

SPECIAL FORUM

Intersecting Worlds: New Sweden's Transatlantic Entanglements

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Introduction

The colony of New Sweden (1638–1655) continues to attract considerable scholarly interest in Sweden and the United States.¹ In historiographies, especially those published in the last century, and in popular perception, the colony is often seen as an anomaly, supposedly lacking the prejudices and violence associated with European intrusion in the New World, and as a failure due to its transience. Simultaneously, a sense of pride is often expressed when the colony is mentioned. In Sweden, a national ‘we’ is often invoked to describe New Sweden as “our colony” or “our colonial adventure.”² The most recent study on Swedish colonial history, journalist Herman Lindqvist’s 2015 book *Våra kolonier—de vi hade och de som aldrig blev av* (Our Colonies—Those We Had and Those That Never Came to Be) is a case in point. Descendent communities also persist in seeing the colony as the first permanent settlement along the Delaware River and as a peaceful enterprise, using this perception to style themselves as tracing their roots as far back as the English settlers and yet having a different, guiltless heritage. This sense of pride and the image of New Sweden as non-colonialist in character is stressed at every anniversary of the founding of the colony, including the recent observances in 2013. Only in recent years have the types of messages these celebrations perpetuate, in part through royal participation in events, begun to spark scholarly discussions and public debate.³

Rewriting the history of New Sweden and Swedish colonial involvement, including a critical look at the colonial celebrations, is a timely project. Research conducted in the last decade has begun untangling Sweden’s colonial past, and New

Sweden (along with Sápmi⁴) became a primary focus of this new inquiry.⁵ Yet many questions await comprehensive scrutiny and some methodological approaches used in international research on early modern colonialism, the Atlantic, and the early modern global world remain untested. The subjects of transnationalism and translocality—the circulatory movements of people, ideas, and objects between the colony and Sweden (and within the wider Atlantic area), the character, sustenance and loss of trans-continental connections and their meaning and consequences for ideas of “citizenship,” “belonging,” and “home” belong to such underdeveloped questions in the study of New Sweden. In this article we attempt to trace some of these movements, flows, and exchanges—physical, intellectual and ideological—that took place between Sweden and America. In pursuing this subject we take a long-term perspective and examine both ends of these exchanges. Looking at New Sweden and colonial America (1638–ca. 1750), we investigate how Sweden was invoked, remembered, and constructed within the Swedish and Finnish-speaking community. Zooming in on seventeenth and eighteenth-century Sweden, we scrutinize how New Sweden and America were represented and understood among the country’s educated elite. Furthermore, we discuss long-term effects of the Swedish colonial venture and how the particular portrayals of the colony and America authored in the early modern period influenced perceptions of the colony in modern fiction and history writing.

Fractures and Connections: The Swedish Community in Colonial America

The history of New Sweden and the Finnish and Swedish-speaking community in colonial America reveals many complexities and paradoxes. Generally speaking, one can distinguish two parallel cultural processes that took place in this community. On the one hand, the colonists insisted on preserving real and imagined connections with the Old Country and continued to view themselves as Swedes and Finns; they maintained, consciously and unconsciously, certain levels of conservatism and reliance on a familiar culture and customs. On the other hand, their way of thinking, living, and acting departed from the norms and standards of their contemporaries living in Sweden; they embraced cultural expressions, tastes, and attitudes present in the multicultural environment of colonial America. Throughout the seventeenth century and the first half of the eighteenth, they remained simultaneously connected to and disconnected from the ancestral places of origin.

These still largely unexplored contradictory forces were conditioned by the realities of New Sweden and later Dutch and English Delaware and Pennsylvania. The colonists lived in a rapidly changing world in which Atlantic connections and colonial inequalities and entanglements were materialized in consumption patterns, practices, and household arrangements. Like other individuals and groups sharing the colonial landscape along the Delaware, they were drawn into a process of continuous and protracted adjustments and negotiations between conflicting value systems,

perceptions of the surrounding world, ways of organizing work and household, between the definition of same and Other, civility and savagery, propriety and transgression.⁶ This process involved not only creative responses to the surrounding cultural diversity, but also engagements with and shifting attitudes toward European places of origin.⁷

The settlers in New Sweden and succeeding colonies were continuously forced to navigate a multitude of cultures. From the start the colony was a multinational endeavor. Its foundations were raised on the capital, visions, and knowledge of Dutch, German and Swedish investors; its territorial claims encompassed land belonging to various groups of Lenape, who continued to be involved in the colony's affairs in direct and indirect ways. Its residents included Swedish, Finnish and German-speaking citizens of the kingdom of Sweden, Dutch and English settlers, and Africans. Encounters with this diversity of peoples and cultures spurred simultaneous curiosity and anxiety, reflection on similarity and difference, and interrogation of existing preconceptions. The Northern European colonists turned this ethnographic gaze especially often toward Native Americans, who to them represented ambivalent subjects (imagined as similar and at the same time radically different from the colonists) and the ultimate "Other."

Relationships between Native Americans and the colonists went beyond observing each other and producing a somewhat reductive and schematic image of the Other. The realities proved to be ambiguous and complicated. Prejudice, misunderstandings and intolerance coexisted with mutual appreciation; hostilities and scorn did not preclude friendships and collaborations. Everyday interaction resulted in mutual borrowings and adoptions of, for example, foodways, material culture, folklore, and medicinal practices.⁸ The partial erasure and assimilation of material differences did not, however, completely dissolve intellectual and cultural gaps between the indigenous peoples and the colonists.⁹

The close proximity to Dutch and English immigrants, especially after the fall of the colony, had equally transformative consequences for the everyday life of the Swedish colonists. This coexistence led to intermarriages, religious conversions, and alterations in patterns of consumption. The regular flow of European goods that was established in the second half of the seventeenth century, coupled with economic stability and increased immigration from Europe, made the material world, tastes, and worldviews of the Finnish and Swedish families increasingly similar to those of their Dutch and English neighbors. This change is well illustrated in the type of material wealth recorded in estate inventories and archaeological material.¹⁰ At the same time, as Terry Jordan and Matti Kaups argue, Finnish ways of life, well adapted to a forested landscape, significantly contributed to the formation of frontiersmen's culture, which developed at the fringes of colonial settlements.¹¹

Finally, the colonial character of New Sweden and succeeding European settlements had a decisive influence on transformations in the colonists' lives by drawing them into a process of institutionalizing and acting upon decisions colored by

uniquely colonial ideas that justified inequality and recognized cultural hierarchies. European cultural primacy and the legitimacy of colonial claims was one of them; African slavery was another. Slavery had a weak base in the diversified and relatively small-scale agrarian economy of New Sweden and colonial Delaware/Pennsylvania, yet it did exist. By the end of the seventeenth century the family of Sven Gunnarsson, a freeman of Wicacoa, counted among the largest Swedish-speaking slave owners—his children, Sven, Olle and Katarina, jointly owned six Africans.¹²

The various degrees of assimilating new cultural norms and colonial attitudes and a concurrent redefinition of identities characterized the lives of Finns and Swedes. Another seemingly contradictory process was the retention of Finnish and Swedish customs and insistence on physical, emotional, and ideological connection with Sweden that continued a century after the colony's collapse. Despite its importance, this phenomenon has not been given detailed attention in the existing scholarly literature.¹³

The connections between Sweden and New Sweden were pronounced during the New Sweden period. Although the colony was a multicultural endeavor it was also firmly anchored in the national Swedish interest, sponsored and, after 1640, overseen by the state. The instructions given to the governors insisted on replicating Swedish laws and customs, use of the Swedish language, and establishment of the Lutheran Church, all of which were dutifully implemented. Some of these distinctive traits survived the colony. Persistence of cultural forms (such as language, religion and certain practices) may be directly related to the dynamics of difference that evolved after the Dutch and English takeover. In the second half of the seventeenth century, the Finnish and Swedish colonists were defined by the Dutch and later the English as a coherent group, "the Swedish nation," and soon the colonists came to describe themselves in similar terms. However, it is possible that there were deeper sentiments behind the rhetoric of distinction and that this community genuinely felt bonds and commonalities grounded in its shared past, experiences, and cultural norms. The sense of Swedishness and attachments (albeit continuously reworked and redefined) played a role in decision-making, such as the effort to reactivate the Swedish Lutheran mission in America toward the end of the seventeenth century.

