

**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."¹ 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

¹ *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 | Sven 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 1656.¹

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

¹ 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.²

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.³

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.⁴ 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.⁵

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.⁶ 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

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

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

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

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

⁶ *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 1640.⁷ In 1676, a sixth justice was added, Otto Ernest Cock.⁸

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.⁹ 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.¹⁰

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.¹¹ 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.¹²

⁷ 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.

⁸ *UCR*, 37-38.

⁹ *NYCD*, 2:604-05.

¹⁰ 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.

¹¹ *UCR*, 165.

¹² 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.¹³

Writing to England on 16 August 1683, Penn observed:¹⁴

"[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 Kingsessing, 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."¹⁵

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

¹³ *Soderlund*, 14-15.

¹⁴ *Soderlund*, 317.

¹⁵ *Myers*, 250-52.

many decades before.¹⁶ 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 1638.¹⁷ 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.¹⁸

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

¹⁶ *PA1st*, 1:47-49, 62-67, 92-95.

¹⁷ 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.

¹⁸ 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:

| <i>Swedish</i> | <i>English</i> | <i>Swedish</i> | <i>English</i> |
|-------------------------|--------------------|---------------------------|-----------------|
| 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 | Elcanor, 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.¹⁹

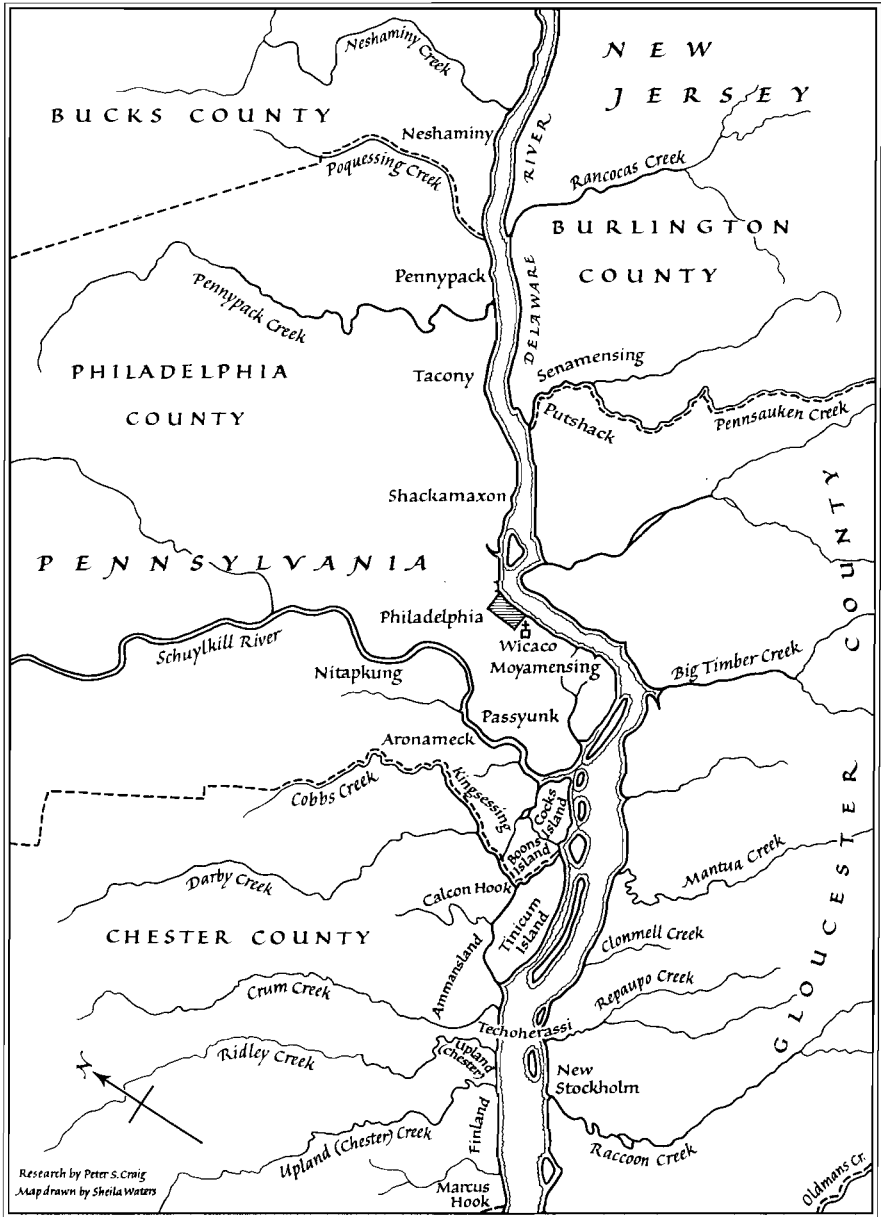
On the west side of the Delaware, all Wicaco church members lived below the fall line of the navigable streams. It would be several years before the first Swedish families ventured above that fall line to settle in new Swedish tracts granted by William Penn at Matsunk (present Upper Merion township in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

¹⁹ 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.

