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No. 1

New Sweden Settlers, 1638-1664 Part 1 (1638-1640) Peter Stebbins Craig, F.A.S.G.*

For more than a decade, the author has been attempting to draw together a list of all settlers in the colony of New Sweden, founded on the Delaware River in 1638. Coincidentally, in Sweden, the late Dr. Sten Carlsson, Professor of History at the University of Uppsala, was undertaking the same project.

In late 1988, Dr. Carlsson submitted, for publication in SAG, the product of his research, which he entitled "Register of Colonists in New Sweden, 1638-1656." Dr. Nils William Olsson forwarded this draft to me for my comments and suggestions. In reply, I wrote that it was a good start, but that it contained a number of errors of commission and omission and needed much more work. I then suggested that Dr. Carlsson and I collaborate in the preparation of a final list. Dr. Carlsson, however, was unable to give it further attention and encouraged me to pursue the task.

The need for such a list has long been apparent to New Sweden scholars. The first comprehensive list was attempted by Dr. Amandus Johnson in his classic, *Swedish Settlements on the Delaware River* (1911), which contained, as Appendix B at pp. 699-726, "Lists of Officers, Soldiers, Servants and Settlers in New Sweden, 1638-1656." Johnson's lists have become the standard source for such information. They are, however, subject to numerous errors. For example, his lists:

> included as settlers crew members on the ships who never became settlers,
> named twice (or more) settlers who were described by variant spellings and aliases,

> omitted numerous settlers who had the same given name and patronymic as another settler.

> treated, as 1654 immigrants from Sweden, a number of settlers at present New Castle (former Fort Casimir and Fort Trinity) who had arrived there earlier, either as Dutch settlers or as Swedes who had fled Printz's rule in New Sweden.

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> included names of fictitious persons, the product of misreading original documents.

> omitted numerous names appearing on source documents not consulted by Dr. Johnson.

Relevant Years

My analysis is not limited to the settlers arriving in New Sweden during its brief existence. It also includes, necessarily, other Swedes (most of them Finns) who came to New Sweden, 1663-1664, on Dutch ships from Amsterdam during the period that the Swedish settlers had their own quasi-independent government, sometimes known as the Swedish & Finnish nation, the Swedish nation, the up-river Swedes, or the Upland Court. I use the word "necessarily" because it is often difficult to be certain whether a name, first appearing in

records in the period after 1655, was the son of an earlier immigrant or a 1663-1664 arrival on a Dutch ship.

Sources

The primary sources for identifying the settlers in New Sweden are contemporary documents, most of which are preserved at Riksarkivet (National Archives) in Stockholm. These include the following:

1. The Journal of the New Sweden Company, 1638-1658, an account book maintained by Hans Kramer in Stockholm, making numbered entries 1-1615, of numerous financial transactions by the company, many of which name departing or returning settlers or settlers living in the colony. This document is preserved in Handel och sjöfart 44, and is available on microfiche in SVAR S-4874. Entries are abbreviated J (for Journal) followed by the account number.

2. Hendrick Huygen's Monatgelder Buch, 1641-1648, maintained by Huygen, as Commissary of the colony, which lists, for each Swedish colonist during this 7-year period, his name, earnings, purchases from the company store, with a summing-up upon the colonist's death, his return to Sweden, or the end of the accounting period. Other scholars have ignored this document, perhaps because the top third of each page is illegible due to water damage. However, the name applicable to the top of each page can be determined from the index in front of the book and a 1648 list, prepared by Kramer, drawn from this account. Huygen's Monatgelder Buch, 1641-1648, is preserved in Handel och sjöfart 42. It is not available on microfilm. However, Riksarkivet prepared a

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xerox copy for the author during his visit in the spring of 1991. References to this document are abbreviated "Huygen" with the folio (page) number. It is known that Huygen kept a similar account for the period 1648-1653. However, the later account has not been preserved.

3. Hans Kramer's *Monatgelder Buch*, containing similar records limited to Governor Printz, his soldiers and officers of the New Sweden Company, 1642-1655. This account book, largely using records extracted from Huygen's accounts (#2), but adding some information from the Journal (#1), was maintained in Stockholm and helps fill part of the 1648-1653 gap in Huygen's surviving accounts. Kramer's book appears in Handel och sjöfart 196 at Riksarkivet and has been microfilmed in SVAR S-4873, fiche 5-8. References to this source will be designated "Kramer" with the applicable folio numbers.

4. Scattered passenger lists for ships going to New Sweden, including (a) Passengers departing from Amsterdam, 12 April 1641, appearing in Handel och sjöfart 60, a copy of which was furnished by Riksarkivet.

(b) Passengers departing Stockholm on Charitas, 3 May 1641, appearing in Handel och sjöfart 196, SVAR S-4873, fiche 8 & 9.

(c) Passengers carried to New Sweden by Fama and Kalmar Nyckel, 1643-1644, appearing in Sjöexpeditioner: Rulla på sjöfolk etc. till Nya Sverige, 1642-1645, Krigsarkivet [War Archives], Stockholm, as translated by Sten Carlsson in Swedish American Genealogist, 8:1, 19-29 (March 1988).

(d) Passenger list of the Kattan, 1649, in Handel och sjöfart 196, SVAR S-4873, fiche 12, as translated by Sten Carlsson in Swedish American Genealogist, 8:1, 30-32 (March 1988).

(e) Preliminary passenger list of the Mercurius by Admiral Anckarhielm, 17 Oct. 1655, Handel och sjöfart 194, SVAR S-4871, fiche 6.

5. A roll of all servants of the New Sweden Company, dated 29 June 1644, by Governor Johan Printz, preserved in Handel och sjöfart 196, SVAR S-4873, fiche 9. Translations by Dr. Amandus Johnson appear in Albert Cook Myers, Narratives of Early Pennsylvania, West Jersey and Delaware, 1630-1707, 110-116 (1912) and Johnson, Swedish Settlements, 700-709. Freemen were not included in this census.