In New Sweden and after the end of the colony the transnational ties and determination to stay connected relied on various technologies. Exchange of letters and news played an important role in creating a sense of continuous presence in the life of families and communities despite the physical distance.¹⁴ In the context of New Sweden only a few individuals had the necessary skills and means to correspond with family and friends in Sweden. The most avid writer was Governor Johan Printz, whose correspondence with Per Brahe and Axel Oxenstierna, besides reporting successes and struggles of the colony, revealed his emotional difficulties in dealing with dislocation as well as his continuous insistence on regarding Sweden as his only home.¹⁵ Replies to the governor's letters containing assurances, instructions, and bits of news were probably read aloud and spread among the colonists. The few known

letters of the freemen, written toward the end of the seventeenth century, contained descriptions of the conditions in America and calming assurances of wellbeing. They were not, however, free from anxieties over irregular contact and worries about their family's situation in Sweden. They also sent money and goods from the colony to those who were left behind.¹⁶

Even if only a few colonists could write, there is good reason to assume that news delivered in their letters (and spread by returnees) had a wider reach and contributed to a change in perceptions of America and attitudes toward trans-Atlantic migration. From the horror-inducing popular image of the New World deterring voluntary migration in the 1640s,¹⁷ a decade later America emerged as a land of opportunity attracting more people willing to move than space on ships bound for the colony could accommodate.

Each ship arriving from and departing for Sweden was regarded with high anxiety and expectations—the vessel carried letters and news without which the fragile connections between the colony and Sweden would be weakened. Besides correspondence, ships carried cargoes of goods, which proved to be another essential tool of connectivity. Material objects that the colonists brought and received from Sweden and incorporated in their household furnishings constituted a touch of familiarity in surroundings that initially appeared alien. Migration shifted the meanings, value, and emotional effect of everyday objects and transformed, if only temporarily, relationships between these objects and the migrants. Seeing and handling the objects helped to establish a degree of continuity with life prior to relocation and had the potential of stirring up memories and self-reflection.¹⁸ The potency of material objects to rouse strong emotional reactions can be illustrated by an encounter recorded by Pastor Andreas Sandel. On a trip to New York with Pastor Erik Björk in 1702 the men saw Swedish canons in the town's fort. “We put our hands on the canons,”¹⁹ Sandel recalled, as if this physical engagement and symbolic gesture could bring them closer to people and places they had left behind.

The effort to preserve remnants of the Old Country was also sustained through practical engagements and observance of traditions regarded (or styled) as unmistakably Swedish or Finnish. During the New Sweden era, a clear set of instructions dictated the urgency and necessity of maintaining Swedish customs, the Swedish language and Lutheranism. These directives were taken seriously, perhaps not only because authorities prescribed them but because, as recognized patterns of behavior they provided a shield against the unfamiliar, a tool to domesticate the landscape. Familiar versions of Sweden lived on in embodied practices of cooking, socializing and building, in folklore and other traditions long after the collapse of the colony, at least until the first decades of the eighteenth century. This conservatism is partly attested in archaeology and historical sources. It was repeatedly observed by travelers, colonial governments that replaced New Sweden, and by the Swedish pastors who served the community from the year 1696.²⁰

On occasion, the real or imagined sense of connection with Sweden served as an argument in open acts of disobedience. The most serious incident took place in 1669 when forty-two Swedes and Finns (about a quarter of the adult male Swedish-speaking population) were heavily fined for participation in a conspiracy known as “the Long Finn rebellion.”²¹ Appealing to apparently deep-seated sentiments (and perhaps dissatisfaction with the English rule) and spreading the rumor that Charles XI planned to reclaim the colony, the main agitator, John Binckson, alias Coningsmarke,²² encouraged the Swedes to overthrow the English government along the Delaware. This action was perceived as a serious threat and was tried as an act of treason. The captured instigator was publicly whipped, branded, and sold to slavery in Barbados, while his confederates were fined according to their suspected involvement.

The political activism and protests of the “Swedish nation” against its mistreatment by subsequent governments continued throughout the early decades of the eighteenth century. Lutheran pastors, sent to America between the 1690s and the 1770s at the request of the diaspora, assumed an important position in drawing up petitions, revealing injustice, and promoting a sense of community. The request for pastoral care and Swedish religious books in itself, and the positive response to it, indicated an interest in reactivating trans-Atlantic connections (even if the motives and agendas behind this decision differed). The regularly arriving pastors proved to play a crucial role in keeping transnational links between Sweden and the colonial diaspora alive. They maintained correspondence with Sweden and were the main channel of news about the colony and America in Sweden and about Sweden in the colony. They upheld and prolonged the cultural consciousness among the community they served by, for example, organizing Swedish language education.²³ They were also directly involved in the circulation of objects, bringing with them and importing books, both religious and secular, and occasionally articles impossible to obtain in the colony, and sending back to Sweden colonial commodities such as pelts, skins, and curiosa. Their observations and experiences in colonial America influenced ideas and attitudes toward indigenous people, the institution of slavery, and the colonial order. Through sermons, pastoral activities, and school instruction they were able to promote communal cohesion and invigorate a sense of ties with the European places of origin.

Material Entanglement of America and Sweden

The trans-Atlantic exchange of letters and objects and the regular arrival of Swedish pastors and other travelers helped to maintain contacts between Sweden and the Finnish and Swedish diaspora in America. A traffic of people, goods, and information nurtured connections, ideas about belonging, and a sense of “Swedishness.” This flow, however, was not one-directional. As it brought Sweden closer to America it also connected America to Sweden. It fuelled and responded to curiosity about America in Sweden and shaped understanding of the continent and its indigenous peoples.

Returning travelers brought not only stories about America; they also supplied Swedish collectors with material objects, examples of the New World's nature and indigenous art. Through these things, America and its "exotic" inhabitants and valuable resources were displayed, consumed, and appropriated. Material culture from the New World was actively used in defining Europe as well as America.²⁴ Foreign objects were used in Baroque staging of European supremacy displayed at the courts.²⁵ Scandinavian aristocrats and royals were just as eager "consumers" and devoted collectors of the New World as the Spanish, Papal, or Holy Roman imperial courts but with somewhat more limited contacts and resources.

