

**A People's Hope of Prosperity Amid Chaos: Swedes' Adaptations to English
Imperialism in the Delaware Valley Before the Arrival of William Penn: 1676-1682**

A Thesis

Presented to

the Faculty of the Graduate School
of Millersville University of Pennsylvania

In Partial Fulfillment

of the Requirements for the Degree of

Master of Arts

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April 2024

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Millersville University, 2024

Millersville, Pennsylvania

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ABSTRACT (MAX 150 WORDS):

After decades of different European powers colonizing and exploiting the Delaware Valley, the English controlled the area by 1665. Many of the old settlers from the former colony of New Sweden, collectively called the Swedes, desired independence from the English Empire, setting up a rebellion with the help of the Lenape. This rebellion was stopped by fellow Swedes, establishing English rule in the area which the Swedes and the Lenape adapted to. Close examination of underutilized seventeenth century records from Pennsylvania, New York, and New Jersey, revealed that many of the Swedes in the various regions of the Delaware Valley adopted aspects of English Imperialism by the late 1670s while maintaining ties to the Lenape to further their prospects in an ever-changing landscape.

Keywords:

English Atlantic: The English Atlantic is a term used to describe the trade within the English Empire. Trade can include both legal and illegal trade as all colonies engaged in some form of smuggling during English rule. The English Atlantic became the British Atlantic in 1707 with the Act of Union officially establishing the Kingdom of Great Britain with the union of the Kingdom of England and the Kingdom of Scotland.

English Empire: Starting with ambitions from the sixteenth century, the English Empire lasted officially from 1607 to the Act of Union of 1707 when it became the British Empire. This term is used to describe the territories that England had control over during the majority of the seventeenth century. Within these territories, trade occurred between the different colonies.

Finn/Finns: A terms used to describe the Delaware Valley settlers whose identity is clearly identified as originating from Finland.

Imperialism: The expansion of a country's influence in another region or sovereignty through cooperation or forced coercion. Through Edmund Andros, cooperation was the primary tool used to semi-subjugate the Delaware Valley in the late 1670s.

Improve/Improving: The process of clearing land for the purposes of agriculture and small industries such as gristmills. The English colonial system adopted this method in the early seventeenth century, spreading its influence into the Delaware Valley by the mid-to-late seventeenth century.

Lënapehòkink/Lenapehoking: Translated into English as, "The land of the Lenape." This area included the areas from the lower Delaware Valley up to present-day New York State. The original location where the Lenape resided was considered sacred ground to the Lenape, only allowing certain settlers into the area in the 1630s while falling to pressure from English settlers by the 1670s. The Lenape were pushed away from their original territories by the early-to-mid eighteenth century.

Proprietor: In Colonial America, a proprietor was anybody who received a charter from a monarch or ruler to occupy and develop lands defined in the said charter. Examples include John Berkeley and George Carteret of New Jersey and William Penn of Pennsylvania.

Quit-Rent: A land tax imposed by a higher landowning authority or government. In this case, Swedes who owned land paid a land tax to the New York government in Albany under Governor Edmund Andros

Swede/Swedes: A conglomerative term popularized by Jean Soderlund, the Swedes consisted of diverse ethnic identities residing in the upper Delaware Valley between 1655 and 1682. The ethnic groups include Swedish, Finnish, German, Dutch, and English settlers, though the Swedish settlers remained the most powerful ethnic group during this time. Specifically, the Dutch and English members of this community incorporated themselves into the ethnic Swedish and Finnish settlers, creating a diverse network of settlers.

Swedish: The ethnic term used to describe those who can be clearly identified as Swedish in their ethnicity. Swede is more of a collective term for the various ethnicities associated with the groups of settlers not directly associated with the Dutch and English settlers that occupied the Delaware Valley.

Upland Court: The autonomous governing body that governed the upper Delaware Valley from 1655 to 1676, becoming semi-autonomous from 1676 with the introduction of Edmund Andros's governance to 1682 when William Penn dissolved the Upland Court. The court mostly comprised of upper-class Swedish settlers, and the justices governed the religious, cultural, civil, and economic parts of upper Delaware Valley. The court also met on a quarterly basis unless an emergency meeting needed to be held.

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Acknowledgements:

I could not have completed this thesis without the help of faculty at Millersville University as well as my friends and colleagues. I would first like to thank the staff at Millersville for guiding me through this thesis. Dr. Clarence Maxwell helped me examine historical events and actors through the lens of Atlantic History and how Colonial America, no matter what era, was one of many key elements in a broader Atlantic world. Dr. Robyn Davis helped me to understand the importance of constructing narratives and through always pushing me to always ask why certain actions and events in history matter (i.e. why should one include certain details in a paper). I owe most of my gratitude to my thesis advisor, Dr. Tanya Kevorkian, for guiding me through the writing of such a paper, establishing the importance of emphasizing the difference between what is new research and what has been established by other historians. She also helped me to understand the importance of thoroughly examining source materials to then find themes that reveal the importance of those sources and what those sources reveal about past societies. The faculty at Millersville University always challenged me to conduct exemplary research and to write an intriguing narrative to advance historical scholarship of seventeenth century Colonial America.

I would also like to thank my graduate cohort for inspiring me to improve my work and to take advice from those who have been through the ringer. I would also like to thank my family for taking an interest in the project and for reading my work to see if the thesis could be understood by people outside of academia. Without their input, my work would be dry and inaccessible.

I want to dedicate this work to my late mother, Pamela Mellinger. She always inspired me to become the best person that I could be and inspired me to pursue my dreams. It is also through her that I am descended from some of the Swedes who resided along the Delaware River. I might not be aware of the Swedes along the Delaware without the genealogical research conducted in the early years of my undergraduate career at Millersville University.

Name of Investigator: Cole Mellinger

Date: 24/04/2024

A People's Hope of Prosperity Amid Chaos: Swedes' Adaptation to English Imperialism in the Delaware Valley Before the Arrival of William Penn: 1676-1682

Introduction

In the mid-to late 1670s, Colonial English America was, to put it mildly, a place of political, religious, social, and economic uncertainty for many of her colonists. Colonial-Indigenous warfare was rampant in the mid-to-late 1670s in colonies such as New England, Maryland, and Virginia, with the King Philip's War in New England and Bacon's Rebellion in Virginia and Maryland. These conflicts created not only political problems, but economic problems where many felt uncertain about their current and future prospects in Colonial English America.

Despite the uncertainties of many of the English colonies, the Delaware Valley between New England and Maryland remained peaceful and prosperous due to the efforts of settlers such as Peter Gunnarsson Rambo and officials such as Governor Edmund Andros. Rambo, a wealthy and politically active Swede living in the Delaware Valley, gained three hundred acres of land near the Delaware River near present-day Philadelphia during the November 1677 Upland Court session.¹ According to the new laws implemented by the English Imperial system under Governor Edmund Andros in 1676, he had to develop the land

¹ Upland Court Session: November 13, 1677, Land Grant to Peter Rambo, November 13, 1677, in Edward Armstrong, Ebenezer Denny, and Josiah Harmar, eds., *The Record of the Court at Upland, in Pennsylvania, 1676 to 1681, And a Military Journal, Kept by Major E. Denny, 1781 to 1795* (Philadelphia: Lippincott for the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, 1860): 71, <http://archive.org/details/recordofcourtat00harm>.

or else give it up. Rambo did comply with the law, which allowed him to make money for himself, for Edmund Andros, and for the English Empire to markets as far as Barbados in the Caribbean.² Rambo also cooperated with the West Jersey proprietors and West Jersey officials such as John Fenwick to obtain an additional 225 acres of property near Chester Creek. Having obtained the land from land owned by the English Quaker Thomas Bowman around 1682, Peter Rambo was obtaining different lots of land to further his economic prospects on both sides of the Delaware River.³

While Peter Rambo and various other Swedes advanced themselves by acquiring more land through the English Imperialist system, Edmund Andros, the Governor of New York and its Delaware Valley territories from 1674-1682, was building a centralized English imperial government and economic system in the upper Delaware Valley that was barely implemented before. Edmund Andros had a long, established history on the island while he also learned many aspects of governing through serving on the small island. Andros was responsible for the defense of Charles II, King of England, travelling with him as a member of the King's First Guards to the Isle of Wight, whose Quaker inhabitants invigorated protests towards Charles II for not granting them their religious freedom.⁴ Andros eventually

²Upland Court Session: November 13, 1677, Land Grant to Peter Rambo, November 13, 1677, in Armstrong, Denny, and Harmar, *The Record of the Court at Upland, in Pennsylvania, 1676 to 1681*, 71, and Edmund Andros, "Petition for a Grant of Four Thousand Acres Above and Below the Falls of the Delaware, with the Privilege of Liberty and Worship, Calling a Minister, Holding a Court, etc.," 1675, in *Documents Relating to the History of the Dutch and the Swedish Settlements on the Delaware River, Vol. XII*, edited by B. Fernow (Albany: The Argus Company, 1877): 522.

³ "Peter Rambo Land Survey of 225 Acres," *Basse's Book of Surveys, Part B, 1687-1717* (West Jersey: Unknown Publisher): 152, <https://www.nj.gov/state/darm/EarlyLandRecordsPDF/Bassep279.pdf>, and "Peter Rambo Patent for 1/8 of Thomas Bowman's Land," *West Jersey Deed Book B, Part 1 (1677-1694)*, New Jersey Archives, accessed February 15, 2024, https://www.nj.gov/state/darm/EarlyLandRecordsPDF/SSTSE023_WJ_Deed_Book_B_Pt_1_p_021.pdf.

⁴ Webb, *1676*, 314. Webb is still the best scholar to articulate Andros's career as a member of the First Barbados Regiment. No other secondary source materials mention his participation in the First Barbados

joined the First Barbados Regiment to defend the island in 1666 from French attacks as a major and as a secretary.⁵ Being successful at defending the islands of Barbados and Nevis against French attacks, Andros established himself as being worthy to govern in the eyes of Charles II. Andros learned valuable lessons while in Barbados such as effective, cooperative Indigenous diplomacy and observing local governance in the Barbados Assembly and how one can be governor of a decentralized area, particularly in the case of jurisdictions like Upland and the Upland Court.⁶ The most important asset that Andros observed was what foodstuffs Barbados required to maintain their populations of slaves and indentured servants of various backgrounds.⁷ By establishing economic, social, and political connections with Barbados and a broader Atlantic world, Andros learned what it took to be a leader of diverse and conflicting peoples that cooperated and resisted authority. This interaction with different elements of Barbados society also opened potential market locations for him to ship goods to and to make profits for himself, the English Empire, as well as the English Atlantic before William Penn ever stepped foot in the Delaware Valley.

Andros eventually utilized these experiences in England and Barbados when he had to govern a group of Swedes in the upper Delaware Valley, including ambitious Swedes such as Peter Rambo. Andros learned that communication amongst diverse groups is essential to begin to plant seeds of Empire in new areas. Andros's assertive and calculated leadership in dealing with and relying on diverse groups of people eventually cemented English Imperialism in the Delaware Valley both politically and economically.

Regiment, let alone the details of his actions and the lessons he learned in Barbados better than Webb. There is surely an opening for scholarship in examining Andros and his relationship to the English Atlantic.

⁵ Webb, *1676*, 314-315.

⁶ Webb, *1676*, 316-320.

⁷ Webb, *1676*, 320.

Historiography of the Swedes and the Delaware Valley in the 1670s

The broader historiography of the Delaware Valley in the 1670s is scant in comparison to other colonies in Colonial America such as Bacon's Rebellion, King Philip's War, and the arrival of William Penn. Jean Soderlund crafted one of the most comprehensive and foundational narratives of the history of the Delaware Valley in *Lenape Country* in 2014 by including the history of both Dutch and English occupation in the Delaware Valley in the 1670s, and how the Lenape and the Swedes interacted with their rulers. Soderlund, originally a Quaker historian, argued through an Indigenous perspective that the Lenape controlled affairs in the Delaware Valley until William Penn's arrival and the subsequent generations of settlers acquiring thousands of acres of Lenape land.⁸ Soderlund, by extensively analyzing the British Delaware Papers and Governor Andros's Papers, also suggested that the Lenape and the Swedish settlers in the Northern Delaware Valley worked together to prevent English encroachment during the rule of Governor Francis Lovelace and Governor Edmund Andros in the 1660s and the 1670s.⁹

Jean Soderlund recently discussed the power of the Lenape and their relations with the Swedes in West Jersey in *Separate Paths*. Soderlund argued that the Lenape maintained their sovereignty with the arrival of the Quakers colonists in West Jersey in the 1670s

⁸ For a broad history and foundational view of looking at the East Coast through an Indigenous point of view, read Daniel Richter, *Facing East from Indian Country*. This sort of view has been established since the turn of the twenty-first century, and many of the studies since have focused on history through an Indigenous perspective to give the various Indigenous sovereignties their voice when many documents from colonists and from Europe have not provided their point of view.

⁹ Jean Soderlund, *Lenape Country: Delaware Valley Society Before William Penn* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2014): 3-5.

through the early eighteenth century while the Swedes maintained their own lifestyles while residing in West Jersey due to political troubles with Andros while also maintaining peaceful relations with the Lenape.¹⁰ Soderlund used the summaries authored by Peter Craig in the *1693 Census on the Delaware* that documented the various Swedes in the Delaware Valley and their lives residing in the Delaware Valley. She also described the Quaker-Lenape relationships in detail in West Jersey, and how the relationships deteriorated from the late 1670s to the early 1680s. Overall, Soderlund greatly contributed to the Swedes and their relationships with the Quaker and the Lenape that were not fully analyzed before this monograph.

Mark Thompson, Professor of History at the University of Groningen in the Netherlands, also detailed a broad history of the Delaware Valley in *The Contest for the Delaware Valley*. Written one year before Soderlund's *Lenape Country*, Thompson argued that the Delaware Valley remained contested by various powers from the early 17th Century until the arrival of William Penn in 1682.¹¹ Using multilingual sources across the Atlantic, Thompson utilized a top-down perspective to examine the political dynamics of the Delaware Valley and how each power differed in its approach to governing the Delaware Valley. His approach into looking at the power dynamics of the Delaware Valley through the governments that competed for sovereignty in the area during most of the 17th century was crucial for future historians to understand the various political and social dynamics in the area.

¹⁰ Jean Soderlund, *Separate Paths: Separate Paths: Lenapes and Colonists in West New Jersey* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 2022): 1-4.

¹¹ Mark Thompson, *Contest for the Delaware Valley: Allegiance, Identity, and Empire in the Seventeenth Century* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2013): 8.

Thompson contributed to the Swedish assimilation of English customs in his article, “‘The Land Called Sweeds Land’”. Thompson argued that the Swedes assimilated into the English system through their identification as being members of the long-established members of English society by the beginning of the eighteenth century due to disputes over land amongst new settlers while also participating in the governing systems.¹² Utilizing mostly eighteenth century land records and the proprietary minutes and correspondences, Thompson argued that the Swedes, while remaining their own identity and pursuing their own interest, cooperated and assimilated into the English system. Thompson does not address English governance of the Delaware Valley and Swedish adaptations to English Imperialism before the arrival of William Penn.

Though not a general history of the Delaware Valley, Stephen Webb introduced scholars to Andros’s governing policies in the Delaware Valley in *1676: The End of American Independence*. Using primarily Edmund Andros’s Papers and government documents from the New York Archives pertaining to New Castle, Webb argued that Andros held a firm grip on both New York and New Castle through tactics involving psychological superiority rather than physical superiority to rid himself of enemies.¹³ Webb detailed accounts of Andros’s imperialist system, which included various measures that pertained to the development of plantations along present-day Delaware to further his economic prospects.¹⁴ including he did not include how the system impacted the various Swedes and Finns who resided in New Castle and Upland. What is unfortunate, however, is that most

¹² Mark Thompson, “‘The Land Called Sweeds Land’”: ‘Ancient Settlers,’ ‘Great Capitalists,’ and the Anglicization of the Delaware Valley,” *Pennsylvania History* 89, no. 1 (January 2022): 15.

¹³ Stephen Saunders Webb, *1676: The End of American Independence* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1995): 347.

¹⁴ Webb, *1676*, 347-350.

historians do not provide the background of Andros's governing philosophy in relation to the Swedes, which is what this work will hopefully cover.

Evan Haefli in, "The Revolt of the Long Swede," argued that many of the Finns and Swedes of lower-class rankings ignited a rebellion that hoped to shift power away from the English colonists and persuade Sweden to reinvest in sustaining a Swedish colony in the Delaware Valley.¹⁵ However, with the help of some of the wealthier, more established Swedes, the rebellion failed to physically assault the power and authority of the English Empire. Haefli never analyzed the long-term effects of the 1669 Rebellion on Swedes and their relations with the English Empire as her main concentration was on the rebellion itself.¹⁶ Nevertheless, the emphasis of a systemic class structure amongst the Swedes in the Delaware Valley is crucial to our understanding of colonial societies, and scholars need to keep this approach in mind when dealing with the diverse Swedes in the Delaware Valley or other diverse groups throughout the world.

Matthew Kruer in *Time of Anarchy* incorporated Indigenous perspectives on the Mid-Atlantic, and how a particular Indigenous sovereignty, the Susquehannocks, or the Minquas known in the 1670s, initiated a period of anarchy for colonial English America.¹⁷ The Susquehannocks murdered both Maryland and Virginia colonists, leading to quarrels that culminated into conspiracy and rebellion in Virginia in 1676 and 1677, to which local Indigenous trust and sovereignty in Virginia and Maryland ended abruptly, while the

¹⁵ Evan Haefli, "The Revolt of the Long Swede: Transatlantic Hopes and Fears on the Delaware, 1669," *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 130, no. 2 (April 2006): 138.

¹⁶ Haefli, "The Revolt of the Long Swede," 179-180.

¹⁷ Matthew Kruer, *Time of Anarchy: Indigenous Power and the Crisis of Colonialism in Early America* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press): 25.

Iroquois and the Lenape incorporated the Susquehannocks into their tribes.¹⁸ Krueer also argued that Edmund Andros helped to quell conspiracy theories in the territories he ruled over, hence preventing conflict in Albany and the Delaware Valley.¹⁹

These scholarly contributions to the history of the seventeenth century Delaware Valley provide much insight into the Delaware Valley through their recognition of the government structures in the Delaware Valley, the diverse settlers who live in the area, and their relationships with both the ruling powers and other groups such as the Indigenous sovereignty. Using traditional government materials from New York and New Jersey, many of the scholars of the Delaware Valley established the power of the Lenape in the region, their strong relationships with the various settlers, and the settler's resistance to imperialist authorities that took over the Delaware Valley. The discovery of new source materials and the thorough examination of underutilized source materials from Upland (present-day Chester, Pennsylvania), Albany, and New Jersey provide a different perspective on relationships in the Delaware Valley, particularly the relationships between the Swede settlers and the English Empire under Edmund Andros and the proprietors of West Jersey.

The Upland Court Records: An Introduction

The Upland Court Records, previously little utilized, are foundational to the insights of this thesis. The Upland Court was an independent court system run by the Swedes from Dutch takeover of the Delaware Valley in 1655 to the arrival of William Penn in 1682. The

¹⁸ Krueer, *Time of Anarchy*, 146-147, 200.

¹⁹ Krueer, *Time of Anarchy*, 122-131.

Upland Court Records, first published in 1860 and partially published online in 2006, presented some of the only accounts that historians possessed of the affairs of the Swedes, the multi-ethnic group of people living in the upper Delaware Valley under Dutch and English rule. Edited by historians Edward Armstrong, Ebenezer Denny, and Josiah Harmer, and written in English to be given to Andros between 1675 and 1681, the Upland Court Records include the official orders from Governor Edmund Andros, prosecutions of both petty and serious crimes, and the land acquisitions and transactions conducted by the Swedes in the Upland district. The official orders of Governor Edmund Andros indicated that he, unlike his other predecessors, desired to implement new plantation systems that not only included the English in the lower section of the Delaware Valley, but also the Swedes themselves. In contrast to the Swedes' response to Governor Lovelace, there was little resistance to Andros's initiatives and ambitions. The records between 1676 and 1678 indicated that the Swedes acquired a large quantity of land while they enforced regulation mostly by 1679.

The published Upland Court Records contained a brief introduction to the events of New Sweden and the Delaware Valley under Dutch rule. However, there is no introduction to English affairs along the Delaware River under any of the English governors.²⁰ This could be since nobody had written a scholarly account of the English control of the Delaware Valley, or that the editors provided context of the previous eras for researchers to come to their own conclusions of English rule in the Delaware Valley. The only document referenced in the

²⁰ Introduction to the Upland Court Records, in Armstrong, Denny, and Harmer, eds., *The Record of the Court at Upland, in Pennsylvania*, 90-91.

introduction is the cession of land from Edmund Andros given to William Penn in 1682, indicating that the authors thought that the rule of William Penn truly cemented English presence in the Delaware Valley. Though the editors did not write an introduction to the English control of the Delaware Valley under Edmund Andros, an absence of such an introduction allows for future historians to write about such an event for future accounts to articulate Swedish relations and perspectives on such a neglected period in the Delaware Valley.

