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The Revolt of the Long Swede: Transatlantic Hopes and Fears on the Delaware, 1669

IN THE FALL OF 1669, when New York ruled the Delaware River valley but most of its colonists had come from Sweden, fears of a conspiracy to restore the area to Swedish rule filled the court at New Castle. The contention, confusion, and downright ignorance that have surrounded the incident ever since are reflected in the lack of agreement on its name. Variously called (in more or less chronological order) the Intended Insurrection of the Long Swede, the Insurrection in Delaware, the Uproar Among the Swedes, and the Long Finn Rebellion, it remains a virtually unknown event from an obscure corner of colonial American history. Few are the people who even know that it happened. It has

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inspired a highly fanciful work of early American literature, James Kirke Paulding's *Koningsmarke, the Long Finne: A Story of the New World*, but little historical analysis.[1] There is not even a proper narrative of what happened, when, or why. Using the few available fragments, this article provides a plausible account of the incident and argues for its significance to both the early history of the Delaware Valley and the broader colonial American experience. I deliberately label it the Revolt of the Long Swede (even though the main actor may have been a Finn) to draw attention away from prevailing concerns with ethnicity and towards the more relevant issue of transatlantic political loyalties.

The controversial idea that not all of the Swedish colonists on the Delaware welcomed the transition to English (and thus proto-American) rule may explain why, when the event has been mentioned, it is usually dismissed as not terribly serious. Already in 1669 a colonial New York official investigating the incident called it a "silly intention of an Insurrection amongst the Finns at the Delaware."[2] In the mid-eighteenth century, Israel Acrelius, the noted Swedish missionary to and historian of the colonial Swedes, described the "Uproar Among the Swedes" as a "great disturbance" in which an "impostor by the name of Königsmark came among the Swedes . . . and found many followers, especially among the Finns." Acrelius worried that the "impostor" had "wellnigh brought his countrymen, who were innocent, into evil report and suspicion" had not their "honesty" been established by "many proofs before."[3] Notice that Acrelius devotes about as much prose to exonerating the Swedes as to describing what happened.

The emphasis on the loyalty of those who did not support the Long Swede rather than the cause he may have stood for continued into the early twentieth century. The Swedish American scholar Amandus Johnson, whose two-volume history of New Sweden remains the authoritative account of the colony, gave the events of 1669 only a few lines in an unpublished manuscript. In his words, some "of the 'better Swedes' . . . did not join the 'insurrection,' as it was called, and apparently notified" the English authorities. As with Acrelius, his emphasis is on Swedish loyalty,

[1] Published in 1823, and reprinted in a new edition edited by Daniel A. Wells (Schenectady, NY, 1988).

[2] Edmund B. O'Callaghan and Berthold Fernow, eds. *Documents Relative to the Colonial History of the State of New York*, 15 vols. (Albany, NY, 1853–87), 3:186 (hereafter cited as *DRCHNY*).

[3] Israel Acrelius, *A History of New Sweden; or, The Settlements on the River Delaware*, trans. and ed. William M. Reynolds (Philadelphia, 1874), 116.

not the event itself. The rebellious elements are an embarrassing mixture of Finns and Swedes of a lesser sort.[4]

The one positive assessment of the "rebellion" merely presents the flip side of this coin. In their book arguing for the important Savo-Karelian Finnish influence on American backwoods society, Terry Jordan and Matti Kaups see the incident as part of a pattern of "repeated mutiny and insurrection," running from 1653 to at least 1709, when "the provincial council of Pennsylvania still categorized the Swedes as 'exceedingly Insolent' in their dealings with the government and given to 'Invective language.'" A group of seventeenth-century Finns, they argue, bequeathed to later generations of Americans not just the log cabin, but also "individualism," "disregard for government and law," a penchant for mobility, and other such traits. They celebrate what Acrelius and Johnson disdain without advancing our understanding of what happened or why.[5]

The long-standing inclination to treat the event within the concerns of American history overlooks its intriguing and perhaps more significant transatlantic dimensions. The little that is known about the Uproar suggests that the Old World lived on in the hearts and minds of those in the New, even among such a forlorn group as the Swedes and Finns, few in number and cut off from their homeland for most of their American experience. It reminds us that European kings and aristocrats played a significant role in popular colonial politics, even if they never actually crossed the Atlantic. By all accounts, the revolt turned not on recognizably American issues of land, liberty, or ethnicity, but on a patriotic attachment to the Swedish noble family of Königsmark. It depended on the engagement of even the most obscure colonists with a transatlantic world of connections both real and imagined. Behind the hopes and fears of political upheaval lay the Swedish monarch—not a company, or trade route, or ethnic sensibility, never mind a yearning for a proto-American independence. The journey across the Atlantic did not make colonists' hearts beat any less fervently for European monarchs. Why should it?

The small seventeenth-century settlements needed the protection of their European sponsors, for other Europeans would not leave them alone. By 1669, Scandinavian colonists had experienced two shifts of sovereignty since the founding of New Sweden on the Delaware in 1638. First the

[4] Amandus Johnson, "The Swedes in Pennsylvania, 1641–1682," 148, in Amandus Johnson Papers, 1897–1974, box 42, folder 3, Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

[5] Terry G. Jordan and Matti Kaups, *The American Backwoods Frontier: An Ethnic and Ecological Interpretation* (Baltimore, 1989), 72.

Dutch conquered New Sweden in 1655. Then the English conquered New Netherland in 1664. No one in 1669 had any reason to believe that the Delaware Valley would remain under the English flag for long. And it did not. In 1673 the Dutch conquered New York. A European treaty handed it back to the English the next year, but who knew when the cycle would end? After all, Sweden also took part in the wars and diplomacy that bounced the mid-Atlantic (not to mention posts in Africa and Asia) back and forth between European empires. A Swedish restoration was by no means entirely removed from the realm of possibility.

A Transatlantic Conspiracy?

At the core of the Revolt of the Long Swede was a man with a plan. Or at least a man who allegedly claimed there was a plan to restore New Sweden to its rightful king. Judging by his name, he was presumably a "tall, imposing person" (long is the anglicized version of *lång*, the Swedish word for tall). Current convention tends to refer to him as the Long Finn, but we cannot be absolutely certain that he was actually Finnish. Sources also refer to him as the Long Swede (we can at least be sure that he was tall). He himself claimed to belong to the German Swedish noble family of Königsmark. And at least three other names emerge from the documents: John Binckson, Mathews Hinks, and Marcus Jacobs (or Jacobson). Going by the names alone, he could well have been Finnish, Swedish, German, or Dutch. Men of all these nationalities served the Swedish crown in the seventeenth century. Most existing accounts, from the trial records to later oral traditions, insist on calling him an impostor. Nevertheless, a significant portion of colonial Swedes, some 40 of roughly 140 heads of households, apparently bet their lives and estates that he was not. How do we account for that?[6]

Our most important clue is the man's chosen name. Königsmark hints at a transatlantic dimension of diplomatic intrigue and nationalist longing.

[6] The original indictment actually contains a blank for inserting any other aliases that might come to the court's attention. Johnson, "Swedes in Pennsylvania," 148, Amandus Johnson Papers; *DRCHNY*, 12:468, 472; Acrelius, *History of New Sweden*, 116; G. B. Keen, trans., "An Account of the Seditious False Königsmark in New Sweden," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 7 (1883): 219. Forty-two men were fined for their involvement with the Long Swede; 130 men of fighting age were reported by the Dutch in 1659. Amandus Johnson, *The Swedish Settlements on the Delaware: Their History and Relation to the Indians, Dutch and English, 1636–1664*, 2 vols. (New York, 1911), 2:666. A census of 1671 names 165 heads of household, but about 25 of these are either Dutch or English. Peter Stebbins Craig, *1671 Census of the Delaware* (Philadelphia, 1999), 5–10, reprints the names.

In the mid-seventeenth century two Königsmark brothers, Hans Christoff and Otto Wilhelm, served as generals in the Swedish army. Though they had roots in both Brandenburg and Sweden, their dedicated service linked them to militant Swedish patriotism. Count Hans Christoff Königsmark was a skilled commander and successful war profiteer. He became notorious among Catholics for his siege of Prague in the summer of 1648, which did, however, help persuade the Austrian archduke to end the Thirty Years' War. When he died in 1663 he was both a Swedish war hero and a fabulously wealthy man. Otto Wilhelm Königsmark went on to serve as a diplomat. He was sent to France with the Swedish ambassador in 1665 where, outfitted with a "historical résumé of the relation between Sweden and Holland in his lengthy instruction," he was told to gain the French government's sympathies for Sweden's claims against the Netherlands, including the restoration of New Sweden. Unfortunately he was too late: England had just taken the colony from the Dutch.[7]

Though no Königsmark ever made it to America, the name's association with Sweden's great-power status and efforts to regain its American colony points to a link between the two phenomena understood by Swedes on both sides of the Atlantic. New Sweden was a symbolically potent emblem of Sweden's great-power status. In fact, that function was arguably the colony's real significance, certainly more than its economic role. In the difficult years between 1648 and 1654 the colony had lost virtually all contact with Sweden and had to watch helplessly as the Dutch began to encroach on the Delaware, building Fort Casimir just below the Swedish post of Christina (near today's Wilmington) and cutting the Swedes off from the Atlantic. An expedition from Sweden finally brought reinforcements and captured the Dutch fort in 1654, reasserting Sweden's exclusive claim to the Delaware Valley, but this action only provoked New Netherland's governor, Peter Stuyvesant, to lead an expedition the following year that captured all of New Sweden for the Dutch.[8]

Far from driving New Sweden into oblivion, the Dutch conquest of 1655 arguably enhanced its importance to Swedish political consciousness.

[7] Geoffrey Parker, ed., *The Thirty Years' War*, rev. ed. (London, 1987), 174, 197, 326; C. V. Wedgwood, *The Thirty Years War* (1961; New York, 2005), 483–84; Johnson, *Swedish Settlements*, 2:654.

[8] Johnson, *Swedish Settlements*, 2:648; Richard Waldron, "New Sweden: An Interpretation," in *Revisiting New Netherland: Perspectives on Early Dutch America*, ed. Joyce D. Goodfriend (Leiden, Neth., 2005), 71–90.

When news of the Dutch conquest reached Europe, Swedish officials voiced their outrage over such a "gross act of war" committed while the two countries were at peace and immediately insisted on its restitution. Sweden's Charles X, an aggressive imperial king, wanted to recapture the colony from the Dutch straight away, but was prevented from doing so by his continuous wars in the Baltic. However, in 1663, a warship of thirty-two guns and a yacht of eight or ten were secretly fitted out—in order to recapture New Sweden, the Dutch feared. As Peter Stuyvesant nervously followed the expedition's progress in reports from Europe, he learned that the yacht was lost in a storm on the Swedish coast and the warship headed for Africa instead of America. Nonetheless, it was obvious that Sweden could still project force out into the Atlantic in the 1660s. A thirty-two-gun warship would have had little difficulty reconquering the thinly defended Delaware River valley.[9]

The English conquest of New Netherland in 1664 complicated Swedish recovery efforts. A new layer of bureaucracy and claims of right and conquest was added to the already fraught settlements on the Delaware. What had been Fort Casimir became New Castle, New York's administrative center on the Delaware until Pennsylvania took over after 1681. Yet Swedish envoys did not give up on their efforts to regain the colony. Up through 1673, four years after the 1669 revolt, they actively worked to persuade Charles II to restore the Delaware Valley to Sweden. As one wrote in 1671, "the English cannot possess it with any more right than the Netherlands." This Swedish official believed that the Swedish colonists "are well provided for and ardently await the deliverance that was promised to them." The appearance of this cryptic note so soon after the revolt suggests that the Long Swede may not entirely have been inventing things.[10]

There are echoes of a transatlantic correspondence that suggest some sort of plan may have been afoot. Around the beginning of February 1669, a letter arrived in Sweden complaining "that there were 500 families in New Sweden forsaken and left to themselves." This missive prompted

[9] Michael Roberts, trans. and ed., *Swedish Diplomats at Cromwell's Court, 1655–1656: The Missions of Peter Julius Coyet and Christer Bonde* (London, 1988), 220, 225, 227; Johnson, *Swedish Settlements*, 2:649–50. For the Dutch concerns, see *DRCHNY*, 2:236; 12:445, 455.