6. A roll of all old settlers remaining in New Sweden, 1 March 1648, prepared by Hans Kramer from Huygen's *Monatgelder Buch* (#2), preserved in Handel och sjöfart 196, SVAR S-4873, fiche 9. A translation appears in Amandus Johnson, *Swedish Settlements*, 710-715.

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7. A petition of grievances to Governor Printz, signed by 22 freemen, dated 27 July 1653, Printz's reply, and a supplemental petition, signed by 8 or more freemen, dated 7 July 1654, all of which are preserved in Handel och sjöfart 194, SVAR S-4871, fiche 12 and 14. Translations appear in the Amandus Johnson Papers, Balch Institute, Philadelphia.

8. The loyalty oath signed at Tinicum Island, 9 June 1654, by the "old freemen" and the "new freemen" (those who had just arrived on the *Eagle*), which is found in Handel och sjöfart 196, SVAR S-4873, fiche 9. A similar document containing the loyalty oath of Dutch and Swedish freemen at Fort Trinity (New Castle) has not been preserved. A translation of the Tinicum document appears in the Amandus Johnson Papers, Balch Institute, Philadelphia.

9. The account book of Jacob Jungh, commissary at Fort Christina,

showing purchases from the New Sweden commissary, 27 May 1654 to 9 Feb. 1655. All pages except the cover page and most of the name index are preserved in Handel och sjöfart 43. It has not been microfilmed. However, Riksarkivet provided the author with a xerox copy.

10. A similar account book of Hendrick Von Elswick, commissary at Fort Christina, showing purchases from the New Sweden commissary, 11 Feb. 1655 to 1 Oct. 1655. This is also preserved in Handel och sjöfart 43. It has not been microfilmed. However, Riksarkivet provided the author with a xerox copy.

11. Documents relating to the court inquest at Timber Island, 24 Sept. 1655, of Captain Sven Skute's surrender of Fort Trinity to the Dutch, filed with the Axel Oxenstierna papers, Riksarkivet, translated and published by Dr. C. A. Weslager, in "A Ruse de Guerre — and the Fall of New Sweden," *Delaware History*, 23:1-23 (1988).

12. A list of Rising's officers and servants returning to Sweden, showing for each his monthly pay. This is found in Handel och sjöfart 196, SVAR S-4873, fiche 9. A translation appears in Johnson, Swedish Settlements, 724.

Supplementing these accounts and lists, the author has also consulted numerous contemporary narratives, including correspondence, reports and journals by New Sweden governors and officials which appear in translation, including correspondence and reports by Governor Printz [Amandus Johnson, *Instructions for Johan Printz* (1930)], the reports of Governor Rising [Myers,

Narratives, 131-176], Governor Rising's journal [Stellan Dahlgren and Hans Norman, The Rise and Fall of New Sweden (1988), cited herein as Rising's Journal], the Dutch and English papers relating to the Delaware that are preserved in the New York State Archives, as translated and edited by Dr. Charles Gehring [primarily, New York Historical Manuscripts; Delaware Papers, vols. 18-19 (1981) cited as Gehring, 1, and vols. 20-21 (1977), cited as Gehring, 2], 17th century court records of the Upland Court [cited as UCR] and the New Castle Court [cited as NCR], early records of the Swedish churches on the Delaware, and early land and probate records of present Pennsylvania, Delaware, New Jersey and Maryland.

Calendars and Currencies

All dates used are based on the Julian or "old style" calendar then used by Sweden and England. The Dutch used the Gregorian or "new style" calendar, which was ten days ahead of the Julian calendar. The Swedish new year began on 1 January; the English new year began 25 March. When referring to English records, dates from 1 January to 24 March show both years; *e.g.*, 1669/70.

Three types of hard currencies were in use for New Sweden settlers. In America, the Dutch guilder was the standard means of accounting, whereas in Sweden the common currencies were daler (copper money) and Riksdaler. The most common monthly wage, that generally paid to common soldiers and unskilled workers, was ten guilders, which was the equivalent of 15 daler copper money and four Riksdaler. All three currencies had subunits: One guilder was equal to 20 Dutch stuivers. One daler was equal to 32 öre. One Riksdaler was equal to 48 skilling, and each such skilling was further subdivided into 4 styfer.

Kalmar Nyckel - 1638

The Kalmar Nyckel, accompanied by the smaller Fogel Grip, left Göteborg in the beginning of November 1637 under the command of Captain Peter Minuit. After stopping at Texel, Netherlands, for repairs, both ships left for America, 31 Dec. 1637, arriving in the South (Delaware) River in mid-March 1638.¹ Minuit purchased land from the Indians on the west bank of the Delaware, extending from the Schuylkill on the north to Bombay Hook on the south, and supervised the erection of a log fort on the Minquas Kill (at the present

¹ Johnson, Swedish Settlements, 115-117, C. A. Weslager, A Man and His Ship: Peter Minuit and the Kalmar Nyckel (1990), 123-130.

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1-16. Staffan Olofsson, formerly stationed at Fort Christina, was paid 150:4 guilders in Sweden on 19 June 1642.40

1-17 to 1-24. Not identified.

1-25. Anthony was described in the 1648 roll as a "Morian or Angolan," who had been purchased as a slave and brought to New Sweden on the Fogel Grip in 1639. On the 1644 roll, Antoni Swart was described as living on Tinicum Island, cutting hay for the Governor and serving on the Governor's little yacht. As of 1 March 1648, Antoni Niger had been billed 351:17 guilders for his purchases from the company store; no credits were shown for his prior labor. On 7 July 1654, Anthony Swartz made his last purchase from the commissary.⁴¹ His fate thereafter is not known.