Scholars have made limited use of the Upland Court Records. Kruer in *Time of Anarchy* utilized the records to comprehend the Shackamaxon Conference of 1677, an all-Indigenous conference between the Lenape and the Susquehannock.²¹ However, Kruer did not examine the records any further since his monograph rarely dealt with events in the Delaware Valley, and focused on events in Maryland, Virginia, and the Carolinas. Soderlund briefly utilized the Upland Court Records in *Lenape Country*, but it was only to demonstrate that Governor Andros desired land around West Jersey, and sought the approval of the Upland Court as if they acted as an independent governing force.²² Soderlund focused on a few court records to solidify her argument of Andros's political ambitions in the Delaware Valley without mentioning cooperation of the Swedes and their English rulers that many of the sessions from the Upland Court Records indicated.

The Upland Court Records illuminate various themes that are crucial to our understanding of the societal and economic structures of the Swedes in the Delaware Valley. They also help historians to understand their relationships with their colonial and Indigenous

²¹ Kruer, *Time of Anarchy*, 147-149.

²² Soderlund, *Lenape Country*, 145.

neighbors, and to what extent they cooperated with the authorities and to what extent they remained allies with their Indigenous allies since they are only mentioned once for killing two Dutch settlers in the Upper Delaware Valley.²³ The examination of the records also presented a bottom-up history of the Delaware Valley, which remains a vital interpretation to understand the various political, economic, and social dynamics within a society. The records also illustrated the different class structures Individual case studies are also examined to indicate how land acquisitions and land regulations impacted people across the ethnic and economic hierarchies that evolved amongst the Swedes in the Delaware Valley. The Upland Court records also dealt with issues of enforcement, and to what extent local governments obey authorities.

Other Primary Source Descriptions and Introductions:

Other repositories and sources that were used provided key information about these relationships and transactions. The New York State Archives (NYSA) contains the British Delaware Papers and Governor Edmund Andros's Papers. These papers constitute official documents from the English governance of the Delaware Valley from 1664 to 1682 under the governorships of Richard Nichols, Francis Lovelace, and Edmund Andros. Historians such as Krueger and Soderlund extensively analyzed these records in their works but have not been analyzed to fully articulate the actions of Swedish cooperation with the English during the 1670s. It is, therefore, essential to reexamine these sources to contextualize and to articulate

²³ Upland Court Session: March 25, 1679, Compensation for the Burial of Two Swedes Murdered by Indians 1672, March 25, 1679, in Edward Armstrong, Ebenezer Denny, and Josiah Harmar, eds., *The Record of the Court at Upland, in Pennsylvania, 1676 to 1681, And a Military Journal, Kept by Major E. Denny, 1781 to 1795* (Philadelphia: Lippincott for the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, 1860): 149.

the political, social, and economic dynamics in the Delaware Valley during the 1670s, particularly in terms of English relations with the Swedes.

Peter Stebbins Craig's *1693 Census of the Swedes on the Delaware* and Craig's *1671 Census of the Delaware* adds insights into individual colonists. A genealogist by trade, Peter Craig compiled and summarized many of the Swedes who resided in the Delaware Valley in 1693 and all the inhabitants in 1671 with brief biographies of their landholdings.²⁴ He also wrote detailed introductions that present the reasons for the censuses while also giving maps and details of the geography to better understand where certain families lived over the years. These censuses give historians the chance to categorize these individuals into important groups and to identify trends in economics, politics, and even gender in relations to the Delaware Valley.

Finally, the other group of repositories that I utilized were the various published and microfilmed New Jersey Records. The New Jersey Records, located in the New Jersey Archives in Trenton, and microfilm from the New Jersey Early Land Records Project were analyzed for the amount of land that were purchased from John Fenwick, the main colonizer of West New Jersey.²⁵ While other historians of West Jersey used these records extensively, they have not discovered many of the records in the New Jersey Archives pertaining to individual Swedes who desired to move to West Jersey. Through searches of Swedish and Finnish names relating to New Jersey in Craig's *1693 Census*, advanced searches were

²⁴ Peter Stebbins Craig, *The 1693 Census of the Swedes on the Delaware* (Winter Park: SAG Publications, 1993): 1, and Peter Stebbins Craig, *1671 Census of the Delaware* (Philadelphia: Genealogical Society of Pennsylvania, 1999): vii-viii.

²⁵ For more information about the New Jersey Early Land Records Project, visit <https://www.njlandrecords.org/>. Citation: "New Jersey Early Land Records Project," New Jersey Land and Records, New Jersey Archives, accessed March 2, 2024, <https://www.njlandrecords.org/>.

conducted in determining names through the various spellings in Swedish and English to determine their land purchases for both the New Jersey Proprietors and for themselves. In the search for some of the Swedish and Finnish names, there were numerous land deeds and purchases that have not been utilized by other historians, which can help to support the argument of Swedish and Finnish cooperation with various English authorities. While the county level documents have not been fully analyzed, the major land deeds demonstrate loyalty in various capacities to English powers on both sides of the Delaware Valley.

It remains essential for historians of the colonial Mid-Atlantic to use these underutilized records to present a more complex and thorough history of the events of the Delaware Valley immediately before the arrival of William Penn. The Upland Court Records, particularly from 1677 to 1680, showed that some of the elite Swedes cooperated with the executive order of Edmund Andros. The Swedes also cooperated with the Lenape to ensure their survival through a period of increased imperialistic intensions from the Restoration monarchy and Governor Edmund Andros.

Examining events through the Swedes' perspectives also adds to previous scholarship that has emphasized looking at the colonial world through an Indigenous perspective. However, by examining this period through a third party, the Swedes, who were squeezed between the Indigenous and imperial powers, and knowing their past alliances with the Lenape, historians will be able to clearly see a society that was once controlled by the Lenape and the Susquehannock eventually being run by the English Empire and becoming a part of the English Atlantic. The Swedes interacted with both the English and the Lenape but chose to align more with the English Empire over time; therefore, the Swedes experiences and adaptations to changing times provided a key perspective into this transitional moment.

By engaging with the individual and collective Swedes' perspectives on events in the 1670s Delaware Valley, the Swedes, after failing to resist English settlement in 1669, evidently strove to survive and thrive under the new English Imperial system under Andros.²⁶ In the aftermath of the 1669 Long Finn Rebellion and under the new English systems of governance under Edmund Andros and the proprietors of West Jersey during the mid-to-late 1670s in the Delaware Valley, the well-off and less-prominent Swedes adapted to English Imperialism through the enforcement English regulations, through the participation in different English Imperialist economies through their land acquisitions and agricultural foodstuffs, and through the cooperation with their Indigenous neighbors to maintain and expand their prospects. This cooperation, therefore, allowed for many of the Swedes to adapt to English systems of governance and trade before William Penn stepped foot in the Delaware Valley by 1682.

Background: Indigenous Sovereignties, European Colonizers, and the Struggles for Control (1638-1665)

The Delaware Valley transformed politically and geographically throughout the seventeenth century. In the mid-seventeenth century, the European empires of Sweden, the Netherlands, and England contested for territory, for agriculture, and for trade posts in the Delaware Valley that established transatlantic social and economic connections.²⁷ By the late

²⁶ There are different works that made me emphasize the lives of individuals. One work is Natalie Zemon Davis, *Women on the Margins: Three Seventeenth Century Lives*. Though I also emphasize groups, I also try to embed personal narratives into the work to emphasize individual interactions with their surrounding political powers.

²⁷ For a solid discussion and historiography of Atlantic History, read Bernard Bailyn, *Atlantic History: Concepts and Contours*. Bernard Bailyn's monograph of Atlantic history remains the foundation for those who

seventeenth century, the number of European powers contesting for the Delaware Valley diminished with the English conquest of New Amsterdam and the Delaware Valley in 1664. Though the English conquered the Delaware Valley by 1664, they allowed for the Swedish colonists living in the northern section of the Delaware Valley to govern themselves through the government entity known as the Upland Court, located in present day Chester, Pennsylvania, until the arrival of William Penn in 1682.

The Indigenous nations welcomed the Europeans throughout the East Coast, particularly for trading purposes. The Lenape, being descended from Algonquin-speaking peoples, maintained power in the Delaware Valley in the early years.²⁸ The land that the Lenape held was known as Lënapehòkink. Lenape sachem Hitakonanu'lak in his oral history of his people written in 1994 considered Lënapehòkink, or the land of the Lenape, areas from New York to Delaware and Eastern Pennsylvania.²⁹

Another small group of Indigenous peoples who resided in the Delaware were the Susquehannocks, or the Minquas as the Lenape and the Swedes called this sovereignty. Susquehannocks who were of Haudenosaunee, or Iroquois, descent, developed extensive

pursue Early Modern American and European histories need to connect these areas since areas across the Atlantic were connected to one another through governments, cultural exchanges, and legal and illicit trade networks.

²⁸ Jean Soderlund, *Lenape Country*, 20-22. While there are other accounts of the general history of the Lenape, such as C.A. Weslager's *Delaware Indians: A History*, Soderlund clearly identified the matriarch customs of the Lenape. She is also the most up-to-date scholar on pertaining to characteristics of the Lenape. Hitakonanu'laxk, *The Grandfathers Speak: Native American Folk Tales of the Lenape People* (Northampton: Interlink Books, 1994): 10. This is an oral history of the Lenape, which demonstrates their continued commitment to maintain their stance on the equality and authority of women in their society. For more information on the Lenape's matriarch society, read Gunlog Fur, *A Nation of Women*:

²⁹ Hitakonanu'laxk, *The Grandfathers Speak: Native American Folk Tales of the Lenape People* (Northampton: Interlink Books, 1994): 8. The emphasis of using this account is to fully articulate the Lenape perspective on the foundations and values of the Lenape in relation to their lands and different ethnicities. For an archeological perception of the Lenape, read Herbert C. Kraft, *The Lenape-Delaware Indian Heritage, 10,000 BC to 2000 AD* (Elizabeth: Lenape Books, 2001): 200-305.

trade routes throughout the East Coast, trading with New York to Virginia and Carolina.³⁰ Both Indigenous powers remained powerful throughout the early-to-mid seventeenth century, taking advantage of the beaver trade in exchange for precious metals and guns. However, throughout the seventeenth century, Indigenous relations changed significantly, where Europeans established a permanent presence on lands the Indigenous sovereignties believed were only places of trade and small farms along the coasts. By the 1660s into the 1670s, with the advent of English domination of the Delaware Valley, they realized that their beliefs about settlement were incorrect.

In the beginning of the seventeenth century, Sweden developed a small, yet significant, colony in the Delaware Valley. The colony of New Sweden, lasting from 1638 to 1655, provided a new area of commerce for the Swedish Empire while also providing potential new converts to the gospel offered by the Lutheran Church of Sweden. The introduction of such colonies also presented new trading opportunities for the local Indigenous nations such as the Lenape and the Susquehannock in competition with the English, Dutch, and French empires.³¹ However, as was proven by the Lenape in 1631 with the fall of the Dutch and the short-lived Zwaadendael Colony in the lower Delaware Valley, the Europeans had to remain cautious in their affairs and interactions with the local Indigenous nations, or else they might lose their lives due to their lack of cooperation. The Susquehannock and the Lenape, knowing that the European colonists ranged from one

³⁰ Kruer, *Time of Anarchy*, 1-8.

³¹ Marshall Joseph Becker, "Lenape Maize Sales to the Swedish Colonists: Cultural Stability During the Early Colonial Period," in *New Sweden in America*, edited by Carol E. Hoffecker, 99-115 (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1995): 102-103.

hundred to two hundred people at a time in the 1650s, engaged in monopolizing trade for their benefits.³²

The Unami-Lenape, while at first engaging in hunter-gatherer practices and subsistence farming, engaged in new agricultural practices to grow maize for the colonists' survival, hence, according to Becker, made the Swedish colonists reliant on the supplies of the Swede's Indigenous neighbors throughout Swedish rule.³³ New Sweden Governor Johan Printz and his successor, Johan Risingh, recognized this attempt of the various Indigenous nations taking advantage of the poor conditions of the New Sweden colony, to which Printz responded by desiring to break the necks of all the Indigenous inhabitants so that New Sweden could remain independent and expand its economic and political potential on the East Coast of North America.³⁴ Risingh also felt uneasy about Indigenous relations, but within a year, he no longer had to worry about colonial affairs when the Dutch seized control of the Delaware Valley in 1655, leading to Dutch rule, though not succumbing to an authoritarian Dutch political system.

After establishing their capital, New Amstel, on the remains of the Swedish Fort Christian, the Dutch allowed for the establishment of the Upland Court in 1655 in the Upper Delaware Valley, allowing the Swedes to rule themselves without extensive supervision by

³² Johan Risingh, *The Rise and Fall of New Sweden: Governor Johan Risingh's Journal 1654-1655 In Its Historical Context*, edited by Stellan Dahlgren and Hans Norman (Stockholm: Almqvist and Wiksell International, 1988): 26. These are statistics that Stellan Dahlgren put together to compare the populations of the colonies along the East Coast of North America.

³³ Becker, "Lenape Maize Sales to the Swedish Colonists," 101-102.

³⁴ Johan Printz, "Relation to the Noble West India Company in Old Swede, Dispatched from New Sweden on June 11, Anno 1644," June 11, 1644, in *The Instruction for Johan Printz Governor of New Sweden*, edited by Amandus Johnson, 105-143 (Philadelphia: Swedish Colonial Society): 117.

Dutch authorities and no regulations on their lands or trade.³⁵ The Dutch mostly allowed for this system due to the conflicts with settlers and Indigenous sovereignties around New Amsterdam.³⁶ Many of the Swedes experienced benefits from Dutch rule, such as having soldiers and forts nearby to protect them from settlers and Indigenous people who desired Swede lands while also maintaining their autonomy.³⁷ Due to little interference in their affairs and in providing a bumper zone to the Anglo World that both the Lenape and the Swedes did not trust, Thompson argued that they cooperated with Dutch authority in becoming interpreters, traders, and even soldiers, but no agricultural implementations were made by the Dutch during their rule.³⁸ Unfortunately, this relationship would not last when the English conquered New Netherland in 1665, attempting to develop agriculturally rather than just mostly relying on trade as the Dutch did.

The Swedes under Nichols and Lovelace (1665-1674)

The Dutch lost their territories to the English Empire in 1665 after fighting in the Second Anglo-Dutch War.³⁹ The English had different plans for the development of the newly acquired New York and the Delaware Valley. The Lenape recognized English development of land in Maryland, Virginia, and New England. Living along the Delaware

³⁵ Soderlund, *Lenape Country*, 87-90.

³⁶ Soderlund, *Lenape Country*, 87-90.

³⁷ Thompson, *Contest for the Delaware Valley*, 177-178. Thompson provided the best analysis of relations and economics in the region of the Delaware Valley along with Jean Soderlund. Soderlund and Thompson remain the top scholars of Dutch rule of the Delaware Valley.

³⁸ Thompson, *Contest for the Delaware Valley*, 177-178.

³⁹ C. A. Weslager, *the English on the Delaware, 1610-1682* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1967): 176-192. While Weslager presented a fine presentation on the direct English rule and contests between Maryland and New York over the Delaware Valley, there is no mention of the rebellion of Finns and the reactions of other minority groups during Lovelace's rule. Andros's governorship is rarely mentioned beyond the point that he governed the area.

River, the Lenape recognized distinctions between the various Europeans that colonized the area, and understood that the English, compared to the Dutch or the French, requested more land while giving the Indigenous sovereignties less in return for the acquisitions.⁴⁰ The Susquehannocks also recognized that with the advent of English occupation, they regrettably succumbed to rulers rather than partnering with trading allies, and eventually reacted with violence by the beginning of the 1670s.⁴¹

While the various Indigenous nations recognized that the English monopolization of political and economic power presented new issues, many of the Swedish colonists of small landholdings and practices, as well as having distinct cultures and religions, also recognized that the imperialistic tendencies of the English. However, a few of the Swedes desired property from both Nichols and Lovelace. Richard Nichols, Governor of the Delaware Valley from 1664 to 1668, granted James Senderling, an Englishman living in the upper Delaware River, one hundred acres of land along the Delaware River.⁴² However, Senderling did not have to use the land for agriculture, and he could use the land as he desired.⁴³ Nicolls also granted Neeles Mattson, a Swede, two hundred acres of land without any conditions, though Mattson had to pay taxes on the land though nothing of any specific value was recognized or well-established during Nicholls's rule over the Delaware Valley.⁴⁴

⁴⁰ Soderlund, *Lenape Country*, 125, and Kruer, *Time of Anarchy*, 26-28.

⁴¹ Soderlund, *Lenape Country*, 125, and Kruer, *Time of Anarchy*, 26-28.

⁴²Upland Court Session: March 12, 1678, Land Petition to James Senderling, March 12, 1678, in Armstrong, Denny, and Harmar, eds., *The Record of the Court at Upland*, 90-91.

⁴³ Upland Court Session: March 12, 1678, Land Petition to James Senderling, March 12, 1678, in Armstrong, Denny, and Harmar, eds., *The Record of the Court at Upland*, 90-91.

⁴⁴ Upland Court Session: March 12, 1678, Land Grant to Neeles Mattson, March 12, 1678, in Armstrong, Denny, and Harmar, eds., *The Record of the Court at Upland*, 91.

Under Nicholls, though he did not implement any imperialist policies on the Swedes in the Delaware River, the seeds of mistrust were already developing amongst the Swedes, forcing the Swedes to comply or face the consequences. In a letter to Robert Carr, Nichols ordered him to settle diverse settlers in the Delaware Valley, forcing people into a new system of governance by people not trusted by the Swedes, the Finns, or the Unami-Lenape.⁴⁵ However, before he could implement such measures, he was replaced by a new governor that would be more forceful on creating English settlement in the Delaware Valley, though proving to be unsuccessful in the endeavor.

England eventually replaced Richard Nichols with Francis Lovelace, Governor of the Delaware Valley from 1668-1673. Governor Lovelace possessed a more commanding presence, and desired absolute obedience from all without any negotiation, which triggered some power-hungry and desperate Scandinavian individuals in the Delaware Valley. Despite a few Swedes benefiting from the policies of Governor Lovelace, some Swedes resented Lovelace's rule since he disregarded their requests and remained seldom concerned over Swedish affairs and prospects.

The English subsequently attempted to colonize areas of the lower Delaware Valley that crossed the line for some of the Swedes. According to colonial scholar Evan Haefli, less prominent Swedes such as Köningsmark, a Finn who believed that the English settlements and land policies in the Delaware Valley would detriment Swedish autonomy, wrote to Sweden that they should retake the colony for Sweden to reinvigorate Swedish cultural and

⁴⁵ Richard Nicolls, "Instructions to Sir Robert Carr for the reducing of Delaware bay and settling the people there," September 3, 1664, in *New York State Archives*, New York (Colony), Council, British Delaware River Settlement Administrative Records, 1664-1682, series A1879, volume 20.1, accessed 8/12/2023, <https://digitalcollections.archives.nysed.gov/index.php/Detail/objects/50936>.

economic practices in the area.⁴⁶ Many Swedes and many of the Lenape reassured Köningsmark that they would support a new regime if it came into being, including the prominent Armegot Printz Papegoja, the daughter of Governor Johan Prinz who was one of the largest female landowners in seventeenth-century English America.⁴⁷ Köningsmark spread rebellion across the Delaware Valley in 1669 through word of mouth, convincing many of the settlers located in New Castle, Delaware that they should bring back Sweden's empire in the Delaware Valley.⁴⁸

Eventually, the rebellion was suppressed after the capture of Köningsmark, named Marcus Jacobson, with the help of Peter Cock, one of the main administrators of the Upland Court and later Chief Justice of the Upland Court under consolidated English rule.⁴⁹ While the defeat of the rebellion may seem like a loss for some of the Swedes, it meant great hope for the future for others. Administrators such as Peter Cock and his fellow justices desired peace above all else, and helped the English to capture the rebel leaders, hence ending the rebellion.⁵⁰

After the Long Swede Rebellion of 1669, Lovelace decided to punish those who participated in the rebellion to establish his authority in the Delaware Valley. Those who dissented from Lovelace's rule were convicted for their crimes in the form of harsh fines, to which both demonstrated English dominance, forcing many who resisted to succumb to their

⁴⁶ Haefli, "The Revolt of the Long Swede," 149.

⁴⁷ Haefli, "The Revolt of the Long Swede," 150.

⁴⁸ Haefli, "The Revolt of the Long Swede," 149-150.

⁴⁹ Haefli, "The Revolt of the Long Swede," 162; Thompson, *Contest for the Delaware Valley*, 186-187.

⁵⁰ Haefli, "The Revolt of the Long Swede," 162; Thompson, *Contest for the Delaware Valley*, 186-187

new English rulers.⁵¹ Though many were fined, the main rebel, Köningsmark, was punished by being sent to Barbados as an indentured servant never to be heard from or spoken of again.⁵² As a result of these punishments, a minority of the Swedes and Finns who participated in the Long Swede Rebellion fled to what is today New Jersey, hence separating those who were disloyal to English rule from those who were willing to cooperate with the English authority by the beginning of the 1670s.