Collecting and disseminating objects created entanglements between peoples and places that could be both imagined and real. As increasing globalization connected people and things in different parts of the world, the continents became materially attached. Anthropological and archaeological studies of the movement of objects have recurrently shown how they have functioned as brokers, bringing traits of their former contexts into new societal and cultural environments.²⁶

Not only objects, animals, plants and minerals were collected from the New and Old Worlds outside Europe. People were also collected; in the cities and towns of Denmark, England, France, the Netherlands, Portugal and Spain, indigenous peoples of the Americas and the Arctic were not an unusual sight in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.²⁷ In a 1643 letter to Johan Printz, Per Brahe expressed the wish that Printz would bring some "savages" to Sweden.²⁸ This did not come about, but the letter is an expression of the will to follow in the footsteps of other colonial powers.

For Scandinavia and in particular Sweden, direct colonial contacts made a substantial difference with regard to access to exotic commodities and *curiosa* and imagining the outside world. The existence of trading posts, contact networks, and settlements on other continents affected many aspects of European society. Ideas of America, Africa, and Asia, as well as the Arctic, were internalized on many levels and in many ways through material culture, books, and depictions. Through material culture it is possible to trace an appropriation process of the New World into the Old. Studying the circulation and use in Sweden of material things from the colony sheds light on the colony's role both before and after it was lost.

The process of collecting and appropriating Native American objects began in the colony. Beyond the practical and mundane artefacts incorporated into the daily life of the colonists, objects of art or ceremonial use were collected and commissioned by colonial officials. A striking example is a dress of wampum beads that Governor Printz ordered from the Native Americans.²⁹ How he used it is unknown, but it is reasonable to believe that this dress played an important role or at least helped Printz in negotiations with the Lenape. To be accepted by the Native Americans he needed to become more like them in the sense of taking part in their material practices. The colonists' use of indigenous clothing can also be understood as a way of appropriating Native American identity. Through dressing in Lenape regalia the Swedish colonizers

made them their own and could contest the dominion not only over the tract of land, but over people and their resources.

Printz kept parts of the dress: a belt of wampum was listed in the probate records after his death in 1663. The use of indigenous artefacts should thus not be construed as something alien to Printz but rather as a practice he internalized and continued after the return to Sweden.³⁰ Printz's daughter Armegot, who had lived in New Sweden with her father, is recorded as having four "Indianiske notaskar" (Indian pouches), probably meaning Native American-made pouches. The colonists' ambivalence toward life in the colony can be detected in relation to material culture as well. Feelings of loathing and superiority toward the indigenous people of America could exist at the same time that their objects were not only collected but used.

Armegot (later married to Johan Papegoja, governor of the colony for a brief period) and Johan Printz were, so to speak, wearing America and at least to some extent kept up this habit after returning to Sweden. Returning slightly earlier than the Printz family, the pastor and missionary Johannes Campanius Holm, known for an early translation of Luther's catechism into pidgin Algonquin (see Figure 1), also "wore" America, at least after his death. His grave slab in the Frösthult parish church in the province of Uppland in central Sweden bears an inscription in Algonquin: *Umar Sachiman Chinsika hacking haro ankarop machis chuki*, "Here lies a great sachem (chief or spiritual leader) who died in old age"³¹ (see Figure 2). This inscription is probably the only European early modern grave epitaph written in a Native American language and a powerful reminder of the pastor's American involvement. The Frösthult grave slab illustrates how America lived on in that particular part of Uppland after the end of the Swedish colony and the death of the pastor. Through its inscription and its central place in the nave of the church, the grave slab continued to connect viewers to a larger Atlantic world and to the American east coast.

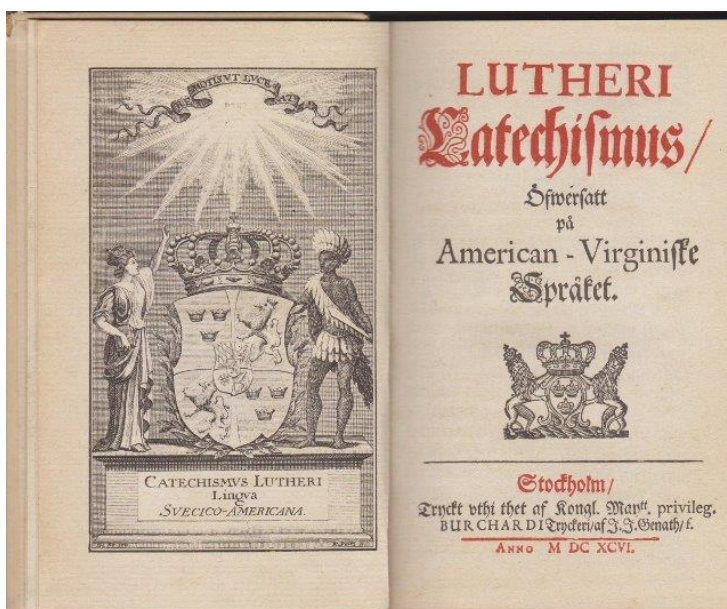
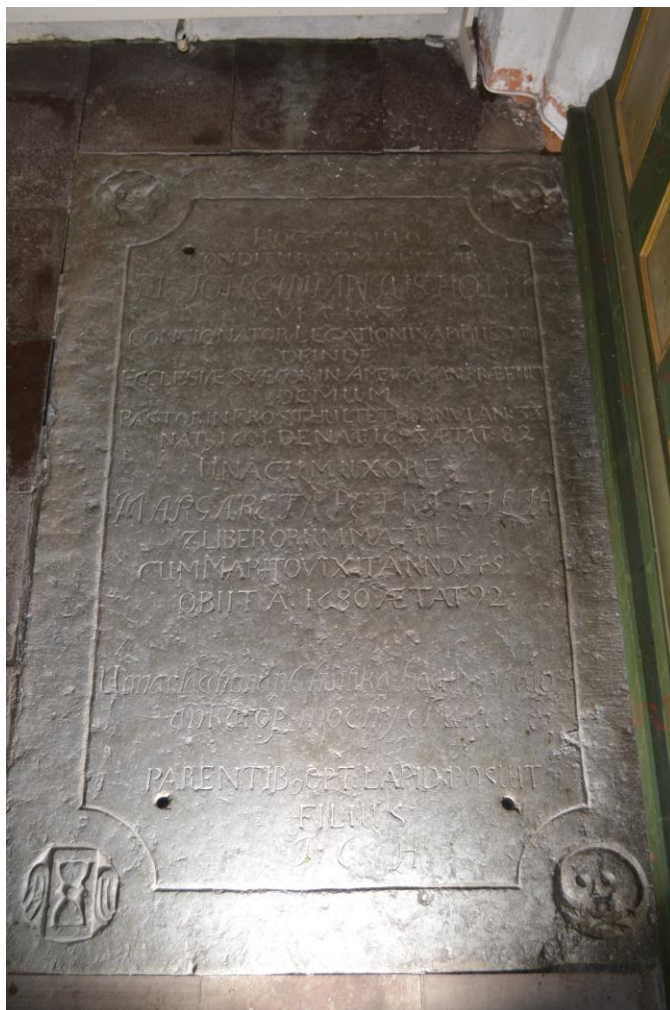


Figure 1. Frontispiece of *Lutheri Catechismus öfversatt på American-Virginiske Språket och Vocabularium Barbaro-Virgineorum* (Luthers' Catechism translated to American-Virginian language and a dictionary of Barbarian-Virginian words), 1696.