[10] Originally, "les anglais ne la peuvent pas posseder avec plus de raison que les pays-bas . . . les paysans y sont fort bien accomodés, attendans avec ardeur la deliverance que de leur ay fait esperer," in Unknown to Magnus Gabriel de la Garde, May 12/2,1671, box 54, folder 6, Amandus Johnson Papers; Johnson, *Swedish Settlements*, 2:648–56, reviews Swedish efforts to regain their colony; on Swedish diplomatic efforts with the Dutch see *DRCHNY*, 2:238–42, 246–47.

a flurry of action in Sweden's diplomatic corps. Representatives at The Hague and in London "were instructed to correspond with one another and do their best at their respective courts to obtain redress." Sweden's ambassador in England pressed Sweden's right to the colony, but "was answered that England got the colony through conquest and treaty; it was now too late to change the result." A letter prompting such a flurry of activity must have come from a person of some significance. Few Swedish colonists had enough education to write.[11]

Additional evidence on the colonial side underscores the possible link between the so-called Königsmark's deeds on the Delaware and the Swedish government's efforts to reclaim the colony. After the Long Swede was arrested in September 1669, English officials found three "Copyes Two of them subscribed Coningsmark ye other Armgart Prins." Armegot Printz was a major landholder and the daughter of Johan Printz, who had been governor of New Sweden from 1643 to 1653. The only Swede of noble family to remain in America after the Dutch conquest, she was the colonist of highest status in the Delaware Valley. She was also one of the only colonial Swedes who could write. Another was the minister Lars Carlsson Lock, who was also implicated in the affair. Exactly what Printz did or wrote is unclear, but her involvement "in so unworthy a designe" was enough to upset New York's governor, Francis Lovelace. As he put it, "though what she hath Comitted was not of any dangerous Consequence, yet it was a demonstration of their Inclynation & temper to advance a strange power & a manifestation of her Ingratitude for all those Indulgences & fauours she hath received from those in Authority over her." Nonetheless, as historian Susan Klepp notes, "she suffered no consequences; she was too powerful and well-connected."[12]

[11] Johnson, *Swedish Settlements*, 655. Transcriptions in the original German, Latin, French, and Swedish of this correspondence can be found in the Amandus Johnson Papers and the Joseph J. Mickley Swedish Manuscripts at The Historical Society of Pennsylvania. My review of the documents confirms that 1669 marked a high point in Sweden's justification of its claim to the colony. John A. Munroe, *Colonial Delaware: A History* (Millwood, NY, 1978), 67–68, writes that the Long Swede spread "fanciful tales of Swedish warships being on their way to the Delaware," which he calls "wholly chimerical." This overstates the case against New Sweden's potential liberation. Jeannette Eckman, *Crane Hook on the Delaware, 1667–1699: An Early Swedish Lutheran Church and Community with the Historical Background of the Delaware River Valley* (Newark, DE, 1958), 53–54, notes that "if the upstart Long Finn or Long Swede had come recently from Sweden in 1669, he may have known that Sweden was still making efforts to regain New Sweden."

[12] *DRCHNY*, 12:465–66. Susan E. Klepp, "Encounter and Experiment: The Colonial Period," in *Pennsylvania: A History of the Commonwealth*, ed. Randall M. Miller and William Pencak (University Park, PA, 2002), 60, provides a useful brief biography of Armegot Printz (ca.1627–after 1676), which mistakenly claims that the Long Swede was attempting "to overthrow Dutch rule."

The Sources

Since very little actually happened—no one was killed, no colony lost or gained—the contemporary records are scarce. Virtually all derive from New York officials' efforts to prosecute what they saw as an offense of "heinous & high Nature." None come directly from Königsmark or his supporters.[13] It is impossible to know what would or could have happened if the Long Swede had not been caught and put on trial. There is even the possibility that English anxiety about their tenuous position on the Delaware created a dangerous conspiracy where none actually existed. After all, our only contemporary sources come from the English authorities, not the Scandinavian colonists. But believing a conquering fleet might suddenly appear on the horizon was no irrational paranoia in colonial America. It remained a fact of life up through the American Revolution, especially for New Yorkers. There is reason to believe that there was something behind the accusations.

Our main source of information is the correspondence of Governor Francis Lovelace and his council, based on Manhattan. They responded to (now lost) reports sent from the Delaware and refer to yet more documents generated by the affair that can no longer be found. For example, in addition to the intercepted letters from Königsmark and Armegot Printz, depositions were taken from a number of colonists as soon as the self-proclaimed Königsmark was arrested. A petition from "diuers of the Inhabitants at Delaware in ye behalf of those that Joyned wth ye Long Finne" was sent to Lovelace along with a letter from a "Mr. Cousturiers," but Lovelace took "little notice" of them and evidently did not keep them on file. Nor is there an account of the actual trial and related testimony. What do survive are: a copy of the commission for the trial; a curious document outlining how the trial should be held; a discussion of the penalty to be imposed; and a final council minute noting that the "Long ffinne called Marcus Jacobsen was by warr[an]t put on board Mr Cosseaus Ship called ye Fort Albany to be Transported & sould at ye Barbadoes according to ye sentence of Court at Delaware for his attempting rebellion." With that, the contemporary documents related to the revolt cease.[14]

To get at what lay behind the revolt, we must rely upon several lists

[13] *DRCHNY*, 12:465.
[14] *DRCHNY*, 12:464, 466, 472.

composed at some point between 1669 and 1675, though it is hard to say exactly when or how. Two refer to colonists fined for their involvement with the Long Swede. These lists are imperfect. Both contain names not on the other list. One is entitled a "list of inhabitants that was confederets with the Long ffin and had the marke and their fines," but does not explain what the mark was, how they got it, or how their fines were determined. The other, evidently later, document is simply entitled a "liste of the fines about the Rebellion of the Long Finne," with the emphasis on the money gathered rather than the people involved. Written by English and Dutch magistrates who had difficulty transcribing Swedish names, both lists include nothing more than an individual's name and fine. From the amount imposed, one can presume the level of each person's involvement—a rather sketchy measure of a movement. A related list of "Charges about the Long Fin" seems to describe reimbursement for services rendered by those who were instrumental in suppressing the revolt. Again, it is just a list of names and numbers. Nonetheless, when combined and integrated with the excellent genealogical research work of Peter Stebbins Craig, these documents allow us to outline the revolt's social and political character.[15]

A final source provides a unique local and Swedish-language perspective. It is an oral tradition, preserved by the colonial community for roughly one hundred years before it was finally transcribed. A rare window into colonial Swedish folk culture, it is reprinted here as an appendix. The as yet unknown author was probably one of the Swedish Lutheran missionaries sent over to minister to the colonists in the eighteenth century. He evidently read about the Long Swede in Acrelius's 1759 *History of New Sweden* then asked some of the "oldest Swedes" to give him "the details of its nature." The account is not a perfectly reliable source of information. It is filtered through several generations of experience and conveys the point of view of those who did not join in the revolt. A note in the margin dates the events to 1683—the year after William Penn arrived in America. At one point the tale claims the rebels went to Philadelphia to buy weapons and supplies. But of course in 1669 Philadelphia was not even a glimmer in William Penn's eye. It could well be that other details are transpositions or conflations of people and events from the hundred

[15] The lists are reprinted in *DRCHNY*, 12:469–71; the genealogical works are Peter Stebbins Craig, *The 1693 Census of the Swedes on the Delaware: Family Histories of the Swedish Lutheran Church Members Residing in Pennsylvania, Delaware, West New Jersey and Cecil County, Maryland, 1638–1693* (Winter Park, FL, 1993), and Craig, *1671 Census*.

years or so between 1669 and when the tradition was written down. Nonetheless, other elements ring true with the contemporary record. When used cautiously, it helps round out the scattered facts. More importantly, it provides an insider's version of the Swedes' troubled accommodation to English rule.

The Long Swede

There is no direct evidence to explain how, why, or when the mysterious man known as Königsmark appeared on the Delaware. Did Armegot Printz write a letter to Sweden sometime in 1668 asking for help? Did the Swedish government respond by sending out an agent to stir things up? This scenario cannot be proved, but to a number of colonists in 1669 something along these lines seemed quite plausible. He evidently was not one of the original colonists of New Sweden, for he does not seem to have made his presence felt much before the winter of 1668–69. So where did he come from?

Perhaps the Atlantic world somehow washed him up onto the shores of the Delaware in about 1668. He may have entered the settlements and begun traveling from farm to farm, perhaps as a laborer whose great stature made a strong impression. Catching a whiff of discontent among his former countrymen, or just looking for a chance at glory, or then again perhaps "instigated by the devill" (as the magistrates charged) to exploit their hopes and fears, he soon began to spin his tale of redemption and restoration.[16] If so, he would not have been the only Swede driven by a perverse fortune to the Delaware Valley in the years after New Sweden's conquest.

The oral tradition is the only source that describes how the Long Swede came to America. While it does not remember him as an aristocrat, it does give him a Swedish, not (like other sources) a Finnish, ancestry. According to the legend, he was "by birth Swedish, but he had committed some crime in England, and was sent to Maryland, to serve as a slave there for several years. He ran away from there and came to the Swedes in New Sweden, who then lived under an English government." Once there, he began to tell his tale of being "descended from a great and royal family in Sweden," namely the Königsmarks.[17]

[16] *DRCHNY*, 12:468.

[17] "Berättelse om Uprorsmakeren den falska Köningsmark i Nya Sverige," in Joseph J. Mickley Swedish Manuscripts, 1636–1811, folder "Transcriptions in uncertain order (a-m?)," Historical

There are eerie echoes of this story in the tragic experience of a young Swedish student named Charles Springer. In the summer of 1683 the twenty-five-year-old Springer walked into the Swedish settlements on the Delaware with an extraordinary story, which he wrote down in a letter to his mother ten years later. Born in Sweden to a family of royal officials, he had embarked on a rigorous program of study abroad, first in Riga then in London, where he learned English and mathematics. By 1678 he was ready to return home. Alas he was "kidnapped" instead. As he wrote, "against my will I was carried to America, in the West Indies, to Virginia," where he was "sold off like a farm animal" and forced to work for five years "in very slavery." Finishing his service, he happened to hear "that there were Swedes at Delaware River, in *Pensellvenia*, which formerly under the Swedish rule, was called Nya Swerige [New Sweden]." After traveling "about four hundred miles" he finally "beheld the Old Swedes, and they received [him] very kindly." He became a leader in the church, married a young woman, bought some land, and served as a local judge and community leader for the rest of his long life.[18]

The overlap between Springer's experience and the alleged origins of the Long Swede suggests that aspects of the two may have been fused in the colonists' collective memory. Perhaps the Long Swede had been sent to the Chesapeake as a servant. Springer's experience proves that it was possible, though Springer was a well-born Swede, not a fugitive Finn. It would be rather extraordinary if both men shared such a misfortune. After all, there were not many Swedes, and far fewer Finns, wandering about seventeenth-century England.

Another possibility, especially if the so-called Königsmark was really Finnish, is that he was one of the almost 300 Finns who arrived in the years after the Dutch conquest. A small chain migration had begun among Finns in the 1650s. It continued despite the loss of Swedish sovereignty. Almost 100 arrived in 1656. Though they had left before news of the Dutch conquest had reached Sweden, they decided to stay on anyway. The following year a Finn wrote his brother back in Scandinavia, encouraging him to migrate. His brother arrived via Amsterdam in 1664, along with about 140 other Finns. The English conquest of that year was no more of a deterrent than the Dutch one had been. The Finns stayed.

