Charles Springer], who with reading sermons and singing of psalms, performs the divine service. But [as] for a Finnish minister, we have had none. Neither do we want [one], all of us, both Swedes and Finns, understanding the Swedish tongue.

Further you desire to know how we are treated here in this country. In general, we all confess and proclaim and in truth say that we have been exceedingly and mighty well treated, both in the Dutch government as well as in his Majesty the King of England's time. We have always been well dealt with, seated in the court with his Majesty's justices and also in Councils, and yet do to this day. We have always had good and gracious government and we live with one another in peace and quietness.

Every one of us desires that we may, as soon as this letter comes to your hand, get a joyful reply with the speediest and soonest and with all expedition. We in our behalf shall always pray for its safe return, for we hope that God certainly has his hand in this Christian work, and hoping that he furthermore will have, hoping that God will not forsake us although we are here in a heathen country.

We have already written twice to our native country for minister and books, but having received no answer, we suspect the letters to have miscarried. Therefore we desire [of] you Mr. John Thelin, that you will be pleased to do your best on our behalf to promote our desire, and let it be done with all expedition.

So we do commend you unto the Almighty God's protection in body and soul.

Your most obliged friends and Loving Countrymen

[signatures are shown in Chapter 2, footnote 1]

Dated in Pennsylvania in Delaware River 31 May 1693

P.S. This letter we send double [in duplicate] in case if one should miscarry, the other may come to your hands.

2. Letter from Peter Gunnarsson Rambo to his sister in Gothenburg. The following letter has been translated by Dr. Richard H. Hulan from the manuscript collection, Svenska ecklesiastika handlingar 1686-1694, R 1100, #187, Riksarkivet, Stockholm, Sweden. The letter is undated. It was probably written on 31 May 1693, with Charles Springer serving as Rambo's scrivener.

Highly honored, dear Sister:

Greetings in God Almighty! Your letter, dear Sister, came into my hands here the 23rd of May, dated Gothenburg, the 16th of November 1692. From this letter I understand about your temporal condition. That you are still alive, God be praised; which makes me, my wife and children glad at heart, that I might once again be permitted to hear of your condition, and the fatherland, before it pleases God to call me from this world.

Inasmuch as I have also understood from your letter that you now, and for some years past, have lost your eyesight and hearing (which comes as a great blow for me to hear); and you write to me that I should support you with assistance in your poverty, which I should with all my heart do, but there is now such discord, war and naval warfare that there would be great doubt whether you should receive it or not — I have already sent you money several times, but I understand from your letter that you have received none of it — therefore I beg you, dear Sister, to have patience until I can hear from you again and safer conditions may be found for my letters and what I send you.

Now, what concerns my trade and conduct, and what my life has been here in this land: I have been here in this country 54 years last March. When I had been here for eight years I entered the state of holy matrimony with Britta Mattzdotter, who (God be praised) is still living. She also came from Sweden, from Vasa [Finland], whom I have lived with in harmony and love for forty-six years, and have had with her four daughters and four sons, but the one daughter when she was eight years old fell asleep in the Lord. And so I have still four living sons and three living daughters. All are well provided for and live in plenty with their husbands, wives and children, so that now from my lineage there are living thirty-seven souls of my children's children.

And I have served faithfully, both the Swedish regime, the Holland Dutch, and now the English. I also sat on the court for twenty-nine years, [including] both in the Swedes' and the Hollanders' time — in regard to the Swedes, they [the Dutch] had a rule that no case should be decided at court unless the Swedes had their voice in it — but now I am old and can no longer endure that toil.

Our nations also live faithfully with one another, both in harmony and affection. Our land is a very splendid fruitful land, so that we have no lack of anything on which the sustenance of our bodies and lives depends, for the nearby [Caribbean] islands are fed by us with the land's goods, with grain, flour and beer.

We have cause also to thank God that we live in harmony, affection and faithfulness with the Indians, while the surrounding lands and neighbors have had great duress from the Indians. I may truthfully say that God has wonderfully preserved and shielded us and has shown a peculiar grace toward us in this heathenish land.

Nothing more occurs to me to write this time, but my dear wife and children send greetings to you and all good friends who may or can be found living, hoping for and awaiting your reply by the first ship that can come. Commending you to the protection and care of God almighty.