Figure 2.
Grave slab of
Johannes Campanius Holm from
1683 in Frösthult parish church,
county of Uppland, Sweden.
Photo Jonas M. Nordin.



Material engagements between Sweden and America can be divided into two separate, yet related practices. People who had been in the colony, such as Printz and his family, brought with them clothes, things worn on the body—or as was the case with pastor Holm—tokens of the word. While Governor Printz had been a negotiator and representative of Swedish power, Pastor Holm had been the broker of the Divine Word, and hence expressions of that were used on his grave. Those who had not been to the colony were presented with more spectacular objects, perhaps ones that were anticipated. These material things sent from New Sweden were often placed in semi-public spaces, in aristocratic collections not open to the public but open to invited visitors, for instance at the Royal Castle in Stockholm and the aristocratic palace of the Wrangel family in Skokloster. There is no precise record of how the objects were used during the seventeenth century, but there are indications that they were displayed, made visible, and handled and not only placed in showcases or stored in curiosity cabinets. Baroque carousels, masquerades and ballets were events where the exotic objects were put on, touched, and played with.³²

The American artefacts collected by mid-seventeenth century Swedish aristocrats, soldiers, and royals who had not been to America, such as Count Per Brahe, Herman and Carl Gustav Wrangel and Queen Christina, were selected to represent exoticism or imagined key aspects of the native communities and consisted of axes, clubs, headdresses, pipes, pouches, and strings of wampum beads. One of the axes is mentioned for the first time in 1686 as belonging to King Charles XI (1655–97). It was kept in the royal armory, but is now in the Ethnographical Museum in Stockholm.³³ The axe's helve is made of wood with wampum inlay and with an iron blade with thin leather straps attached, in a fitting that is unsuitable for practical use either in hunting or warfare; the helve nevertheless has traces of use. The helve shows evident similarities to one of the ball-headed clubs sent from the colony and kept in Skokloster Castle, and it is reasonable to assume that the tomahawk originally had a ball head and was transformed into an axe in Europe, or at least in the hands of Europeans.³⁴ The iron in the blade is of European production—perhaps Swedish—and the helve of Native American origin, giving the tomahawk a hybrid construction.

Items related to the New Sweden colony in the collections of Skokloster Castle are the two clubs, three strings or bands of cloth, and three red-dyed objects, one made to look like a wolf's head.³⁵ One of the clubs has not only an inlay of wampum but also of copper—likely of Swedish origin (Sweden dominated the world copper market at this time). The composite, complex nature of the club is indicative of the trans-Atlantic connections and transformations. Its copper elements may have been extracted from a mine in Sweden, from which the sheets of copper were transported to Stockholm or the Netherlands, where kettles and other objects were made. Some of the kettles journeyed across the Atlantic to New Sweden, where they were exchanged for furs or tobacco. Native Americans who acquired the kettles broke them up to refashion pieces of copper into familiar and more needed objects.³⁶ Bits of copper were used as inlay in the club, which eventually was sold or given to the Swedes and then came back to Sweden. The chain of entanglement of this one object thus brings together two continents, different systems of value and cultural norms, and the labor of many people.

Skokloster Castle, the location of a considerable collection of American objects, is contemporary to the New Sweden colony. Carl Gustav Wrangel, count, admiral, and general of the Thirty Years War, and his wife Anna Margareta von Haugwitz built the castle between 1654 and 1676. Skokloster is famous for its size, its well-kept exterior and interior, and its collections.³⁷ Fine arts and furniture can be studied along with collectors' items from all over the world. The death of Anna Margareta von Haugwitz in 1673 and of Carl Gustav Wrangel in 1676 and the subsequent conversion of the castle into an entailed estate produced inventories in 1676 and 1710, giving thorough descriptions of the castle's contents.

Carl Gustav Wrangel and Anna Margareta von Haugwitz displayed the eight objects from New Sweden in the armory, as recorded in an inventory of 1710 that probably was based on the older inventory.³⁸ Here weapons from many parts of the

world were kept, along with a kayak, a South American hammock and a preserved armadillo—the symbols of the Americas—and a Sámi drum—the iconic emblem of Sápmi and the Sámi people.

It is not recorded when and how the eight North American objects reached Skokloster, but this could have happened in various ways. Carl Gustav Wrangel personally knew Johan Risingh, the last governor of New Sweden, just as he knew Per Lindeström and Per Brahe, as is clear from dedicated books in his library and his correspondence. Carl Gustav's father, Herman Wrangel, was also part of the committee signing the instructions for Johan Printz in 1642, together with Carl Gustav's friend Per Brahe. In the seventeenth century Sweden was geographically a vast country but with a small population; among the aristocracy and clergy, people were bound to know each other.³⁹

The objects from America and all the entangled relations expressed through them show the colony's relatively extensive physical presence and indicate a particular image of the continent in the learned circles of Sweden. The number of preserved material objects is certainly not large, but it might represent only a fraction of objects that actually made their way to Sweden.

When material culture from America was brought to Europe it was fitted into new settings and displayed together with other exotic objects from the colonies and early modern travel destinations, creating a diorama of the early colonial perception of the world. In Sweden concurrent colonial endeavors in Africa and Sápmi offered a context and complement for these American objects. A bronze dagger from West Africa, probably from the Gold Coast, is recorded as part of the royal collection in 1686. The dagger may have come from the Gold Coast via the Swedish Africa Company (1649–63) as a gift to the royal court.⁴⁰ The gift could have been provided by the local authorities on the Coast, such as the king of Fetu, local middlemen, such as the Acrosan brothers,⁴¹ or the Swedish Africa Company.⁴²

Contemporary to this gift and to the New Sweden colony is a whole collection of clothes, weapons, spoons and other artifacts in Christoph Weickmann's Kunst- und Naturkammer in Ulm (southern Germany). This collection was established in 1653 or 1654, and the West African objects were probably brought to Ulm by Johann Abraham Haintzel, an employee of the Swedish Africa Company.⁴³ The material entanglement of Swedish colonial endeavors was thus not limited to the domestic market but part of an expanding international market for colonial commodities.

The concurrent collecting and use of Native American objects (or, as in the case of the grave slab of Johannes Campanius Holm, inscriptions) show the extent to which America was incorporated into Sweden. This process was not swift, nor was it widespread, but the material things and imprints followed people throughout the colony's afterlife, in America as well as in Sweden. The same pattern can be seen with regard to colonial policies in West Africa and in Sápmi and the incorporation of Africa, America, and Sápmi into western European perceptions of the world.

While Swedish colonialists expressed ambitions of dominance in New Sweden, on the Gold Coast, and in Sápmi through exploitation, slave trade, and religious persecution, they simultaneously esteemed the material culture of the Others they encountered. The material things from New Sweden and elsewhere created and enforced relations between people and societies on either side of the Atlantic on an individual level, as with Native American objects possessed by Johan Printz, or on an institutional level, as with the collections of the royal family.

The material culture from New Sweden provided a context and a framework for the objects from Africa and Sápmi and vice versa. These objects were meaningful first and foremost in a context of display, shaping, and representing the understanding of the early modern world. They were also tactile albeit tacit tokens of ongoing relations between various localities of the Atlantic world.