Despite Swedish submission, the Indigenous nations did not desire peace in the aftermath of the rebellion. The Susquehannocks, or the Minquas, realized that the English were there to stay in the Delaware Valley, and hence conflicts in one area of English North America meant that all English remained targets for their violence. The Susquehannocks subsequently murdered an Englishman named John in 1671 near the border between Maryland and the Delaware Valley, which resulted in conflicts occurring in Maryland at the time.⁵³ Charles Calvert, the Governor of Maryland, reassured the Delaware colonists that he would intervene if the Susquehannocks intruded on their lands.⁵⁴

⁵¹ “Names of those who were fined on account of the rebellion of the Long Finn, and amount of the fines,” December 1669, in *New York State Archives*, New York (Colony), Council, British Delaware River Settlement Administrative Records, 1664-1682, series A1879, volume 20.1, accessed 8/12/2023, <https://digitalcollections.archives.nysed.gov/index.php/Detail/objects/5094>.

⁵² “Names of those who were fined on account of the rebellion of the Long Finn, and amount of the fines,” December 1669, in *New York State Archives*, New York (Colony), Council, British Delaware River Settlement Administrative Records, 1664-1682, series A1879, volume 20.1, accessed 8/12/2023, <https://digitalcollections.archives.nysed.gov/index.php/Detail/objects/5094>, Thompson, *Contest for the Delaware Valley*, 186-187.

⁵³ John Carr, “John Carr to Governor Lovelace relative to about the murder which was committed by Indians of New Jersey,” in *New York State Archives*, New York (Colony), Council, British Delaware River Settlement Administrative Records, 1664-1682, series A1879, volume 20.1, accessed 8/12/2023, <https://digitalcollections.archives.nysed.gov/index.php/Detail/objects/50960>; Thompson, *Contest for the Delaware Valley*, 187.

⁵⁴ John Carr, “John Carr to Governor Lovelace relative to about the murder which was committed by Indians of New Jersey,” in *New York State Archives*, New York (Colony), Council, British Delaware River Settlement Administrative Records, 1664-1682, series A1879, volume 20.1, accessed 8/12/2023,

During the same year as the Minquas killed an Englishman, the Lenape realized that they also could engage in attempting to rid themselves of the English who dishonored them by creating land deals and negotiations without direct confrontation. The Lenapes' populations were declining significantly during the 1660s and 1670s due to the spread of European diseases such as smallpox, which meant that they needed to act quickly if they were to save themselves from near extinction.⁵⁵ What resulted was the murder of two Englishmen, to which John Carr, as the Sheriff of New Castle, the capital of the English Delaware Valley, requested more troops to deal with the Lenape rather than negotiating with them as a sovereign power since the Lenape desired to kill as many English as there were in the Delaware Valley.⁵⁶ There were delays in attacking the Lenape due to a lack of ammunitions and weather, indicating that the Lenape and the Susquehannocks articulated their plans to demonstrate their remaining power in the Delaware Valley by going after the English when they became most vulnerable.⁵⁷

Some of the Swedes also took initiatives against the Lenape, slightly fracturing the traditional Swedish-Lenape alliance in favor of one that favored the English. Peter Rambo, who was a Swede and the patriarch of the prominent Rambo family presiding over the

<https://digitalcollections.archives.nysed.gov/index.php/Detail/objects/50960>; Thompson, *Contest for the Delaware Valley*, 187.

⁵⁵ Soderlund, *Lenape Country*, 17-18. For more information about the diseases that decimated the Lenape during this time, refer to C. A. Weslager, *Delaware Indians: A History* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1972): 152.

⁵⁶ John Carr, "John Carr to Governor Lovelace relative to about the murder which was committed by Indians of New Jersey," in *New York State Archives*, New York (Colony), Council, British Delaware River Settlement Administrative Records, 1664-1682, series A1879, volume 20.1, accessed 8/12/2023, <https://digitalcollections.archives.nysed.gov/index.php/Detail/objects/50960>; Thompson, *Contest for the Delaware Valley*, 186-187.

⁵⁷ Magistrates of Delaware, "The result and reasons of the magistrates of Delaware against declaring war against the Indian murders," 1662, in *New York State Archives*, New York (Colony), Council, British Delaware River Settlement Administrative Records, 1664-1682, series A1879, volume 20.1, accessed 8/12/2023, <https://digitalcollections.archives.nysed.gov/index.php/Detail/objects/50973>.

Upland Court in 1671 and 1672, signed the request for more troops and weapons in the area to kill the Lenape who recently murdered English settlers.⁵⁸ With the approval of the higher-class Swedes and the Upland Court, some of the Swedes like Rambo demonstrated their loyalty to Lovelace in the aftermath of the 1669 Long Finn Rebellion by supporting an eventual killing of the Lenape.⁵⁹ Therefore, some of the Swedes, from this moment onward, desired to deal with English governments more so than the Lenape whom they relied on for crops when Sweden colonized the Delaware Valley.⁶⁰

This relationship remained the same, and even grew, when a new Governor, Edmund Andros, established his authority in the Delaware Valley. The signing of the plea also indicated that some of the Swedes were not as peaceful to the Indigenous nations as historians such as Soderlund insisted. Instead, this threat of violence against the Lenape by at least one Swede explained the Swedish position of self-interest in the Delaware Valley that became more prominent under the new English administration under Governor Edmund Andros.

The Lenape not only attacked the English, but also attacked the Dutch in the upper Delaware Valley. In 1679, Jonas Nilsson, a prominent Swede, requested that he receive compensation from the Upland Court for the burial of two Dutch individuals who were killed

⁵⁸ Magistrates of Delaware, “The result and reasons of the magistrates of Delaware against declaring war against the Indian murders,” 1662, in *New York State Archives*, New York (Colony), Council, British Delaware River Settlement Administrative Records, 1664-1682, series A1879, volume 20.1, accessed 8/12/2023, <https://digitalcollections.archives.nysed.gov/index.php/Detail/objects/50973>.

⁵⁹ Magistrates of Delaware, “The result and reasons of the magistrates of Delaware against declaring war against the Indian murders,” 1662, in *New York State Archives*, New York (Colony), Council, British Delaware River Settlement Administrative Records, 1664-1682, series A1879, volume 20.1, accessed 8/12/2023, <https://digitalcollections.archives.nysed.gov/index.php/Detail/objects/50973>.

⁶⁰ Becker, “Lenape Maize Sales to the Swedish Colonists,” 101-102.

by the Lenape in 1672 on Tinicum Island.⁶¹ The Upland Court decided that the estates of Peter Alrichs, a Dutch who was the master of these two individuals, would pay rather than the Upland Court.⁶² Though the 2 murders indicated that the Lenape were mostly after the Dutch and English settlers in the early 1670s, the justices of the Upland Court only mentioned Indians this one time, indicating little friction between the Swedes and the Lenape in the late 1670s.

Centralization and Cooperation: Swedish and Finnish Adaptations and Acquisitions under Edmund Andros (1675-1680)

After the reconquest of New Amsterdam by the English in 1675, Charles II appointed a new governor, Edmund Andros. Andros desired to maintain peace with the various Indigenous nations that occupied the areas of New York. As an administrator for the crown, one possessed the humble duty of pursuing peace and prosperity for his respected colonies. Andros also had to deal with conflict in colonies such as Virginia, spreading conspiracies of all Indigenous peoples desiring to rid themselves of the European colonists across the East Coast.⁶³ Andros knew that such acts could lead to violence and lose his chances of succeeding at the task before him. Therefore, Edmund Andros introduced real centralized political and economic systems in the Delaware Valley to accomplish peace and prosperity.

⁶¹ Upland Court Session: March 25, 1679, Compensation for the Burial of Two Swedes Murdered by Indians 1672, March 25, 1679, in Edward Armstrong, Ebenezer Denny, and Josiah Harmar, eds., *The Record of the Court at Upland, in Pennsylvania, 1676 to 1681, And a Military Journal, Kept by Major E. Denny, 1781 to 1795* (Philadelphia: Lippincott for the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, 1860): 149.

⁶² Upland Court Session: March 25, 1679, Compensation for the Burial of Two Swedes Murdered by Indians 1672, March 25, 1679, in Edward Armstrong, Ebenezer Denny, and Josiah Harmar, eds., *The Record of the Court at Upland, in Pennsylvania, 1676 to 1681, And a Military Journal, Kept by Major E. Denny, 1781 to 1795* (Philadelphia: Lippincott for the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, 1860): 149.

⁶³ Krueger, *Time of Anarchy*, 140-144.

Before Andros initiated his centralized planning of the Delaware Valley, Andros personally experienced one episode of violence. Just before the start of his jurisdiction and land policies took place, Andros planned to build a dike to prevent flooding along the roads to maintain commerce in the lower section of the Delaware Valley under his direct.⁶⁴ Swedes from the Upland jurisdiction such as Peter Cock and Lars Anderson surveyed the land for Andros, creating cooperation from the beginning with certain Swedes to initiate centralized programs.⁶⁵ The local administrator, Hans Bloke, a Dutchman in the area, ordered some of the Finns of the area work on the dike. They refused to cooperate with Andros on this decision, taking up arms to threaten him, which one who complained was the minister of the area named Jacobus Fabritius who caused problems in Upland years later.⁶⁶

This incident of discontent amongst the Finns presented a case of a worker uprising rather than an infringement on the sovereignty of the Finns, meaning that they did not oppose English rule in the area anymore. There is also no evidence produced during this incident that they sought help from Sweden or the local Upland Court in the Upper Delaware Valley to intervene; rather, the Finns revolted from having to work on a project for a man they did not desire to work under. Captain Evertt Hendrickson, the leader of the Finns, declared that it was not Andros who was the problem, as the scholar Thomas Scharf asserted, but the local landowner Hans Bloke, who essentially enslaved the Finns to do the task which they were

⁶⁴ Edmund Cantwell, "Order from Edmund Andros to Build a Dike North of New Castle," June 4, 1675, in J. Thomas Scharf, *History of the Delaware: 1609-1888* (Philadelphia: L.L. Richards & Co., 1888): 860.

⁶⁵ Edmund Cantwell, "Order from Edmund Andros to Build a Dike North of New Castle," June 4, 1675, in J. Thomas Scharf, *History of the Delaware: 1609-1888* (Philadelphia: L.L. Richards & Co., 1888): 860.

⁶⁶ Edmund Cantwell, "Order from Edmund Andros to Build a Dike North of New Castle," June 4, 1675, in J. Thomas Scharf, *History of the Delaware: 1609-1888* (Philadelphia: L.L. Richards & Co., 1888): 860; Mark Thompson, *Contest for the Delaware Valley*, 190-193.

more than willing to do as free laborers.⁶⁷ Andros immediately fined the perpetrators and threatened to bring the military down to deal with any other infringements.⁶⁸ Walter Wharton, the inspector sent by Andros to check on the progress of the dike a year later in 1676, indicated that the Finns who worked on the dike were almost complete on building the dike.⁶⁹ After given the reasons to build the dike and to avoid fines, the Finns did the bidding of Andros and the English Empire, allowing them to assimilate when more English arrived in the area in the coming decade.

While this small uprising delayed Andros's developments, with a quick resolve to the problems, Andros then initiated his first programs that affected the entire Delaware Valley. Before Andros, dikes and forts had been built to maintain commerce and security within the Delaware Valley, though did not expand their holdings. However, Andros believed that the Delaware Valley could be an economic haven in an area surrounded by colonial and Indigenous violence surrounding the area.

Around the time of the Dike Uprising in mid-1675, Andros initiated land and economic policies that would transform the Delaware Valley into an area that would contribute to the English Empire and the English Atlantic. One of Andros's first acts of Governor of the Delaware Valley in implementing land policies was to purchase 4,000 acres

⁶⁷ Captain Evertt Hendrickson, "Complaint to Edmund Andros About Building the Dike North of New Castle," 1675, in J. Thomas Scharf, *History of the Delaware: 1609-1888* (Philadelphia: L.L. Richards & Co., 1888): 860.

⁶⁸ Walter Wharton, "Report to Governor Andros Concerning the Dike North of New Castle," December 5, 1676, in J. Thomas Scharf, *History of the Delaware: 1609-1888* (Philadelphia: L.L. Richards & Co., 1888): 861.

⁶⁹ Walter Wharton, "Report to Governor Andros Concerning the Dike North of New Castle," December 5, 1676, in J. Thomas Scharf, *History of the Delaware: 1609-1888* (Philadelphia: L.L. Richards & Co., 1888): 861.

of land around the Delaware Valley.⁷⁰ He also proclaimed that the crops and livestock that the English and the Swedes grew would be used to generate revenue for England's respected colonies by shipping the produce to, "Yorke [New York], Boston, or Barbados or where we may make the best of what we shall any way produce."⁷¹ Any subsequent purchases in the Delaware Valley also accounted for trade in the English Atlantic Empire, hence Andros incorporated the Delaware Valley into the English Empire's economic powerhouse of the late seventeenth century. Unfortunately, this economic powerhouse became more reliant on the power of slave labor that required a significant supply of grains and preserved foods, particularly in sugar colonies such as Barbados.⁷²

To accomplish his goals of commerce in the Delaware Valley when he took office as Governor of New York and the Delaware Valley, Edmund Andros personally met and negotiated with the four Unami-speaking Lenape sachems, promising them peace through his military strength in exchange for no harboring any enemy tribes in the region to not have any of the colonists killed as in the days of Governor Lovelace.⁷³ Due to the personal

⁷⁰ Edmund Andros, "Petition for a Grant of Four Thousand Acres Above and Below the Falls of the Delaware, with the Privilege of Liberty and Worship, Calling a Minister, Holding a Court, etc.," 1675, in *Documents Relating to the History of the Dutch and the Swedish Settlements on the Delaware River, Vol. XII*, edited by B. Fernow (Albany: The Argus Company, 1877): 522.

⁷¹ Edmund Andros, "Introduction of the Duke's Laws, Establishing Courts of Justice and Making Various Other Rules for the Government of the Delaware River," September 22, 1676, in *Documents Relating to the History of the Dutch and the Swedish Settlements on the Delaware River, Vol. XII*, edited by B. Fernow (Albany: The Argus Company, 1877): 561-563.

⁷² Edmund Andros, "Introduction of the Duke's Laws, Establishing Courts of Justice and Making Various Other Rules for the Government of the Delaware River," September 22, 1676, in *Documents Relating to the History of the Dutch and the Swedish Settlements on the Delaware River, Vol. XII*, edited by B. Fernow (Albany: The Argus Company, 1877): 561-563.

⁷³ Edmund Andros, "Letter from Governor Andros to Captain Cantwell on Indian Affairs on the Delaware," April 23, 1675, in *Documents Relating to the History of the Dutch and the Swedish Settlements on the Delaware River, Vol. XII*, edited by B. Fernow (Albany: The Argus Company, 1877): 519-520.

involvement of Andros, which Nichols and Lovelace never accomplished or desired to achieve, the Lenape maintained some semblance of peace through the 1670s.

By 1676, conflict was brewing in Maryland, Virginia, and tensions simmered in New England. Kruer argued that the various rebellions proved to be a nuisance to everyone not associated with them, to which Edmund Andros responded in trying to maintain peace in his regions of influence, particularly with the Iroquois, or the Haudenosaunee, confederacy.⁷⁴ In exchange for this peace, Andros would be one of the only English powers that would not actively participate the Atlantic Indigenous slave trade, refusing to sell any Haudenosaunee peoples across the Atlantic.⁷⁵ In the Delaware Valley, Andros treated the Susquehannock refugees with a level of respect if they promised to do the same. In August of 1676, Edmund Andros promised the Susquehannocks refuge in the Delaware Valley from their troubles in Maryland and Virginia as long as they remained peaceful in the process and do not attack the Indigenous nations like in the previous administration.⁷⁶ In this capacity, Edmund Andros, with the peace agreements, established the foundations needed to firmly establish the English Empire in the Delaware Valley that would have otherwise been in jeopardy due to active, potentially violent, resistance by the Lenape and the various Swede populations.

One month after the peace agreements with the Lenape, Edmund Andros firmly cemented English imperialist governance and economics in the Delaware Valley unlike his

⁷⁴Kruer, *Time of Anarchy*, 87-88.

⁷⁵ Linford D. Fisher, "'Dangerous Designes': The 1676 Barbados Act to Prohibit New England Indian Slave Importation," *The William and Mary Quarterly* 71, no. 1 (2014): 109-110. <https://doi.org/10.5309/willmaryquar.71.1.0099>.

⁷⁶ Edmund Andros, "Governor Andros to Captain Edmund Cantwell, Relative to Indian Affairs," August 11, 1676, in *Documents Relating to the History of the Dutch and the Swedish Settlements on the Delaware River*, Vol. XII, edited by B. Fernow (Albany: The Argus Company, 1877): 554.

predecessors. Andros understood that conflict and lack of centralization prevented Lovelace from cementing English authority, colonization, and jurisdictions in the Delaware Valley, to which Andros stated that it was he who now had to cement these English laws established by James, the Duke of York (later King James VII/II).⁷⁷ Webb asserted that Andros established a system of laws through three jurisdictions: one in New Castle, Delaware, one in Whorekill located South of New Castle, and Upland located North of New Castle. Webb did not discuss Upland except for this instance, to which Andros's letter mentioned that the Upland Court would be locally run by the Swedes as was done before due to the area containing the largest concentration of Swedes on both sides of the Delaware River.⁷⁸ Andros also instituted the office of High Sheriff that oversaw all the court proceedings to make sure that the courts complied with English law.⁷⁹ The intervention of the High Sheriff diminished the autonomy of the Upland Court compared to Dutch rule and the rule under Nichols and Lovelace due to increased surveillance and by providing Andros an efficient and constant communicator to inform him of events miles away from Albany.⁸⁰

The Upland Court: Implementation of Andros's Policies, Laws, and Regulations

Though Edmund Andros developed a centralized standard of governance and commerce for Upland, the obtaining of land was left to the Swedes, particularly Swedes that

⁷⁷Edmund Andros, "Introduction of the Duke's Laws, Establishing Courts of Justice and Making Various Other Rules for the Government of the Delaware River," September 22, 1676, in *Documents Relating to the History of the Dutch and the Swedish Settlements on the Delaware River, Vol. XII*, edited by B. Fernow (Albany: The Argus Company, 1877): 561-563.

⁷⁸ Andros, "Introduction of the Duke's Laws, Establishing Courts of Justice and Making Various Other Rules for the Government of the Delaware River," 561-563. Webb, *1676*, 213.

⁷⁹Andros, "Introduction of the Duke's Laws, Establishing Courts of Justice and Making Various Other Rules for the Government of the Delaware River," 561-563.

⁸⁰Andros, "Introduction of the Duke's Laws, Establishing Courts of Justice and Making Various Other Rules for the Government of the Delaware River," 561-563.

had political and economic influence. The Upland Court sent individuals who knew the Lenape well to purchase the land directly from the Lenape.⁸¹ Thus, the Swedes were directly responsible for the acquisition of land in the region during Andros's rule.⁸² Since Andros knew through travelling to the Delaware Valley to negotiate with the Lenape that the Swedes dealt with the Lenape for a much lengthier period than himself, he thought it fit for the Swedes to purchase the land so as to generate more grain for more supplying the ever-growing English Empire.⁸³

This new system of laws became one of Edmund Andros's most ambitious projects in the Delaware Valley. According to the September, 1676 Upland Court Session, Andros sent an order to the justices that initiated a centralization of agriculture not only where the English resided, but also where the Swedish colonists resided in the northern section of the Delaware Valley.⁸⁴ If the Swedes desired patents, there needed to be at least fifty acres of land in each land acquisition that needed to be "improved" upon.⁸⁵ "Improving," the land can be clearly defined as clearing land for the purposes of agriculture and commerce, which includes the development of farmland and the building of roads and mills, though mostly for agriculture. In each tract of land that was issued either by Andros or the Upland Court, the Upland Court

⁸¹ Andros, "Introduction of the Duke's Laws, Establishing Courts of Justice and Making Various Other Rules for the Government of the Delaware River," 561-563.

⁸² Edmund Andros, Letter from Governor Edmund Andros to the Upland Court, August 14, 1677, in Armstrong, Denny, and Harmar, eds., *The Record of the Court at Upland*, 81.

⁸³ Andros, "Letter from Governor Andros to Captain Cantwell on Indian Affairs on the Delaware."

⁸⁴ Edmund Andros, "A Copy of his Honorable, the Governor's, Instructions [to the Upland Court]," September 25, 1676, in Armstrong, Denny, and Harmar, eds., *The Record of the Court at Upland*, 41-43, and Edmund Andros, "Petition for a Grant of Four Thousand Acres Above and Below the Falls of the Delaware, with the Privilege of Liberty and Worship, Calling a Minister, Holding a Court, etc.," 1675, in *Documents Relating to the History of the Dutch and the Swedish Settlements on the Delaware River, Vol. XII*, edited by B. Fernow (Albany: The Argus Company, 1877): 522.