Society of Pennsylvania, my translation, hereafter cited as "Berättelse." My transcription of the Swedish is reproduced in Appendix B.

[18] Charles Springer to Beata Salina, June 1, 1693, in Craig, *1693 Census*, 163–64, bracketed New Sweden in Craig. A brief biography of Springer is in Craig, *1693 Census*, 107–8.

Fourteen years later, in 1678, a Finnish farmer in Sweden could still sell his land in hopes of getting money to move to America. Somewhere in this postconquest stream of migrants could have been a man who eventually revealed himself to be a Königsmark.[19] But if he had arrived in 1656 or even 1664, why would he wait so long to reveal his identity and his mission?

The Plot

Finn or Swede, free immigrant or bound servant, Königsmark leaps out in the summer of 1669 from an otherwise drab set of documents recording land patents. But he is not actually the initial focus of events. Instead, he is mentioned in an August 2 proclamation by Governor Francis Lovelace directed at a Finn by the name of Hendrick Andersson Kolman. Kolman was "associated" with "a certaine Swede at Delaware who giues himselfe out to bee Sonne to Coninckxmarke heretofore one of ye King of Swedens Genell or Genell Officers."[20] But it was Kolman who seems to have made New York officials really worry.

The ostensible Königsmark was apparently going "up & downe from one place to another frequently raising speeches very seditious & false tending to ye disturbance of his Ma[jes]ties peace and ye Lawes of ye Govermnt." Officials either did not know or deemed irrelevant Königsmark's identity, origins, and place in the community. Kolman, on the other hand, they identified as "one of ye Fins & an Inhabitant at Delaware." He had a "habitation Cattle & Corne," which he abandoned to "runne aft[e]r" Königsmark. Evidently Kolman helped him to hide from the authorities. Kolman was "well verst in ye Indian language," and they thought he had taken Königsmark to live with what were probably the valley's Lenapes, who still retained enough autonomy and power to be considered a threat into the 1670s. The authorities feared that the two men and their Lenape allies would "watch some opportunity to do mischiefe to" Kolman's neighbors "by killing their cattle, if not worse." Kolman lived at Kingsessing, just inland from the old New Sweden settlement on Tinicum Island, between today's Chester and Philadelphia. Lovelace's warrant ordered that Kolman surrender himself within fifteen

[19] Jordan and Kaups, *American Backwoods Frontier*, 55–56; Johnson, *Swedish Settlements*, 2:650–53.

[20] *DRCHNY*, 12:463.

days or have his estate seized.[21]

Though Kolman and Königsmark were soon caught, their sojourn among the Lenapes may have had some effect. Several months later, in the winter of 1670, a score of Lenapes visited two Swedes who had not supported Königsmark. The Lenapes told the colonists they would do them no harm, "but for the English and all new Castll thay would kill man woman and Child and burne the howll plase." The attack never came, but the English magistrates remained very nervous for quite some time thereafter. To the authorities, well-informed about European events as they were, an Indian massacre, such as what had happened in Virginia in 1622, seemed to be more of a real threat than a sudden Swedish attack in peacetime. But to the Scandinavian colonists things looked different. They pinned their hopes for political liberation on their king, not the Lenapes.[22]

By August 1669, Königsmark probably had been in the colony for a number of months, but no more than a year. The authorities on the Delaware had evidently been trying to arrest Kolman for several weeks before then, for Governor Lovelace's proclamation noted that they had "already according to yor duty sett forth yor warr[an]t to apprehend him but he cannot yett be met withall." Given that it took several days for news to pass back and forth from the Delaware to the Hudson, and often longer before officials took decisive actions, Königsmark must have been spreading his story for some time before June/July 1669, when the local authorities probably took out their warrant for Kolman. The oral tradition claims that Swedes "hid that so-called Königsmark among themselves a long time, so that no one knew about him. They supplied him with the best food and drink they had, so that he lived mighty well."[23] If it is true that it was a while before the authorities even knew about the man, and then he was in hiding for a while after they decided he was a threat, Königsmark had probably been active in the area since sometime in the winter of 1668–69. Certainly it would be difficult to make a case that he

[21] *DRCHNY*, 12:463–64. Craig, *1693 Census*, 76; Craig, *1671 Census*, 24, suggests he was the son of Anders Hendricksson, a freeman who arrived in 1654.

[22] The Swedes were Anders Andersson, known as "Anders the Finn," and his son Justa Andersson. Anders had been among the freemen protesting Governor Printz's rule in 1653, so his allegiances undoubtedly lay more with the "better Swedes" than Königsmark's confederates. *DRCHNY*, 12:463–64, 469, 470; Craig, *1693 Census*, 76, 109–10; Craig, *1671 Census*, 24; Charles Gehring, ed., *Delaware Papers (English Period): A Collection of Documents Pertaining to the Regulation of Affairs on the Delaware, 1664–1682* (Baltimore, 1977), 19.

[23] *DRCHNY*, 12:463; "Berättlse," Joseph M. Mickley Swedish Manuscripts.

was operating much earlier than the fall of 1668.

Königsmark's message was simple and consistent. It can be pieced together from the prosecution records, which accord with what later generations of Swedes recalled. One official claimed that he "pretended an Expectacon of some Swedish Ships to come and reduce that place." Authorities accused him of conspiring and attempting "to invade by force of armes this Government" and encouraging or compelling colonists "to betray their allegiance to his Ma[jes]tie the King of England, persuading them to revolt & adhere to a forraign prince, that is to say, to The King of Sweden." The oral tradition noted his claim that he "descended from a great and very noble family in Sweden: that their name was Königsmark." It preserved his promise "that a Swedish war fleet was lying outside of the bay there, and when it came it would take the country back from the English." He then explained that he had been sent to "encourage the Swedes who lived here to throw off the foreign yoke." When the fleet appeared they were "to fall upon and strike the English dead."[24]

The Long Swede evidently delivered his message in a carefully rehearsed way at several "times & places." His method was to call in a number of colonists, mostly but not exclusively male (one widow is directly implicated as a confederate), usually but not only heads of households (a number of young, unmarried men are also implicated), for a dinner party or, as the authorities called them, "Rioutous, Routous & Vnlawfull Assemblyes."[25] The oral history takes us into what these gatherings may have been like. It recounts the final feast held before he was caught. Königsmark "had the Swedes called together for a dinner," where food and more importantly drink were in good supply. He then waited until "they had drunk a bit" before urging "them to throw off the yoke, reminding them how they suffered from the English, and how they, partly by treachery, partly by force took from them one big piece of land after another." He concluded by asking them "if they held with the King of Sweden or the King of England?" A number of the assembled Swedes, under the heady influence of drink and patriotic nostalgia, "immediately declared themselves for the King of Sweden."[26]

[24] *DRCHNY*, 3:186; *DRCHNY*, 12:468; "Berättlse," Joseph J. Mickley Swedish Manuscripts.
[25] *DRCHNY*, 3:186; 12:468.
[26] "Berättelse," Joseph J.Mickley Swedish Manuscripts.

The Confederates

Who drank those toasts to the king of Sweden? The confederates, as the magistrates called them, were mostly subsistence farmers living in scattered homesteads. Some, no doubt those recognized as ringleaders, took turns hosting Königsmark and his feasts. The prosecutors made a persistent distinction between the Long Swede, the ringleaders, and the rest. Later traditions often remembered them as Finns, or Swedes of a lesser sort. As Acrelius noted in the eighteenth century, when "Königsmark came among the Swedes" he "found many followers, especially among the Finns." Combined with several contemporary descriptions that label the Long Swede the Long Finn, historians have presumed that the revolt was primarily a manifestation of some sort of ethnic discontent and mobilization.[27]

Ethnicity did matter to the colonists but it is difficult to say how. Throughout New Sweden's records, certain individuals are distinguished as "the Finn" or as a Swede. Unfortunately, the distinction was not made with the rigor we need to be as precise about colonial ethnicity as we might wish. For example, when Swedish governor Johan Rising replaced Governor Printz in 1654, he praised the seventy "Swedes" (some of whom were Finns) already living on the Delaware as better colonists than the new arrivals, "a good part of them lazy and unwilling Finns."[28]

Seventeenth-century Finns and Swedes were not as separate from one another as they would be later. What is today Finland was then part of Sweden and had been for some time. Though they spoke radically different languages, they shared a long (if occasionally contentious) history, a religion (Lutheranism), a monarch, and sometimes even the same names. Thus, when a group of freeman signed a petition protesting Governor Printz's rule in 1653, the name Hendrick Mattson was closely followed by that of another Hendrick Mattson, "Finn." Place of origin is of little help, as a number of ethnic Swedes lived in present-day Finland and a number of ethnic Finns lived in present-day Sweden. Some of the Swedes in New Sweden probably knew Finnish, while most if not all of the Finns certainly knew Swedish.[29] Historian and genealogist Peter Craig claims the term

[27] Acrelius, *History of New Sweden*, 116.

[28] "Report of Governor Johan Rising, 1654," in *Narratives of Early Pennsylvania, West New Jersey and Delaware, 1630–1707*, ed. Albert Cook Myers (New York, 1912), 149.

[29] When Swedish colonists wrote to Sweden in 1693 asking that new ministers be sent over, they explicitly asked for a Swede, noting that as "for a Finnish minister, we have had none. Neither do we

Finn "was restricted to persons whose primary language was Finnish." Language, not geography, was the deciding factor since "all of the 'Finns' who came to the Delaware came from provinces in present Sweden (principally Värmland) and bore Swedish names. Conversely, those settlers coming from Finland proper were Swedish-speaking and were *not* called Finns."[30]

At times it seems that the use of Finn and Swede on the postconquest Delaware has more of a political than an ethnic tinge. English authorities and later writers have given an ethnic twist to the colonists' politics that says more about their perceptions than the colonists' aspirations. In their descriptions of the confederates, New York's rulers variously referred to them as the "ordinary people," the "poor deluded sort," "diverse simple & ignorant People," and the "simpler sort."[31] They had every reason to play down the extent of their active involvement in the affair. But it is clear that these so-called Finns had a strong sense of their rights and dignity that kept the English authorities on edge for years. This became obvious six years after the Revolt of the Long Swede, in an incident known to local history as the Dike Mutiny.

In 1675 New Castle's court tried to force the surrounding Scandinavians to work on a dike belonging to the judge Hans Block, a Dutchman. The "Finns" (some of whom were Swedes) gathered in a rowdy, angry crowd and refused to do the work. Sheriff William Tom, who had helped prosecute Königsmark, snapped. In a desperate letter to the governor at Manhattan, he wrote that Swedes and Finns in general were "such a sort of people that must be kept vnder else they will rebell," but those on the Delaware were worse "as by instance the Long Fynne." How could the country be governed if "vpon every occasion there frenzicall braynes pleases" the "plebeian faccon" disputed the court's authority?[32] The conflation of Finnish identity and popular resistance in the minds of Tom and his fellow magistrates is clear.

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want [one], all of us, both Swedes and Finns, understanding the Swedish tongue." Craig, *1693 Census*, 160. Brackets are Craig's.

[30] Craig, *1693 Census*, 2, 9. On the Finnish migrations from (present-day) Finland to Sweden and then onto America, see Per Martin Tvensberg, "Finns in Seventeenth-Century Sweden and Their Contributions to the New Sweden Colony," in *New Sweden in America*, ed. Carol E. Hoffecker et al. (Newark, DE, 1995), 279–90, and Juha Pentikäinen, "The Forest Finns and Transmitters of Finnish Culture from Savo via Central Scandinavia to Delaware," in *New Sweden in America*, ed. Hoffecker et al., 291–301.

[31] *DRCHNY*, 12:465, 466, 469.

[32] *DRCHNY*, 12:531–36.