Kalmar Nyckel - 1640

The Kalmar Nyckel left Göteborg on its second voyage to New Sweden in September 1639, but was delayed for several months at Texel and Amsterdam by the need for repairs and bad weather. It finally left Holland on 7 February 1640 and arrived in New Sweden on 17 April 1640.⁴² Its passengers included the following:

2-1. Peter Hollender Ridder, commissioned as a lieutenant, replaced Måns Kling as commander of the colony. He was born about 1609 in Holland or Germany, the son of Hans Hollender and Anna Robertsdotter. His father later became a merchant and customs officer in Ekenäs, Nyland, Finland, where Peter was raised. Peter Hollender Ridder entered the Swedish military service about 1635. He served as governor of the colony from 1640 until 1643, when he returned to Sweden on the Fama. He died at the castle of Viborg, Finland, in 1691 after having served the Swedish government for 54 years.⁴³

2-2. Gregorius Van Dyck served as Ridder's assistant, writing letters from the Kalmar Nyckel in May 1640. He was later described by Andries Hudde as

⁴⁰ J-146.

- ⁴¹ Huygen, 39; Jungh, 20.
- ⁴² Johnson, Swedish Settlements, 128-130.

⁴³ Johnson, Swedish Settlements, 691-693; Karl-Gustaf Olin, Vara första amerikafarare (Jakobstad, 1988), 14; J-289, 292.

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2-7. Mårten Hansson Rosbrack accompanied his father to New Sweden and was hired as a soldier at 10 guilders per month effective 1 May 1644. The 1644 roll showed he was then stationed at Fort Christina. He returned to Sweden with his father on the Swan in 1648 and settled his accounts in October 1648.⁶⁶

2-8. Peter Gunnarsson Rambo was hired effective 1 October 1639 as a laborer. The 1644 roll showed him as a tobacco worker at the Fort Christina plantation. He became a freeman on 1 November 1644. Meanwhile, in Göteborg, his father Gunnar Persson was twice paid by assignment from his son: 10 Riksdaler on 31 December 1643 and 30 Riksdaler on 27 May 1644.⁶⁷ Peter Gunnarsson was born about 1 June 1612 at Hisingen, and chose his surname (meaning raven's nest) from Ramberget (raven's mountain), a prominent hill in Hisingen overlooking Göteborg harbor. After becoming a freeman, Peter Rambo married Brita Matsdotter from Vasa, Finland, 7 April 1647. They settled initially at Kingsessing and had eight children, the eldest of whom (Gunnar Rambo) was born in January 1649. Peter Rambo was a leader in the Swedish community throughout his long life. He was one of 22 freemen signing the 1653 complaint against Governor Printz, served on Governor Rising's council, and was a justice on the Upland Court for 29 years. He died at his Passyunk plantation in Philadelphia and was buried 29 January 1698 at the age of 85 years and almost eight months.⁶⁸

2-9. Peter Andersson was hired as a laborer effective 1 October 1639 at a wage of 10 guilders per month. The 1644 roll listed him among those cutting hay on Tinicum Island and sailing with the Governor on his little yacht. The 1648 roll listed him as skipper of Printz's yacht. He assigned part of his pay to his father Anders Olsson, who collected 6 Riksdaler in Göteborg on 31 Dec. 1643 and another 14 Riksdaler on 11 November 1644. Peter returned to Europe with Governor Printz in 1653-1654, being paid in Amsterdam 25 guilders passage money on 4 April and another 25 guilders on 16 April 1654. He was again in Sweden by 24 May 1654 when Kramer made the first of several payments to Per Andersson, *arbeiter* (laborer). The final settlement of his accrued wages was made 26 November 1655, when he was also given an advance of two months' wages for his pending return to New Sweden on the

⁶⁶ Huygen, 11; J-758.

⁶⁸ See Craig, 1693 Census of the Swedes on the Delaware, 26-28.

⁶⁷ Huygen, 4; J-348, 390.

The 1644 roll listed Joen Thorsson as a tobacco planter at the Fort Christina plantation. On 1 January 1646 he became a freeman and was provided with a share of an ox for 80 guilders.⁹⁶ As of 1 March 1648, he owed 295:3 guilders to the New Sweden company. About 1653 he fled New Sweden and took up residence in the Dutch-controlled Fort Casimir area. After Governor Rising captured that fort in May 1654, the former Joen Thorsson, now known as Johan Schaggen (probably from skägg, meaning "beard" in Swedish) inspected the tobacco loaded on the Eagle on 3 July 1654.97 Johan Schaggen, a freeman at Fort Trinity (former Fort Casimir), made purchases from the company store from 6 July to 26 October 1654.⁹⁸ After the surrender of the fort to the Dutch in September 1655, the Dutch Governor Peter Stuyvesant promised Jan Schaggen the plantation on which he then lived. After Stuyvesant's local commander attempted to confiscate this land to pay debts due Isaac Allerton, Stuyvesant issued a patent for this land, defined as 40 morgens (80 acres) at the first corner above Fort Casimir, to Jan S'gaggen in June 1657.99 Johan Schaggen died shortly thereafter, survived by a wife and two sons, Jonas and Johan. His widow then married the Swede Lucas Petersson.¹⁰⁰ Johan Thorsson's adopted surname evolved into Scoggin among his descendants.

Convicts on the Kalmar Nyckel, 1640

Finding it difficult to employ enough men who wished to go to New Sweden voluntarily, the Swedish government on 7 and 8 August 1639 instructed Johan Hendrickson, governor of Elfsborg län, and Olof Stake, governor of Värmland and Dal, to capture any deserted soldiers and others who had committed some slight misdemeanor and to send them to America with their families. Such persons were to be provided with a new suit of clothes and ten daler copper money and sent to Göteborg. They would be required to serve one or two years

- ⁹⁶ Huygen, 8.
 - ⁹⁷ Rising Journal, 187, where the Governor names him "Johan Skragge."
 - ⁹⁶ Jungh, 79.
 - ⁹⁹ New York Colonial Documents, 12:167-169; NYHM, Dutch Land Papers, 91-92.