⁸⁵ Edmund Andros, "A Copy of his Honorable, the Governor's, Instructions [to the Upland Court]," September 25, 1676, in Armstrong, Denny, and Harmar, eds., *The Record of the Court at Upland*, 41-43.

upheld in the last sentence of every approval of a patent that, “Request hee seating and Improoveing the s[aid] Land according to his Hono[rable] Gov[ernor’s] Regulacons.”⁸⁶

Andros initiated such policies to improve his economic fortunes as well as the fortunes of English America and the English Atlantic. The Upland Court Records indicate that from least 1677, Swede families had to pay twenty-six guilders to Andros as quit-rent for their properties. This payment could be obtained through a combination of wheat, rye, barley, Indian corn, tobacco, pork, or bacon.⁸⁷ What is important in this listing is the emphasis on grains, which, according to historians such as Stephen Webb, was the most important commodity that should be shipped in English America and the English Atlantic.⁸⁸

There are a few descriptions of what the Swedes meant when they settled, farmed, and developed the landholdings in the Upland Court Records. Close to the Schuylkill River near modern day Tacony, Pennsylvania, six inhabitants of Upland had 1200 acres of land in 1680.⁸⁹ Hans Jurionsenken, in obtaining his land in 1678, described the land in the March Upland Court session as being roughly three-quarters cleared with roughly a quarter of it forest, meaning that land was cleared for the use of primarily agriculture that would then be shipped to New Castle, then to any of the ports occupying the English Atlantic at the time.⁹⁰ Therefore, by farming and developing their lands, the Swedes were not only presented with

⁸⁶ Upland Court Session: September 11, 1677, Land Grants to Ephrain Herman and Pelle Rambo, September 11, 1677, in Armstrong, Denny, and Harmar, eds., *The Record of the Court at Upland*, 61. This is only a sample of the patents issued by the Upland Court to assert the consistency of the regulation at the end of every proceeding pertaining to patents.

⁸⁷ Upland Court Session: September 27, 1677, Order by the Upland Court to Collect Quit-Rents, in in Armstrong, Denny, and Harmar, eds. *The Record of the Court at Upland*, 76-77.

⁸⁸ Webb, 1676, 345.

⁸⁹ Upland Court Session: March 12, 1678, Land Grant to Six Inhabitants, March 12, 1678, in Armstrong, Denny, and Harmar, eds. *The Record of the Court at Upland*, 90.

⁹⁰ Upland Court Session: March 12, 1678, Land Grant to Six Inhabitants, March 12, 1678, in Armstrong, Denny, and Harmar, eds., *The Record of the Court at Upland*, 90.

the English Imperial System in government structures, but also were presented with a vast economic trade with England and her colonies such as New England and Barbados, economically contributing to one of the greatest powers of the world.

Some of the Swedes also established fences during this period not just for agricultural purposes, but to establish property boundaries. Before this period, Jean Soderlund asserted that the Swedes developed loose boundaries with little fencing in the area.⁹¹ However, by the late 1670s into the 1680s, there were clear boundaries and fences established to clearly identify property boundaries, to which sessions of the Upland Court testify to. In a dispute between Jonas Nilsson and Peter Andres in 1680, the Upland Court's clerk wrote that Peter Andres knocked over Nilsson's fence that established his territory, and became a property dispute within the court.⁹² In the court proceeding, the displaced fence was the middle fence that was, "between ye parties," hence utilizing fences and attacking fences that fell directly on property lines.⁹³ While the property lines themselves have now been firmly established, the justices of the Upland Court remained flexible when dealing with certain circumstances such as when dealing with the Lenape. Jean Soderlund argued that the Swedes established loose boundaries between each other and other groups such as the Lenape.⁹⁴ The Swedes, therefore, adapted their territorial and agricultural practices to English imperialism while also

⁹¹ Jean R Soderlund, "Negotiation with Three Governments: Armegard Printz's Role in Delaware Valley Society," *The Swedish Colonial Society Journal* 5, no. 10 (Spring 2019): 6.

⁹² Upland Court Session: September 8, 1680, Land Dispute Between Jonas Nilsson and Peter Andres, September 8, 1680, in Armstrong, Denny, and Harmar, eds., *The Record of the Court at Upland*, 173-174.

⁹³ Upland Court Session: September 8, 1680, Land Dispute Between Jonas Nilsson and Peter Andres, September 8, 1680, in Armstrong, Denny, and Harmar, eds. *The Record of the Court at Upland* 173-174.

⁹⁴ Soderlund, *Lenape Country*, 146, and Soderlund, "Negotiation with Three Governments," 6-7.

remaining peaceful with the Lenape so as to minimize conflict and maximize their prospects in the Delaware Valley.

To uphold said obligations of Edmund Andros's new system, Edmund Cantwell, the High Sheriff of the Delaware Valley established by Andros in 1676, observed, sat, and participated at many, but not all, of the court proceedings of the Upland Court that the Upland Court recorded, indicating cooperation amongst the established elites of the Swedish colonists and with Andros.⁹⁵ Cantwell and Andros maintained a significant correspondence with each other, and in each case, Cantwell never mentioned that the Swedes circumvented the regulations of Andros, proclaiming that those in power cooperated with Andros, and helped to quell any attempts of not submitting to the regulations. In fact, Edmund Cantwell entrusted the Upland Court to dispense justice onto anybody in their region who did not pay quit-rents.⁹⁶ Cantwell never mentioned in any of his letters that the Upland Court fell short on their duties to administer justice, and most likely perceived that the Upland Court upheld their obligations as new members of a centralized English Empire.

Though one may suspect a challenge to this new demand for regulation by some of the Swedes like in the Long Swede Rebellion of 1669, the Swedes proved that after moments of violence under Lovelace, the Swedes would not challenge the English again by attempting to overthrow the existing English regime as Sweden would most likely not in future affairs in the Delaware Valley. In fact, many of the Swedes benefited significantly by gaining new land while also participating in English affairs. Unlike with Nichols or Lovelace, the Upland

⁹⁵ For one of the sessions with his name, see Upland Court Session: June 13, 1677, List of Justices of the Upland Court, June 13, 1677, in Armstrong, Denny, and Harmar, eds., *The Record of the Court at Upland*, 50.

⁹⁶ Upland Court Session: September 27, 1677, Order by the Upland Court for Edmund Cantwell to Collect Quit-Rents, September 27, 1677, in Armstrong, Denny, and Harmar, eds., *The Record of the Court at Upland*, 76-77.

Court under Andros had to meet exact standards of England's imperial system or face the consequences. By 1677 and 1678, in the aftermath of Bacon's Rebellion and the time of anarchy alluded to by Matthew Kruer, there were a substantial number of patents issued for Swedes, which mostly focused on areas in the Philadelphia region as well as around the Schuylkill River and other tributaries of the Delaware River.⁹⁷ The Swedes largely developed along the rivers since there was less dense forest to cut down.⁹⁸ Also, the Swedes, by having easy access to the waterways allowed them to transport their crops to be shipped across the English Atlantic rather than to walk on foot or to use their horse or oxen. More of Indigenous lands also began to be used for the first time, putting the Lenape in a predicament where they could no longer challenge the English Empire outright since the elite Swedes, their initial allies, and protectors, conjoined with the economic and political aspirations of the English Empire.

To illustrate the power and assimilation of the Swedes of Upland into the English Empire through land acquisitions, two powerful individuals can be presented as ideal case studies. One was an Upland Court justice, Israel Helm. Helm became famous for his dealings with the Lenape and the Susquehannocks on two occasions. One occasion was to be the Indian interpreter for the Lenape for Edmund Cantwell, meaning that the English imperialist system could continue under the guise of peace with the Swedes.⁹⁹ Helm, on another

⁹⁷Kruer, *Time of Anarchy*, 4-6. A graph in the monograph displayed the various conflicts due to the Susquehannocks and the spread of conspiracy.

⁹⁸ Upland Court Session: April 3, 1678, Land Grants to Oele Stille, Lasse Andries, Andreas Benkson, and Joan Mattson, April 3, 1678, in Armstrong, Denny, and Harmar, eds., *The Record of the Court at Upland*, 100. In the footnote of the grants of land, there is a detailed description of the geography of the Philadelphia region being mostly marshland, having little forest to cut down.

⁹⁹ Edmund Andros, "Order for the Survey of 200 acres of land to Captain Israel Helm," April 6, 1677, in *New York State Archives*, New York (Colony), Council, British Delaware River Settlement Administrative Records,

occasion, witnessed the Shackamaxon Conference of 1677, which, according to Matthew Kruer, became an Indigenous conference on how to deal with the Susquehannocks, resulting in the integration of the Susquehannocks into the Iroquois, or the Haudenosaunee, Confederacy as well as the sovereignty of the Lenape.¹⁰⁰ As a result of his efforts to establish the Swedes in good-standing with Andros and the English Empire in Albany, Helm was given two hundred acres of land by the authority of Governor Edmund Andros as well as two hundred guilders by the Upland Court.¹⁰¹ The surveying of land did not indicate whether or not the land was to be regulated by Andros; however, when the Upland Court surveyed the land, they, which included Helm, issued the patent, but on the condition that his land was to be regulated and developed for agricultural purposes.¹⁰² While Helm appreciated the kind gesture from both the Upland Court and did great service to Edmund Andros and his imperialist system, he desired land in other English imperialist domains rather than in Upland, which will be discussed when discussing Swedes in West Jersey.

Some of the more prominent Swedes pursued land titles to develop land in the Philadelphia region, then known as Wicaco, and other areas along the Delaware River, desiring hundreds of acres that most could not afford. Serving as the man who once accepted Lovelace's rule and desired to see the killing of Lenape in an act of revenge, it is only fitting

1664-1682, series A1879, volume 20.1, accessed 8/12/2023,

<https://digitalcollections.archives.nysed.gov/index.php/Detail/objects/51045>.

¹⁰⁰ Upland Court Session: March 13, 1678, Land Grant to Israel Helm, March 13, 1678, in Armstrong, Denny, and Harmar, *The Record of the Court at Upland*, 49; and Kruer, *Time of Anarchy*, 147-149.

¹⁰¹ Edmund Andros, "Order for the Survey of 200 acres of land to Captain Israel Helm," April 6, 1677, in *New York State Archives*, New York (Colony), Council, British Delaware River Settlement Administrative Records, 1664-1682, series A1879, volume 20.1, accessed 8/12/2023,

<https://digitalcollections.archives.nysed.gov/index.php/Detail/objects/51045>, and Upland Court Session: November 13, 1677, Land Grant and Money from the Upland Court to Israel Helm, November 13, 1677, in Armstrong, Denny, and Harmar, *The Record of the Court at Upland*, 66.

¹⁰² Upland Court Session: November 13, 1677, Land Grant from the Upland Court to Israel Helm, November 13, 1677, in Armstrong, Denny, and Harmar, eds., *The Record of the Court at Upland*, 71.

that Rambo is the second case study involving one of the most prominent landholders in the upper Delaware Valley.¹⁰³ Peter Rambo also was second most powerful judge of the Upland Court at this time, which, being one of the most prominent individuals in the Scandinavian jurisdiction, guaranteed him more land than others both in and outside the court.¹⁰⁴ His first tract of land was granted in the September 1677 Upland Court session, to which he obtained three hundred acres of land: more than the 200 allotted to most of the other colonists of Upland.¹⁰⁵ In addition to this land, it was clearly marked as being alongside the Delaware River between Pennypack Creek and Poquessing Creek around present-day Holmesburg, Pennsylvania it clear that Rambo, hence gaining direct access to English and Indigenous trade routes.¹⁰⁶ Despite his prominent position, had to abide by the rules and regulation of Governor Andros, which would mean Rambo would have to abide by the same principles as everyone else regardless of political or economic status.¹⁰⁷ With this new land, Rambo improved his prospects from participating in this new land policy under Andros, which would help to cement future English relations in West Jersey and with the arrival of William Penn.

There were other prominent Swedes besides Rambo who obtained land across the Delaware River. Ephraim Herman, a friend of Peter Rambo, obtained three hundred acres

¹⁰³ Upland Court Session: November 13, 1677, Land Grant to Peter Rambo, November 13, 1677, in Armstrong, Denny, and Harmar, eds., *The Record of the Court at Upland*, 71.

¹⁰⁴ Upland Court Session: November 13, 1677, Land Grant to Peter Rambo, November 13, 1677, in Armstrong, Denny, and Harmar, eds., *The Record of the Court at Upland*, 69. This court session displayed the justices in order of their position, to which Peter Rambo is in the second position in 1677.

¹⁰⁵ Upland Court Session: September 11, 1677, Land Grant to Peter Rambo, September 11, 1677, in Armstrong, Denny, and Harmar, eds., *The Record of the Court at Upland*, 61.

¹⁰⁶ Upland Court Session: September 11, 1677, Land Grant to Peter Rambo, September 11, 1677, in Armstrong, Denny, and Harmar, eds., *The Record of the Court at Upland*, 61.

¹⁰⁷ Upland Court Session: September 11, 1677, Land Grant to Peter Rambo, September 11, 1677, in Armstrong, Denny, and Harmar, eds., *The Record of the Court at Upland*, 61.

each around the outskirts of the Wicaco region in the same court case as Peter Rambo, though close to the Delaware River, promising to develop their lands for agricultural purposes while benefiting with having direct access to markets and transportation into creeks across the Delaware Valley.¹⁰⁸ Another prominent Swede in compliance with Andros was Lawrence Cock, the eldest son of Peter Cock that captured the main instigator for the English during the Long Swede Rebellion. Though he already maintained three hundred acres, he had to be reviewed for regulations, and promised to further develop his lands for agricultural purposes in the November 1678 Upland Court session.¹⁰⁹ Living alongside along the Delaware River became a prominent place for the established, prominent Swedes to have easy access to English markets along the Delaware River, hence being incorporated into the English system with large plots of land and markets to sell their crops.¹¹⁰

In contrast to the prominent Swedes who obtained large plots of land along the Delaware Valley, less prominent Swedes acquired and developed lands along the Schuylkill River, which is Northwest of the Delaware River, and other tributary rivers, hence having to travel further to the Delaware River for direct trade in the English Empire. However, the less prominent Swedes constituted most of the land acquisitions, demonstrating that the lower-class Swedes desired to improve themselves along with the established Swedes and, hence, providing goods and services to a developing English Empire. The Dalbo family, a less

¹⁰⁸ Upland Court Session: September 11, 1677, Land Grant to Ephraim Herman, September 11, 1677, in Armstrong, Denny, and Harmar, eds., *The Record of the Court at Upland*, 61.

¹⁰⁹ Upland Court Session: November 12, 1678, Petition of Lawrence Cock to the Upland Court to Maintain Land, November 12, 1678, in Armstrong, Denny, and Harmar, eds., *The Record of the Court at Upland*, 117.

¹¹⁰ Edmund Andros, "Petition for a Grant of Four Thousand Acres Above and Below the Falls of the Delaware, with the Privilege of Liberty and Worship, Calling a Minister, Holding a Court, etc.," 1675, in *Documents Relating to the History of the Dutch and the Swedish Settlements on the Delaware River, Vol. XII*, edited by B. Fernow (Albany: The Argus Company, 1877): 522.

known family in New Sweden and one that is not prominent in the Upland Court Records, desired one hundred acres of land, which was accepted by the Upland Court in the March 1678 session, but had to take up land along the Schuylkill River and not along the Delaware River.¹¹¹ Jan Schoeten, another less prominent Swede, though most likely of Dutch origin, obtained one hundred acres of property along East of the Schuylkill River in the September 1677 court case, but had to abide by the regulations of making the land suitable for agriculture.¹¹² Dunk Williams, an Englishman who resided in the Upland Court and had scant political influence, obtained one hundred acres from the Upland Court in the November 1678 court session located near the Neshaminy Creek, which is a river that is roughly twenty miles North of Wicaco and runs into the Delaware River.¹¹³

Overall, most of the less prominent Swedes obtained a mere one hundred acres over the three hundred acres of those more fortunate, and in less desirable locations than their counterparts.¹¹⁴ However, with the new English Imperialist ambitions for people to develop land, it gave people from many levels of Swede society the opportunity to establish themselves on lands yet to be cultivated and potentially industrialized. With the purchase, cultivation, and development of their land, the Swedes from various class structures became part of a larger imperial system designed to export raw materials along rivers and across oceans that included New England and Barbados with significant slave populations. Even

¹¹¹ Upland Court Session: March 12, 1678, Land Grants to Lace Dalbo and Oele Dalbo, March 12, 1678, in Armstrong, Denny, and Harmar, eds., *The Record of the Court at Upland*, 93.

¹¹² Upland Court Session: September 11, 1677, Land Grant to Jan Scheoten, September 11, 1677, in Armstrong, Denny, and Harmar, eds., *The Record of the Court at Upland*, 62.

¹¹³ Upland Court Session: November 12, 1678, Land Grant from the Upland Court the Dunk Williams, November 12, 1678, in Armstrong, Denny, and Harmar, eds., *The Record of the Court at Upland*, 106.

¹¹⁴ Examples of all the land purchases can be found between pages 60 and 91 in Armstrong, Denny, and Harmar, eds., *The Record of the Court at Upland*. I do not cite all of them as they are too numerous to include in one footnote. In this section of the records are all the court sessions between 1677 and 1678 that include land purchases by the Swedes.

though this land was not along the main Delaware River, the Schuylkill River feeds into the Delaware River, meaning that the less prominent Swedes still had access to main trade routes, though less direct. This also allowed for new families to emerge and to potentially grow in their own prospects as new generations took over family estates. However, regardless of status, everyone had to pay the English authorities for the land that they obtained.

Edmund Cantwell remained the collector of goods, including when people desired to purchase lands in the Upland jurisdiction. When John Boelsen, a less-prominent Swede, purchased 100 acres of land near the Schuylkill River around or before 1681 from the Unami-Lenape to create a new property, as was the procedure that was proposed by Andros.¹¹⁵ In line with Andros's regulations, the Upland Court ordered the landowners to pay High Sheriff Cantwell for the said lands as soon as they could, amounting to nearly 400 guilders altogether.¹¹⁶ As mentioned before, the Upland Court allowed Swedes such as Boelsen to pay for this land in crops and prepared meat products to be shipped to markets in the English Atlantic to places such as New England and Barbados.¹¹⁷ The still-standing Boelsen Cottage, maintained by the Fairmount Park Conservatory in Philadelphia, remains to this day a relic of not only less-prominent Swedes settling along the Schuylkill River, but also to remind people

¹¹⁵ Upland Court Session: June 14, 1681, Order to Pay Edmund Cantwell for Purchase of Property, June 14, 1681, in in Armstrong, Denny, and Harmar, eds., *The Record of the Court at Upland*, 193. Boelsen's name is spelled Booles in the Upland Court Records.

¹¹⁶ Upland Court Session: June 14, 1681, Order to Pay Edmund Cantwell for Purchase of Property, June 14, 1681, in in Armstrong, Denny, and Harmar, eds., *The Record of the Court at Upland*, 193.

¹¹⁷ Upland Court Session: June 14, 1681, Order to Pay Edmund Cantwell for Purchase of Property, June 14, 1681, in in Armstrong, Denny, and Harmar, eds., *The Record of the Court at Upland*, 193.

of the fruits brought up through cooperating with the English economic and imperial political systems.¹¹⁸

The Upland Court not only sold land in the name of Andros, but also faithfully enforced the regulatory measures of Governor Andros to continue the peace and prosperity bestowed upon them during this period. Punishments by the Upland Court occurred by 1678, though more severe punishments occurred mostly in 1680, shortly before the arrival of William Penn in 1682. By the late 1670s, the Upland Court ordered that those who did not pay for the patents of land obtained would have to pay an additional two hundred guilder fine directly of Edmund Cantwell, creating a blunder to those who could not pay their dues to the Upland Court and the Andros.¹¹⁹ Of course, these hefty fines meant that Edmund Andros would expect more commodities for other English colonies and Barbados.

In October of 1678, Edmund Andros, realizing that the Swedes purchased a significant quantity of land, ordered the Upland Court to start the process of collecting quarterly quit-rents, or payments, during each of the subsequent court sessions.¹²⁰ The Upland Court responded with great speed and rigor. By March of 1679, the Upland Court ordered that those who did not pay their quit-rent of five guilders would have to pay twenty-five guilders if the quit rents were not paid for to then distribute to Governor Edmund Andros and his trading partners.¹²¹ In March of 1679 alone, five families had to pay this twenty-five

¹¹⁸ “Boelsen Cottage,” Fairmount Park Conservatory, accessed February 14, 2024, <https://myphillypark.org/explore/parks/boelsen-cottage/>.

¹¹⁹ Upland Court Session: March 8, 1680, Order by the Upland Court for Edmund Cantwell to Collect Fines, March 8, 1680, in Armstrong, Denny, and Harmar, eds., *The Record of the Court at Upland*, 188.

¹²⁰ Edmund Andros, Edmund Andros to the Upland Court, October 25, 1678, in in Armstrong, Denny, and Harmar, eds., *The Record of the Court at Upland*, 105-106.

¹²¹ Upland Court Session: March 13, 1679, Order of the Upland Court to Pay Fines and other Fees to Edmund Cantwell, March 13, 1679, in Armstrong, Denny, and Harmar, eds., *The Record of the Court at Upland*, 137.

guilder fine with crops, asserting not Andros's authority in the region through Upland Court justices that the people of Upland regarded as respectful members of their community.