Memories, Commemorations, and Longing for the Colony

The trans-Atlantic connections between America and Sweden, as well as personal and mediated experiences of the colony, were also reflected in a number of literary works that started to appear in the seventeenth century. By the early twentieth century, literature about the colony had grown into a genre of its own, manifesting the lingering perception of a special relationship between Sweden and its colony in America. Many of the officers, pastors, and travelers returned to Sweden with an abiding connection to their experiences in the colony, at times expressed as longing. A previously mentioned, Johan Printz maintained in his collection objects that reminded him of his time as governor, and the memory of Johannes Campanius Holm likewise was suffused with entanglements with the colony. His grandson, Thomas Campanius Holm, penned an exhaustive account of the colony that incorporated notes and reminiscences his grandfather had left him.⁴⁴ Pehr Kalm, the first of Linnaeus' students to travel across the oceans, spent the years 1748–1751 in North America, beginning his stay in New Sweden. Upon his return he became a professor at Åbo University in Finland, but throughout his life he yearned for his years in America. This connection also led to scholarly publications on various aspects of American culture and environment, thus translating his personal experiences into academic investigations.⁴⁵ Another man who spent time in the colony was Andreas Hesselius, who served as pastor to the Swedish congregations from 1712 to 1724. One of his sons, Andreas, became a poet and writer in the so-called “Age of Freedom” (1718–1782). When war broke out between Sweden and Russia in 1741 he published a heroic poem under the pen name “Arngrim Hergrimson, the Winland traveler.” Under his own name, with the addition “Americanus,” he translated and provided commentary on a tragedy in five acts about the “Indian” princess Zaletta.⁴⁶

Andreas Americanus' translation and commentary to the play about the unfortunate Zaletta was but the first of many fictional portrayals of the relationship, often fractured, between Native Americans and European colonists. By the 1860s the

“Indian book” had established itself in Sweden as popular reading, particularly aimed at boys and youths.⁴⁷ From the 1890s on, numerous Swedish authors found inspiration in New Sweden. In Erik Borg’s *Nybyggarna vid Delawarefloden* (Settlers on the Delaware River) from 1936 a family of Swedish settlers experiences an Indian attack and barely survives. Algot Sandberg’s *Solöga eller Svenskarne i Delaware* (Eye of the Sun or the Swedes in Delaware) from 1909 and Carl August Cederborg’s *De röda vargarna. En svensks öden och äfventyr bland indianer* (The Red Wolves: The Fate and Fortunes of a Swede among the Indians) from 1915 also dealt with dangers and adventures in New Sweden.⁴⁸ In Astrid Kähr’s novel *Calmare Nyckel*⁴⁹ (1937/1945), chronicling the arrival and first years of the Swedish colonists, it is the Minquas (Susquehannocks) who become allies and friends of the Swedes.

In the last decades of the twentieth century a new generation of writers more often viewed this entanglement from a Lenape or Susquehannock perspective, emphasizing the close links between common Finnish and Swedish settlers and Indians. Helmer Linderholm wrote nine books, beginning with *Fredsstigens röda* (The Red People of the Peace Trail) from 1972, about the Swedish boy Lars Tomasson Bure, who grows up among the Lenapes. The stories are a mixture of fact and fiction, although the author described them as historically accurate and building on the latest research regarding the conditions of Native American life in the seventeenth century, “which thousands of Swedish emigrants partook in through hundreds of years”⁵⁰ (see Figure 3). While the meaning is not entirely clear, Linderholm appears to argue that thousands of Swedes lived among Lenapes and other indigenous nations and that the memory of this experience lingered and connected the colony with later waves of emigrants.

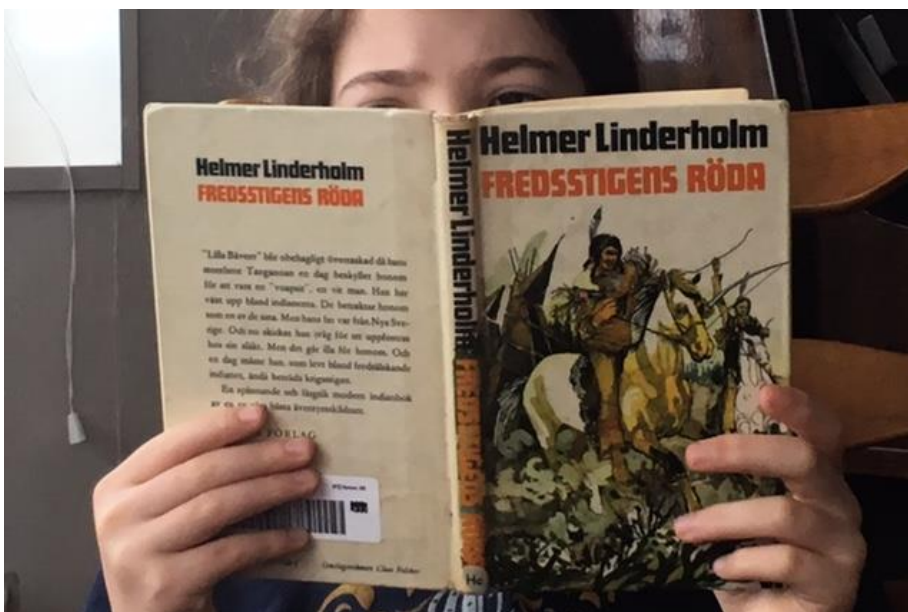


Figure 3.
Front cover of
Helmer
Linderholm’s
*Fredsstigens
röda* (1972).

Jan-Arvid Hellström, bishop of the Växjö diocese and a scholar who had written on St. Barthelémy, Sweden's last colonial possession, also wrote novels with fictionalized accounts of the missionary work and relationships between Swedes and Lenapes. *Gode vite hövding* (Good White Chief) from 1987, *Indiansommar* (Indian Summer) from 1988, and *Svanens sang* (Song of the Swan) from 1989 are all set in the New Sweden colony. The trilogy reiterates the story of close and friendly relations between numerous Swedish colonists and Lenapes, placed in a larger framework of abusive European colonial practices. The leadership of the colony is aligned with the other colonial powers in the region in its attempts to control Native American land, while the colonists and missionaries establish close and peaceful relations. In the 1990s and early 2000s, authors again returned to New Sweden. May Bylock's *Marie och Mårten i Nya Världen* (Marie and Mårten in the New World) from 2003, Göte Göransson's *Indianpojken* (The Indian Boy) from 1997, and Hans Peterson's trilogy about Matti, the "white Indian" (2002, 2003, and 2004) all take place in the colony and stress the entanglements between Swedes and Native Americans.⁵¹

Linderholm's reference to scholarship on the relations between Lenapes and Swedish colonists may well have included the work of his colleague in the Swedish Indian Club (Svenska Indianklubben), Albin Widén. An ethnologist who spent many years in the United States before and during World War II, Widén had gathered reminiscences from a large number of Swedish emigrants and used some of these to produce books and articles about Indians and Swedes for a general readership. In an unpublished manuscript intended to be an ambitious history of Swedes in America, he emphatically expressed the view that the leaders of the colony, in particular Johan Printz, were responsible for introducing animosity into the relationship with surrounding Lenapes and Susquehannocks and that it was not an inevitable consequence of the colony's establishment. In her study of Widén's writings Marie Ulmhed demonstrates that a key component was his understanding of the close relationship between Lenapes and Swedes in the colony. He even claimed that if "the Swedish population element, which appears to have had a different approach to Indians," had come to dominate the colonization of America, "it is conceivable that the Indians would have become a stationary farming people, who by and by would have accepted European civilization—and not, as now, been driven ever farther westward." Swedish dominance would have had even greater consequences, Widén argued: "Had the ideals of freedom and humanity that the Swedish Delaware colonists brought with them become particularly American already during this period, the Negro importation from Africa to America would never have occurred, nor the Civil War — and the great Negro problem would never have existed."⁵²

Widén's assertion resonates in one of the more curious forms of remembrance of the colony. In 2003, the Swedish brewery Three Towns Independent Breweries launched a pale ale named "New Sweden" for the colony's 365th commemoration. The beer can sported the inscription "Colonial Society" under the three crowns of

Sweden, and a text that stated that Swedes were “one of the three peoples who planted civilization” in America (see Figure 4).