Tom's years of service on the Delaware had not instilled in him a sense of confidence and authority. Quite the opposite. Unruly Finns called to his mind the most dangerous radicals known to seventeenth-century Europeans. He likened the "Long Fynne" to "Mazinello" (Tomasso Aniello, a fishmonger who headed the people of Naples's revolt against Spanish rule in 1647), "John of Leyden" (the Anabaptist leader of the revolutionary takeover of Munster, Germany, in 1534), "Jack Cade" (leader of a 1450 peasant revolt), "Wat Tyler" (leader of the Great Peasant Revolt of 1381), and "the De Witts" (leaders of the Republican Dutch). Governing the Finnish-dominated Delaware seems to have been an English monarchist's nightmare. As another Englishman later noted about the Dike Mutiny, "if the Fins had been drunk, no good would have come of it."[33]

Finns made up the majority of the dike mutineers and the majority of Königsmark's followers. But they made up a majority of the population as well. Over half of Königsmark's followers (at least twenty-one) were among the roughly 350 Swedes and Finns who arrived with the last two ships of colonists sent out from Sweden before the Dutch conquest: the *Eagle* (*Örnen*) in 1654 and the *Mercurius* in 1655. The *Eagle* brought New Sweden's last governor, Johan Rising, and about 250 settlers (mostly Finns) to the colony. This more than tripled the population of the colony, which had dwindled down to 70. The *Mercurius* arrived in March 1656 with ten Swedish officers, four Swedish women, and ninety-two Finns. Finding the colony in Dutch hands, a number of Swedes, especially the officers and officials, followed Rising and his (mostly Swedish) officials back to Sweden. Most of the settlers, including all of the Finns, stayed. Another 60 or so Swedes and Finns came to the Delaware in 1663–64. Only a few score Dutch immigrants had moved to the Delaware after the Dutch conquest. The English conquest brought even fewer demographic changes than the Dutch. Apart from some soldiers and officials, only a handful of English colonists had migrated in from Long Island and Maryland before 1669. When Königsmark made his rounds, Swedes and Finns remained the bulk of the colonial population on the Delaware, with Finns the greater part.[34]

[33] *DRCHNY*, 12:531, 535–36.

[34] Migration and population information comes from Craig, *1693 Census*, 1–4; Sten Carlsson, "The New Sweden Colonists, 1628–1656: Their Geographical and Social Background," in *New Sweden in America*, ed. Hoffecker et al., 171–87; Tvengsberg, "Finns in Seventeenth-Century Sweden," 284–86; Amandus Johnson, *The Swedes on the Delaware, 1638–1664* (Philadelphia, 1927), 359–77.

The Finns were a force to be reckoned with in the 1660s and 1670s because they were both the most numerous and the fastest growing ethnic group. Unlike the other immigrants, most Finns had come in family units. Finnish men arrived with wives, daughters, and sons. This gave them a degree of influence that many of the Swedes, Dutch, and English—who often arrived as single men—did not have. Finnish daughters could marry other colonists and bind them to the interests and influence of their Finnish patriarch. In this way they pulled a number of the single men who had arrived in the colony into their social, economic, and political orbit. Some of these were fellow Finns. But a number were Swedes, or Dutch, German, and English men who arrived with the succeeding waves of conquest.

For all the Finns' demographic importance, it is evident that families, not ethnicities, were the basic unit of action for the colonists. Among those who accepted Königsmark's story were fathers collaborating with sons and sons-in-law as well as brothers supporting brothers, most strikingly in the case of the three Nilsson brothers, Nils, Matthias, and Hendrick. Marriage ties also help explain why two confederates of the Long Swede had actually served with the Dutch army that had conquered New Sweden in 1655. Hans Peterson and Hans Hoffman both stayed on after the conquest and married local Scandinavian women. Hoffman's wife may have been Finnish, for he settled at the Finnish-dominated community of Marcus Hook. Peterson's wife's origins are uncertain. His (admittedly limited) involvement in the affair presumably came through his active participation in the Lutheran church at Crane Hook and his acquaintance with Johan Stalcop, with whom he shared a partnership in a nearby mill.[35]

Often the familial bond among Königsmark's followers went through a Finn, but not always. The case of the Swede Olof Thorsson indicates how complex the allocation of political loyalties could become in the effort to accommodate conquest after conquest, and how important kinship ties were in mediating the transitions. Olof Thorsson came to New Sweden in 1641 and settled in the area around Swanwyck (just below Crane Hook), where he attained some prominence. He was one of the few ethnically Swedish colonists who arrived with a Swedish wife and children. Having daughters allowed him to form alliances with several

[35] *DRCHNY*, 12:469, 470, 471; Craig, *1671 Census*, 24, 26 (Petersson), 34 (Hoffman); Craig, *1693 Census*, 75 (Petersson), 77 (Hoffman). The mill was on Skilpot Creek, a tributary of the Christina River.

layers of conquerors. Mary Thorsdotor married the prominent Dutch magistrate Hans Block, while Patronella Thorsdotor married the English commandant Captain John Carr. A third daughter married Matthias Eskilsson, brother of Lars Eskilsson, a confederate of the Long Swede. Olof's ties to the English and Dutch regimes did not prevent him and his sons Olof Ollesson and Lars Ollesson from becoming involved with the Long Swede, albeit at a relatively low level to judge by their fines. Did the Thorssons share in the grievances of the Long Swede's confederates, or were they hedging their bets, just in case a new regime came to power?[36]

The Ringleaders

Though his followers have often been characterized as basically a Finnish mob, Königsmark had the backing of Swedish elites, though not those tied to the English courts. Königsmark's followers had close ties to the church and the most important governor of New Sweden, Johan Printz. Armegot Printz's role was undoubtedly significant, though shadowy. More discernable is that of the Swedish Lutheran minister Lars Carlsson Lock. Governor Lovelace blamed him for playing the "Trumpeter to this disorder." The fifty-seven-year-old Lock was a Swede married to a sixteen-year-old woman reputed to be the first Swedish girl born in America (his first wife had run away with another man). He had no direct ties to the Finnish community, apart from being their pastor—but in 1669 he was the pastor of everyone in the colony, not just the Finns or the followers of Königsmark. The only minister of any sort on the Delaware between 1655 and 1671, when a German Lutheran minister by the name of Jacob Fabritius arrived, Lock preached alternate Sundays in the two churches at Crane Hook and Tinicum Island. It is highly unlikely that religious persecution drove Lock to wish the English away. The Dutch had kept him on a tight leash and restricted his movements. The English did not, leaving him to tend to his flock unmolested.[37]

[36] *DRCHNY*, 12:469, 470; Craig, *1671 Census*, 37–38, 49–50, 55; Craig, *1693 Census*, 119, 150–51.

[37] *DRCHNY*, 12:466. Lovelace does not mention the minister by name, referring only to the "Little Domine." *DRCHNY*'s editor Berthold Fernow supposes it was Magister Fabritius, the Dutch minister, but Fabritius did not even move to the Delaware until 1671. Craig, *1693 Census*, 73–74, discusses Lock and his family. For more on the religious situation of the Delaware in this period, see Evan Haefeli "The Pennsylvania Difference: Religious Diversity on the Delaware before 1683," *Early American Studies* 1 (spring 2003): 28–60.

Minister Lock's position allowed him to spread the word and perhaps give it God's blessing. Armegot Printz also gave Königsmark some sort of endorsement. Together, these vestiges of the Swedish church and state somehow supported the idea of returning the Delaware to Sweden. The rest of the movement's leadership, those willing and able to mobilize the muscle, can be sketched out from the fines and the fragmentary references in the correspondence. In many regards, their lives are not noticeably different from those Scandinavians who opposed them. The most remarkable factor uniting them is their political attachment to the promise of New Sweden, indicating that the confederacy around Königsmark was above all a political movement, not just the resentful outburst of a Finnish mob.

Five men stand out from the records as important backers of Königsmark's message. Two of them were unquestionably Swedes: Johan Andersson Stalcop and Jöns Gustafsson. Their experiences mirrored those who historian Amandus Johnson called the "better Swedes," the men who collaborated with the English authorities and opposed the Long Swede. Stalcop was among the most senior of the colonists, having arrived in the early 1640s before the larger Finnish-dominated immigrant stream of the 1650s and 1660s. Like the "better Swede" Israel Helm, Stalcop arrived in America as a boy with no special privileges. Governor Lovelace considered him the "Chiefe ffomenter as well as an Actor in this by them intended Tragedy." Jöns Gustafsson had been transported to the Delaware as an adult for crimes committed in Sweden, just like several other Swedish colonists, including the "better Swede" Peter Cock. Stalcop lived at Christina. He was the son-in-law of the Finn Carl Jönsson, who was punished with a medium-sized fine. Jöns Gustafsson was Carl Jönsson's neighbor at Marcus Hook, a largely Finnish community, and had a Finnish wife. Stalcop and Gustafsson received some of the highest fines for their involvement with the Long Swede.[38]

Three other men, most if not all Finns, were also heavily implicated. The first was Hendrick Kolman, the Finn who helped Königsmark get by among the Lenapes. The next, Olof Fransson, was a neighbor of Kolman's. Born in Sweden but possibly a Finn, he had arrived in 1654 as a freeman. Since Fransson and Johan Stalcop received the heaviest fines,

[38] For Stalcop: *DRCHNY*, 12:466, 469, 470; Craig, *1671 Census*, 40; Craig, *1693 Census*, 90–91. For Carl Jönsson: *DRCHNY*, 12:471; Craig, *1671 Census*, 35; Craig, *1693 Census*, 91–92. For Jöns Gustafsson: *DRCHNY*, 12:469, 471; Craig, *1671 Census*, 34; Craig, *1693 Census*, 76–77, 83.

they probably played parallel roles in securing the support of colonists. Fransson would have done this in the northern reaches of settlement where he lived (Kingsessing, Moyamensing, and Ammansland) much as Stalcop could have further south. The identity of the third man, listed as Heer Lars, is less certain. The most likely candidate appears to be Hendrick Larsson, alias Corvhorn (Sausage Horn), a Finn who arrived as a soldier in 1654.[39]

Hendrick Larsson Corvhorn's probable involvement points to yet another important element in the story. Several of the confederates were ex-soldiers with an ambivalent relationship to Swedish authorities. In the days of Swedish rule, military morale had often been a problem—several soldiers, including Hendrick's brother Paul (Pål), deserted to the English colony of Maryland before the Dutch conquest. They were not necessarily unwilling to stand up for their country—indeed Paul returned from Maryland after the conquest to be counted as one of the Long Swede's confederates. Their complaints had more to do with the harsh discipline and questionable leadership exercised by New Sweden's officers than with any desire to escape Swedish sovereignty.[40]

All in all, the Dutch conquest had been a humiliating affair. New Sweden's leaders displayed plenty of bad judgment and remarkable brutality towards their own soldiers. The conquest's only casualty was a Swedish soldier shot dead by one of his own officers while trying to desert. The decisive moment came when the Dutch ships had sailed past the Swedish Fort Trinity (later rechristened New Castle) without a shot being fired. Apparently believing the Dutch might want to parley, the Swedish commander, Sven Skute (a Finn), had refused to fire on them despite the urgings of his officers, including Johan Stalcop (a Swede). After sailing past the Swedish fort, the Dutch landed and set up their siege works. Morale among the Swedish soldiers plummeted. Several deserted, others showed little willingness to fight the more numerous and better-armed Dutch now that they had lost the advantage. New Sweden's commanders decided the cause was hopeless and soon capitulated after hardly firing a shot.[41]

[39] *DRCHNY*, 12:469, 470, 471; Craig, *1671 Census*, 24 (Olof), 46 (Hendrick); Craig, *1693 Census*, 132–33 (Hendrick), 140 (Olof).

[40] For Paul, see *DRCHNY*, 12:470; Craig, *1671 Census*, 35; Craig, *1693 Census*, 81–82.

[41] For Skute, see Craig, *1671 Census*, 26–27, and *1693 Census*, 44. For the conquest, see Johnson, *Swedes on the Delaware*, 311–35.