In June of 1680, Gunla Andries possessed unregulated land given to him by Governor Richard Nicolls, who gave grants without enforcing development policies. Through the enforcement of High Sheriff Cantwell, the land was to be confiscated by the English government with the approval of the Upland Court since the land was not improved upon, hence enforcing laws created by the English Empire in Albany.¹²² Jacobus Fabricus, a well-known Swedish minister, desired 130 acres of land for his own use.¹²³ Unfortunately, he possessed no inclination to pay taxes or to grow crops in the immediate area. As a result, the land would not be granted to him unless Andros saw fit to give to him personally, emphasizing the importance of following an Empire's regulations in the Delaware Valley in the late 1670s and the early 1680s.¹²⁴ There were strict regulations in place, and only a few had their land taken from them to which Cantwell never mentioned ill practice of the Swedes in obtaining and regulating land in the upper Delaware Valley.

Despite the commitment of the Upland Court to uphold English laws of regulation and land acquisitions, there was one moment where Governor Andros thought the Upland Court did not fulfill its obligations. In August of 1677, Andros issued an order to the Upland Court demanding that the Swedes purchase land from the Lenape near the Schuylkill River

¹²² Upland Court Session: September 8, 1680, Upland Court Acquiring Gunla Andries's Lands, September 8, 1680, in Armstrong, Denny, and Harmar, eds., *The Record of the Court at Upland*, 169.

¹²³ Upland Court Session: September 8, 1680, Upland Court Acquiring Gunla Andries's Lands, September 8, 1680, in Armstrong, Denny, and Harmar, eds., *The Record of the Court at Upland*, 169.

¹²⁴ Upland Court Session: October 13, 1680, Upland Court Denial of Request by Jacob Fabricus to Acquire Land, October 13, 1680, in Armstrong, Denny, and Harmar, eds., *The Record of the Court at Upland*, 186.

that was not yet purchased.¹²⁵ The relationship between Andros and the Swedes at this point remained close, since Andros ended the order by asserting there was no, “doubting yo[ur] continued care for ye Kings and Countrys service,” which declared Swedish loyalty for nearly a year after Andros initiated his orders for centralization and regulation. Andros initiated no more demands from the Swedes while Cantwell remained peaceful with the Upland Court, inferring that the Upland Court fulfilled its duties in obtaining land from the Lenape.

Overall, the Swedes residing in the Upland jurisdiction of the Delaware Valley remained cooperative with Edmund Andros, to which the Upland Court enforced Edmund Andros’s regulations and paid their quit-rents. Those who did not pay their rents were fined to maintain order in the Upland district. While the Upland district was clearly loyal to Edmund Andros and prospered under Andros’s administration, loyalty remained, but with less clarity, when Andros faced an early uprising and people decided to leave Upland or New Castle (present-day Delaware) for lands in West Jersey.

The Swedes and English Imperialism on the South Side and East Side of the Delaware River (New Castle and West Jersey)

While many of the Swedes of various classes and ethnicities created and expanded settlements on West of the Delaware River, the East side of the Delaware River was also sought after by a few Swedish settlers both from New Castle and Upland. Jean Soderlund argued in *Lenape Country* that there was a small, but significant, migration of Swedes in the

¹²⁵ Edmund Andros, Edmund Andros to the Upland Court, August 14, 1677, in Armstrong, Denny, and Harmar, eds. *The Record of the Court at Upland*, 81.

Delaware Valley due to the tyranny of Edmund Andros in the Delaware Valley.¹²⁶ This analysis does not present the various issues of why the Swedes moved to West Jersey during this period. While Soderlund's analysis proved true for some of the Finns and other Swedes in the lower Delaware Valley, this is not the case for all of them. The analysis is also not accurate when describing the Swedes residing in the upper Delaware Valley in the late 1670s under Andros. Soderlund's analysis will be examined through patents and documents from the New Jersey State Archives that have never been utilized in scholarship before, presenting the various motivations for the Swedes to move to the colony of West Jersey.

The Swedes had a long history of settlement East of the Delaware River before 1677 with the arrival of Quakers, though there were far less people residing in this area than the Swede population West of the Delaware River. Amandus Johnson, the pioneer of New Sweden scholarship, argued that the first European to lay claim to any land East of the Delaware River was Peter Hollander Ridder, who was the Governor of New Sweden from 1640 to 1643. Ridder purchased lands from the Lenape in 1641 near Raccoon Creek to establish settlements, to which the C.A. Nothnagle House was built across from present-day Chester, Pennsylvania.¹²⁷ Unfortunately for New Sweden, the Lenape insisted that the land was still theirs and that the Lenape could share the land, hence nobody settled there during this time.¹²⁸

¹²⁶ Soderlund, *Lenape Country*, 136-137.

¹²⁷ Amandus Johnson, *The Swedish Settlements on the Delaware: 1638-1664* (Philadelphia: Swedish Colonial Society, 1911): 260-261. Johnson remains one of the best authorities on the early history of Ridder's and Printz's administrations across the entire Delaware Valley due to his extensive use of correspondences and orders enacted by the governors of New Sweden.

¹²⁸ Johnson, *The Swedish Settlements on the Delaware*, 260-261.

After Johan Printz succeeded Ridder as Governor of New Sweden, Printz established Fort Elfsborg in present-day Salem, New Jersey to counteract trade between the Dutch and the Lenape to ensure that the fur trade was maintained between New Sweden and the Lenape. The fort was abandoned by Printz in 1651 since the Dutch built Fort Casimir across the river, hence could create conflict that would potentially upend Swedish rule along the Delaware Valley.¹²⁹ Printz also oversaw the creation of Swedesboro and Finn's Point as settlements across the Delaware River to maintain a Swedish presence.¹³⁰

Very few people moved across the Delaware River to New Jersey from the 1650s until the early 1670s. Governor Lovelace issued the 1671 Census to document all the known residence in his jurisdiction in the Delaware Valley to effectively govern the area in the aftermath of the Long Swede Rebellion in 1669, hoping to gain land and to settle in the area.¹³¹ In the 1671 Census, roughly ten families of Finnish and Swedish descent resided in West Jersey shortly before the arrival of John Fenwick and his band of Quakers, indicating a desire for many families to stay West of the Delaware River.¹³²

The New Jersey landscape changed significantly in 1664, when the land that once belonged to the Lenape and the Swedes came into the hands of West Jersey, which became the largest English settlement of the Delaware Valley up to that point. There were two political entities in present-day New Jersey between the 1660s and the early 1680s: East Jersey and West Jersey. According to Soderlund, East Jersey in Northeast New Jersey was

¹²⁹ Johnson, *The Swedish Settlements on the Delaware*, 527, 584.

¹³⁰ Johnson, *The Swedish Settlements on the Delaware*, 583-585, and Amandus Johnson, *Swedes and Finns in New Jersey* (Bayonne: Jersey Printing Company, 1938): 1-15. Amandus Johnson in this second work only related to the Swedes and Finns in New Jersey during the era of New Sweden and Dutch rule, giving little attention to the Swedish and Finnish settlements in New Jersey during English rule in the 1670s.

¹³¹ Craig, *1671 Census of the Delaware*, vii-viii.

¹³² Craig, *1671 Census of the Delaware*, 73-75.

the older, more established entity being settled by people located near present-day New York State. A few Dutch settlers already settled in this area under the authority of New Amsterdam in the 1650s and the 1660s, though most settlement occurred under the English occupation of the region.¹³³ This territory was also under the immediate jurisdiction of George Carteret during most of the 1670s, though eventually, through various quarrels, it came under the jurisdiction of Edmund Andros.¹³⁴

East of the Delaware River, proprietor John Berkely, who was Virginia Governor, William Berkely's, brother, was granted the colony of West Jersey in 1664 by the authority of King Charles II in honor of their loyalty to Charles II while residing in England.¹³⁵ This was to be a prominent Quaker colony of predominately English families consisting of a governing body known as the General Assembly of West New Jersey. The main incentives of the proprietors' families establishing permanent settlements East of the Delaware River requiring vast numbers of acres to produce land for subsistence and for the English Empire. Prominent investors such as William Penn, who later founded the Colony of Pennsylvania, realized in 1676 the potential to create a physical and economic haven for Quaker settlers along West Jersey.¹³⁶ The man responsible for the acquiring much of the land before the 1680s in the Southern portions of West Jersey was the largest landowner and investor of the colony of West Jersey: John Fenwick. John Clement argued that Fenwick, a prominent

¹³³ Soderlund, *Separate Paths*, 10-12.

¹³⁴ Soderlund, *Separate Paths*, 24-28. Soderlund's monograph is also one of the most recent works dedicated to West and East Jersey. Though other sources mention these basic details, the most up-to-date version in 2024 remains Soderlund's work.

¹³⁵ Soderlund, *Separate Paths*, 24-26.

¹³⁶ John Clement, "William Penn: His Interests and Influence in West New Jersey," *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 5, no. 3 (1881): 312-314. This is one of the few studies conducted specifically mentioning William Penn's investments in West Jersey. Most scholars focused on William Penn's vision for his new colony of Pennsylvania.

Quaker from England who was persuaded by men such as William Penn and the proprietors to colonize West Jersey, became instrumental in the large acquisition of properties from the Lenape through peaceful negotiations.¹³⁷

Jean Soderlund, who began her extinguished career as a Quaker historian, described the Quakers in *Separate Paths* as people who felt compelled to spread good news and peace through the Gospel and the Holy Spirit to everyone while respecting freedom of conscience.¹³⁸ When the leader of the Quakers, George Fox travelled the New Jersey area in 1672, he realized that with a little effort, the peace-loving Quakers could maintain peaceful relations with the Lenape while also gaining economic prospects through the development of agriculture and industry.¹³⁹ While the Lenape welcomed the English Quakers due to their peaceful ways, they would later find out that welcoming a large influx of land-hungry migrants was not the wisest decision.

Not only were the Quakers introducing English land practices East of the Delaware River, but they were also establishing rights that had never been laid out on paper North of Maryland. The Fundamental Laws of 1676 included the basic rights of all the citizens of the West Jersey settlement, to which the most impactful right was the right to religious liberty for

¹³⁷Soderlund, *Separate Paths*, 30-32. For a recent history of New Jersey that explains Indigenous-colonial relations, read Veit, Richard F., and Maxine L. Lurie. *Envisioning New Jersey: An Illustrated History of the Garden State*. For a specific history on the history of West New Jersey and its settlement patterns, read John E. Pomfret, *The Province of West New Jersey, 1609-1702*. Pomfret mentioned Swedes and Finns in New Jersey throughout his monograph, but more as having separate relations with the governments of New Jersey rather than demonstrating a political and economic connection between the Swedes and the various English powers; Clement, "William Penn," 312-314.

¹³⁸ Soderlund, *Separate Paths*, 5. For a deeper understanding of Quakerism, read Pink Dandelion, *An Introduction to Quakerism*. Dandelion is a Professor in Quaker Studies at the University of Birmingham, making her a leading authority in examining Quaker religious beliefs.

¹³⁹ Soderlund, *Separate Paths*, 5-8.

the diverse settlers in the region.¹⁴⁰ The Fundamental Laws also asserted that all individuals would have a right to a trial by jury and have a summons to English laws, though firmly establishing these laws in West Jersey with no intermediary government. However, the authors of the Fundamental Laws declared that any violation of the Fundamental Laws was considered treason, hence the assemblymen of West Jersey maintained liberties while the proprietors established their authority East of the Delaware River.¹⁴¹

Although the assembly and the proprietors firmly established liberties in West Jersey, the purchasing of land was not up to the proprietors, but to prominent Quaker settlers, John Fenwick conducted most of this. John Pomfret, a prominent early scholar of the Province of Jersey, argued that Fenwick, a Quaker settler who became the largest landholder and purchaser in West Jersey by founding Salem and Salem County, continued the traditional methods of purchasing and distributing lands that other English colonies developed except for the land purchases in the Delaware Valley.¹⁴² Fenwick purchased hundreds of thousands of acres of land in West Jersey from the Lenape, for which the Lenape offered Fenwick wampum as a representation of the bonds made between the two sovereignties.¹⁴³ After the initial purchase of land, Pomfret asserted that Fenwick issued patents for the families who desired the land, hence keeping the process of purchasing lands centralized to promote the

¹⁴⁰ “The Charter or Fundamental Laws of West New Jersey, Agreed Upon-1676,” 1676, in “The Avalon Project: Documents in Law, History and Diplomacy,” *The Avalon Project*, 2008, https://avalon.law.yale.edu/17th_century/nj05.asp#:~:text=That%20no%20Proprietor%2C%20freeholder%20or%20passed%20by%20twelve%20good%20.

¹⁴¹ “The Charter or Fundamental Laws of West New Jersey, Agreed Upon-1676.”

¹⁴² John E. Pomfret, *The Province of West New Jersey, 1609-1702* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1956): 28-40.

¹⁴³ Soderlund, *Separate Paths*, 30-34, and Pomfret, *The Province of West New Jersey*, 31-38.

economic growth necessary to satisfy their sovereign's coffers as well as for the proprietors, the assemblymen, and the settlers.¹⁴⁴

In comparison to the lands acquired by some of the Swedes West of the Delaware River, the land acquired by the Quakers in West Jersey was more substantial since the people formed new lands with substantial families while also providing for the demands of the proprietors. The way the Quakers acquired land remained consistent with how other European settlers obtained the lands along the East Coast of North America. A prominent settler, John Fenwick, started the purchase of lands through negotiating with the Lenape.¹⁴⁵ He would then distribute the purchased land to individual buyers and their families.¹⁴⁶ One example of such a transaction was when Fenwick sold Henry Seller, who was never mentioned in previous scholarship. Through peaceful means, John Fenwick purchased 10,000 acres of property from the Lenape on June 28, 1675, and subsequently sold this land to one of the first Quaker settlers to arrive with him.¹⁴⁷

Quaker families were the most numerous of the settlers in the area. Being English, they adopted heavy-use land practices that required vast acreages of land. Sifting through the New Jersey Archives land deeds, particularly in Burlington County, there was a clear indication that most Quaker families started with roughly five to ten thousand acres followed by additional purchases of five hundred acres roughly a year after the original purchase.¹⁴⁸

¹⁴⁴ Pomfret, *The Province of West New Jersey*, 31-38. Pomfret mentioned the processes of obtaining the lands.

¹⁴⁵ Pomfret, *The Province of West New Jersey*, 34-38.

¹⁴⁶ Soderlund, *Separate Paths*, 30-32.

¹⁴⁷ "John Fenwick Purchase of 10,000 Acres of Land Sold to Henry Seller," *Index to Deeds, Surveys, Salem Grants, volume 3*: 101, Microfilm, New Jersey State Archives, reel 125.

¹⁴⁸ "John Smith Purchase of 1,000 Acres, April 30, 1675," *Index to Deeds, Surveys, Salem Grants, volume 3*: 101, Microfilm, New Jersey State Archives, reel 125; "Elizabeth Smith Purchase of 500 Acres from John Fenwick," *Index to Deeds, Surveys, Salem Grants, volume 3*: 101, Microfilm, New Jersey State Archives, reel

Since these lands were heavily farmed and used to make money for themselves, the proprietors, and King Charles II, the Lenape, being aware of such a situation, reluctantly accepted further attempts to settle in the area since they hoped that such a population would remain peaceful with them.

Some of the Swedes across the Delaware River helped Fenwick to colonize the land of Quaker settlers hoping that they could benefit from him. In a land purchase never examined by scholars before, Fenwick purchased a large amount of the remaining section of the sacred Lënapehòkink with the help of some of the prominent Swedes who knew their neighbors from years of interaction. Two brothers named Sven Svenson (Swanson) and Anders Svenson (Swanson) of the prominent Svenson family along the Delaware River interpreted and witnessed the purchase of lands from the Unami-speaking Lenape.¹⁴⁹ In exchange for the land between Rankokus (Rancocus) Creek and Timber Creek that encompassed the land between Camden and Burlington, New Jersey, Fenwick offered the Lenape chiefs Enoqueto, Rennowighwan, and Iackicbon bone cones, clay pipes, fishhooks, looking glasses, stockings, and other goods that the Atlantic World had to offer the coastal Indigenous sovereignty.¹⁵⁰ In this deal, the representatives of the proprietors of West Jersey also gave the chiefs nearly seven anchors (seventy gallons) of brandy, which indicated that representatives were not aware of Stuyvesant's or Lovelace's issues of the Lenape

125; "Edward Warner Purchas of 10,000 Acres from John Fenwick," *Index to Deeds, Surveys, Salem Grantess, volume 3*: 101, Microfilm, New Jersey State Archives, reel 125.

¹⁴⁹ "Indians Deed from Rankokus River to Timber Creeke," *West Jersey, New Jersey Deed Records Book, 1676-1721* (Philadelphia: Heritage Books, 2005): 4.

https://www.nj.gov/state/darm/EarlyLandRecordsPDF/SSTSE023_WJ_Deed_Book_B_Pt_1_p_004.pdf.

¹⁵⁰ "Indians Deed from Rankokus River to Timber Creeke," *West Jersey, New Jersey Deed Records Book, 1676-1721* (Philadelphia: Heritage Books, 2005): 4.

https://www.nj.gov/state/darm/EarlyLandRecordsPDF/SSTSE023_WJ_Deed_Book_B_Pt_1_p_004.pdf.

succumbing to alcohol abuse, though it was most likely a friendly jester by acquiring a large section of New Jersey along the Delaware River.¹⁵¹

This land purchase became a significant land acquisition from the Lenape since the agreement included nearly half of all the coastline of what is today southern New Jersey, and offered the Quakers and other English settlers easy access to lands and to the Delaware River that made shipping and receiving commodities across the Atlantic much easier.¹⁵² This would be one of the first recorded instances where Swedes openly participated in the selling of Indigenous lands to eager English settlers in an area that was sparsely populated, hence accepting the future of European settlements in exchange for the Lenape relinquishing their power in West Jersey.

Though the Swedes participated in English land acquisitions, Swedes took initiative to settle in West Jersey during the late 1670s for various reasons. In New Castle, the Dike Uprising of 1675 resulted in a few Finnish families have been documented by Peter Stebbins Craig as having moved to areas of West Jersey now occupied by Quakers, though not all of them moved there due to Edmund Andros. At a place called Finn's Point in southern West Jersey, four Finns obtained land through a Huguenot settler around 1671, to which they obtained patents from John Fenwick.¹⁵³ However, the conditions were to pay quit-rents for

¹⁵¹ "Indians Deed from Rankokus River to Timber Creeke," *West Jersey, New Jersey Deed Records Book, 1676-1721* (Philadelphia: Heritage Books, 2005): 4.

https://www.nj.gov/state/darm/EarlyLandRecordsPDF/SSTSE023_WJ_Deed_Book_B_Pt_1_p_004.pdf.

¹⁵² "Indians Deed from Rankokus River to Timber Creeke," *West Jersey, New Jersey Deed Records Book, 1676-1721* (Philadelphia: Heritage Books, 2005): 4.

https://www.nj.gov/state/darm/EarlyLandRecordsPDF/SSTSE023_WJ_Deed_Book_B_Pt_1_p_004.pdf.

¹⁵³ Craig, *1693 Census*, 150, 152-153. Craig utilized the New Jersey Archives and John Fenwick's papers to conclude this.

their lands, hence embracing English systems of governance regardless of their location.¹⁵⁴

One of these settlers, Erick Joransson, was in the Long Swede Rebellion, but the others were not, indicating friends and kin attempting to make new relations with a new government.

Adners Sinnickson, a Swede who participated in the dike rebellion, moved to an area south of Salem in 1679.¹⁵⁵ However, the rebellion was probably not the reason why he left since a year before, Sinnickson was sued for giving bad medication to his family.¹⁵⁶

There were many Finns, however, who desired to stay in New Castle and live under Edmund Andros despite being some of the main participants in the Long Swede Rebellion of 1669 and the Dike Uprising of 1675. Captain Evertt Henricksson, the captain who protested directly to Governor Edmund Andros during the Dike Uprising, should have been one of the main culprits to move to West Jersey after Andros's punitive treatment of him.¹⁵⁷ However, he continued to own land at the south end of Crane Hook, where he passed his land to his son, Henrick Evertsson, presenting pride in his land as well as willingness to cooperate with New York authorities.¹⁵⁸ Lars Olleson Thorsson, though involved in the Long Swede Rebellion of 1669 and the Dike Uprising of 1675, stayed in Bocten North of New Castle, Delaware until his death in 1684 that passed on to his family that resided there by 1693.¹⁵⁹ Both of these accounts demonstrated that the uprising did not encourage everyone to leave,

¹⁵⁴ Craig, *1693 Census*, 150, 152-153.

¹⁵⁵ Craig, *1693 Census*, 146-147. Craig Utilized the published New Jersey Archives sources as well as the published New Castle Records.

¹⁵⁶ Craig, *1693 Census*, 146-147.

¹⁵⁷ Captain Evertt Hendricksson, "Complaint to Edmund Andros About Building the Dike North of New Castle," 1675, in J. Thomas Scharf, *History of the Delaware: 1609-1888* (Philadelphia: L.L. Richards & Co., 1888): 860, and Craig, *1693 Census*, 123-124. This biography is mostly compiled from New Castle records compiled in Albany, New York.

¹⁵⁸ Craig, *1693 Census*, 123-124. Most of the records used by Craig to determine this were the New Castle Records residing in Albany, New York

¹⁵⁹ Craig, *1693 Census*, 150-151. Similar to Henrickson's biography, New Castle records compiled in Albany, New York, were mostly used to determine the number of families in the area.

and even the most rebellious considered staying in their homeland and cooperating with authority rather than immigrating across the Delaware River.