Figure 4.
Beer can –
New Sweden Pale Ale (2003).
Photo Gunlög Fur.

The inscription on the beer can, as well as Widén’s brash assertion, follows a long tradition on both sides of the Atlantic of rendering New Sweden as exceptional. Aside from literature produced in direct conjunction with the colonial venture, such as Lindström’s and Holm’s publications mentioned above, the nineteenth century saw the beginning of a steady stream of reminiscences devoted to the legacy of the colony. These were created for a reading audience in Sweden, an audience familiar enough with both New Sweden and “Indians” —and these stories appear surprisingly familiar to readers today. Carl David Arfwedson, trader and writer, described scenes from North America in 1836; among them he included a representation of the early Swedish settlers in the Delaware Valley. In a fictive conversation, Måns Rambo tells Sven Jonson that King Charles XII has died. The two men wear shoes with “top parts and soles [. . .] of the same kind of leather, akin to the leather moccasins that to this day are used by Indians west of the Mississippi River.” The notion of peaceful interethnic relations suffuses Arfwedson’s scene: “In Johan Printz’ time—how significant this colony was, with the ocean as its neighbor to one side and peaceful Indians on the other!”⁵³

Teacher and travel writer Otto Wilhelm Ålund imagined a beautiful, forested country with hills, valleys, and clear rivers. “It was a country that attracted the small band of immigrants, and the first place by the river where they landed was named

Paradise Point.” Like many others before him Ålund extolls the beauty and emptiness of the landscape without recognizing how indigenous people had long labored to shape it. Ålund stresses that the “young colony” maintained friendly relations with “the Indians” from the moment of encounter, and the colony’s conduct toward them was just and honorable. But it was the settlers who shaped the landscape: “In the wilderness where Swedes and Finns first put the plough to the soil a flowering landscape spread, garnished by both nature and the work of men.”⁵⁴

Another author who looked back on a staunch and peaceful colonial endeavor was the folklorist Richard Bergström. He envisioned “a small flock of quiet, sensible, law-abiding peasants who lived in unity with their neighbors, whether they were Dutch or English, preferred before them and other strangers by the Indians.” The relationship with the indigenous inhabitants showed “an almost touching beauty” when scrutinized more closely. The Swedes dealt decently with these “dangerous and in the strongest sense of the word ruthless neighbors” and traded honestly with them, taught them and allowed themselves to learn.⁵⁵ It is a bright memory, Bergström suggested in the 1880s, to dwell on the ways in which “our ancestors met the relatively defenseless sons of the wilderness, since in this memory, a reminiscence of innocence, lies something wonderfully comforting in this time, when so many old debts must be repaid and new ones may accrue.”⁵⁶ Like Widén eight decades later, Bergström argued that Swedes sowed the first seeds of religious freedom on this continent and had they only been left alone, “they would undoubtedly have won an indelible reputation as founders of the freedom of conscience, which is America’s greatest pride.” It was the Swedes “in fact” who “initiated the craft of statesmanship which William Penn has received great credit for.”⁵⁷

On the other side of the Atlantic, in Pennsylvania, historian Thomas Balch asserted that “the Swedes managed their relations with Lenapes and Susquehannocks in peace,” a comportment growing out of a general attitude among Swedes. Visitors traveling in Sweden readily note, he wrote, “how humanely the horses are treated there” and thus “will not be surprised at the success of the Swedes in maintaining harmonious relations with the aborigines in New Sweden.”⁵⁸

Ever since Thomas Campanius Holm proclaimed in 1702 that the “wild people and our own are like one people, much more intimate than with the English, as they also in their language call these Swedes their own people,” the notion of the exceptional nature of New Sweden has permeated different kinds of mediations of the colony’s brief history and its legacy.⁵⁹ With few variations, writers and commemorators on both sides of the Atlantic have declared that New Sweden’s relation to the indigenous population of the area was particularly peaceful and friendly, and that the legacy of the short-lived colonial experiment could have been crucial for the future development of the American nation, had only the Swedish qualities endured. That this is an attractive proposal in Sweden is understandable, but why did this notion hold such currency in the United States well into the last decades of the twentieth century? While both nostalgia and a certain amount of denial among the descendant community

surely play a part, this self-congratulatory perspective may well be a testament to the persistent work of Swedish-American intellectuals who strove to construct a place for Swedish immigrants in American society by forging links with an earlier migration to New Sweden.⁶⁰ As Adam Hjorthén demonstrates, commemorations of the New Sweden colony and of Swedish mass migration during the nineteenth century both celebrated Sweden's civilizing influence. "The New Sweden colonists and the Swedish pioneers were assigned significance by being settler colonists who had come to permanently stay and establish new societies and institutions." This conferred pride on descendants on two continents.⁶¹ Maybe it also reflects a desire to find somewhere in history a template for a different kind of interethnic relationship, one that would not end in ethnic purging and diaspora for Native peoples. In one aspect, however, these perceptions of the uniqueness of New Sweden agree with that of the history of other American colonies. The exceptional qualities hinge on the policies and behaviors of the Finnish and Swedish colonists; their agency is addressed, whether in children's books, travel memoirs, or on beer cans. It is only in recent decades that research on both sides of the Atlantic has begun to question this understanding.⁶²

Conclusions

New Sweden was a relatively short-lived colonial venture: established in 1638, it collapsed only seventeen years later. The effects and consequences of this enterprise nevertheless had surprisingly durable and wide significance. The physical connections between Sweden and the Delaware region, although fragile and discontinuous, were sustained throughout the colonial era. Both personal and indirect experiences of the colony communicated through stories, letters and travel narratives and displayed through material collections of *curiosa* and souvenirs altered the consciousness of America in Sweden. Letters and material objects flowing in the opposite direction allowed the Swedish-speaking community in America to nurture and construct a sense of origin and affinity with the Old Country. The colonial involvement proved to be rich material for the historiographical (re)imagining of Sweden's position in the early modern expansion in America, engaging Swedish and American scholars, novelists, and other stakeholders. It activated selective and ambivalent processes of acknowledgment and denial of the force of colonial ideologies and motivations in the country's past. It fed the construction of a nostalgic and distorted portrait of the relationships between the colonizers and the colonized. These processes of reimagining and contextualizing the colony are by no means matters of the past. The trans-Atlantic flow of voices and ideas continue to rewrite the history of New Sweden, its meaning and consequences.