In 1655 Johan Stalcop had been a young artilleryman and proud of it. He had joined the army when he came of age, after working several years as a farmhand. Stalcop is an English rendering of the Swedish *Stålkofta*, steel jacket. Johan proudly assumed the nickname after enlisting. Evidently a capable youth, he soon gained the prestigious position of gunner. When the Dutch ships sailed past Fort Trinity he had stood helplessly with a lit match next to a loaded cannon, watching and waiting in vain for the order to fire.[42]

Several other future confederates had also been soldiers in the fort with Stalcop. Hendrick Larsson Corvhorn was one. Two others were Simon Johansson and Johan Mattsson Skrika, both Finns. It is possible that some of the other confederates who cannot be readily identified had also been Swedish soldiers at some point. For these men, the Dutch conquest had been a very personal, frustrating experience.[43]

The Conspiracy

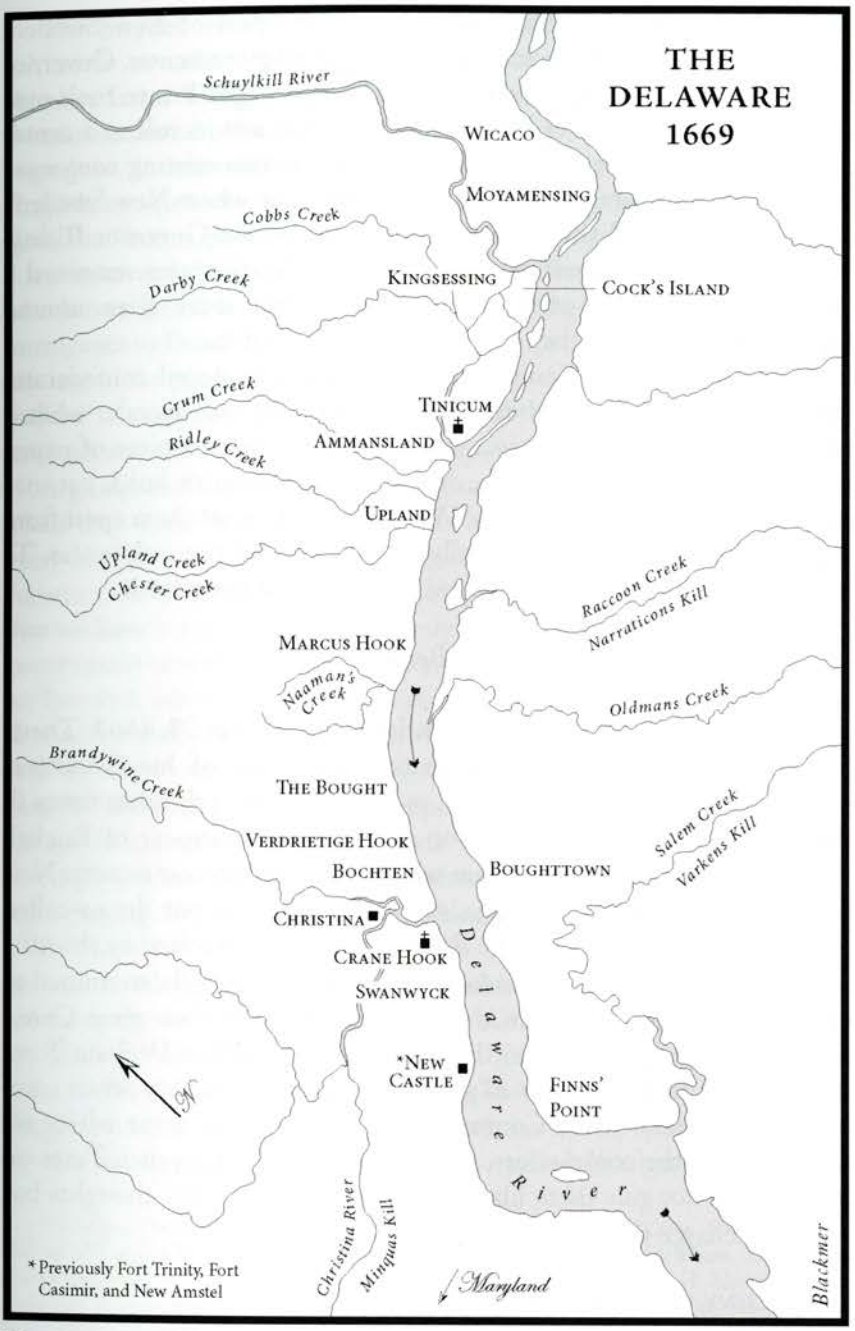
Königsmark moved from homestead to homestead, gathering together trusted associates. There are striking patterns of residence among those who did and did not support him. He knew where he could hold his feasts and elicit claims of loyalty and where not. In 1669 everyone lived on the west bank of the Delaware, mostly scattered up and down the river in individual homesteads. Life revolved around four different centers: Tinicum, Crane Hook, Upland, and New Castle. Only after the "uproar" (and perhaps in part because of it) would colonists begin to settle permanently in what is now New Jersey.[44] Most of Königsmark's supporters lived near the first two settlements.

Königsmark confederates lived in the traditional heart of New Sweden, but concentrated in Crane Hook and Tinicum, not the new areas

[42] For Stalcop's actions during the siege of Fort Trinity, see C. A. Weslager, "A Ruse de Guerre—and the Fall of New Sweden," *Delaware History* 23 (1988): 8–10, 13–14.

[43] *DRCHNY*, 12:469, 470; Craig, *1671 Census*, 49 (Skrika), 50 (Johansson); Craig, *1693 Census*, 124–25 (Skrika), 127–28 (Johansson).

[44] While Königsmark's older confederates seem to have stayed where they were, a number, particularly of the younger men, left their homes soon after paying their fines. Virtually all of those who left seem to have deliberately moved out of New York's jurisdiction. Most moved east across the river after the new colony of East Jersey was established in 1675. They built settlements at Finns Point, Boughttown, Raccoon Creek, and Oldmans Creek. A few gathered together across the border in Maryland at Sahaktiko, by Head of Elk. Others transferred their homesteads to neighborhoods dominated by Finns and fellow confederates at Marcus Hook and the Bought. They seem to have made a point of avoiding the area around Wicaco where the "better Swedes" lived.



Map by Kate Blackmer.

of development to the north and south. In the days of New Sweden, Tinicum had been a major administrative and religious center. Governor Printz had an estate there that his daughter Armegot Printz took over after he left in 1654. After the conquest Tinicum lost its role as a center of government, but its church housed one of the two existing congregations on the river. Crane Hook was near Christina, where New Sweden's center of gravity had shifted under Printz's successor, Governor Rising. After the Dutch conquest the Crane Hook-Christina area remained a cultural center. More of the confederates lived there than around Tinicum. In both areas they clustered around a church.

As the plot around Königsmark thickened, the alleged confederates created a mark to recognize each other by. We can only wonder what it would have been and how it was administered: perhaps a piece of paper, or a stain on the skin or a cloth, or maybe even a scar or knick cut into the flesh in some secret ceremony. Whatever it was, it set them apart from their neighbors. What they actually meant by it we can only guess. To their chagrin, the authorities noticed and punished them for it.

The Betrayal

The decisive moment came at Christina on August 28, 1669. There, perhaps at Stalcop's house, Königsmark held one of his "Rioutous, Routous & Vnlawfull Assemblyes," as he had "at severall other times & places before."[45] The conspiracy, or at least the resentment of English rule, was apparently betrayed from within the Swedish community. New York's secretary Matthias Nicolls, sent by Lovelace to put the so-called Long Finn on trial, claimed "the Ringleaders being surprized by the officers there, their designe was broken."[46] New York's council determined to write a "Letter of Thanks" to the "Officers there for their great Care," though it never specified who those officers were. While William Tom, the sheriff on the Delaware, had a hand in the matter, the key actors seem to have been "their owne Countrymen" who passed on some advice on how to handle the conspirators, namely "seuerity & laying such Taxes on them as may not giue them liberty to Entertaine any other thoughts but how to discharge them."[47]

[45] *DRCHNY*, 3:186; 12:468.
[46] *DRCHNY*, 3:186.
[47] *DRCHNY*, 12:464, 465, 467.

The Swedes who passed on the advice were undoubtedly Amandus Johnson's so-called "better Swedes." These men, Peter Cock, Peter Rambo, Israel Helm, Olof Stille, and Mats Hansson, had dominated Swedish colonial politics ever since 1655. They ran the Upland court and served as intermediaries between the Swedes and their Dutch and English conquerors. As spokespeople for the colonial Swedish population, the "better Swedes" are the ones who tend to show up in English documents and American histories. They were from cosmopolitan families who intermarried easily with the Dutch and English, impressing an early immigrant to Pennsylvania to observe that "most of the Sweads and Finns are ingenious people: they speak English, Swead, Finn, Dutch and the Indian." As agents and translators they and their sons negotiated Lenape land sales to the English, most famously for William Penn.[48]

A glimpse of the worldview of this small colonial elite comes in 1693, when they wrote to Sweden asking for new ministers (by then Lock had been dead for several years). They stressed their good relations with their current rulers, announcing "we all confess and proclaim and in truth say that we have been exceedingly and mighty well treated, both in the Dutch government as well as in his Majesty the King of England's time. . . . and we live with one another in peace and quietness." As Peter Rambo put it, "I may truthfully say that God has wonderfully preserved and shielded us and has shown a peculiar grace toward us in this heathenish land" (referring to "the Indians," not the Europeans).[49] While none of their names appear in the contemporary records relating to the Long Swede, the Swedish oral history credits one of them in particular, namely Peter Cock, with playing the decisive role in breaking the conspiracy.

By chance or design Peter Cock, "one of the foremost Swedes," was present at Königsmark's final feast, drinking and eating with his fellow colonists. After the pledge was made to the king of Sweden, Cock spoke up. He "said that because the country was English and surrendered by the King of Sweden to the crown, he thought it only right to hold with the King of England." Cock then ran out of the house, "slammed the door closed, and held it shut, so that the so-called Königsmark could not

[48] Johnson, "Swedes in Pennsylvania," 148, Amandus Johnson Papers; Craig, *1693 Census*, 4–6; "Letter of Thomas Paschall, 1683," in *Narratives of Early Pennsylvania*, ed. Myers, 252. On Lars Cock's important role as frontier diplomat in early Pennsylvania, see James H. Merrell, *Into the American Woods: Negotiators on the Pennsylvania Frontier* (New York, 1999), 62, 106–7.

[49] Church members to Johan Thelin, May 31, 1693, and Peter Gunnarsson Rambo to his sister, May 31, 1693, in Craig, *1693 Census*, 160, 161.

escape." At the same time Cock was "calling for help to capture him."

A power struggle ensued over the door to the cabin. Königsmark "worked with all his strength to get the door open." Cock "tried to prevent him by wounding his hand with a knife." Nonetheless, Königsmark "still managed to slip away." This is about as violent as the revolt ever got.