In total, roughly thirty families resided in West Jersey by 1693. The *1693 Census* indicated that about three families of Finnish and Swedish descent from New Castle moved across the Delaware River to New Jersey during the immediate aftermath of the Dike Uprising of 1675.¹⁶⁰ Due to the various reasons for Finns and Swedes leaving New Castle for West Jersey, it cannot be concluded that the Dike Uprising was the main factor for people leaving. Rather, there were intertwined reasons for living with kin, hopes of prosperity and posterity, as well as new chances for economic prospects under new proprietors. By focusing on individual perspectives, the picture of settlers moving from one area to another remains a complex matter, as can be demonstrated when investigating settlers who moved from the Upland jurisdiction to West Jersey.

Like their New Castle counterparts, some of the Swedish settlers of Upland's jurisdiction decided to move to West Jersey. This migration was due to the Swedes' desires for better economic prospects in a Quaker colony embracing English liberties and a colony that possessed available land along the Delaware River. Only four settlers and their families have been fully documented to move between 1675 and the arrival of William Penn in October of 1682 under Governor Andros's rule of the Delaware Valley, while one acquired additional land along the with keeping his estates near Upland.

The unexamined colonial New Jersey land Swede patents and the underutilized Upland Court Records indicated that relatively few people moved across the Delaware River

¹⁶⁰ Craig, *1693 Census*, 135. Craig mentioned the number of individuals living at the time, so with some calculations in determining the heads of the families, I could determine the number of families verses the number of individuals.

and instead remained on their lands and remained loyal to Edmund Andros. Those who moved across the Delaware River doing such to better their economic progress along better tracts of land. In these tracts of land, most desired better trade routes and additional landholdings to better their prospects in agriculture and trade with the Lenape and the English Atlantic.

A prominent Swede who moved across the Delaware was Israel Helm, the man who was favored to interpret for Edmund Andros, desired to purchase 600 acres of land from West Jersey in 1677.¹⁶¹ This was around the same time that Edmund Andros personally granted Helm five hundred acres of land near Upland.¹⁶² Though he gained only one hundred acres of land by 1686, Israel Helm sold his Upland plantation in 1679 to James in the Upland Court, though remaining a judge until 1681, showing a gradual leave rather than a sudden leave.¹⁶³ In this scenario, Helm not only moved across the Delaware River, but remained in two jurisdictions of English government for a brief period of time, demonstrating cooperation amongst two distinct English sovereignties to thrive in the ever-changing political environment in the Mid-Atlantic.¹⁶⁴ Helm also resided alongside the Delaware River, furthering his prospects, but little is known if his previous property was also located on the

¹⁶¹ “Israel Helme: 100 Acres from Andrew Robinson,” *West Jersey, New Jersey Deed Records Book, 1676-1721* (Philadelphia: Heritage Books, 2005): 103.

https://www.nj.gov/state/darm/EarlyLandRecordsPDF/SSTSE023_WJ_Deed_Book_B_Pt_1_p_103.pdf.

¹⁶² Edmund Andros, “Order for the Survey of 200 acres of land to Captain Israel Helm,” April 6, 1677, in *New York State Archives*, New York (Colony), Council, British Delaware River Settlement Administrative Records, 1664-1682, series A1879, volume 20.1, accessed 2/4/2024,

<https://digitalcollections.archives.nysed.gov/index.php/Detail/objects/51045>.

¹⁶³ Upland Court Session: March 10, 1679, The Selling of Israel Helm’s Upland Land to James Sanderlines, March 10, 1679, in Armstrong, Denny, and Harmar, eds., *The Record of the Court at Upland*, 106; and “Israel Helme: 100 Acres from Andrew Robinson,” 103.

¹⁶⁴ “Israel Helme: 100 Acres from Andrew Robinson,” *West Jersey, New Jersey Deed Records Book, 1676-1721* (Philadelphia: Heritage Books, 2005): 103.

https://www.nj.gov/state/darm/EarlyLandRecordsPDF/SSTSE023_WJ_Deed_Book_B_Pt_1_p_103.pdf.

Delaware River, so Helm's main motivations to reside in West Jersey due to having easier access to the Delaware River remains an enigma to historians.¹⁶⁵

Not only did more prominent Swedes obtain land in West Jersey, but also a Swede of more moderate means also purchased land. A less-prominent Swede, Jonas Keen, desired to settle in West Jersey due to new economic opportunities and not solely due to Edmund Andros' policies of developing land. Keen sold his land on March 9, 1678 to an Englishman named John Test, indicating that there was a growing diversity amongst the Swedes residing in the jurisdiction of the Upland Court, though it cannot be determined whether this English settler was a part of the larger Swedes community.¹⁶⁶ Jonas Keen decided to move next the plot of land granted to Hans Mansson by the proprietors of West Jersey in 1674.¹⁶⁷ In comparing the landholdings in Upland and his newly acquired landholdings in West Jersey, Keen was fully aware that he could only benefit from acquiring land in West Jersey.¹⁶⁸ In the description provided by the Upland Court, Keen possessed nearly 1,000 acres of land near Upland, but was located near present-day Chester Creek in Pennsylvania. When Keen officially received his patent of land for one hundred acres from a previous Quaker settler in

¹⁶⁵ Craig, *1693 Census*: 70-71. Peter Craig is one of the few historians who has analyzed Helm's land purchases. Craig does mention that Helm sold his Upland estate, but no details are given about the geography of his location to indicate some geographical advantage of his West Jersey estate.

¹⁶⁶ Upland Court Session: March 9, 1678, The Selling of Jonas Keen's Land to John Test, March 9, 1678, in Armstrong, Denny, and Harmar, eds., *The Record of the Court at Upland*, 89-90.

¹⁶⁷ Craig, *1693 Census*, 60. Similar to the biographical summary of Israel Helm, there is no indication of the exact location of the land purchase until examining patents and surveys, which Craig did not include in his summaries of individuals.

¹⁶⁸ "Jonas Keen: Purchases from Samuel Jennings," *Revel's Surveys/Book A*, Folio 27, New Jersey Archives, accessed February 4, 2024, <https://www.nj.gov/state/darm/EarlyLandRecordsPDF/Revelp027.pdf>.

1682, the area of land he acquired from the Quaker Samuel Jennings was located alongside the Delaware River while also being surrounded by white oak trees.¹⁶⁹

When comparing Jonas Keen's two landholdings, Keen desired an area of land that was not near a creek, but near the Delaware River. Along the Delaware River, Keen could have more accessibility to travel to access markets for his store of goods, whether the people are European or Lenape.¹⁷⁰ Being near a creek, however, required settlers to travel down narrow, shallow waters to then access the Delaware River, creating a nuisance for settlers. Based on the various land records of the Swede, the Swedes of Upland clearly desired to live near the main riverways, which is why many of the wealthier and more established settlers of Upland desired to live alongside the Delaware River and not near the Schuylkill River. According to Peter Craig, Hans Mansson, Jonas Keen's neighbor, was a prominent Swede who married into the family of Olof Stille, the first chief justice of the Upland Court after the Dutch took over the Delaware Valley in 1655.¹⁷¹ His status as a prominent Swede was further indicated by his land being next to Keen's along the Delaware River.¹⁷² Therefore, Keen firmly established himself and his family in a land more fitting for his economic prospects as well as a guarantee of liberties for himself and his posterity, hence providing income for both his family and the English Empire established by the West Jersey proprietors.

¹⁶⁹ "Jonas Keen: Purchases from Samuel Jennings," *Revel's Surveys/Book A*, Folio 27, New Jersey Archives, accessed February 4, 2024, <https://www.nj.gov/state/darm/EarlyLandRecordsPDF/Revelp027.pdf>.

¹⁷⁰ "Jonas Keen: Purchases from Samuel Jennings," *Revel's Surveys/Book A*, Folio 27, New Jersey Archives, accessed February 4, 2024, <https://www.nj.gov/state/darm/EarlyLandRecordsPDF/Revelp027.pdf>.

¹⁷¹ Craig, *1693 Census*, 60. Most of the source material for Hans Mansson came from New York Documents, Upland Court Records, and various published resources containing documents from West New Jersey.

¹⁷² Craig, *1693 Census*, 60.

Another Swede who desired to better his condition was Caspar Fisk (or Fish). Craig asserted that Caspar Fisk was a second-generation landowner near Pennypack Creek. While Craig mentioned that Fisk owned 100 acres of land by 1682, he failed to mention the exact location to where his land was.¹⁷³ When the officials of West Jersey ordered for his land to be surveyed, they clearly indicated that the land was located on the banks of the Delaware River.¹⁷⁴ Being in the partnership of the Indian trader, Peter Petersson Yocum, Fisk would be able to continue to work with Yocum as an Indian trader being closer to the main artery of trade in the Delaware Valley.¹⁷⁵ Similar to Jonas Keen, Fisk attempted to find better lands along the main riverways to be able to become more connected with the various sectors of the Delaware Valley economy through access to the Delaware River, creating economic opportunities in the English Empire.

There was one familiar Swede who already possessed a large amount of land that desired to further their economic prospects by gaining land along both sides of the Delaware River, which is remarkably never mentioned in Craig's *1693 Census*. The well-respected Peter Rambo, who was a justice of the Upland Court and was previously mentioned as a large landowner along the Delaware River, benefited from the new prospects available in the eastern portion of the Delaware Valley.¹⁷⁶ Already a prominent landowner in Upland, of the Upland jurisdiction of the Delaware Valley, Rambo desired around 225 acres before or in

¹⁷³ Craig, *1693 Census*, 63. Most of the source material for Fisk is in the Gloucester County Records as well as the Pennsylvania Archives. Though he is mentioned in the Upland Court Records, he is rarely mentioned and is only there to pay dues rather than to sell land.

¹⁷⁴ "Patent for Caspar Fish," *Revels Surveys/Book A: Folio 58*, in New Jersey Archives, accessed February 14, 2024. <https://www.nj.gov/state/darm/EarlyLandRecordsPDF/Revelp058.pdf>.

¹⁷⁵ Craig, *1693 Census*, 43, 63. Craig utilized Pennsylvania Archive materials for this information pertaining to the Delaware Valley.

¹⁷⁶ Upland Court Session: September 11, 1677, Land Grant to Peter Rambo, September 11, 1677, in Armstrong, Denny, and Harmar, eds., *The Record of the Court at Upland*, 61.

1682 from Gloucester County to achieve economic liberties and further his prospects, which was more than the other Swedish settlers who only received one hundred acres.¹⁷⁷ Though the land was not given to him until 1683, the land eventually furthered his family's prospects when he passed the land to his son of the same name.¹⁷⁸ The land previously belonged to a Quaker named Thomas Bowman, and the technicalities of obtaining the land for them took many years to approve. Nevertheless, the Rambo family now claimed lands on both sides of the Delaware River, creating opportunities in diverse markets through different English colonial systems of government and commerce that reached to the English Atlantic.¹⁷⁹

A year after Rambo obtained his land, a surveyor detailed the vegetation and natural boundaries of his 225-acre property, which is rare to find for a Swede's property. The survey and map of his property indicated the strategic alignment of the lands close to waterways and natural resources. Rambo bordered many black oak trees surrounding him, hence being an undeveloped area in comparison to other lands.¹⁸⁰ Near the border of his property was a small stream that drained into the larger Delaware River West of the River. Rambo knew that for his family to be secure financially, all properties that they had should be alongside rivers

¹⁷⁷ "Peter Rambo Land Survey of 225 Acres," *Basse's Book of Surveys, Part B, 1687-1717* (West Jersey: Unknown Publisher): 152, <https://www.nj.gov/state/darm/EarlyLandRecordsPDF/Bassep279.pdf>, and "Peter Rambo Patent for 1/8 of Thomas Bowman's Land," *West Jersey Deed Book B, Part 1 (1677-1694)*, New Jersey Archives, accessed February 15, 2024,

https://www.nj.gov/state/darm/EarlyLandRecordsPDF/SSTSE023_WJ_Deed_Book_B_Pt_1_p_021.pdf.

¹⁷⁸ "Peter Rambo Land Survey of 225 Acres," *Basse's Book of Surveys, Part B, 1687-1717* (West Jersey: Unknown Publisher): 152, <https://www.nj.gov/state/darm/EarlyLandRecordsPDF/Bassep279.pdf>.

¹⁷⁹ "Peter Rambo Land Survey of 225 Acres," *Basse's Book of Surveys, Part B, 1687-1717* (West Jersey: Unknown Publisher): 152, <https://www.nj.gov/state/darm/EarlyLandRecordsPDF/Bassep279.pdf>, and "Peter Rambo Patent for 1/8 of Thomas Bowman's Land," *West Jersey Deed Book B, Part 1 (1677-1694)*, New Jersey Archives, accessed February 15, 2024,

https://www.nj.gov/state/darm/EarlyLandRecordsPDF/SSTSE023_WJ_Deed_Book_B_Pt_1_p_021.pdf.

¹⁸⁰ "Peter Rambo Land Survey of 225 Acres," *Basse's Book of Surveys, Part B, 1687-1717* (West Jersey: Unknown Publisher): 152, <https://www.nj.gov/state/darm/EarlyLandRecordsPDF/Bassep279.pdf>.

to participate in local and transatlantic trade with Indigenous sovereignties and the English Empire.

In comparing the settlements of the Finns and the Swedes of New Castle with those of Upland, many of the Finns and Swedes were poorer than their northern counterparts, desiring better prospects, avoiding future fines, and with settling with fellow family and friends. The Swedes of Upland, being of a loyal, upper class, mostly desired to settle in new territories where it benefited them economically rather than to avoid government tyranny. The Finns lived in communities slightly away from the Delaware River while the Swedes maintained lands mostly on the Delaware River with the exception being Peter Rambo who merely added lands in West Jersey to his lands in Upland.

Peculiarly, the Swedish settlers and the Finnish settlers needed the approval of English authority to purchase the said lands. There was no discussion of meetings with the Lenape in any of the Swede land transactions.¹⁸¹ Rather, the Swedes purchased land that the Quakers already purchased since it was land along the Delaware River that could be beneficial economically in terms of trade and transportation. Therefore, the Swedes now had to directly negotiate with the West Jersey authorities rather than relying on the Lenape for land.

This transition from purchasing land from the English rather than the Lenape also demonstrated that the Lenape's ability to control affairs in West Jersey, though remaining a formidable force, was on the decline. With the recent smallpox epidemic of the 1670s and with the failure to secure any powers other than the failing Swedish cause for an independent

¹⁸¹ Soderlund, *Separate Paths*, 32-34.

New Sweden, the Lenape essentially had no other choice but to sell the land to the West Jersey proprietors while attempting to leave peacefully with their European neighbors.¹⁸² The Lenape, though still a part of this community, remained on the periphery of discussion unless if some minor infractions occurred.

While there were not that many settlers who moved to West Jersey immediately before the arrival of William Penn besides the Finns and a select few of the Swedes, there were roughly 130 Swedes residing in the Delaware Valley around 1693 after nearly eleven years of William Penn's regime along the Delaware River.¹⁸³ While this number may seem large, the number of children of each family and a sudden rise of patents towards West Jersey after 1682 indicated an effort to gain land away from William Penn's population encroachment rather than through the imperialist policies of Edmund Andros. Also, according to Craig, there were roughly 500 Swedes residing in the Delaware Valley by 1693, which means that, based on his total number of people living in West Jersey being 130, twenty-six percent of Swedes resided East of the Delaware River.¹⁸⁴ Therefore, most of the Swedes remained in their initial areas West of the Delaware River before the arrival of William Penn, but after his arrival, there were still people who desired to cross into West Jersey for greater economic prospects or to reside with partners, friends, and kin. However, the incorporation of English Imperialism also meant that they could welcome the English around their territories, which upset the Swedes' Lenape neighbors.

¹⁸² Soderlund, *Lenape Country*, 143-144.

¹⁸³ Craig, *1693 Census*, 150. These are Craig's calculations of the settlers using the New Jersey Archives.

¹⁸⁴ Craig, *1693 Census*, xvii. These calculations are rough estimates based on the numbers Craig compiled.

Crewcorne: Swede-Approved English Imperialism and Lenape Resistance (1680)

While it remained clear that the Swedes allied with the Lenape to prevent conflict, it also remained clear that they would allow English settlement. Around present-day Bucks County, Pennsylvania, Soderlund mentioned that Andros established a colony of English settlers North of the Upland jurisdiction named Crewcorne to improve lands with their families to further his prospects.¹⁸⁵ In 1680, settlers wrote directly to Andros concerning the potential danger that the Unami-Lenape posed on the properties of Quaker settlers in West Jersey.¹⁸⁶ There were rumors of the local Indigenous populations destroying fences and killing cattle, addressing the fears of people being attacked, however nobody was attacked.¹⁸⁷ Regardless of the motive behind the Unami Lenape attacks, the English settlers remained in the area, and the English colonists' continued presence in present-day Pennsylvania forced the entire Lenape people to deal with English settlement in the sacred Lënapehòink in all jurisdictions and powers residing on the Delaware River.

Since this incident occurred near the Upland Court, how did the Upland Court respond to this incident? Jean Soderlund also argued in this incident that the Upland Court did not intervene in this affair, hence they did not protect the English and instead protected their Unami-Lenape friends.¹⁸⁸ While Soderlund is correct by asserting that the Upland Court dismissed this incident, this settlement could have remained separate from the jurisdiction of

¹⁸⁵ Soderlund, *Separate Paths*, 74.

¹⁸⁶ Soderlund, *Separate Paths*, 74-75.

¹⁸⁷ "Inhabitants of the New Towne, Near the Falls of the Delaware, called Crewcorne, Against the Sale of Liquor to the Indians," April 12, 1680, in *Documents Relating to the History of the Dutch and the Swedish Settlements on the Delaware River, Vol. XII*, edited by B. Fernow (Albany: The Argus Company, 1877): 645-646.

¹⁸⁸ Soderlund, *Separate Paths*, 73.

the Upland Court as it was located further north from Upland than most other settlements, with the Crewcorne settlers writings directly to Andros rather than writing to the Upland Court.¹⁸⁹

It is also a clear indication that Upland was complicit with English migration since the justices of the Upland Court allowed the English settlers sent by Andros to occupy areas near their jurisdictions without complaining to Andros over such policies. There is currently no known communication between New York and the Upland Court about either the English settlements or the Unami-Lenape attacks in documents from New York or the Upland Court, demonstrating the Upland Courts acceptance of English colonization while also leaving problems to Andro who planted the settlers in Crewcorne.

Since the justices of the Upland Court refused to participate in such tumultuous moments and times of duress for the Lenape who took care of them during the New Sweden period, Andros began and cemented English settler colonization in the surrounding Upland area with the Swedes' approval. This cooperation would, to some extent, put pressure on the larger Lenape population when William Penn would arrive with thousands of settlers during most of the 1680s into the 1690s.¹⁹⁰ Hence, the Swedes, given the opportunity to become a part of a larger economy and empire, allowed for the English to establish a presence along the Delaware Valley with little-to-no resistance to their settlements and their political, economic, and social cultures.

¹⁸⁹“Inhabitants of the New Towne, Near the Falls of the Delaware, called Crewcorne, Against the Sale of Liquor to the Indians,” April 12, 1680, in *Documents Relating to the History of the Dutch and the Swedish Settlements on the Delaware River, Vol. XII*, edited by B. Fernow (Albany: The Argus Company, 1877): 646.

¹⁹⁰ In my examination of the Upland Court Records, Jean Soderlund is correct when stating that the Upland Court did not mention this affair in any of the proceedings, though it does not mean favorability to the Unami-Lenape. Becker, “Lenape Maize Sales to the Swedish Colonists,” 99-105.

Epilogue

Having secured land on both side of the Delaware Valley, Peter Gunnarsson Rambo and his family secured their prospects for years to come under Andros's and West Jersey's colonial political and economic systems. Rambo, as well as other members of society who were well-established, welcomed William Penn with open arms, proclaiming that while they purchased the land from the Lenape years prior to English presence, they, "have freely submitted ourselves to William Penn, Esq.," and that they "joyfully" welcomed William Penn and his settlers into the region.¹⁹¹ Knowing that many of the Swedes benefited from the prosperity of the English in the Delaware Valley, it is of no surprise that they would welcome an Englishmen with the same goals of providing freedom of religion and freedom of commerce to the Delaware Valley.

Sven Svensson (anglicized Swan Swanson), one of the men responsible for the Lenape giving up a large part of their land to Fenwick's colonists along the Delaware River, decided to agree to William Penn's occupation of the Delaware Valley as one of the leaders of the community in the welcome letter written by Peter Gunnarsson Rambo.¹⁹² He not only cooperated with William Penn in welcoming him, but also giving up a part of his lands for the city of Philadelphia. Peter Craig asserted that Sven and his brother Anders, who both

¹⁹¹ Peter Gunnarsson Rambo, etc. Welcome Letter to William Penn, January 11, 1683, in A. R. Dunlap and C. A. Weslager. "More Missing Evidence: Two Depositions by Early Swedish Settlers." *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 91, no. 1 (1967): 35-37; Thompson, *Contest for the Delaware Valley*, 196-197.