Notes

¹ E.g., Amandus Johnson, *The Swedish Settlements on the Delaware, 1638–1664* (Philadelphia: The Swedish Colonial Society, 1911); Alf Åberg, *Folket i Nya Sverige: vår koloni vid Delawarefloden, 1638–1655* (Stockholm: Natur och Kultur, 1987); Clinton Alfred Weslager, *New Sweden on the Delaware, 1638–1655* (Wilmington: Middle Atlantic Press, 1988); Carol E. Hoffecker et al., *New Sweden in America* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1995); Gunlög Fur, *Colonialism in the Margins: Cultural Encounters in New Sweden and Lapland* (Leiden: Brill, 2006).

² Åberg, *Folket i Nya Sverige*.

³ Adam Hjorthén, “Därför ska Sverige sluta fira sin koloniala historia,” *Dagens Nyheter*, 15 May 2013; Hjorthén, *Border-Crossing Commemorations: Entangled Histories of Swedish Settling in America* (Ph.D. diss., Stockholm University, 2015); Jonas M. Nordin, “När Sverige ville ha en bit av Amerika,” *Svenska Dagbladet*, 3 March 2013.

⁴ Sápmi—Sw. Sameland—the land of the Sámi, roughly consisting of northernmost Finland, Kola peninsula in the Russian Federation, Norway and Sweden.

⁵ See e.g. Fur, *Colonialism in the Margins*; *Itinerario* 33:2 (2009): Special Issue on Scandinavian Colonialism, eds. Niels Brimnes, Pernille Ipsen and Gunvor Simonsen; Magdalena Naum and Jonas M. Nordin, *Scandinavian Colonialism and the Rise of Modernity: Small Time Agents in a Global Arena* (New York: Springer, 2013).

⁶ Robert B. St. George, “Introduction,” in *Possible Pasts: Becoming Colonial in Early America*, ed. Robert B. St. George (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2000), 1–29.

⁷ See e.g., David Cressy, *Coming Over: Migration and Communication between England and New England in the Seventeenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987); Michael Warner, “What’s Colonial about Colonial America,” in St. George, *Possible Pasts*, 49–70; Alison Games, “Atlantic History: Definitions, Challenges, and Opportunities,” *The American Historical Review*, 111:3 (2006): 741–57.

⁸ *Inventory of Mouns Jones 3.05.1727*, Philadelphia City Archives, Pennsylvania; Per Kalm, *Travels into North America, I* (London: Lowndes, 1773), 49, 385–90; Nils Jacobsson, *Svenskar och indianer: Studier i svenskarnas insats i den tidigare protestantiska missionens historia* (Stockholm: Svenska kyrkans diakonistyrelses bokförlag, 1922); Fur, *Colonialism in the Margins*, 154–55.

⁹ *Inventory of James Steelman 1734*, Gloucester County Archives, New Jersey; Kalm, *Travels*, 399–402; *Minutes of the Provincial council of Pennsylvania: from the organization to the termination of proprietary government*, 1 (Philadelphia: Jo. Severns & Co, 1838), 398.

¹⁰ Excavations at the Morton Homestead, a home of the Mårtonssons revealed, for example, late seventeenth and eighteenth-century examples of German, Dutch, and English pottery, pipes manufactured in Bristol, and Venetian trading beads.

¹¹ Terry G. Jordan and Matti E. Kaups, *The American Backwoods Frontier: An Ethnic and Ecological Interpretation* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University, 1989); see also Auvo Kostiaainen, ed., *Finnish Identity in America* (Turku: University of Turku, 1990).

¹² *Inventory of Wolly Swanson 1692*, Philadelphia City Archives, Pennsylvania; *Inventory of Swan Swanson 1696*, Philadelphia City Archives, Pennsylvania; *Inventory of Katharine Benktson 1710*, Philadelphia City Archives, Pennsylvania.

¹³ A notable exception is Daniel Lindmark's *Ecclesia Plantanda: Swedishness in Colonial America* (Umeå: Umeå University, 2005) which focuses on Swedish Lutheran mission activities in the eighteenth century as a vehicle for sustaining Swedish identity in America. See also Fredrik Ekengren, Magdalena Naum and Ulla I. Zagal Mach Wolfe, "Sweden in the Delaware Valley: Everyday Life and Material Culture in New Sweden," in Naum and Nordin, *Scandinavian Colonialism*, 174–77.

¹⁴ Sarah Pearsall, *Atlantic Families: Lives and Letters in the Later Eighteenth Century* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008).

¹⁵ Printz's letters to Per Brahe and Axel Oxenstierna in *The Instruction for Johan Printz, Governor of New Sweden*, ed. Amandus Johnson (Philadelphia: The Swedish Colonial Society, 1930); Magdalena Naum, "The Malady of Emigrants: Homesickness and Longing in the Colony of New Sweden (1638–1655)," in *Archaeologies of Mobility and Movement*, eds. Mary Beaudry and Travis Parno (New York: Springer, 2013), 165–77.

¹⁶ "31 May 1693: Letter, Peter Gunnarsson Rambo to his sister in Gothenburg"; "Letter, Lasse Cock to his uncle in Sweden"; "Letter from Charles Springer to his mother, Beata Salina," in *Colonial Records of the Swedish Churches in Pennsylvania I*, eds. Peter Stebbins Craig and Kim-Eric Williams (Philadelphia: The Swedish Colonial Society, 2006), 195–201.

¹⁷ The negative picture of America is indicated by a remark made in 1648 by Lars Kagg, Royal Field Marshal to Axel Oxenstierna. He suggested sending army deserters to America "as one finds that they have a great dread of New Sweden," *Rikskansleren Axel Oxenstiernas skrifter och brefvexling*, Vol. II (9) (Stockholm: P.A. Norstedt & Söner, 1898), 684.

¹⁸ Maruška Svašek, *Moving Subjects, Moving Objects: Transnationalism, Cultural Production and Emotions* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2012); Russell W. Belk, "Moving Possessions: An Analysis Based on Personal Documents from the 1847-1869 Mormon Migration," *Journal of Consumer Research* 19 (1992): 339–61; Naum, "The Malady of Emigrants."

¹⁹ *Andreas Sandels dagbok 1701–1743*, ed. Frank Blomfelt (Uppsala: Erene, 1988), 54.

²⁰ “Pastor Andreas Rudman in 1697 to Prof. J. Arrhenius, 29 October 1697,” in *Colonial Records of the Swedish Churches in Pennsylvania. Vol. 2: The Rudman Years 1697–1702*, eds. Peter Stebbins Craig and Kim-Eric Williams (Philadelphia: Swedish Colonial Society, 2006), 65–71; Ekengren et al., “Sweden in the Delaware Valley,” 174–77.

²¹ *New York Historical Manuscripts vol. XX-XXI, Delaware Papers (English Period) 1664–1682*, ed. Charles Gehring (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Co, 1977), 6–10; Evan Haefeli, “The Revolt of the Long Swede: Transatlantic Hopes and Fears on the Delaware, 1669,” *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, 80:2 (2006): 137–80.

²² The pseudonym Coningsmarke was probably inspired by Hans Christoff von Königsmarck (1600–1663), Field Marshal in Swedish service during the Thirty Years War and famous for his successful siege of Prague in 1648.