100 Craig, 1693 Census, 148, 151. On 9 April 1681 Lucas Peterson of Penn's Neck and his "son" [stepson] Jonas Schaegin conveyed all of their rights to a plantation in Swanwick [Johan Schaggen's former plantation] to Hendrick Franson. New Castle County deeds, A-1:74. The same land (80 acres plus 6 acres of marsh at Swanwick) had been patented to Lucas Peterson in February 1659 (recital, New Castle deeds, Y-1:527-529), indicating that Johan Thorsson Schaggen was deceased by that time.

in New Sweden, after which they could return, if they so desired.¹⁰¹ In practice, however, their sentences proved to be for five years. These convicts were:

2-15. Hendrick Olofsson, sent to New Sweden as punishment, accumulated debts of 55:3 guilders before being banished from the colony as a "scoundrel" by Ridder in 1642.¹⁰²

2-16. Anders Larsson Dalbo, sent to New Sweden as punishment, was a native of Dalsland. He was listed in the 1644 roll as a tobacco planter at the Schuylkill plantation. Heavily in debt, he obtained employment effective 1 Nov. 1647 as provost at a wage of 15 guilders per month, a position he still held when Printz left the colony in September 1653.¹⁰³ He then became a freeman and was among the "old freemen" pledging allegiance to Rising in June 1654. In the same year he married Elisabeth, who had arrived in New Sweden in 1641 with her late husband, Matts Hansson.¹⁰⁴ On 31 August 1655, Captain Sven Skute sent Anders Dalbo from Fort Trinity to Fort Christina to notify Governor Rising of the Dutch siege.¹⁰⁵ After the surrender of New Sweden and Stuyvesant's approval of the self-government of the Swedes living north of the Christina River, Anders Dalbo was named lieutenant of the Swedish militia under Captain Sven Skute.¹⁰⁶ He died before 1671 when his widow Elisabeth Dalbo was shown as head of household on his former Kingsessing plantation.¹⁰⁷ Anders Dalbo was survived by two stepsons, Peter and Johan Matsson, and two sons, Olof and Lasse Dalbo.¹⁰⁸

2-17. Sven Larsson Marbo, sent to New Sweden for punishment, came from Marbohemmet, Västergötland, according to the late Sten Carlsson. The 1644 roll listed him as Sven Larsson, a tobacco worker at the Schuylkill plantation. Effective 1 October 1645, Sven Laerson Marbo began to be paid for his services at a wage of 10 guilders per month. By 1 March 1648 he was able

¹⁰² Huygen, 7.

¹⁰³ Huygen, 9; Kramer, 42. Wages earned never did catch up with his accrued debts, which were finally written off by Kramer.

¹⁰⁴ Craig, 1693 Census, 66-67.

¹⁰⁵ Weslager, Delaware History, 23:12-13, 20.

¹⁰⁶ New York Colonial Documents, 12:212-213.

¹⁰⁷ Gehring, 2:306.

¹⁰⁸ Craig, 1693 Census, 66-68.

¹⁰¹ Johnson, Swedish Settlements, 126.

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to work down his debt to the company to only 45 guilders. He was among the settlers returning to Europe with Governor Printz in 1653. At Amsterdam, Sven Larsson Marbo, arbeiter (laborer) was paid on 4 April 1654 the sum of 25 guilders for his passage to Sweden, with another 10 guilders added on 16 April 1654. In Sweden, on 31 December 1654, it was recorded that the books delivered by Hendrick Huygen showed that the "soldier" Sven Larsson Marbo had made purchases from the company store and Governor Printz valued at 966 guilders between 1 March 1648 and 1 September 1653, considerably more than the 660 guilders he had earned during this period.¹⁰⁹

2-18. Sven Gunnarsson, sent to New Sweden for punishment, arrived in New Sweden with his wife, two sons and one daughter.¹¹⁰ On the 1644 roll he was listed as a tobacco planter at the Fort Christina plantation. By the time of the 1648 roll he had become a freeman, a status he probably acquired on 1 October 1645. As of 1 March 1648 he owed 348:2 guilders to the company store.¹¹¹ Sven Gunnarsson joined other freemen in the 1653 complaint against Governor Printz and was one of the old freemen signing the 1654 loyalty oath at Tinicum Island. In 1654 he also signed the second complaint against Printz. He settled first in Kingsessing and appears to have been the operator of the first Swedish water mill on a creek now known as Cobb's Creek.¹¹² On 5 May 1664 Governor D'Hinojossa granted Swen Gonderson, Swen Swensson, Oele Swenson and Andries Swenson 400 morgens (800 acres) at Wicaco in present Philadelphia.¹¹³ Sven Gunnarsson died at Wicaco between November 1677, when he was listed as tydable with his son Anders Svensson, and 13 March 1678/9 when Peter Rambo's lawsuit over the boundary of Wicaco was filed against the surviving owners, Sven's three sons.¹¹⁴ The three Svensson brothers were to play prominent roles in the founding of Philadelphia. Sven (born in Sweden), Olle (born on the Kalmar Nyckel) and Anders (born in New Sweden) gave William Penn 360 acres for his new town called Philadelphia, and the family of Sven Svensson

¹¹⁰ Craig, 1693 Census, 33.

¹¹¹ Huygen, 10.

¹¹² In 1657 "Swen de Molenar (miller) and Olle, Swen and Andries Swenschen (Sven Gunnarsson's three sons) purchased goods from a Dutch trader. Gehring, 1:254-255. The only other option is that this was a reference to Sven Skute.

¹¹³ The grant was referenced in the English Governor Francis Lovelace's reissue of the patent on 31 May 1671. The new patent increased the family's holdings to 1,145 acres. Phila. Exemplification Book 2:542.