¹⁹² Peter Gunnarsson Rambo, etc. Welcome Letter to William Penn, January 11, 1683, in A. R. Dunlap, and C. A. Weslager. "More Missing Evidence: Two Depositions by Early Swedish Settlers." *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 91, no. 1 (1967): 37. Both Svenson's signature and mark are on the letter welcoming William Penn to the Delaware Valley.

were a part of the New Jersey land acquisitions, sold nearly a quarter of their estates to help found a portion of Philadelphia, indicating that the Swedes were more than willing for William Penn to achieve his dreams of creating a utopia in the Delaware Valley.¹⁹³ Sven also participated in the First Pennsylvania Assembly, and while he mostly promoted his own interests, he was willing to participate in an Anglo government, establishing the Swedes as full part of the English Atlantic.¹⁹⁴

While scholar Mark Thompson and priest Israel Acrelius asserted that the Swedes under William Penn continued to hold to their language and their religious traditions, published, but unexamined, letters by Swedes indicated that the Swedes were more than willing to participate in a political and economic empire to further and maintain their own prospects.¹⁹⁵ By 1693, William Penn expanded upon Andros's English Imperialist policies. Thomas Budd, an observer of the conditions of Pennsylvania in 1685, documented that in Pennsylvania, settlers, including the Swedes participated in trade with New England, Barbados, Nevis, and Jamaica, to which this closely followed the economic regulations under the administration of Edmund Andros, though more extensive.¹⁹⁶ They traded not only in

¹⁹³ Craig, *1693 Census*, 26-26, 32-34.

¹⁹⁴ Craig, *1693 Census*, 26-26, 32-34, and Soderlund, *Lenape Country*, 173, 175.

¹⁹⁵ For more of a religious perspective on the Delaware Valley, read Thompson, "'The Land Called Sweed's Land,'" a1-35. Throughout the work, Thompson mentioned the religious autonomy of the Swedes, though this was perfectly acceptable in William Penn's Holy Experiment. Another great source for a religious perspective on the religious autonomy of the region is Israel Acrelius, *A History of New Sweden; or, the Settlements on the River Delaware*, transl. William M. Reynolds (Philadelphia: Historical Society of Pennsylvania, 1874): 1-444. Israel Acrelius, Swedish Lutheran priest sent to the Delaware Valley to minister Old Swede's Church in Wilmington, Delaware. As a priest, Acrelius focused much of his history and observations of religious matters pertaining to the Swedes in the Delaware Valley rather than economics and political affairs. He also rarely cited his sources, indicating knowledge from oral sources which can sometimes be unreliable unless pertaining to cultural attributes as I did when providing an oral history of the Lenape.

¹⁹⁶ Thomas Budd, *Good Order Established in Pennsylvania and New Jersey*, 1685, edited by Frederick J. Shepard (Cleveland: The Burrows Brothers Company): 32-36.

grains, but also in pine trees, beer, and various pork products, hence broadening the number of products shipped in the English Atlantic.¹⁹⁷

While Budd never mentioned the Swedes or old settlers in his account of Pennsylvania, letters written by Swedish settlers, and included in the appendix of the *1693 Census* by Peter Craig, indicated their continued participation in the English Empire and the English Atlantic. Thirty members of the Gloria Dei Church mentioned in a letter to one of their congregants in Sweden that, “Out of this River is sent and shipped away all sorts of grains every year to our neighboring islands in the West Indies,” indicating their active participation in the English Atlantic in the aftermath of Andros’s control.¹⁹⁸ The church members also mentioned that under English governments such as Andros, “we have been exceedingly and mighty well treated... in his Majesty the King of England’s time.”¹⁹⁹ Peter Gunnarsson Rambo mentioned in his letter to his sister in Gothenburg of the Swedes’ increased crop yields during time of English rule, and asserted that , “we have no lack of anything,” and that, “the nearby [Caribbean] islands are fed by us with the land’s goods, with grain, flour, and beer,” hence multiple sources asserted an economic cooperation and assimilation into the English Empire and the English Atlantic.²⁰⁰

The letters of the Swedes indicated a cooperation with William Penn, past English governments. However, the Swedes became more welcoming of the English governments in

¹⁹⁷ Budd, *Good Order Established in Pennsylvania and New Jersey*, 32-36.

¹⁹⁸ Gloria Dei Church Members, Letter to Johan Thelin Signed by 30 Church Members, May 31, 1693, in Peter Craig, *The 1693 Census of the Swedes on the Delaware* (Winter Park: SAG Publications, 1993): 159-160.

¹⁹⁹ Gloria Dei Church Members, Letter to Johan Thelin Signed by 30 Church Members, May 31, 1693, in Peter Craig, *The 1693 Census of the Swedes on the Delaware* (Winter Park: SAG Publications, 1993): 160.

²⁰⁰ Peter Gunnarsson Rambo, Letter from Peter Gunnarsson Rambo to his Sister in Gothenburg, May 31, 1693, in Peter Craig, *The 1693 Census of the Swedes on the Delaware* (Winter Park: SAG Publications, 1993): 161-162.

their letters in comparison to their opinions on their Lenape allies. Over the years, the Swedes would, according to New Sweden historian Mark Thompson, become more aligned with the Anglosphere by the beginning of the eighteenth century.²⁰¹

While the Swedes welcomed William Penn with open arms, William Penn had his own opinions of the old settlers. In his letter to the Committee of the Free Society of Traders in 1683, Penn asserted that the Swedes were, “a plain, strong and industrious, people,” and admired them for their hard work ethics and moral standards.²⁰² However, he also mentioned that while the Swedes participated in the economy, there was little motivation for them to diversify their crops beyond simple grains, and did not desire to become wealthy.²⁰³ While William Penn criticized their simplicity and frugality, he knew that he could use them for his new economic system, stating, “I see few Young men more sober and laborious,” indicating that they could help to bring profits for him and the English Empire if given the right incentives.²⁰⁴

Though the Swedes managed to prosper under Edmund Andros’s regime, Andros did not last long in New York. By 1683, Andros was forced to resign after English merchants complained about Andros’s favoritism to the Dutch merchants who knew how to trade with

²⁰¹ Thompson, “‘The Land Called Sweeds Land’,” 15-18. Thompson argued more towards the Swedes assimilation into English society, though focusing more on ethnic inclusion rather than economic cooperation and integration. For more on the Lenape in the eighteenth century, reference C. A. Weslager, *Delaware Indians: A History*, and Daniel Richter, *Native Americans’ Pennsylvania*. For more information on the life and opinions of William Penn and his colony, read Andrew Murphy, *William Penn: A Life*, a recent biography to which he included the Swedes as a part of William Penn’s demography, but failed to mention their interactions with each other.

²⁰² William Penn, William Penn to the Committee of the Free Society of Traders, 1683. 1683. In *Narratives of Early Pennsylvania, West Jersey, and Delaware, 1630-1707*, edited by Albert Cook Myers (New York: Charles Scribner’s Sons, 1912): 237-238.

²⁰³ Penn, William Penn to the Committee of the Free Society of Traders, 237-238.

²⁰⁴ Penn, William Penn to the Committee of the Free Society of Traders, 238. For a more detailed analysis of William Penn’s plans for both Philadelphia and in settling Pennsylvania, read Andrew Murphy, *William Penn: A Life*.

Indigenous people, hence giving less to the merchants despite improving the overall New York economy. He was then assigned as Governor the Dominion of New England in 1686, a new political entity created by Charles II to control the Puritans and to centralize political affairs. Unfortunately, by 1689, many Puritan officials found Andros to be pushing Anglicanism and a centralized English economic system on the independent-minded Puritan populace, leading to his imprisonment and eventual reassignment.²⁰⁵

Eventually, King William III of England reassigned Andros to Virginia, where he governed for six years from 1692 to 1698.²⁰⁶ Louis B. Wright, an early twentieth century historian on Colonial Virginia, asserted that Andros experienced conflict with prominent people such as the powerful clergyman, James Blair, over the funding of the new College of William and Mary, to which he was accused of never funding, although William Byrd, in his letter defending Edmund Andros and his prospects, asserted that Andros did provide funds for the College of William and Mary.²⁰⁷ Nevertheless, Andros still maintains a bad reputation in the histories of New York, New England, and Virginia despite his accomplishments in diplomacy and in economic development in New York and in the Delaware Valley, though scholars such as Webb tried to reevaluate his reputation.²⁰⁸

Governor Andros, the Swedish and Finnish settlers, and the Lenape all experienced and enacted transformations in the 1670s that would impact their prospects. Some such as the

²⁰⁵ Jonathan Edward Barth, “‘A Peculiar Stampe of Our Owne’: The Massachusetts Mint and the Battle over Sovereignty, 1652-1691.” *The New England Quarterly* 87, no. 3 (2014): 490–525. Andros’s role in the rebellion of Boston in 1689 is covered more in historiography than in his tenure in New York, leaving a negative aura around Andros.

²⁰⁶ Louis B Wright, “William Byrd’s Defense of Sir Edmund Andros,” *The William and Mary Quarterly* 2, no. 1 (1945): 47-53, <https://doi.org/10.2307/1920687>.

²⁰⁷ Wright, “William Byrd’s Defense of Sir Edmund Andros,” 54-58.

²⁰⁸ Wright, “William Byrd’s Defense of Sir Edmund Andros,” 54-58; Barth, “‘A Peculiar Stampe of Our Owne,’” 490-525. Webb and Soderlund and the main scholars that mention Andros as having an important, diplomatic role.

Swedes and the settlers of William Penn survived and thrived this transformation while Andros and the Lenape suffered in their prospects by the end of the seventeenth century. The decisions that the Swedes, Andros, and other incoming settlers made, regardless of the outcome, significantly transformed the political, geographical, and economic landscapes of the Mid-Atlantic, Colonial English America, and the English Atlantic by the time William Penn arrived in the Delaware Valley in 1682.

Conclusion

In the aftermath of the 1669 Long Finn Rebellion and under the new imperial structures of Governor Edmund Andros, the Swedes, through the cooperation and authority of the Upland Court, pursued their own prospects by cooperating with the English Empire while also maintaining peace with their Indigenous neighbors, who ultimately suffered as a result of the new alliance system. During the 1670s, centralization became a theme in most colonies. The Protestants in Maryland seized opportunities to centralize Protestantism in a Catholic-controlled state.²⁰⁹ The Governor of Virginia, William Berkeley, asserted his centralized authority against those who attacked the various Indigenous nations and ultimately failed.²¹⁰

While most of the governors' methods of centralization did not work in Maryland or Virginia in the late 1670s, Edmund Andros achieved such a goal. He not only maintained peace with his Indigenous neighbors, such as the Haudenosaunee, the Lenape, and the

²⁰⁹ Kruer, *Time of Anarchy*, 212-213.

²¹⁰ Kruer, *Time of Anarchy*, 62-109. For a more specific and critical investigation into Bacon's Rebellion specifically, read James D. Rice, *Tales from a Revolution: Bacon's Rebellion and the Transformation of Early America*. This monograph also identifies a detailed historiography that will allow one to further investigate the scholarship on the subject.

Susquehannocks, but also acted to clear and develop the lands to which they owned to generate profit for him and the English Empire. Andros also established new systems of governance when necessary to ensure peace and prosperity, which included establishing courts, implementing specific orders to regulate the land, and enacting a high sheriff to oversee all the affairs of the said courts, which was never examined closely before by scholars with the exception of Webb, who did not cover the full context or the implementation of his new system of governance in the Delaware Valley.²¹¹

However, none of Andros's political, social, and economic reforms could have been achieved without the support of the Swedes and their system of government: the Upland Court. By extensively and systematically examining the Upland Court Records in their entirety for the first time, future historians can hope to reevaluate the history of the Delaware Valley through a new, bottom-up history that examines the various peoples of the region and their roles in shaping the region before the arrival of William Penn. The Upland Court Records also indicated in the individual patents and court cases that the Swedes generally cooperated with the English imperial system of governance that maintained peace in the Delaware Valley.

The newly analyzed individual and proprietary land deeds in the New Jersey Archives pertaining to the Swedes also indicated that the Swedes cooperated with a different, though similar, English colonial and imperial system of governance. Though desiring to live in new lands with new economic opportunities and the chance to meet with kin, the Swedes in both New Castle and Upland had to cooperate with John Fenwick and had to pay their quit-rents

²¹¹ Webb, *1676*, 314-320.

for the land they held. However, there were relatively few settlers who moved to West Jersey, indicating that Swedes and Finns generally obeyed the orders of Edmund Andros and chose to cooperate with the authorities in either New Castle or in Upland.

While the Swedes still maintained alliances with the Lenape, many of the Swedes desired to maintain their own prospects rather than protecting the sovereignty of their Indigenous neighbors. As a result of the Swedes desiring their own prospects, disease, and the power of the English Imperial systems under Andros and the New Jersey proprietors, the power of the Lenape in the Delaware Valley diminished significantly to where they could no longer defend their primary settlements. To understand the complex political, social, and economic dynamics of the Delaware Valley in the decade before the arrival of William Penn, the Upland Court Records, and the individual land deeds of settlers on both sides of the Delaware River provide a key insight into the complex Indigenous and colonial interactions of the Delaware Valley that no historian should neglect. By analyzing the 1670s Delaware Valley through the experiences of the Swedes rather than through the perspectives of the English or the Indigenous sovereignties as other scholars have achieved in the study of this period, one can see a more dynamic and complex system of alliances that shifted to benefit each power from becoming extinct in a quickly evolving North American environment by the turn of the eighteenth century.

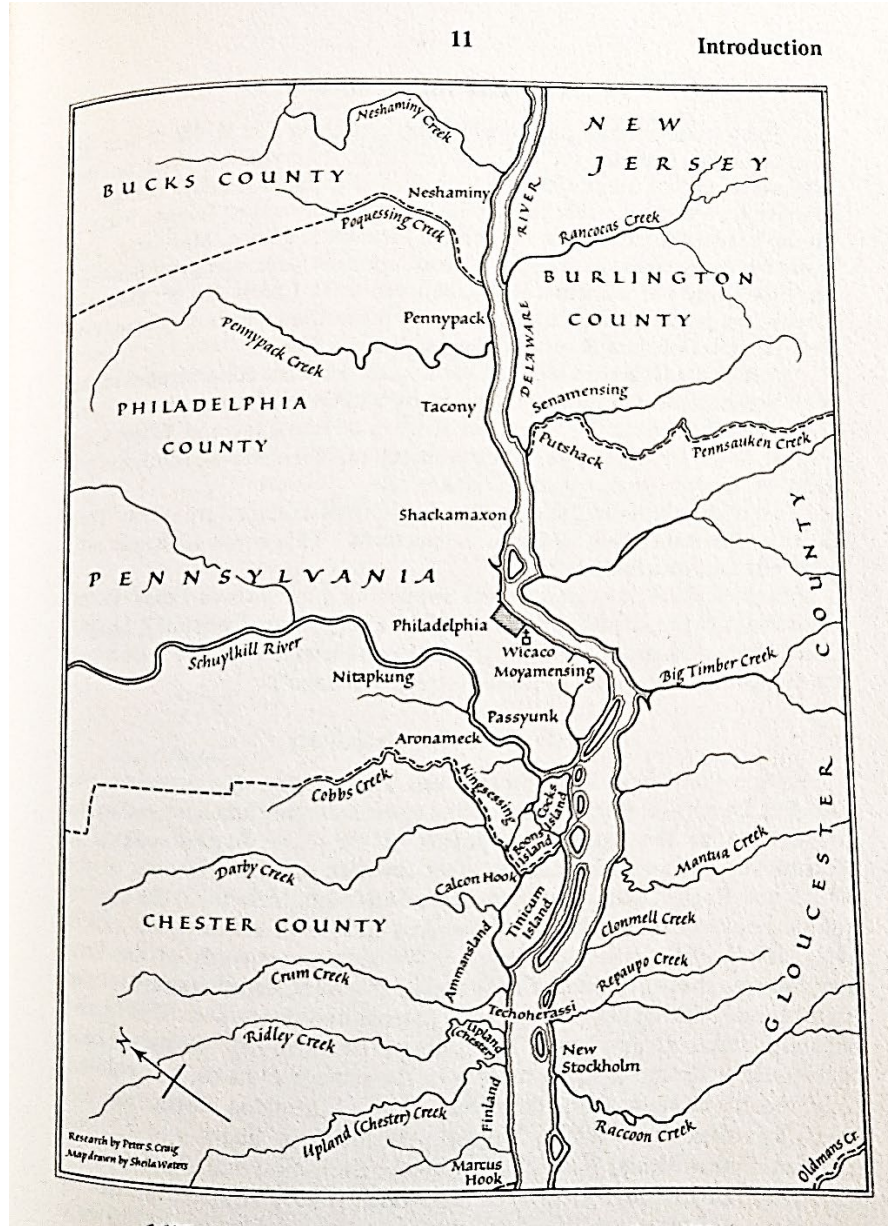
Many of the Swedes found solutions to the challenges of the ever-changing Colonial and Atlantic worlds. In the early years of English control of the Delaware Valley, some of the Swedish and Finnish settlers desired a return to a complete Swedish control of the area via open rebellion against Imperial authorities. This rebellion, known as the Long Swede Rebellion of 1669, ultimately failed to come to fruition, resulting in no further rebellion to

overthrow a regime in the Delaware Valley. Complaints and potential uprisings did occur, though quickly resolved due to tactics of forceful diplomacy that Andros, allowing the Swedes, Finns, and the English to cooperate to expand the English economy in the Delaware Valley. The Swedes, realizing the beneficial prospects of obtaining land and participating in a larger economy with administrations that could tolerate and understand their cultures and traditions, began to welcome English Imperialism that, for the first time, cemented itself across the Delaware Valley.

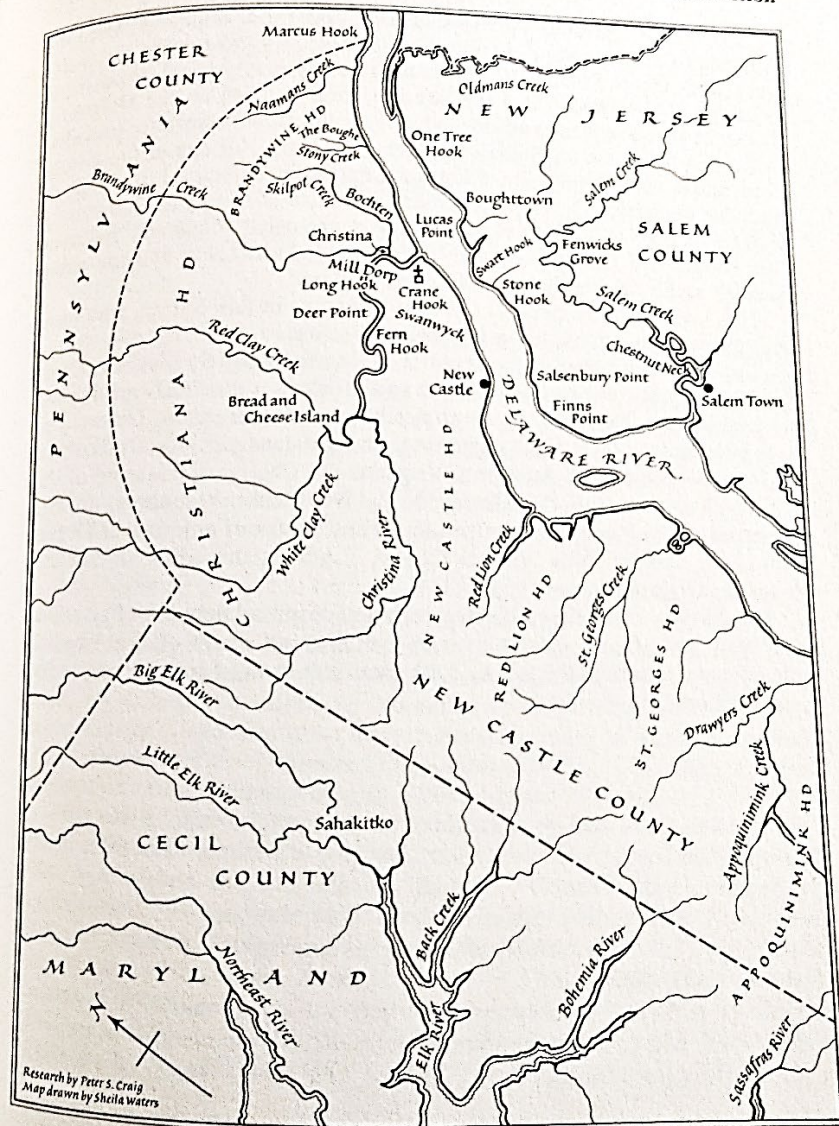
By analyzing the Swedes' class distinctions, comparing land deeds in Upland and West Jersey, and analyzing government and settler correspondences, laws, and transactions, many of the Swedes cooperated with their respected English Imperialist authorities in the aftermath of the Long Swede Rebellion. The Lenape, meanwhile, lost much power in the 1670s, having little choice but to cooperate with the respected authorities in the long run. The overcasting Anglosphere in the regions of Upland, New Castle, and West Jersey made the Swedes peacefully cooperate and adapt to English policies along the Delaware Valley before the arrival of William Penn in 1682. Therefore, when William Penn arrived in the Delaware Valley in 1682, he was greeted not by people who lived isolated lives from the English East Coast, but by a minority group in English America more than willing to accept another English government in the Delaware Valley that promised them further political and economic opportunities in an increasingly English Atlantic world.