The Crack Down

Peter Cock did not capture the Long Swede. But he may have told the English authorities where to find him. As the legend has it, he "hurried to inform the English of what had happened" after Königsmark escaped from the cabin. The list of "Charges about the Long Fin" gives an indication of who actually went out and hunted him down. It is a mixture of English and Dutch men, as well as two Swedes, Nils Mattson and Nils Larsson Frände. Several were magistrates: Sheriff William Tom, Deputy Sheriff Michaell Barron, and Pieter Alrichs, a leading local merchant, landowner, and magistrate. Judging by his small recompense, Alrichs may have done little more than provide supplies. Most likely Sheriff Tom and Deputy Sheriff Barron led a posse made up of the handful of less distinguished men on the list, mostly former English and Dutch soldiers who had settled in New Castle (some may have been servants). One can imagine that there was some sort of struggle in the end that may have injured a few of the men or given them a greater hand in capturing Königsmark than others had, for they received much more money than the rest. But whether this was recompense or reward is left unsaid.[50]

They did not capture Königsmark alone. On September 15, Governor Lovelace congratulated his commandant on the Delaware River, Captain John Carr, for his "prudent & carefull management in circumventing & securing ye pryme Instigators of this comotion togethr wth ye chiefest of his Complices." Contemporary sources agree that the "Ringleaders" were "surprised," not just the Long Swede. Lovelace intended that these, the

[50] *DRCHNY*, 12:471; the soldiers/servants were John Henry, Jan Harmansen, Gysbert Dircksen, "Barnard the Smith" (possibly Barent Egge), Albert Johnson, and Mathias Conradus. Craig, *1671 Census*, 59, 60 (Barron), 63, 66 (Tom), 70, 71; Craig W. Horle et al., *Lawmaking and Legislators in Pennsylvania: A Biographical Dictionary* (Philadelphia, 1991–), 1:176–79 (Alrichs). Barron, Dircksen, Henry, Tom, and Mattson all received substantial sums of from 2,454 to 607 guilders. The rest were given between 100 and 235 guilders, suggesting a lesser degree of involvement.

"cheife of his Pack" should also suffer "condigne punishmt."[51] Who they were exactly is not clear, but they probably included Johan Stalcop, Hendrick Kolman, Olof Fransson, Jöns Gustaffsson, and Hendrick Larsson Corvhorn.

Authorities took the prisoners to New Castle, where Lovelace ordered the "Long Swede" to be held "in Custody & in Irons untill he can haue his Tryall." As for those of the "first magnitude concerned wth him," he let the local officials decide whether to "secure them by imprisonment or by taking such caution for them to Answer what shall be alleadged & proued against them." It seems that most were soon let off on bail of some sort, though some may have sat in prison for a while. Lovelace insisted that Johan Stalcop "be secured in like manner as the Long Sweed," and as late as November 21 he expected other "persons" might still be "in hold upon this Occasion."[52]

Shortly after the so-called ringleaders were captured, a petition was circulated "in ye behalf of those that Joyned wth ye Long Finne." Given how few colonists could write, let alone in English, it seems that some of the Swedes persuaded some member of the Anglo-Dutch elite to draw it up, possibly the "Mr. Cousturiers" who enclosed the petition along with a letter of his own to the governor. Lovelace ignored the petition because it had not been forwarded to him from his commandant on the Delaware, Captain Carr. He then proceeded to punish the confederates. Lovelace followed his instinct for a relatively mild (as he considered it) repression. At first he thought they could be compelled "to labour sometymes in ye reparation of ye workes about ye Fort," but he settled on fining them "as they shall appear more or lesse guilty."[53]

The oral tradition remembered Lovelace's repression as severe. It claimed that the "Swedes who had let themselves be deceived by him [i.e. Königsmark] received the punishment of having half of what they owned in the way of land, cattle, goods, clothing, and other things taken from them." This accurately reflects the penalty of the chief leaders of the conspiracy, who were condemned to forfeit "the one halfe of their Goods & Chattells." But it overlooks the magistrates' sense that the problem went deeper and had to be treated with caution. In September, shortly after the Long Swede was captured, Captain Carr wrote Lovelace that "an

[51] *DRCHNY*, 12:465–67.
[52] *DRCHNY*, 12:465–67.
[53] *DRCHNY*, 12:466.

Insurrection is very much feared." The "Chiefe Actor" (Königsmark) was "in Hold," but the English were still anxious. In October Lovelace was concerned that the "ordinary people who he drew in" not "be too much frighted." This was not so much out of mercy than a fear that if the Long Swede were executed things could get out of hand. As the council explained, "in regard that many others being Concerned wth him in that Insurrection might be involved in the same Premunire if the rigour of the Law should be extended & amongst them diverse simple & ignorant People," the council deliberately chose moderation for fear of the unrest that a massive repression would cause. This reflects the relatively weak position of the English on the Delaware rather than Lovelace's penchant for altruism.[54]

Judgment

Königsmark's months of incarceration provide the setting for a curious incident preserved in the Swedish oral tradition. At some point, Peter Cock confronted the captive man saying, "you rogue, now tell me what is your name, because it is obvious you are not a nobleman at all? The imposter then replied that his real name was Marcus Jacobssen." Worse still, according to the tale, this man was "so stupid that he could neither read nor write."[55]

There is no contemporary evidence for this encounter. However, by January 1670 New York's council had settled on "Marcus Jacobs" or "Jacobsen" as the name for the man "commonly called ye Long Finne."[56] Perhaps this was his true identity, and maybe Peter Cock did elicit it during some sort of pretrial encounter. Ultimately, the anecdote reveals much about how later generations of Swedes imagined the event to have ended, making for them the important point that authenticity and authority were on their side, not his. The emphasis on Königsmark's lack of credentials and his deception justified their choice of staying loyal to the English rather than standing up for their native Swedish king. This reading is fur-

[54] "Berättelse," Joseph J. Mickley Swedish Manuscripts; Acrelius, *History of New Sweden*, 116; *DRCHNY*, 12:464–66, 469, 472. Praemunire refers to a statute of Richard II that prohibited the exercise of papal sovereignty within England. The pope was not named in the statute, thus it could be applied to any situation in which a subject acknowledged a sovereignty other than the monarch's. Punishment included loss of civil rights, land, goods and chattel, and indefinite imprisonment.

[55] "Berättelse," Joseph J.Mickley Swedish Manuscripts.

[56] *DRCHNY*, 12:472.

ther backed by the implication that Cock was a man of greater status and honesty than the "imposter" Marcus Jacobssen. But doubts remain. There is some evidence that the alleged Königsmark may actually have been able to write (the intercepted "copy" with his signature), and then there are all those puzzling aliases scattered through the records.

Meanwhile, the man called Königsmark did not give in without a struggle. Soon after his capture, probably in early October, he tried to escape. Apparently he joined forces with his fellow prisoner, a Native American man condemned to death for the rape of a colonial woman. The native man got away. Königsmark did not. He remained in prison until his trial.[57]

The so-called Königsmark was tried, convicted, and punished at New Castle on December 6, 1669. The document of his trial is actually the "Form of Holding the Court at the Fort of New Castle . . . For the Trial of the Long Finne and about the Late Insurrection." It is a step-by-step guide composed by the council at Manhattan for those who were to hold the trial. It is not an actual record of the trial itself. The form makes it clear, however, that the authorities had no doubt about Königsmark's guilt. In fact New York's council had decided back in October that the "Long ffinne deserves to dye," but since so many others were implicated, they settled for having him "publickly & severely whipt & stigmatiz'd or Branded in the fface with the Letter (R) with an Inscription written in great Letters & putt upon his Breast" as punishment for "Attempting Rebellion." Then he was to be sold into servitude in the "Barbadoes or some other of those remoter Plantations" as a "Servant" for the "space of Fower years or ye usuall tyme Servants are there sould at." He sat in prison until the New York Dutch merchant Jacques Cosseau took him to the Caribbean in January 1670. Whatever happened to him after that remains a mystery. The eighteenth-century Swedes remembered that he was branded and sold into "slavery" in Barbados and never heard from again.[58]

The Loyalists of 1669

In the end, less than a third of the available Swedes had been willing to stand up for their former king. Some probably sat on the fence, but

[57] *DRCHNY*, 12:466, 467.

[58] *DRCHNY*, 12:467, 469, 472; "Berättelse," Joseph J. Mickley Swedish Manuscripts.

others actively worked against the conspiracy. The oral tradition emphasizes Peter Cock's pivotal role, which is not directly documented but not implausible. The involvement of two lesser-known Swedes, Nils Mattson and Nils Larsson Frände, is directly documented. Included on the government's list of "Charges about the Long Fin," they evidently helped suppress the conspiracy, though the list offers no clues as to how. Perhaps they joined the posse that caught the Long Swede and his coconspirators. Or maybe they blew the whistle that the oral tradition later ascribed to Peter Cock? Mattson and Larsson were both neighbors of minister Lock in Upland. Larsson's house was the usual meeting place of the Upland court. He was granted a mere 100 guilders. Mattsson on the other hand received 607 guilders, the fourth highest of the eleven grants. He was not a wealthy man. He survived on the charity of the Wicaco church for the last four years of his life. His livelihood seems to have depended on loyal service to the authorities. Swedish governor Johan Rising had recognized him as "honest and intelligent." Perhaps in reward for his continued faithfulness, the "better Swedes" like Cock ensured that their church at Wicaco supported him in his final years. Did he suffer property damage, or lend material support to the investigation? One cannot help wondering if Mattsson's involvement, whatever it was, had something to do with the fact that his wife, Margaret, acquired a reputation as a witch around this time.[59]

What underlay the division between the rebels of 1669 and the loyalists? Residence patterns provide some indication. Königsmark's opponents were associated with the two English administrative centers of New Castle and Upland. New Castle, built on the site of the Dutch Fort Casimir, was primarily an Anglo-Dutch village. Upland remained a primarily Scandinavian community. Yet, while it had been the home of a court since the days of New Sweden, few of its magistrates still lived there. They had moved north to Wicaco (in today's South Philadelphia) in the years after the Dutch conquest.[60] The move took them away from the traditional heartland of New Sweden and the church at Tinicum, important centers of the Long Swede's support.

[59] *DRCHNY*, 12:471. The list is calendared as "Names of persons having demands against the Long Fin," *DRCHNY*, 12:xxxviii, suggesting reimbursement for damaged property, but the meaning is not entirely clear. Craig, *1671 Census*, 31; Craig, *1693 Census*, 69 (Mattsson), 84 (Larsson).

[60] The geographic and genealogical links between the many confederates can be traced in the various biographies available in Craig, *1671 Census*, and Craig, *1693 Census*, the latter of which contains excellent maps plotting all of the locations mentioned above.

There is little in terms of ethnicity, generation, immigrant experience, wealth, or religion that can easily account for the split in the Scandinavian community. The fundamental distinction was political, a deliberate choice of loyalties. But the division went beyond 1669 to an earlier conspiracy, this time against a Swedish governor. In 1653, twenty-two of the then seventy colonists signed a petition directed to the king of Sweden complaining that their governor, Johan Printz (Armegot's father), was abusing his power. All of them were freemen, not soldiers or servants. Together they made up over one-third of the population—before the mass arrival of Finns after 1654.[61] The consequences of this action would resonate on the Delaware for decades to come. Most of the "better Swedes," like Peter Cock whose loyalty to the English governor in 1669 proved so helpful, had been among those critical of the Swedish governor in 1653. With one notable exception, none of Königsmark's supporters signed the petition.

Governor Printz was not a man known for subtlety or diplomacy. His reaction to the 1653 petition turned the protest movement into a virtual revolt. He called the petitioners rebels and threatened to prosecute them. He blamed Olof Stille, along with minister Lock and a soldier named Anders Jönsson, who did not sign the petition, for instigating the affair. Jönsson was executed for treason on August 1, 1653. The frustrated and homesick Printz then returned to Sweden in October, leaving the colony in charge of Johan Papegoja, a Swedish officer married to his daughter Armegot. When a number of the petitioners took advantage of Printz's absence to try and flee the colony, Papegoja hired several Native American men to hunt them down. They killed two of the freemen, while another two made it to the Chesapeake. Three others found sanctuary in the Dutch Fort Casimir.[62]

Things had remained tense in New Sweden even after reinforcements arrived with Governor Rising in 1654. Soldiers and colonists continued to desert. Other colonists, probably some of the 1653 petitioners, asked New Netherland's governor Stuyvesant for permission to move into

[61] The petitioners were a mix of Swedes and Finns: Peter Cock, Peter Rambo, Olof Stille, Axel Stille, Mats Hansson, John Wheeler (an Englishman), Hendrick Matsson, Evert Hendricksson Ek, Anders Andersson, Mans Andersson, Olof Ericksson, Hendrick Mattsson, Valerious Loo, Hans Mansson, Peter Jochimsson, Sven Gunnarsson, Anders Hansson, Matts Hansson, Marten Martensson, Klas Johansson, Lars Thomasson Boore, and Johan Fisk.