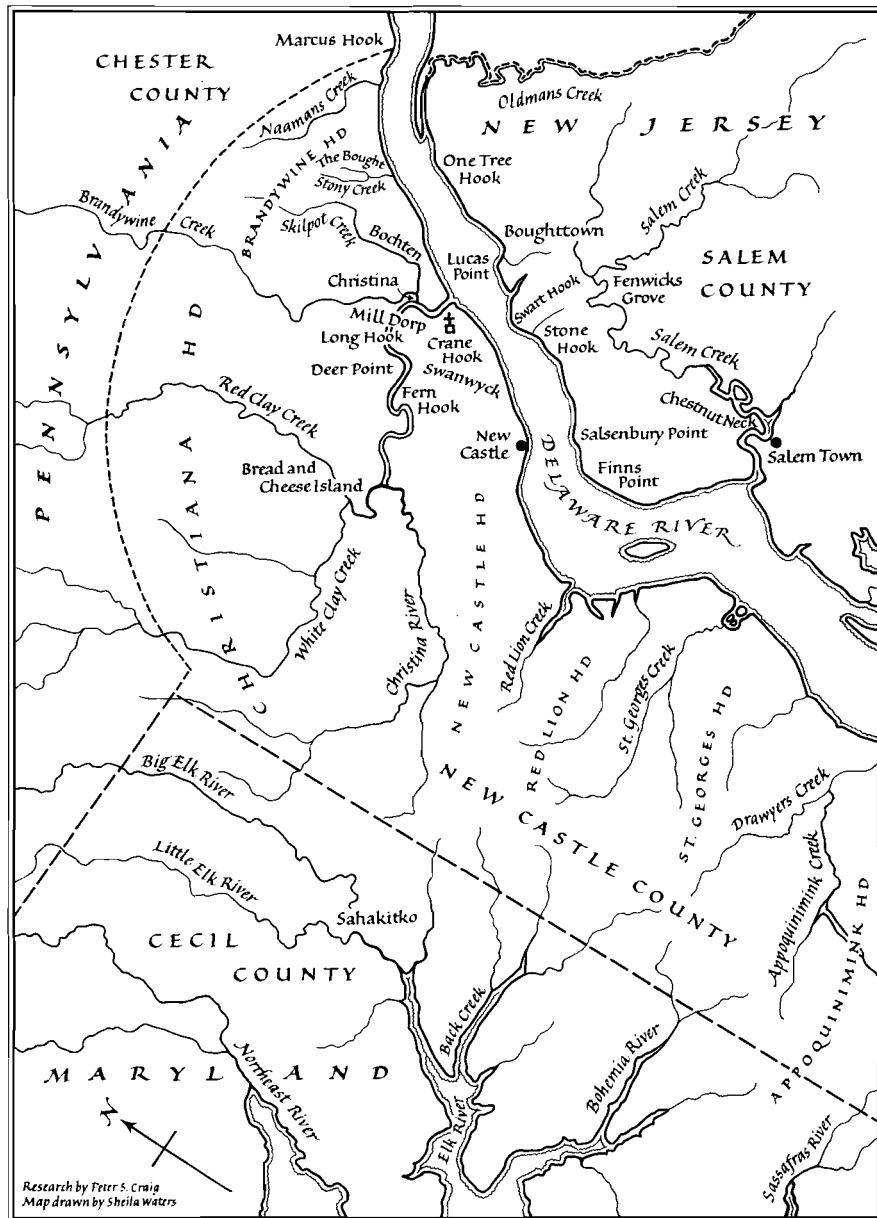
West of the Delaware the member households were concentrated in the area between the Bought and Crane Hook and up the Brandywine and the Christina River, including the lower reaches of Red Clay and White Clay creeks. Soon, however, several of the church members moved south to Red Lion, St. Georges and 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.¹

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 Fornä och Närvarande Tilstånd*, etc. (Stockholm 1759), pp. 217-220. Rudman's copy of the 1693

¹ 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, Del., 1958), 73-76, and has been reproduced in the Appendix of this book.

71.4 0914

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

Comparison of the three copies of Rudman's copy of the 1693 census yields many puzzling results: Dismissing the not unsubstantial differences among them,⁴ 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;⁵ others were misread,⁶ and the number of persons that appears after each entry was, in several instances, transposed from an adjoining entry.⁷

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

² 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.

³ 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).

⁴ 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.

⁵ 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).

⁶ 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").

⁷ 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 document⁸ 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.⁹ 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 Stalcorp 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.

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

⁹ 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 population¹⁰ 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.

¹⁰ 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. |
| Hans Jurensson | 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 änkia | 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 efterlefwerska | 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 Wallrawen | 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. |
| Carell 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 Clementsson | 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 Johansson | 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 Stålpkoft | 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 Pettersson | 157. |
| Isacc Savoy | 7 | Isaac Savoy | 158. |
| Wholle Franson | 7 | Olle Fransson | 159. |
| Lasse Piettersson | 1 | Lars Pettersson | 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 Jürensson | 5 | Staffan Jöransson | 181. |
| Larss Larsson | 7 | Lars Larsson Hendricksson | 182. |
| Jüran Ericksson | 1 | Jöran Ericsson Litien | 183. |
| Jacob Hendrichson | 5 | Jacob Hendricksson | 184. |
| Petter Lucas | 1 | Peter Lucasson Pettersson | 185. |
| Lucas Lucasson | 1 | Lucas Lucasson Pettersson | 186. |
| Hance Lucasson | 1 | Hans Lucasson Pettersson | 187. |
| Olle Kuckow | 8 | Olle Olleson Kuckow | 188. |
| Hendrich Slobelij | 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 Dünnis | 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 Staake | #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.