²³ Lindmark, *Ecclesia Plantanda*.

²⁴ See for example Christian Feest, *Indians and Europe: An Interdisciplinary Collection of Essays* (Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press 1989); Feest, “The Collecting of American Indian Artefacts in Europe 1493–1750,” in *America in European Consciousness 1493–1750*, ed. Karen Ordahl Kupperman (Chapel Hill and London: University of North Carolina Press, and Williamsburg, VA: Institute of Early American History and Culture, 1995), 324–60; Ken Arnold, *Cabinets for the Curious: Looking Back at Early English Museums* (Aldershot: Ashgate 2006).

²⁵ Isabel Yaya, “Wonders of America: The Curiosity Cabinet as a Site of Representation and Knowledge,” *Journal of the History of Collections* 23:2 (2011): 173–88.

²⁶ Igor Kopytoff, “The Cultural Biography of Things: Commoditization as Process,” in *The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective*, ed. Arjun Appadurai (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 64–91; Nicholas Thomas, *Entangled Objects: Exchange, Material Culture and Colonialism in the Pacific* (Cambridge Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1991).

²⁷ Alden T. Vaughan, *Transatlantic Encounters: American Indians in Britain, 1500–1776* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 2006).

²⁸ Brahe to Printz, letter November 9, 1643, in Johnson, *The Instructions for Johan Printz*.

²⁹ Per Lindeström, *Geographica Americae* (1691), trans. Amandus Johnson (Philadelphia: Swedish Colonial Society, 1925), 222.

³⁰ Jonas M. Nordin, “There and back again – the Material Culture of New Sweden. Towards an Archaeology of Hybridity of 17th Century Colonialism,” in Naum and Nordin, *Scandinavian Colonialism*, 207–25.

³¹ Staffan Brunius, “In the Light of the New Sweden Colony: Notes on Swedish pre-1800: Ethnographic Collections from Northeastern North America,” *Native American Studies* 21:2 (2007): 33.

³² Keating and Markey, “Indian Objects.”

³³ Brunius, “In the Light of the New Sweden Colony”; Mårten Snickare, “The King’s Tomahawk: On the Display of the Other in Seventeenth-Century Sweden, and After,” *Konsthistorisk tidskrift* 80:2 (2011): 124–35.

³⁴ Brunius, “In the light of New Sweden Colony”; Nordin, “There and Back Again.”

³⁵ *Ibid.*

³⁶ Visa Immonen, “Farming and Brass Kettles as Forms of Colonial Encounter: New Sweden from an Archaeological Perspective,” *Scandinavian Studies* 83:3 (2011): 366–86.

³⁷ Jonas M. Nordin, “The Centre of the World: The Material Construction of Eurocentric Domination and Hybridity in a Scandinavian Seventeenth-Century Context,” *Journal of Material Culture* 18:2 (2013), 189–209.

³⁸ Brunius, “In the Light of the New Sweden Colony.”

³⁹ Nordin, “The Centre of the World.”

⁴⁰ Björn Ranung, “Hedvig Eleonoras afrikanska kniv,” in *Med världen i kappsäcken: samlingarnas väg till Etnografiska museet*, ed. Wilhelm Östberg (Stockholm: Etnografiska museet 2002): 22.

⁴¹ The Acrosan brothers were related to the King of Fetu but also acted on their own behalf in relation to the Swedish Africa Company; see Ray Kea, *Settlements, Trade, and Politics in the Seventeenth Century Gold Coast* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1982): 116–22.

⁴² Victor Granlund, “En svensk koloni i Afrika eller Svenska Afrika Kompaniets historia,” *Historiskt Bibliotek* IV (1879); Ray Kea, *Settlements, Trade, and Politics*; György Nováky, *Handelskompanier och kompanihandel: Svenska Afrikakompaniet 1649–1663. En studie i feodal handel* (Uppsala: Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis, 1990).

⁴³ Adam Jones, “A Collection of African Art in Seventeenth-Century Germany: Christoph Weickmann’s Kunst- und Naturkammer,” *African Arts* 27:2 (1994): 28–43, 92–94.

⁴⁴ Thomas Campanius Holm, *Kort Beskrifning Om Provincien Nya Swerige* (Stockholm: Rediviva, 1988 [1702]).

⁴⁵ Göran Schildt, *Resenärer i Floras rike* (Stockholm: Biblioteksförlaget, 1990): 14.

⁴⁶ *Vänskap och Trohet i Döden, eller den Indianske Printzessan Zaletta, Tragoedia i fem Öpningar. I Swänske Rim författad, Från Engelskan af Andreas Hesselius Americanus*, (Kongl: Acad: Ups: Engl: Språkmästare, Stockholm, 1740); on the Hesselius family, see Hans Ling, *The Faces of New Sweden: Erik Björk, Christina Stalcop & America’s First Portrait Painter* (Philadelphia: Swedish Colonial Society, 2004).

- ⁴⁷ Ulf Jonas Björk, “Stories of America: The Rise of the ‘Indian Book’ in Sweden 1862–1895,” *Scandinavian Studies* 75:4 (2003): 509–26.
- ⁴⁸ Yvonne Pålsson, *I Skinnstrumpas spår. Svenska barn-och ungdomsböcker om indianer, 1860–2008* (Umeå: Institutionen för kultur- och medievetenskaper, 2013).
- ⁴⁹ Calmare Nyckel was the name of the first Swedish ship to be sent to America.
- ⁵⁰ Pålsson, *I Skinnstrumpas spår*, 179.
- ⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 257–59.
- ⁵² Marie Ulmhed, “‘De svenska nybyggarna förstod konsten att uppehålla grannsämja med det röda jägarfolket.’ Om indianbilden och dess funktion i Albin Widéns populärvetenskapliga författande” (Master’s thesis, Linnaeus University, Sweden, 2012); “Albin Widén, Svensk historia i Amerika,” *The Albin Widén Collection*, 15:7:6:E, The Swedish Emigrant Institute, Växjö, Sweden.
- ⁵³ Carl David Arfwedson, *Scener i Nord-Amerika ur En svensk resandes minnes-bok* (Stockholm: Hjerta, 1836), 30, 34.
- ⁵⁴ O.W. Alund, *AMERIKA dess upptäckt, eröfring och fyrahundraåriga utveckling* (Stockholm: Bonniers Boktryckeri, 1892), 189, 195.
- ⁵⁵ Richard Bergström, *Svenska Bilder* (Stockholm: C. E. Fritze’s K. Hofbokhandel, 1882), 66, 67, 68.
- ⁵⁶ Bergström, *Svenska Bilder*, 71.
- ⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 74.
- ⁵⁸ Thomas Willing Balch, “The Swedish Beginnings of Pennsylvania and other events in Pennsylvania History,” in *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society*, n.s., vol. 24 (1914): 305–41, quote on p. 320.
- ⁵⁹ Holm, *Kort*, 122.
- ⁶⁰ Dag Blanck, “History at Work: The 1888 New Sweden Jubilee,” *Swedish-American Historical Quarterly* 39, (April 1988): 5–20.
- ⁶¹ Hjorthén, *Border-Crossing Commemorations*, 296.
- ⁶² For a recent example, see Jean R. Soderlund, *Lenape Country: Delaware Valley Society Before William Penn* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2015).