[62] Craig, *1693 Census*, 3, suggests that the victims were Hendrick Mattsson the Swede and Matts Hansson. Anders Hansson and Valerious Loo made it to the Chesapeake, while Axel Stille, John Wheeler, and Mans Andersson made it to Fort Casimir.

Dutch territory (he refused). Governor Rising put Olof Stille and minister Lock on trial. Lock was let off and Stille released on bail, but Rising hoped to "put down the mutiny" with harsher sentences and asked that "an executioner with sword be sent here."[63]

Rising may have wanted to execute some of the petitioners, but for the time being he decided to work with them instead. He imposed an oath of loyalty, which many swore, and incorporated several of them into his government. He placed two of the petitioners, Peter Rambo and Matts Hansson, onto his council and appointed two more, Olof Stille and Peter Cock, as justices to the Upland court. The Dutch kept them on after the conquest. Thus began the careers of the "better Swedes."[64]

Though some of the "better Swedes" had made out comparatively well from their so-called rebellion, their relationship to Swedish authority must have been fraught. Some of their friends had been killed—thanks to Armegot Printz's father and husband—or exiled. They all had been denounced as rebels and maybe, if New Sweden had not been lost, others might have been condemned as such. They had complained in their petition that they were "at no hour or time secure as to life and property." In the end, it seems, they were more than happy to serve whoever was willing to give them that security, whether Swede, Dutch, or English.[65]

Königsmark's confederates are notable by their absence from the ranks of the 1653 protestors. Though a number were in the colony at the time and several were Swedes of similar status and experience, they remained loyal to Governor Printz. The one great exception is Evert Hendricksson Ek, a Finn, who was something of an exception in many ways. He had left a wife and son behind in Sweden when he came as a hired laborer in 1641. This fact did not prevent him from obtaining a second wife in the colony. Dutch and English courts tried to prosecute him for bigamy, apparently after his first wife and son came to join him, but he got dispensations from both "'for having twoo wyves.'" He had signed the 1653 protest, then Rising's oath of loyalty, but he lost his first land grant—to Nils Mattsson, the poor but loyal man who received such a large reimbursement for his role in opposing Königsmark. By 1663 Ek was accused of having an affair with the wife of another 1653 petitioner, Anders

[63] Quote in "Report of Governor Johan Rising, 1654," in *Narratives of Early Pennsylvania*, ed. Myers, 137. For other unrest, see "Report of Governor Johan Rising, 1655," in *Narratives of Early Pennsylvania*, ed. Myers, 157, and Johnson, *Swedish Settlements*, 497–501, 511–13.

[64] Craig, *1693 Census*, 3–4.

[65] Johnson, *Swedish Settlements*, 463.

Andersson the Finn, who complained that Ek "'daily commits acts of insolence before his . . . door by beating, shooting and other disorderly acts.'" Ek then moved south from Upland to Crane Hook, where he became a militia captain. Fined at the medium level of Königsmark's supporters, Ek also played a leading role in the 1675 Dike Mutiny. An important if controversial figure, Evert Hendricksson Ek is the exception that highlights the otherwise clear pattern of factional loyalty.[66]

The reactions to the Revolt of the Long Swede confirm that the "rebellion" of 1653 had drawn an enduring line across the colonial Scandinavian community. In 1653, some had chosen the defense of their property over allegiance to a Swedish governor—though they did so by appealing to their distant king. In 1669 the colonists confronted a similar choice. Again they divided along similar lines. Armegot Printz must have regarded the loyalists of 1653—those who supported her father and husband—with particular favor and supported their patriotic urgings in 1669. Minister Lock seems to have considered himself an advocate of sorts for his parishioners' complaints and got in trouble whenever they did, both in 1653 and 1669. The bitterness of 1653 did not go away until those who remembered New Sweden died out towards the end of the seventeenth century.

The political division eventually manifested itself in religious life. In 1677—after the back and forth of the Dutch reconquest—the Swedes at Wicaco got their own church. They politely but firmly swore off their old minister Lock and hired the German Lutheran Fabritius, setting up a separate parish for the first time in the Swedish colonial church. In a telling sign that there was little love lost between them and Lock, they made the man who had run off with Lock's first wife their parish clerk and schoolmaster.[67]

Causes?

Before closing, it would be worth meditating on why a conspiracy was uncovered on the Delaware in 1669. Could it have been an outbreak of governmental paranoia, something like the New York slave conspiracy scare of 1741, also prompted by a fear that a group of exploited colonists would rebel and join with an invading fleet to turn the colony over to a

[66] Craig, *1693 Census*, 2, 69, 108–9, 123–24.

[67] Craig, *1693 Census*, 73–74; Haefeli "Pennsylvania Difference," 47–49.

foreign power? No source since 1669 has ever doubted that a conspiracy existed at all, but at the same time since all we know of it comes from those who suppressed it (and benefited from that suppression), one could question whether a plot was afoot. At the same time, the desire for a Swedish restoration on the Delaware certainly existed in Sweden at the time. Perhaps this sentiment had somehow trickled across the Atlantic, in the person of the Long Swede or otherwise. Maybe a group of old soldiers had simply gathered for a nostalgic beer with the Long Swede, only to have their murmuring transformed into a full-blown conspiracy by men like Peter Cock who had staked their livelihood on collaborating with their conquerors. Though none of the "better Swedes" seem to have directly or materially benefited, the government they worked for did. And they clearly gained the confidence of the English governor, thus enhancing their local authority.

The fragile English government may have felt a need to punish even the faintest hint of discontent in an effort to shore up its limited authority on the Delaware. Additionally, the alleged insurrection provided it with a much-needed source of income. Governor Lovelace considered the fines he levied as an "Excuse" or pardon of sorts. His officers seem to have had other ideas. There is no record of any of the confederates being forced to work on the fort. But the investigative trip to the Delaware of the colony's secretary, Matthias Nicolls, was funded by some of the fines in May 1672. Not long afterwards Lovelace ordered the local magistrates to "have inspection into ye arrears of the quit-rents, the fines about the Long Finn, as also the taxes & rates for the keeping the high and low Courts in New Castle & Delaware River & all other public rates and taxes." He wanted to know "how and where they have been disposed of or in whose hands they are, and where any persons are in arrears to levy the same by distress." This order seems to be the origin of the second of the two lists of "fines about the Rebellion of the Long Finne." The English magistrates were squeezing the Scandinavians and wanted to make sure none of it went lost or forgotten. Even the Long Swede had been sold to the "best advantage" and the profits brought back to Manhattan.[68]

Maybe the event grew out of petty tensions within the Swedish community that otherwise go unmentioned in the documents? One of the "better Swedes," Israel Helm, dominated the fur trade among the upriver

[68] *DRCHNY*, 12:466, 470–72, 497, 501.

Swedes.[69] Could men like Hendrick Kolman who had the linguistic skills and contacts to be fur traders in their own right have resented their inability to trade freely? Were the freemen protestors of 1653 resented for their subsequent success? Did they lord it over those who had not supported them and did not adjust as well to foreign rule?

Could it have been a conflict about land? After all, the oral tradition remembers this was an important part of the Long Swede's appeal. He had noted how "they suffered from the English, and how they, partly by treachery, partly by force took from them one big piece of land after another." The English did not start buying up large amounts of Scandinavian lands until after Pennsylvania was established in the 1680s. Perhaps, here too, the eighteenth-century tradition merged various seventeenth-century difficulties into one story. But it is hard not to think that land, so often a source of colonial conflict, did not somehow form part of Königsmark's appeal.[70]

In the spring of 1669 English officials began to circulate, issuing patents, charging fees, and preparing lists of quitrents due. A number of future confederates of the Long Swede had their lands patented at this point. They acquiesced in the system but were not necessarily happy with it. Others did not seek out or obtain patents. On the same day Governor Lovelace first mentioned the Long Swede, August 2, 1669, he also directed Sheriff William Tom to collect quitrents from all landholders whether or not they had patents. The order complained that a number of colonists were "neglecting their duty therein" and "suppose[d] they are Exempt, the which would be very unjust and unreasonable."[71] It is hard to believe that the two were not somehow connected, though it is difficult to say exactly how. All of the colonists had to pay the quitrents. Some may have found this more obnoxious than others, perhaps kindling their nostalgia for Swedish rule just in time for the Long Swede's message.

Conclusion

Remembering the broader context of 1669 helps explain why a Swedish reconquest could be seen as plausible at that point in time, even

[69] Craig, *1693 Census*, 70.

[70] "Berättlse," Joseph J. Mickley Swedish Manuscripts.

[71] *DRCHNY*, 12:463, 464, 490–93 (list of quitrents due); Peter R. Christoph and Florence A. Christoph, eds., *Books of General Entries of the Colony of New York*, 2 vols. (Baltimore, 1982), 1:290–91.

if it cannot explain exactly what happened or why. Maybe, just maybe, the Long Swede was an agent of some sort of Swedish effort to regain its lost colony. But the definitive documentation has yet to be found. More likely the causes were local. And there were a number of points of tension which, when tied to the specter of reconquest, produced the repression of a revolt that could have been.

It is not clear just how much of a conspiracy against the governor there was in 1669. Probably not much more than there had been in 1653. But both occasions represent efforts of one group of Scandinavians to consolidate power over the rest. Whatever the justness of their cause, the petition and Printz's harsh repression divided the small colonial community. Tensions lingered for a generation. The turmoil of repeated foreign conquests overshadowed the split until 1669, when the Long Swede's arrival renewed the strife. Resentments emerged, hopes expressed, rumors spread, and some colonists were punished. At issue, in theory, was whether the Scandinavians should be loyal to the Swedish or the English king. In reality, the question was which group had the stronger claim to local domination.

Memories, personal associations, and political perceptions largely invisible in the existing records played the key role in determining who would be associated with the Long Swede and who would turn against him. Going by the lists of those fined, the accused confederates came from a cross section of colonial Swedish society. It was not a religious conflict of Lutherans rebelling against their non-Lutheran masters. Nor was it a class conflict. Rich and poor (both relative terms for the Delaware at this point) were found on both sides. Nor was it an ethnic conflict. Many of those who supported the Long Swede were indeed Finns. But since ethnic Finns made up a majority of the population in 1669, most of those who did not get involved were also Finns. And since many of the women in the colony were of Finnish extraction, intermarriage with Swedes was common, leaving mixed families on both sides of the political divide.

Whether or not the Revolt of the Long Swede was an actual plot to restore the Delaware to Sweden, the reactions to it remind us of two important aspects of colonial history. First, that conquest from overseas was a real fear, and that fear could be used to suppress all sorts of potential dissent. Second, if and when there was such dissent, it was couched in appeals to a distant king against local authorities. Until the American

Revolution ended this avenue of appeal, colonial fears, hopes, and aspirations turned on the possibility of royal intervention from across the ocean.

The Revolt of the Long Swede soon became an obscure footnote in the history of the Delaware for everyone but the Swedes. Eighteenth-century Swedish colonists preserved a memory of the event as evidence of their loyalty at a time of great temptation. In an important statement on what it meant to be a respectable Swede in Anglo-America, they wrote off those tempted as either Finns or particularly gullible Swedes. Legends, rumors, and whispers lingered on into the nineteenth century, inspiring James Kirke Paulding's (historically inaccurate) tale of courage and defiance. Twentieth-century scholars continued to point to the revolt as a test that the "better Swedes" passed in the course of the gradual assimilation process that turned New Swedes into Americans. The once powerful tie to Sweden was lost. And the Long Swede became a Long Finn.