Always remaining your most obedient brother until death,

Petter Gunnarsson Rambo

P.S. Noble John Thelin, let me hereby obediently thank you for having had a Christian care over us, in that you have made claim, on our behalf, before his Royal Majesty in Sweden, of our need for priests and books, and have promised to do so even more; thanking you also for seeing to it that my dear Sister receives this, my letter. Farewell.

3. Letter from Lars Persson Cock to his paternal uncle Mouns Larsson. The following was translated by Dr. Richard H. Hulan from the manuscript collection, Svenska ecklesiastika handlingar 1686-1694, R 1100, #186, Riksarkivet, Stockholm, Sweden.

Highly honored, dear paternal uncle Mouns Larsson:

Greetings in God Almighty! Now letting you know, dear uncle, with this my letter, my circumstances and those of my family, and of former acquaintances out in this land, hoping that with God's help I may, at the first opportunity, receive a gladdening and good reply.

In the first place, what pertains to my late father: He came out here to the country of New Sweden, sent by his Royal Majesty to settle the land with the others, his countrymen; which he also did honorably for the high authorities. My late father was selected as a *president* [justice] in New Sweden which he did with the greatest loyalty; and during the Holland Dutch regime he was also a *president* on the court; and in the English regime's time likewise. My late father was always in advice and counsel with them. My late father, after he had been in this country one year and a half, gave himself into the state of holy matrimony and had with his dear wife thirteen children whereof now, God be praised, six sons and six daughters are living, all well provided for with wives and husbands, so that of all my late father's lineage in the first degree, that is children and grandchildren, there are living seventy-one souls; and in the year 1687, the 10th of November, my dear father fell asleep, in the name of the Lord, at a good age, leaving after him my dear mother. I, my dear father's eldest son, Lars Pärsson, am likewise healthy. My wife and children are in good circumstances also. I have had, together with my dear wife, eleven children, of whom six sons and two daughters are now living. And we are, God be praised, living in plenty. I am also seated in my late father's place and succeed him, and am also a member of our noble Governor's highest Council, and a counsellor. Also I have been on the court since I reached the legal age,<sup>1</sup> and I am now going on my fiftieth year. My late father had never received any letter from his fatherland, for many years not knowing who among his parents, brothers, relatives and former acquaintances might be alive; but he has told me that he had five brothers living and three sisters when he came from the fatherland; but God knows who among them might be living now.

If my uncle Mouns Larsson is dead, or the other brothers of my father, then I hope that their children or grandchildren may be alive, that I may receive a gladdening answer to this my letter. They lived at Bångsta hamlet in [the province

<sup>1</sup> A reference, apparently, to jury duty. Lasse Cock became a justice on the court in 1680 at the age of 34.

of] Södermanland. My father's father's name was Lars Persson. He lived at the same hamlet. Now, hoping that if any of my father's brothers should be alive, that those who know his family and former acquaintances might cause this to be placed in their hands, and that I might receive a gladdening reply by the first ship, praying that you direct your letter to Gothenburg to His Royal Majesty's Postmaster, Johan Thelin, and he shall certainly have it delivered. And we live at Passayongh on the Delaware River in Pennsylvania. Commending you together with our whole family to the almighty, and under his gracious protection,  
and will ever be found  
your most obedient

Lars Persson Cock

P.S. When you write a reply to me, write to me thus, "Lars Pärsson Cock." Since we were living here among foreign nations, my late father took that surname so that we and others could be distinguished from one another.

Dated and written at Pennsylvania on Delaware River, the 31st of May 1693.

[Note on back:] This letter to my highly honored dear paternal uncle Mouns Larsson (residing at Bångsta hamlet in Södermanland) coming to hand, or if he is dead, that this letter may be directed to the surviving relatives.

4. Letter from Charles Springer to his mother, Beata Salina. Translation by Courtland and Ruth Springer from the manuscript presently in Svenska ecklesiastika handlingar 1684-1694, R 1100 #185, Riksarkivet, Stockholm, as published in *Eckman*, 106-08.

My highly esteemed, dear Mother:

I cannot permit this opportunity which, thank God, I now have, to go by without making known to you distinctly, dear Mother, my present condition and life.