¹¹⁴ UCR, 134-135.

gave the land for Gloria Dei (Old Swedes) Church. Sven Gunnarsson also had at least two daughters, Gertrude who married Jonas Nilsson and a daughter (name unknown) who married Peter Månsson Lom.¹¹⁵

2-19. Lars Svensson, commonly known as "Lasse the Finn," was sent to New Sweden for punishment. He was listed in the 1644 roll as a tobacco planter at the Fort Christina plantation under the name of Lars Kåckin, meaning "the cook" in Finnish. His sentence having expired, Lars Svensson was employed as a laborer effective 1 October 1645 at six guilders per month. He became a freeman 1 March 1648, when he owed 232:13:12 guilders to the company.¹¹⁶ Governor Printz used this debt as a pretext to drive Lasse the Finn from his land in "Finland" and to use that land for a second plantation which he called "Printz Torp." The Governor's persecution of this family was a major issue in the freemen's 1653 and 1654 complaints against Printz. They alleged that Lasse the Finn had been driven from his land and died, that his widow Karin had been imprisoned, driven insane and died, leaving several impoverished children. Printz defended his actions by claiming that Lasse and Karin "were separated from us on account of witchcraft" and they "were indebted for three times as much as their place is worth."¹¹⁷

2-20. Mårten Göttersson, sent to New Sweden for punishment, was listed as a tobacco planter at the Fort Christina plantation in 1644. After his five-year sentence expired, he was hired effective 1 October 1645 as a worker at ten guilders per month. By 1 March 1648, he owed only 18:18:8 guilders to the company. He remained in New Sweden until the summer of 1654 when he returned to New Sweden on the *Eagle*. On 18 December 1654, the bookkeeper Hans Kramer paid 20 daler for the burial of Marten Güttersson. Mårten Güttersson's widow was paid 30 daler on 1 June 1655 and another 50 daler on 24 October 1655, presumably clearing his account.¹¹⁸

(to be continued)

¹¹⁵ Craig, 1693 Census, 33-34; Clay, Annals of the Swedes (1938 ed.), 97.

¹¹⁶ Huygen, 10.

¹¹⁷ Amandus Johnson translations of freemen's complaints of 27 July 1653 and 7 July 1654 and Printz's defense of 3 August 1653. Amandus Johnson Papers, Balch Institute, Box 55; originals in Handel och sjöfart 194, Riksarkivet. The Printz Torp estate, which became the home of Armegot Printz after she sold Tinicum Island with its Printzhof estate to Joost de la Grange in 1658, was later sold by Armegot Printz to Caleb Pusey, one of the first Quakers to settle in present Pennsylvania.

¹¹⁸ Huygen, 11; J-1205, 1256, 1305.

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New Sweden Settlers, 1638-1664 Part 2 (1641)

Peter Stebbins Craig, F.A.S.G.*

Dr. Amandus Johnson in his 1911 treatise, Swedish Settlements on the Delaware, 1638-1664, described the voyage of the Freedenburgh as the "third expedition" of the New Sweden Company.¹ This is a misnomer. New Sweden documents clearly label the 1641 voyages of the Kalmar Nyckel and the Charitas as the third expedition of the company. The 1640 voyage of the Dutch ship Freedenburgh, although made with the permission of the New Sweden Company, did not result in any settlement on the South (Delaware) River. The passengers on that ship, if they remained in America, soon gravitated to New Amsterdam. None is to be found in New Sweden records.

Passengers to New Sweden on the third expedition originated in three ports - Amsterdam, Stockholm and Göteborg. Seven passengers, most of them veterans of the first voyage to New Sweden, originated their travel from Amsterdam on the *Kalmar Nyckel*. Their pay commenced 12 April 1641, which may be the date of sailing of the ship to Göteborg. Another 36 passengers boarded the *Charitas* at Stockholm on 3 May 1641 and were transported to Göteborg on the first leg of their trip to New Sweden. Their pay commenced 1 June 1641. The remainder of the passengers, about 55 in number, boarded the *Kalmar Nyckel* or *Charitas* in Göteborg. Their pay commenced 1 July 1641.

The Kalmar Nyckel and Charitas departed from Göteborg in July 1641. On 19 August 1641, the ships left the shores of Europe behind them and headed into open seas. The voyage to New Sweden was a stormy one. Two of the colonists and some cattle died on the journey. When the two ships finally arrived at Fort Christina, 7 November 1641, the people and animals were very weak and powerless, according to Hendrick Huygen's contemporary report.²

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¹ Johnson, Swedish Settlements, 135-144.

² Johnson, Swedish Settlements, 154-155.

Passengers from Amsterdam

Each of the following passengers, except Huygen, served as crew members aboard the *Kalmar Nyckel*. The pay of each commenced on 12 April 1641.

3-1. Hendrick Huygen, Commissary, who had been on the first voyage of the Kalmar Nyckel. (See #1-2)

3-2. Gotfried Harmer, a cabin boy, who also had been on the first voyage of the Kalmar Nyckel. (See #1-3)

3-3. Andries Lucasson, chief boatswain, also had been on the first voyage of the Kalmar Nyckel. (See #1-4)

3-4. Claes Claesson, the elder, carpenter, had probably been on the first voyage of the Kalmar Nyckel. (See #1-5)

3-5. Claes Claesson, the younger, carpenter, had probably been on the first voyage of the Kalmar Nyckel. (See #1-6)

3-6. Floris Florisson, carpenter, had probably been on the first voyage of the Kalmar Nyckel. (See #1-7)

3-7. Laurens Andriesen, a cooper, was described by the 1648 roll as a Hollander who had arrived on the *Kalmar Nyckel* in in 1641. Prior to departing from Amsterdam, he was advanced two months wages, 36 guilders. In 1643 his wage was increased to 20 guilders per month. In the 1644 roll he was named Lauris Kyper (Laurens the cooper), making tobacco casks and other cooper goods at Christina. He remained on the New Sweden payroll as a cooper until 15 August 1652 when he returned to Sweden with his countryman Claes Claesson the younger. After arriving in Sweden, Laurens Andriesen was granted his back pay, 435:44 Riksdaler, in four installments extending from 27 May 1653 to 17 August 1653.³

³ Huygen, 15; J-1098, 1099, 1100, 1103; Handel och sjöfart 196.