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Appendix A

An Account of the Rebellious Pretended Königsmark in New Sweden[1]

In Provost Acrelius's[2] *Description of the Swedish Congregations' Condition in New Sweden* on page 123 is included what Pastor Rudman[3] records in the Wicaco Church book[4] about an instigator among the Swedes, who called himself Königsmark.[5] The oldest Swedes gave me the details of its nature as follows:

This imposter was by birth Swedish, but he had committed some crime in England, and was sent to Maryland, to serve as a slave there for several years. He ran away from there and came to the Swedes in New Sweden, who then lived under an English government. Here he made the Swedes believe that he descended from a great and very noble family in Sweden: that their name was Königsmark: that a Swedish war fleet was lying outside of the bay there,[6] and when it came it would take the country back from the English, that he was sent to encourage the Swedes who lived here to throw off the foreign yoke, and to fall upon and strike the English dead as soon as they found out that the Swedish fleet was coming.

A large part of the Swedes[7] let themselves be persuaded by him: they hid that supposed Königsmark among themselves a long time so that no

[1] Translated from "Berättelse om Uprorsmakeren den falska Köningsmark i Nya Sverige," in Joseph J. Mickley Swedish Manuscripts, 1636–1811, folder "Transcriptions in uncertain order (a-m?)," Historical Society of Pennsylvania. The folder contains two manuscript copies in different handwritings, but the wording is identical in each. Paragraphs are mine. I would like to thank Margaretha Talerman, curator of the American Swedish Historical Museum for her help in reviewing my translation. An earlier, slightly different, translation was published in 1883 by the man who brought the documents back from Sweden in the nineteenth century, G. B. Keen, trans., "An Account of the Seditious False Königsmark in New Sweden," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 7 (1883): 219–20.

[2] Israel Acrelius (1714–1800) served as minister to the Swedish colonists from 1749 until he returned to Sweden in 1756. He published the *Description* in Stockholm in 1759, which was translated and published in 1874 as *A History of New Sweden.*

[3] Andreas Rudman (1668–1708) led two other Swedish Lutheran ministers to Pennsylvania in 1697. He oversaw the building of a new church at Wicaco, where he served until his death. He married a granddaughter of Peter Rambo.

[4] Gloria Dei was the name of the church, Wicaco the parish, in what is now south Philadelphia.

[5] Königsmark was the family name of a German nobleman who fought in the Thirty Years' War as a general in the Swedish army.

[6] There was no Swedish war fleet outside Delaware Bay, but there had been some speculation that at least one warship might recapture New Sweden during the years of Dutch rule (1655–64).

[7] About 40 of roughly 140 Swedish heads of households were fined in some way for their involvement in the affair.

one knew about him, supplying him with the best food and drink they had, so that he lived mighty well. What's more, they went to Philadelphia[8] and bought gunpowder, bullets, small shot, lead, etc. to be ready at the first signal.

Next he had the Swedes called together for a dinner. And after they had drunk a bit, he encouraged them to throw off the yoke, reminding them how they suffered from the English, and how they, partly by treachery, partly by force took from them one big piece of land after another[9] and finally asked them, if they held with the King of Sweden or the King of England?[10] Some of them immediately declared themselves for the King of Sweden.

But one of the foremost Swedes, by the name of Peter Cock,[11] said that because the country was English and surrendered by the King of Sweden to the Crown, he thought it only right to hold with the King of England. Then Cock ran out, slammed the door closed, and held it shut so that the so-called Königsmark could not escape while calling for help to capture him. The imposter worked with all his strength to get the door open, but Cock tried to prevent him by wounding his hand with a knife. Yet he still managed to slip away.

So Cock hurried to inform the English of what had happened, who then searched for him and in a short time captured him. The said Peter Cock then said to him: You rogue, now tell me what is your name, because it is obvious you are not a nobleman at all? The imposter then replied that his real name was Marcus Jacobsson.[12] He turned out to be so stupid that he could neither read nor write.[13]

[8] Philadelphia was not established until 1682, thirteen years after the incidents described here.

[9] Possibly a reference to the land patents being issued in the 1660s, which may have taken lands away from some who could not get them registered, but likely also a reference to the loss of lands to William Penn and the colonists of Pennsylvania in the 1680s and 1690s.

[10] In 1669 the king of England was Charles II and the king of Sweden was Charles XI, though, since he was only fourteen at the time, a regency governed Sweden.

[11] Peter Larsson Cock (1610–87) was an imprisoned soldier when he was sent to New Sweden in 1641. He eventually became a freeman and was one of the signers of the 1653 petition against Governor Printz. Governor Rising made him a judge, and he held that position until his son Lars succeeded him in 1680. Lars also took over his father's role as a negotiator and translator in the colonial governments' dealings with native peoples.

[12] Marcus Jacobsson was only one of the names he used. Others that appear in the documents are John Binckson and Matthews Hinks.

[13] This probably was not true. Reports from 1669 indicate he wrote something, though it has since been lost.

After that he was branded, sent to Barbados,[14] and there sold into slavery. The Swedes who had let themselves be deceived by him were punished by having half of what they owned in the way of land, cattle, goods, clothing, and other things taken from them.[15]

[14] Barbados was the wealthiest and most important English Caribbean colony at this time, experiencing a massive economic boom due to the growth of sugar plantations on the island. The demand for labor on these plantations eventually led to the importation of many Africans to work as slaves, but during the political turmoil of the mid-seventeenth century English officials sent many English and Scottish prisoners to work on the island as well.

[15] Only the five or six leading supporters of Königsmark were fined so heavily. Most of the rest received a much lighter punishment.

Appendix B

Berättelse om Uprorsmakaren den falska Königsmark i Nya Sverige[1]

Uti Herr Probsten Acrelii *Beskrifning om de Swenska Församlingars tilstånd uti Nya Sweriget* p. 123 införes, hvad Pastor Rudman i Vicacoa Kyrks-Bok anteknat om en Uprorsmakare bland de Swenska, som lät kalla sig Königsmark. Omständeligare beskaffenheten af detta erhöldt jag af de äldste Swenske waret sådan:

Denne Bedragaren här til börd waret en Swensk, men för något brott han begått i Engeland, blifvet sänd til Maryland, at där som slaf tjena wissa år: därifrån rymde han bort, och kam til de Swenske i Nya Swerige, som då lefde under Engelsk Regering; här inbillade han de Swenske, at han härstammade at en stor och mycket förnäm famille i Swerige: at hans namm wore Königsmark att Swenska Örlogs-flottan låge där utanföre i hafswiken, och wore med det första inkommande, at taga landet igen ifrån de Engleske, at han wore sänd til at upmuntra de Swenska, som bodde här, at skaka af sig dat Utländska oket, och at falla til och slå ihjäl de Engelska, så snart de fingo höra, at Swenska Skepsflottan kom.

En stor del af de Swenska låta häraf öfvertala sig: de gömde denne förmante Königsmark hos sig en lång tid, at ingen fick weta af honom, buro til honom den bästa mat och dricka de hade, så at han lefde myckat väl. Än mera: de gingo til Philadelphia, köpte sig där krut, kulor, hagel, bly etc. at wara tilreds på första wink;

han lät därpå kalla de Swenkse tilhopa til en aftonmåltid, och sedan de druckit litet, upmuntrade han dem, at skudda oket af sig, påminte dem, hwad de lidet af de Engelska och huru desse dels med swek dels med wåld togo ifrån dem det ena stora stycket land efter det andra och sluteligen frågada dem, om de hålla med Konungen i Swerige, eller med Konungen i Engeland? En dal förklarade sig strax för Konungen i Swerige;

men en af de fornämsta Swenska, vid namm Peter Kock, sade, at emedan landet war Engelskt, och af Konungen i Swerige öfwerlemnadt til den Kronan, så fann han wara rättmätigt, at man borda hålla med Konungen i Engeland; darpå sprang Kocken ut, slag igen dören och lade

[1] "Berättelse om Uprorsmakeren den falska Köningsmark i Nya Sverige," in Joseph J. Mickley Swedish Manuscripts, 1636–1811, folder "Transcriptions in uncertain order (a-m?)," Historical Society of Pennsylvania. Paragraphs are mine. Text is transcribed from two separate copies of the tradition. Though the wording is the same, each preserves some early modern peculiarities in spelling.

sig på den samma, at den sig så kallande Königsmark icke måtte slippa ut, samt ropade efter hjelp, at taga honom fången; Bedragaren arbetade af all krafter, at få up dören; men Kocken sökte at hindra samma med det at han skadde honom straxt i handen med en knif; dock detta oaktadt slapp han likwäl då undan;

hwarföre Kocken strax skyndade sig, at angiswa detta hos de Engelske, som då låta söka efter honom, och inam kort tid fingo honom til fånga. Den förenämnde Peter Kock sade då til honom: du skälm, säg mig nu, hwad är dit namn, ty nog kunna vise, at du ej är någon förnäm? Bedragaren swarade då, at hans rätta namn war Marcus Jacobsson; han befans eljest wara så enfaldig, at han hwarken kunde läsa eller skrifwa.

Därpå blef han brändmärkt, sänd til Barbados, och där såld til slaf. De Swenske som hade låtet bedraga sig af honom, fingo det straff, at från dem togs halfparten af hwad de ägde, så af land, som af boskap, gods, kläden och annat.

Appendix C: Confederates of the Long Swede

This list gives the proper form of the name, as found in Peter Craig, *1693 Census*, and Peter Craig, *1671 Census*, followed by the name as it appears in the lists.

The Known Swedes:

Johan Andersson Stalcop (John Stolcup)
Jöns Gustafsson (Jens Ustas, Juns Junsteresen)
Lars Carlsson Lock, the minister (Laurens Carolus)
Olof Thorsson (Olla Torsa) and his sons
Olof Ollesson Thorsson (Otto Oelsen)
Lars Ollesson Thorsson (Las Oleson)

The Known Finns:

Evert Hendricksson Ek (Evartt the Finn)
Matts Mattson (Matys Matsen)
Hendrick Larsson Corvhorn (Heer Lars?)
Pål Larsson Corvhorn (Paules Lawrson, Paul Larsen)
Eric Mattsson (Erike Matson, Erick Matsen)
Matthias Bärtilson (Mathias Bartleson, Mat Bertelsen)
Eric Jöransson (Erick Urianson)
Simon Johansson (Simon Johnson, Simon Jansen)
Lars Eskilsson (Lawsa Eskelson, Las Eskell)
Hendrick Andersson (Henerick Anderson)
Måns Pålsson (Mons Powson, Mons Paulsen)
Samuel Petersson (Samuell Peterson)
Anders Johansson Salung (Andries Jansen, Johonson)
John Paulson (Jan Paulsen, John Pouwels)
Johan Mattsson Skrika (John Matson, Jan Matse)
Carl Jönsson (Charles Johnson, Carel Jansen)
Måns Jönsson (later Halton) (Mons Jansen)
Hendrick Andersson Kolman (Henrick Coalman, Coleman)
Margaret Matson, widow of Pål Jönsson (Paul Jansens Vrouw)
And the three Nilsson brothers: Nils Nilsson (Neals Nealson, Neils Nielsen), Matthias Nilsson (Mathias Nealson, Mat Nielson), and Hendrick Nilsson (Henerick Nealson, Hendrick Nielsen)

Those Neither Swedish Nor Finnish:

Hans Hoffman (Hoofman, Hopman) was Dutch
Hans Peterson (Pietersen, Patterson) was German
Marcus Laurens (Lawrson) was probably German

Those Whose Identity Is Uncertain:

Olof Fransson (Olle Fransen)
Hans Petersson (another Hans Pietersen)
John Peterson
Carl Månson (Carel Monsen)
Eric Ericksson (Erick Ericksen)
Hans Olleson (Hans Wolason)
Anders Andersson (Andries Andriesen)
Direck Jansen
Pål Larsson (Paules Lawrson)
John Hendricksson (Henerics, Jan Hendrickse)
Lars Cornelisson Vinam (Lawsa Cornelison, Las)
Barent Hendricksen (Bartel Starker, Bertle)