Appendix A

Maps:



Map 1. Map of the Northern Delaware Valley. West of the Delaware River in this map was the jurisdiction of the Upland Court in the Wicaco congregation. West of this was under the authority of John Fenwick and the New Jersey Proprietors as the colony of West New Jersey. Courtesy of Peter Stebbins Craig, *1693 Census*. Citation: Peter Stebbins Craig, *1693 Census of the Swedes on the Delaware* (Winter Park: SAG Publications): 11.



1693 Service Area of Swedish Log Church at Crane Hook

Map 2. Map of the Lower Delaware Valley and areas of Maryland under the jurisdiction of the Crane Hook Congregation. West of the Delaware River around this area is where many of the Finns resided during the Long Swede Rebellion of 1669 and the Dike Uprising of 1675. As one can tell, it was easy for some to travel East of the Delaware River to find new lands, though were under the direct jurisdiction of John Fenwick who enforced quit-rents on his subjects. Courtesy of Peter Stebbins Craig. Citation: Peter Stebbins Craig, *1693 Census of the Swedes on the Delaware* (Winter Park: SAG Publications): 10.

Appendix B

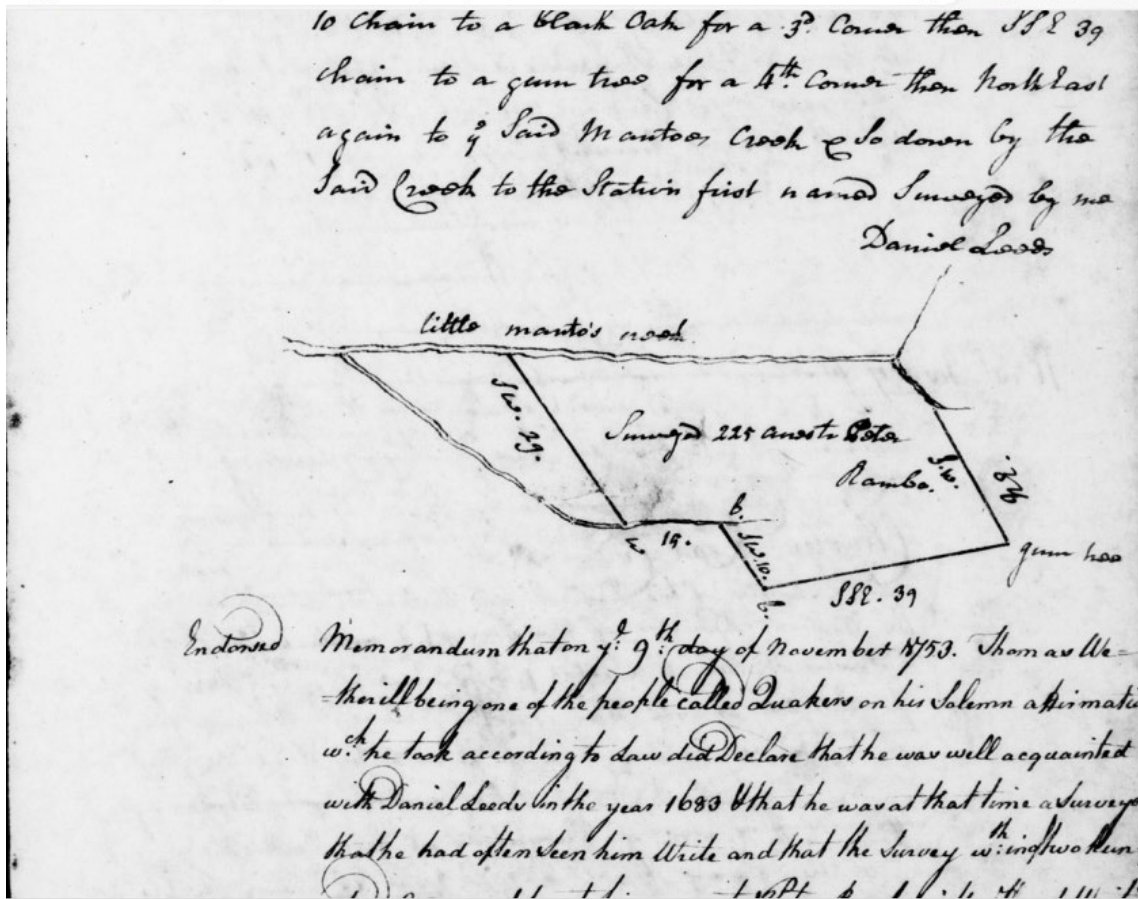
Images:

John Boelson's Cottage (Resides in the Fairmount Park Conservatory)



John Boelsen's Cottage, c. 1677-1682. Boelsen's cottage is a reminder of the establishment of Swede settlements extending West of the Delaware River into the Schuylkill River while also a reminder of the product of cooperating with both Swede and English authorities that maintained ties to the English imperialist system and to the English Atlantic while also incorporating Dutch and Swedish architectural styles. Courtesy of the Fairmount Park Conservatory in Philadelphia. Citation: *Boelsen Cottage*, 2015, color photograph, Fairmount Park Conservatory, accessed February 22, 2024, <https://myphillypark.org/app/uploads/2015/09/boelsen.jpg>.

Peter Rambo's Land Survey, Gloucester County, New Jersey



Peter Rambo's land that was surveyed in 1683 by present-day Mantua Creek, a tributary that runs into the Delaware River. This document, as well as his patent for land, was never used by Peter Craig in his biography of Peter Gunnarsson Rambo in the 1693 Census and never indicated that family had land in New Jersey before, during, or after the arrival of William Penn. Historians now have a new detail of Rambo's land pursuits before and during the arrival of William Penn in late 1682. Courtesy of the New Jersey Early Land Records Project, 1650-1900s.

Sir Edmund Andros, Governor of New York and the Delaware Valley



Sir Edmund Andros, late seventeenth century. Edmund Andros is portrayed by Mary Beale, one of the few women portrait artists in London. Beale showed the exhaustion of a man who governed in multiple English colonies of New York, the Delaware Valley, the Dominion of New England, and Virginia. Andros, despite all this, still wore an armored uniform to demonstrate his determination to defend the honor of the English Crown and her empire. Courtesy of encyclopediavirginia.com, who credits the Virginia Historical Society.

Appendix C

Timeline:

1638-1655: New Sweden as an independent colony ruled through the sovereignty of Queen Christina and King Charles X Gustav, though they lose interest in the colony over time, leaving few colonies to defend against Indigenous and European sovereignties.

1655-1665: Dutch rule over the Delaware Valley. Stuyvesant established trading posts and small plantations South of present-day Chester, Pennsylvania.

1664: Founding of New Jersey under the proprietors George Carteret and John Berkely, though no major settlement occurred until the 1670s.

1664: New Amsterdam transferred to England after the Second Anglo-Dutch War. Renamed New Amsterdam New York

1664-1668: Governorship of Richard Nicholls of New York and the Delaware Valley

1666: Andros sent to Barbados as a major in the First Barbados Regiment to defend Barbados and other islands in the Caribbean, learning political and economic skills required to become a leader.

1669-1673: Governorship of Francis Lovelace. Implements English colonization in the Delaware Valley, but with minimal success.

1669: The Revolt of the Long Swede (Long Finn): unsuccessful attempt to overthrow the English regime in the Delaware Valley, to which many are fined and the main instigator is sent to Barbados in indentured servitude.

1671: Governor Francis Lovelace conducts a census of each family residing in the Delaware Valley, including Swedes, Finns, and English settlers. Attempts to use this for further expansion, but it is of little available.

1674-1683: Governorship of Edmund Andros and the full implementation of English political and economic rules in the Delaware Valley.

1675: Edmund Andros appointed Governor of New York, initiated laws for both New York and the Delaware Valley in terms of developing land for agriculture and industry.

-August 1675: Dike Uprising: Swedes, mostly Finns, gathered to threaten violence if Andros forced the Finns to work for their local agents as slaves. Andros, through diplomacy and force, immediately put an end to the uprising through fines and negotiation.

1676: Bacon's Rebellion-Susquehannock integrate into Lenape

-Establishment of Jurisdictions in the Delaware Valley West of the Delaware River:
Upland, New Castle, and Whorekill (From North to South)

- February: Upland Court receives new of Andros's land regulations, implements the first patents of lands to Swedish settlers enforcing regulations by Andros.

1677: Year of European Expansion in the Delaware Valley

-Expansion of Edmund Andros's programs to develop the Delaware Valley, reminded the Swedish settlers to respect the rules.

-The year when the Swedes acquired most of the land through the Upland Court; the Upland Court required landowners to comply to Andros's regulations that were enforced.

-Shackamaxon Conference: Susquehannock either join the Haudenosaunee Confederacy or join the Lenape in the Delaware Valley through the agreements made in the all-Indigenous Shackamaxon Conference of 1677, eliminating the most powerful sovereignty in the Mid-Atlantic. A small remnant left to live in present-day Lancaster County in Conestoga Indian Town with other Indigenous refugees.

-John Fenwick acquired most of the land in West Jersey from the local Lenape sachems,

1681: March 4- William Penn received a charter from King Charles II declaring that William Penn owned the lands that he later called Pennsylvania in honor of his father and for the woods surrounding the land he obtained.

-Summer: Edmund Andros received news of the new charter sometime by the end of the year. With some dispute, Andros accepted the charter and would govern until William Penn arrived in the Delaware Valley in 1682.

1682: The purchases and patents issued for most of the land bought in West Jersey by Swedish settlers who resided in Upland.

- Upland Court dissolved by William Penn; Penn instituted the Chester County Court.

- October 27: William Penn lands in New Castle, establishing Penn's rule along the Delaware Valley

1683: Swedes continued to prosper under the administration of William Penn through letters sent to Sweden

-William Penn continued to allow for ministers to come directly from Sweden, maintaining some cultural autonomy. This ended by the 1780s with the founding of the United States.

Appendix D

Key People:

Edmund Andros: Member of the King's First Guard and a Major in the First Barbados Regiment. Governor of the Colony of New York and her peripheries of the Delaware Valley from 1674-1683 (1681/1682 Delaware Valley). Andros, coming from a prominent English family, helped to conquer Barbados as a member of the English Navy. He built his credentials to eventually become Governor of New York (1674-1683), the Dominion of New England (1686-1689), and Virginia (1692-1698). Besides New York, Andros built a reputation of being distant from the demands of the elites of society in favor of centralization efforts that Charles II and James II desired in the late seventeenth century. This made him unpopular with people in New England and Virginia in particular. His centralization efforts transformed the Delaware Valley into an integrated English society despite some level of autonomy for the Upland jurisdiction.

Edmund Cantwell: High Sheriff of New Castle under the authority of Francis Lovelace and Edmund Andros. Cantwell supervised the upper Delaware Valley from 1675 to 1682 under Edmund Andros, overseeing civil and criminal cases on a quarterly basis when the Upland Court met. Cantwell also collected the fines and quit-rents necessary to fulfill the revenues demanded by the English colonial system implemented by Andros. Cantwell also helped to quell the Dike Uprising of 1675 by instructing the Finns of Edmund Andros's proposals and reasons to build the dike, enforcing the laws of the land until the arrival of William Penn in 1682.

Peter Cock: One of the upper-class Swedish settlers in the Delaware Valley through the mid-to-late seventeenth century, Peter Cock was a political leader through his leadership in

the Upland Court as well as being a ready volunteer to fend off any intruders in the area. He also was one of the Swedes who stopped the Long Swede Rebellion and desired to attack the Lenape community since they killed fellow settlers in the Delaware Valley. His family, including Lars Cock received English rule peacefully with the arrival of William Penn.

Israel Helm: One of the upper-class Swedes residing in the Delaware Valley, Helm aided in the capture of, “The Long Finn,” in 1669 while also benefiting from the political and economic prospects of dealing with two English sovereignties during the 1670s. While holding land in Upland, he sold the land to then have one hundred acres of land near the Delaware River to further his prospects along the Delaware River to trade and deal with the Lenape.

John Fenwick: Leader of the Quakers in the West Jersey Colony (Salem and Salem County): 1676-1685. During his tenure, Fenwick acquired thousands of acres from the Indigenous Lenape people, giving land to diverse settlers in the region, including the Swedes residing in Upland and around New Caste. Fenwick also quarreled with Andros over the rule of West New Jersey, though they eventually came to an agreement by 1680 that Fenwick and the Quakers ruled over West Jersey.

Jonas Keen: A less-prominent settler in the Delaware Valley who was the son of a New Sweden soldier, Keen attempted to make his living from the lands of Upland, then when given the opportunity, he sold these lands in Upland to settle along the Delaware River along West Jersey for better economic prospects. He is one of the only recorded Swedes of less status to obtain land East of the Delaware River from John Fenwick and the New Jersey Proprietors.

Peter Gunnarsson Rambo: One of the founding settlers of the New Sweden Colony. Peter Rambo, being a prominent Swedish settler in the Upper Delaware Valley, became one of the justices of the Upland Court in the 1660s into the 1670s. Rambo also desired to own land on both sides of the Delaware River by around 1682, establishing his family to become influential in the negotiations between the Lenape and William Penn when he arrived in 1682.

William Penn: Proprietor of the Pennsylvania Colony: 1682-1718. As a son of the admiral William Penn, Sr., William Penn converted to the Society of Friends, or Quakers, through the inspiration of the founder, George Fox, being moved by the Holy Spirit in their quest for divine revelation and living peacefully with other people. In his pursuit of religious freedom and inspired partly by George Fox, Penn sought for lands for Quakers to live in freedom of the mighty hand of the Church of England. Finding land in West Jersey and investing in this land, William Penn understood the potential for the Delaware Valley. In 1681, William Penn received a charter from King Charles II to run a new colony in the Delaware Valley to pay off the crown's debt to Penn's father. William Penn greeted the Swedes with kindness, but also hoped to make peace with the Lenape, hence create peace while also benefiting from agriculture and trade. Bringing in thousands of migrants, Penn transformed the landscape of the Delaware Valley more than any of his predecessors.

Appendix E

Charts of Landholding Transfers:

Chart of Land Transactions from Upland Jurisdiction to West Jersey: 1675-1682*

Name	Land in Upland	Land in West Jersey	Date to New Jersey	Transfer or Addition
Peter Gunnarsson Rambo	1200 acres, Delaware River	225 Acres, Little Mantua Creek	Patented 1682, Purchased Land Before or in 1682	Addition
Israel Helm	1900 acres, Area above Upland	100 Acres, Delaware River	Patented 1682, Purchased Land 1677	Transfer
Jonas Keen	1000 Acres, Chester Creek	100 Acres, Delaware River	Patented 1682 Purchased Land Before or in 1682	Transfer
Casper Fisk(e)	500 Acres; Upland, Chester Creek area	100 Acres, Delaware River	Patented 1682 Purchased Before or in 1682	Transfer

*These four individuals are the only people who are confirmed to purchase and transfer land from Upland to New Jersey. Others arrived before and after the date, though this is meant to document those who left under Andros's rule to document reasons as to why they left and to describe their prospects before and after their land purchases.

Finns and Swedes from New Castle, Delaware who Settled in West Jersey from 1675-1680*

Name	Ethnicity	Date of Arrival
Olle Olleson Fransson	Finnish	1676
Anders Sinnicksson	Swedish	1679
Lars Corneliusson	Finnish?	1679
Matthia Jonsson	Finnish	1679
Hendrick Daneilsson	Swedish	1679

*Peter Stebbins Craig, *1693 Census of the Swedes on the Delaware* (Winter Park: SAG Publications): 140-159. While Craig lists these people and their biographies with their respective ethnicities, this is the first categorization of these people, to which future historians need to indicate in their publications. Unfortunately, Craig does not provide the individual patents to investigate the details of their precise locations.

Appendix F

Key Terms:

English Atlantic: The English Atlantic is a term used to describe the trade within the English Empire. Trade can include both legal and illegal trade as all colonies engaged in some form of smuggling during English rule. The English Atlantic became the British Atlantic in 1707 with the Act of Union officially establishing the Kingdom of Great Britain with the union of the Kingdom of England and the Kingdom of Scotland.

English Empire: Starting with ambitions from the sixteenth century, the English Empire lasted officially from 1607 to the Act of Union of 1707 when it became the British Empire. This term is used to describe the territories that England had control over during the majority of the seventeenth century. Within these territories, trade occurred between the different colonies.

Finn/Finns: A terms used to describe the Delaware Valley settlers whose identity is clearly identified as originating from Finland.

Imperialism: The expansion of a country's influence in another region or sovereignty through cooperation or forced coercion. Through Edmund Andros, cooperation was the primary tool used to semi-subjugate the Delaware Valley in the late 1670s.

Improve/Improving: The process of clearing land for the purposes of agriculture and small industries such as gristmills. The English colonial system adopted this method in the early seventeenth century, spreading its influence into the Delaware Valley by the mid-to-late seventeenth century.

Lënapehòkink/Lenapehoking: Translated into English as, "The land of the Lenape." This area included the areas from the lower Delaware Valley up to present-day New York State.

The original location where the Lenape resided was considered sacred ground to the Lenape, only allowing certain settlers into the area in the 1630s while falling to pressure from English settlers by the 1670s. The Lenape were pushed away from their original territories by the early-to-mid eighteenth century.

Proprietor: In Colonial America, a proprietor was anybody who received a charter from a monarch or ruler to occupy and develop lands defined in the said charter. Examples include John Berkeley and George Carteret of New Jersey and William Penn of Pennsylvania.

Quit-Rent: A land tax imposed by a higher landowning authority or government. In this case, Swedes who owned land paid a land tax to the New York government in Albany under Governor Edmund Andros.

Swede/Swedes: A conglomerative term popularized by Jean Soderlund, the Swedes consisted of diverse ethnic identities residing in the upper Delaware Valley between 1655 and 1682. The ethnic groups include Swedish, Finnish, German, Dutch, and English settlers, though the Swedish settlers remained the most powerful ethnic group during this time. Specifically, the Dutch and English members of this community incorporated themselves into the ethnic Swedish and Finnish settlers, creating a diverse network of settlers.

Swedish: The ethnic term used to describe those who can be clearly identified as Swedish in their ethnicity. Swede is more of a collective term for the various ethnicities associated with the groups of settlers not directly associated with the Dutch and English settlers that occupied the Delaware Valley.

Upland Court: The autonomous governing body that governed the upper Delaware Valley from 1655 to 1676, becoming semi-autonomous from 1676 with the introduction of Edmund Andros's governance to 1682 when William Penn dissolved the Upland Court. The court

mostly comprised of upper-class Swedish settlers, and the justices governed the religious, cultural, civil, and economic parts of upper Delaware Valley. The court also met on a quarterly basis unless an emergency meeting needed to be held.

Appendix G

Methods of Document Analysis

Different documents required different methods of analysis that were necessary to give thorough explanations of what the documents inferred. In analyzing the Upland Court Records and the individual land patents, charting the individual land deeds of the Swedes and their locations became necessary to discover patterns of settlements. Knowing that some of the Swedes were more prominent politically and economically than others from Evan Haefli's journal article, I analyzed and compared the locations of the people who obtained land and investigated the background of the people to indicate whether certain Swedes benefited from obtaining certain tracts of land over others.²¹² I determined their positions in society by examining their political positions in society in the Upland Court while also examining the number of acres that they obtained in Upland since the more established members acquired a significant amount of land over time. By comparing the names of people, their acreages, and locations, one can determine that location and class were interconnected in Swedish society.

When examining the individual land patents, particularly in West New Jersey, I first investigated the concise biographical summaries of Peter Stebbins Craig's *1693 Census of the Delaware* to indicate whether certain people settled in West Jersey during the Governor Edmund Andros's regime. Finding the names of these individuals and comparing their lands described in the Upland Court with their newly acquired land in West Jersey, there emerged

²¹² Haefli, "The Revolt of the Long Swede," 179-180. Although I list page numbers, the emphasis on class distinctions appeared on most pages of the journal article.

patterns of settlement that meant better prospects for the respected settlers, particularly patterns associated with their locations near rivers such as the Delaware, Chester Creek, and the Schuylkill Rivers

In analyzing the official government correspondences, particularly in terms of Edmund Andros, I attempted to examine the speed to which the governors of New York enacted legislation after peace negotiations and correspondences, and the tone to which they expressed their policies and concerns towards settlers and Indigenous peoples. In the examination of Governors Lovelace and Andros, Lovelace responded rapidly to incidents in the Delaware Valley, but was not swift to introduce new settlers into the Delaware Valley due to Lenape killings and the Long Swede Rebellion. Andros, however, maintained a soft tone in his dealings with the Lenape, the Haudenosaunee, and the Swedes, Andros also immediately afterwards enacted regulations in a forceful manner, desiring peace to develop the English Empire in New York and the Delaware Valley.

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Student's Name MU ID# M_____

History 3 s.h.
Department # of credits

Date of Examination DATE Program M.A

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- Not Approved (Specific reasons in writing should be attached)
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Chair of Committee Signature

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Cole Mellinger

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