Passengers from Stockholm

On 3 May 1641, a list of the passengers about to depart from Stockholm on the *Charitas*, was prepared.⁴ Such passengers were as follows:

3-8. Mans Nilsson Kling was listed "with his wife, his maid and one small child. His quality and extra allowances have not yet been agreed upon. He is to serve as a lieutenant at a salary of 40 guilders per month, to begin 1 May 1641. Besides he was presented with 50 R.D. through Fleming in lieu of his time in waiting." This was his second trip to New Sweden. (See #1-1)

3-9. Mans Svensson Lom, "a tailor, who has also been a lieutenant. He intends to begin agriculture in the colony. He received 5 R.D. on departing, but

otherwise no salary or monthly wage. Goes with his wife, two almost grown up daughters and a little son." In New Sweden, as one of the colony's first freemen, Måns Lom was closely associated with Olof Stille (see #3-10 below) and it seems likely that his wife was Olof Stille's sister. He probably shared Olof Stille's "Techoherassi" plantation on Olof Stille's creek (now Ridley Creek) in present Delaware County, Pa.⁵ On 6 October 1646, during the war of words between Governor Printz and the Dutch, Måns Lom and Olof Stille delivered one of the Governor's ultimatums to the Dutch.⁶ As of 1 March 1648, Måns Svensson Loom [as Huygen spelled his name] owed the company 274:17 guilders for purchases he had made up to that date.⁷

Måns Lom probably died in 1653. His name was conspicuously absent from the 27 July 1653 protest to Governor Printz, although both Olof Stille and Axel Stille had affixed their names. On 9 June 1654, "Måns Lom's widow" was listed among the "old freemen" pledging allegiance to Governor Rising. She would later marry Lars Andersson Collinus, who was among the new settlers arriving with Rising in 1654.⁸ Their family included Margaret Lom, born in 1626 in Roslagen who married Peter Larsson Cock; Catharina Lom, born c. 1628 in

⁴ This list has been translated, somewhat inaccurately, by Amandus Johnson in Swedish Settlements, 151-153, and by Gregory B. Keen in "The Third Expedition," PMHB, volume 3 (1879).

⁵ A 1653 inventory of New Sweden lands showed three plantations at Techoherassi, which were occupied by Olof Stille, his brother Axel Stille and Sven Lom. See Peter S. Craig, "The Stille Family in America," SAG, 6:141 at 142 (1986).

⁶ Johnson, Swedish Settlements, 413.

⁷ Huygen, 40.

⁸ See Craig, 1693 Census, 29, n. 11.

Roslagen who married John Wheeler; Peter Månsson, born c. 1638 in Roslagen, who died in Cecil County, Maryland in 1677; Anna Lom, born at sea in 1641 who married Giösta Danielsson; Beata Lom, born in 1643, allegedly the first girl born in New Sweden, who married Lars Carlsson Lock; Christina Lom, born c. 1645, who married Mårten Gertsson; Sven Månsson Lom, born c. 1648, who died in Philadelphia County c. 1685; Helena Lom, born c. 1650, who married Michael Nilsson Laican in 1670; and Maria Lom, born c. 1652, who married John Mattsson, son of Matts Hansson (#3-12) in 1672.⁹

3-10. Olof Petersson Stille from Roslagen was described on the passenger list as a "mill-maker who will begin farming there. He received 50 D copper money, but seeks no pay. He will be paid, however, for what he does for the company or for what he supplies. He has a wife and two children, one seven and the other one and a half." Formerly a resident of the island of Humblö and a servant at Penningby Castle, Olof Stille had been economically ruined by lawsuits filed by Catharina Fleming of Penningby Manor, widow of Erik Bjelke, and apparently had decided on a new life in New Sweden,¹⁰ As of 1 March 1648, he was listed as owing the New Sweden company 523:13 guilders for various purchases, including 160 guilders for his share of two oxen. The account showed no offsetting credits, although he had probably been responsible for the building of the Swedes' mill on Mill (now Cobb's) Creek.¹¹ On 27 July 1653, he was one of the signers of the protest to Governor Printz, which included the allegation that after Olof Stille had purchased a calf from Johan Campanius in 1648, Printz had confiscated the calf for his own use. Printz apparently considered Olof Stille one of the ringleaders of this "mutiny," for after the arrival of Governor Rising, Olof Stille "posted bail and wished to be legally tried."¹²

After the surrender of New Sweden to the Dutch and the grant by Governor Petrus Stuyvesant of self-rule to the up-river Swedes, Olof Stille became the chief magistrate of the Swedes' court, a position he held from 1656 to 1663.¹³ In 1664, having moved from his Techoherassi plantation to Moyamensing, east

⁹ See Craig, 1693 Census, 29 n. 11; Craig, "The Stille Family in America," SAG, 6:170 n. 90. The marriage of Anna Lom to Giösta Danielsson is confirmed by the baptism of their daughter Margareta in New Amsterdam, 6 Nov. 1657. Thomas G. Evans, Records of the Reformed Dutch Church in New York; Baptisms, 1639-1730, 50.

¹⁰ See Fritz Nordström, "Olof Stille of New Sweden, SAG, 6:97-104 (1986).

¹¹ Huygen, 40.

¹² Rising's Journal, 185.

¹³ See Gehring, 1:196, 231, 257, 318-320, 335.

of the Schuylkill, he was granted a Dutch patent for his new land which he owned with Lars Andersson Collinus and Marten Roosemont alias Clein Smit (smith making small items).¹⁴ He died at Moyamensing, probably in late 1683.¹⁵ Three children have been positively identified: Ella Stille, born in Roslagen in 1634, who married Peter Jochimsson in 1652 and, after his death, Hans Månsson in 1654;¹⁶ Anders Stille, born in Roslagen in 1639, who died in New Castle County by 1693;¹⁷ and John Stille, born in New Sweden in 1646, who died at Moyamensing in 1722.¹⁸ Olof Stille may also be the father of Christina, who became the second wife of Marten Roosemont alias Clein Smit.¹⁹

3-11. Axel Petersson Stille, brother of Olof Stille, was described on the ship list as a servant, hired at a wage of 20 R.D. annually. He had been paid an advance of 15 daler copper money. The company journal, however, shows that Måns Kling had paid him an advance of 17 daler on 23 Feb. 1641, and Huygen's accounts report that he had been hired by Claes Fleming, effective 1 June 1641, at 60 guilders per year to 1 Jan. 1643, a period of 19 months, after which he was to become a freeman. As a freeman, he accumulated debts of only 60 guilders by 1 March 1648, perhaps indicating that many of his purchases were charged against the account of his older brother Olof.²⁰ On 27 July 1653, he was one of 22 freemen signing the protest to Governor Printz. Soon thereafter, he fled the New Sweden colony. On 14 May 1658 he was granted head rights in Maryland for 100 acres of land. This land, located on the Sassafras River in Baltimore (now Cecil) County, was called "Stillington" when surveyed 21 August 1658.²¹

- ¹⁴ PA2d, 19:353-354.
- ¹⁵ Craig, "The Stille Family in America," SAG, 6:146-147.