First of all, I find it wholly deplorable to be so far away from my dear mother, brothers, family, and relatives, and in a land so distant from you, and not able to receive any communication from you, for all that I have written to you many times, without getting any answer except for one letter in England.

Further, I shall also let you know about my coming here to this land. When I was in London, and was of a mind to journey home to Sweden, my native country, again, having gone to school there [London], learned there English speech and the writing and reading, and [having become] well versed in arithmetic, and, as I say, was about to journey home, I was kidnapped and, against my will, taken aboard an English ship. And against my will I was carried to America, in the West Indies, to Virginia. And when I got there I was sold off like a farm animal that is driven to market. Thus was I sold, to labor, and held in very slavery for five years together.

My work was unspeakable. In the summer it was *Extra Ordinary* hot during the day, and my work was mostly in the winter, clearing land and cutting down the forest and making it ready for planting *Tobacco* and the Indian grain[corn] in the summer. I had a very hard master. But now — to God be praise, honor, and glory! — I have overcome it all.

When I had faithfully served out my time I heard, *accidentally*, that there were Swedes at Delaware River, in *Pensellvenia*, which formerly under the Swedish rule, was called Nya Sverige [New Sweden], and so, as I now tell you, I made that difficult



journey of about four hundred miles. And when I got there I beheld the Old Swedes, and they received me very kindly.

When I had been here about a year and a half, then it pleased God to send and vouchsafe me a most virtuous wife, by name, Maria Hendrichsdotter, whom I married on 27 December 1685 and with whom it has pleased God to grant me three children, all three of them daughters; and she is even now with the fourth child. May God Almighty give her a good delivery!

As for my activities, I am reader here in one Swedish congregation, and serve it, because now we have no pastors in this land, for they are all dead. I serve the congregation in the church with the reading and expounding of God's Word, for I have a Swedish postilla [book of family sermons], and the singing of hymns. It is now upon the fourth year that I have served the congregation in this way.

Moreover, I have two plantations that I have bought, and on one of them I live, and plough and plant, sowing all kinds of seed during the year. I also have livestock for the needs of my household, and so live, thank God, that I and mine suffer no want.

My highly esteemed Mother, dear, let me also hear of you and my dear brothers, whether they are living, and how they fare. God has known my sadness at not being able to hear anything from you. That would make me truly glad of heart. My fondest longing has been that I might be permitted, before I die, to hear of your well-being.

We here in this land now have a godly enterprise, we who are Swedes. We have received a letter in our country here concerning our king in Sweden, that he will, upon our writing and representation, send us pastors and Swedish books, of which we have a great lack. They have no one among them to write for them but me; I have done it diligently.

I ask also, my beloved, dear Mother, that it may please you to send me a Bible, here, and two manuals and hymnals, for I have not one of my own. And if you please, you could send them here to me thus, that is, first, send them by some dear person to Gothenburg, to His Majesty's faithful servant and postmaster, John Thelin by name, who will surely send them to me by messenger at the first opportunity. Dear Mother, I am wholly at a loss for books.

I send greetings to my dear brothers, and my dear brother Lorentz Springer [half-brother; eldest of the family] and his wife and children. Greet all good friends, relatives, and family, and all who know me and my name. My dear wife and children also send all of you their greetings.

I remain always your ever most obedient son, unto death.