¹⁶ Peter S. Craig, "The Yocums of Aronameck," National Genealogical Society Quarterly, 71:250-251 (1983); ; Craig, "The Stille Family," SAG, 6:147-148 (1986).

¹⁷ Craig, "The Stille Family," SAG, 6:148-151 (1986).

¹⁸ Craig, "The Stille Family," SAG, 6:151-154 (1986).

¹⁹ Marten Clein Smit shared the Moyamensing plantation with Olof Stille when the Dutch patent was issued in 1664. Two streams on that property were known as Hollander's Creek and Rosemond's Creek. When Marten Cleyn Smit had a daughter baptized at the Dutch church in New Amsterdam on 18 March 1657, his wife was named Grietie. Evans, *Records of the Reformed Dutch Church in New York; Baptisms, 1639-1730, 45.* However, when Martin Rosemond of New Castle sold one of his town lots 14 June 1675, his wife was named Christina. New Castle County deeds, W-1:520-521. Styntie [the Dutch version of Christina] Rosemont was a baptismal sponsor at the Dutch church on 1 Dec. 1672. Evans, supra, 108.

²⁰ J-39, Huygen, 22.

²¹ Maryland Land Patents, Q:63, 17:167.

On 29 July 1661, Axel Stille was granted denization by Maryland.²² His name continued to be found in Cecil County records to 1675, but he had moved to his brother's property at Moyamensing in Philadelphia County, Pa., by the spring of 1683. He died there shortly thereafter, without any surviving issue.²³

3-12. Matts Hansson was described on the ship list as a "gunner for the new fort" who had received nothing on departing. "His salary has not been fixed as yet. He also wishes to begin a farm or tobacco plantation with his wife." In the colony, it was finally agreed that his salary as gunner at Fort Christina would be 19 guilders per month, effective 1 September 1642. He was also credited with 174 guilders for his prior service. He became a freeman four years later, on 1 December 1646. As of 1 March 1648, his account was almost in balance, his purchases (including 160 guilders for oxen) being only slightly more than his accrued salary.²⁴ After signing the 27 July 1653 complaint against Governor Printz, Matts Hansson was one of the freemen fleeing the colony. He apparently was one of the two escapees overtaken and murdered by Indians hired by Printz's son-in-law Johan Papegoja because his name is missing in subsequent records and his widow Elisabeth soon married Anders Larsson Dalbo. Matts Hansson was survived by two sons, John Mattsson alias Dalbo (who married Maria Lom) and Peter Mattsson alias Dalbo (who married Catharina Rambo).²³

3-13. Anders Hansson was described on the ship list as "the gunner's brother, hired as a tobacco servant at 20 R.D. annually, of which he has received 20 daler copper money here. He also receives a suit." The 1648 roll shows that he had been hired by Måns Kling. Huygen's accounts report that he was paid five guilders per month from 1 June 1641 until 1 October 1647 when his salary was raised to 10 guilders per month. He became a freeman 1 February 1647 and owed the company 48:4:8 guilders as of 1 March 1648.²⁶ After signing the 27 July 1653 complaint against Governor Printz, he also fled the colony and made it safely to Maryland with his wife Anna and children Hans, Frederick, Catharine and Margaret.²⁷ Anders Hansson died at Beaver Neck, Kent County, Maryland,

²² Archives of Maryland, 3:429-430.

²³ Craig, "Stille Family," SAG, 155-158.

²⁴ Huygen, 16; Kramer, 13.

²⁵ Craig, 1693 Census, 66-69.

²⁶ Huygen, 20.

²⁷ Archives of Maryland, 54:140; Maryland Land Patents, Q:345. An earlier daughter Catharine was buried 26 October 1646. Johnson, Swedish Settlements, 367.

in June 1655.²⁸ His widow, who bore his last child (Barbara) in October 1655, remarried three times and had four additional children.²⁹ Anders Hansson's eldest son Hans Hanson (c. 1647-1704), "born on Delaware River of Swedish parents," was naturalized by Maryland in 1671 and became prominent in Kent County, Maryland, affairs.³⁰

3-14. Herr Christopher was named on the ship list as "a priest, goes with the recommendation of the Royal Admiral, who also gave him 100 daler copper money for this purpose from his own means. Otherwise he has demanded nothing besides his board, because he only wishes to gain some experience or try his luck through this journey." As he was not on the company payroll and made no purchases from the company, Huygen never opened an account for him. He returned to Sweden on the *Fama* in 1643, being loaned 9 R.D. in Portugal, 10 Nov. 1643, by the skipper of the *Fama* and was paid another 9:1 R.D. in 1644 upon his return to Sweden.³¹ He is believed to be the same person as Christopher Alanus, who served the Jomala congregation in Åland.³²

3-15. Gustaf Strahl was described on the ship list as "a young nobleman, goes along to try his luck on the recommendation of the Royal Admiral, and he receives nothing from the company except his board." No account was opened for him. He returned to Sweden in 1643 on the *Swan* and, as Gustaf Straelle, was paid 3 R.D. in Göteborg, 11 August 1643.³³

3-16. Michel Jonsson Beem was described as "the burgomeister's son from Gevell [Gävle], is also an adventurer, seeks no pay, because he goes to try his luck." On his arrival in New Sweden, he quickly changed his mind. He returned to Sweden on the same ship (*Charitas*) as a common sailor, collecting his net pay of 87:17 guilders for his service as a crew member, 4 May 1641 to 4 June 1642.³⁴

²⁸ Archives of Maryland, 54:38, 85.

²⁹ George Ely Russell, "Anicake (Hanson) (Elena) (MacKenney) Dabb of Kent County, Maryland, 1652-1674," The American Genealogist, 54:159-164 (1978).

³⁰ Archives of Maryland, 2:331; Edward C. Papenfuse, et al., Biographical Dictionary of the Maryland Legislature, 1635-1789, 1:404-405.

³¹ J-336, 364.

³² Karl Gustav Olin, Våra första amerikafarare, 22, 134. ³³ J-289.

³⁴ J-146.

be identified as Anders, Carl, John, Peter, Jonas, Elisabeth (wife of Lulof Stedham), Christina (wife of William Cobb) and Maria (wife of John Hansson Steelman).⁷⁷

3-27. Olof Ericksson, was described on the ship list as "a youth, shall be paid 10 R.D. annually, has received 10 daler copper money." He had been hired by Måns Kling, who was reimbursed for the 10 daler on 23 Feb. 1641.⁷⁸ Hendrick Huygen's account shows Olof Ericksson was paid 35 guilders annually from 1 June 1641 to 1 June 1643 when his wage was increased to 5 guilders per month.⁷⁹ The 1644 roll showed that Olof Ericksson worked at 'Tinicum Island, cutting hay for the cattle when he was not serving on Governor Printz's yacht. On 1 October 1646 his wage was increased to 10 guilders per month. As of 1 March 1648 he owed 131:15:8 guilders to the company.⁸⁰ He was, however, a freeman by 27 July 1653 when he signed the complaint against Governor Printz. On 9 June 1654 Olof Ericksson signed the loyalty oath to Governor Rising as an old freeman, but his name thereafter disappears. It is presumed that he died that summer, although he might have returned to Sweden on the *Eagle*.

Convicts boarding at Stockholm

3-28. Mats Hansson, identified in later records as from Borgå, Nyland, Finland, was described in the ship's list as "Herr [Claes] Fleming's former servant, is to have no pay, but to be supplied only with necessary clothing because he has committed some offense and must go in punishment." To distinguish him from Mats Hansson, the gunner (see #3-12), Huygen called this man Matz Hanson of Borgå. On the 1644 roll, he was a tobacco worker at the Upland plantation. His servitude having ended, Mats Hansson of Borgå was paid 5 guilders per month commencing 1 April 1644. Later that year his salary was raised to 10 guilders per month and on 1 July 1645 he became a freeman. As of 1 March 1648, he owed the company 30:6 guilders, having been charged 80 guilders for a half-share of an ox.⁸¹ On 27 July 1653 he was one of the two

⁷⁷ See Craig, 1693 Census, 88, 90-92, The given name of the daughter marrying Lulof Stedham is inferred from the names given to her sons' daughters. Both (Timothy Stedham and Lulof Stedham, Jr.) apparently followed the custom of naming their two eldest sons and two eldest daughters after their parents.

⁷⁸ J-39.

⁷⁹ Huygen, 25.

⁸⁰ Huygen, 25.

^{*1} Huygen, 26.

Matts Hanssons signing the complaint against Governor Printz. Matts Hansson Nylenning [*i.e.*, from Nyland] was one of the old freemen signing the 9 June 1654 loyalty oath to Governor Rising. He also told Rising that Governor Printz himself had caused the "rebellion" of the prior year and that was the reason why so many had run away from New Sweden.⁸² Governor Printz named Matts Hansson and Peter Gunnarsson Rambo to his Council. The freeman Mats Hansson made purchases from the company store in 1654 and 1655 and was one of five Kingsessing freemen volunteering to help defend Fort Christina in 1655.⁸³ After the surrender of New Sweden, Mats Hansson from Borgå served as a magistrate on the Swedes' court to at least 1663.⁸⁴ It is unknown whether he married or had any children.

3-29. Peter Larsson Kock was described on the ship's list as "Peer Kock, an imprisoned soldier from Smedjegården [a Stockholm prison]. He must serve as a servant for penalty and is to receive necessary sustenance and clothing. Two daler advanced; also, soldier." From a letter written by his eldest son, Lars Petersson Cock, in 1693, we learn that Peter Kock, born 1610, was the son of Lars Persson of Bångsta, Turinge parish, Södermanland.⁸⁵ Måns Kling was reimbursed for his two daler advance to Pedher Kock on 23 Feb. 1641.⁸⁶ On the 1644 roll, Päder Kock was listed as a tobacco planter at the Schuylkill plantation, supervised by Måns Kling. By 1645 he had married Margaret Lom (see #3-9); their first child, Lars Petersson, was born 21 March 1646.87 Peter Larsson Kock probably became a freeman by 1646. As of 1 March 1648, he owed 406:5 guilders to the company.⁸⁸ In July 1651, Peter Kock witnessed two Indian deeds confirming land sales made to the Swedes in 1638.⁸⁹ On 27 July 1653 he was one of 22 freemen signing the complaint against Governor Printz. On 9 July 1654 Pedher Kock signed the loyalty oath to Governor Rising. As Peter Kock, he also signed the second complaint against Printz, 7 July 1654.

In 1656, after the surrender of New Sweden, when Stuyvesant consented to

- ⁸² Rising Journal, 174 n. 50.
- ⁸³ Jungh, 111; Von Elswick, 152; Johnson, Swedish Settlements, 602.
- ⁴⁴ NYCD, 12:211; Gehring, 1:267, 318-320.
- ⁸⁵ Craig, 1693 Census, 28-29, 162-163.
- ⁸⁶ J-39.
- ⁸⁷ PMHB, 2:227.
- ** Huygen, 26.
- *9 Johnson, Swedish Settlements, 715. Johnson misreads his name as Peter Bock. Id., 442, 824.