Karell Christoffeson Springer

Dated at Pensellvenia in Delaware River the 1 June 1693

### Abbreviations for Commonly Used References

- Åberg - Alf Åberg, *The People of New Sweden*.  
 Acrelius - Israel Acrelius, *A History of New Sweden*, as translated by William H. Reynolds.  
 BCR - *The Burlington Court Book, 1680-1709*, edited by Reed and Miller.  
 Benson - Peter Kalm, *Travels in North America*, transl. by Adolph B. Benson.  
 Burr - Horace Burr, *The Records of Holy Trinity (Old Swedes) Church, Wilmington, Del., 1697-1773*.  
 CCR - *Records of the Courts of Chester County*, vol. 1, 1681-1696; vol. 2, 1697-1710.  
 Clay - Jehu Curtis Clay, *Annals of the Swedes on the Delaware* (4th ed., 1938).  
 DGSJ - *Delaware Genealogical Society Journal*.  
 DH - *Delaware History* magazine.  
 DYR - *The Duke of York Record; Original Land Titles in Delaware, 1646-79*.  
 Eckman - Jeannette Eckman, *Crane Hook on the Delaware*.  
 Friend - Peter S. Craig, *The Family of Nils Larsson Frände (Friend)*.  
 GCD - Gloucester County court documents, Ms., GCHS.  
 GCHS - Gloucester County Historical Society, Woodbury, N.J.  
 GCR - Gloucester County court records, 1686-1739, Ms., GCHS.  
 Gibbons - Edward J. Gibbons, "Matsunk or Swedes' Land, 1699-1783," *Bulletin of Historical Society of Montgomery County, Pa.*, 21:41-72.  
 GMNJ - *Genealogical Magazine of New Jersey*.  
 HSD - Historical Society of Delaware, Wilmington.  
 HSP - Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia.  
 HTR - Holy Trinity Church records, HSD.  
 Huygen - Hendrick Huygen Monatgelderbuch, Fort Christina, 1639-1648, Ms., Handel och sjöfart (K.A.) 42, Riksarkivet, Stockholm.  
 Johnson - Amandus Johnson, *Swedish Settlements on the Delaware, 1638-1664*.  
 Kalm - Pehr Kalm, *Resa till Norra Amerika, Tilläggsband*, edited by Elfving.  
 Keen - Gregory B. Keen, *The Descendants of Jöran Kyn of New Sweden*.  
 LLP - Craig W. Horle, et al., *Lawmaking and Legislators in Pennsylvania*.  
 Logan papers - James Logan papers, Ms., HSP.  
 Loyalty oath - Loyalty oath of old and new freemen to Governor Rising, June 1654, Handel och sjöfart 196, Ms., Riksarkivet, Stockholm.  
 MA - Archives of Maryland.  
 MCW - Jane Baldwin, *The Maryland Calendar of Wills, 1635-1743*.  
 MGB - Monat Gelder Buch; Governor Printz' monthly account book, 1642-1656, Ms., Handel och sjöfart 196, Riksarkivet, Stockholm.  
 Morton - Ruth L. Springer, *John Morton in Contemporary Records*.  
 Myers - Albert Cook Myers (editor), *Narratives of Early Pennsylvania, West Jersey and Delaware*.  
 NCR - *Records of the Court of New Castle on Delaware*, vol. 1, 1676-1681; vol. 2, 1681-1699.



- NCW - *Calendar of Delaware Wills, New Castle County, 1681-1800.*
- New Sweden Journal - Hans Kramer, *Journal of the New Sweden Company, 1637-58, Handel och sjöfart (K.A.) 44, Riksarkivet, Stockholm.*
- NJA - *New Jersey Archives, 1st series.*
- NYCD - Berthold Fernow, *Documents Relative to the Colonial History of the State of New York.*
- NYGBR - *New York Genealogical and Biographical Record.*
- NYHM - Charles T. Gehring, *New York Historical Manuscripts: Delaware Papers (Dutch Period), 1648-1664, vols. 18-19; Delaware Papers (English Period), 1664-1682, vols. 20-21.*
- NYHM-General Entries - Peter and Florence Christoph, *New York Historical Manuscripts: English; Books of General Entries of the Colony of New York, 1664-1673; Ibid., 1674-1688.*
- PA - *Pennsylvania Archives.*
- PGM - *Pennsylvania Genealogical Magazine* (before 1948 published as *Publications of Genealogical Society of Pennsylvania*).
- PMHB - *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography.*
- PPCM - *Minutes of the Provincial Council of Pennsylvania.*
- PWP - *The Papers of William Penn*, Richard S. and Mary M. Dunn, editors.
- Rising - Stellan Dahlgren and Hans Norman, *The Rise and Fall of New Sweden; Governor Johan Risingh's Journal, 1654-1655.*
- RPN - Federal Writers Project, *Records of the Swedish Lutheran Churches of Raccoon and Penns Neck, 1713-1786.*
- SAG - *Swedish American Genealogist.*
- SCHS - Salem County Historical Society.
- SCHS Mn40 - Early Salem County surveys, Ms., SCHS.
- SEH - Svenska ecklesiastika, Handlingar R 1100, Ms., Riksarkivet.
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